

HUMAN BEHAVIOUR SETTINGS;
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ADAPTATION OF
RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENTS IN IBADAN, NIGERIA

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BY

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TO THE PURSUIT OF
THAT ENVIRONMENT
FROM WHICH MANKIND
FINDS FULFILMENT

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DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institution of learning.

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EDUCATION AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

I obtained B.Sc. (Social Sciences) Honours Geography of the University of Ife, Nigeria, in June 1972. My major interest was in Urban Geography. I had my M.Sc. (Urban and Regional Planning) in the Planning department of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, in June 1977.

I worked as a Town Planning Officer at both the Oyo State Ministry for Lands and Housing and the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State (PDCOS), Bodija, Ibadan, between 1977 and 1983. At the PDCOS, I worked with a team of Town Planning Officers to prepare the development plans for the Corporation's new estates in the "Operation House the Masses" programme between 1980 and 1983, as well as being in charge of the physical development and control of the Corporation's Bodija and Owode residential estates in Ibadan.

I transferred to the University of Ife, Nigeria, as Lecturer Grade I in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, in February 1983; a post I held until I began the research programme for this thesis in October 1985.

PREFACE

The impetus for this thesis resulted from the experience gained as a Town Planning Officer in the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State, Ibadan, Nigeria. The opportunity to develop the theme came with my transfer to the University of Ife as a Lecturer in Urban and Regional Planning. I am therefore appreciative of my chance connections with those two institutions which have between them fashioned out this thesis.

I wish to particularly acknowledge the encouragement given to me by Professor G.J.Afolabi Ojo, Late Professor B.O. Ogundana and Professor (Mrs) J.O. Abiodun, all of the Geography Department of the University of Ife, Nigeria, to pursue an academic career which has culminated in the attainment of the present goal.

A great deal of guidance which I found very invaluable in modelling my thoughts on the theme of the thesis, and for which I am indebted to him, was provided by my supervisor, Professor D.G. Robinson.

The Staff/Students Research Seminars provided very unique opportunity to aggregate a variety of views which were found useful in the process of the development of the thesis. I am especially very grateful to Mr. Robert Barr of the Geography Department and Mr. Chris Banister of the Town and Country Planning Department, University of Manchester, who both provided the necessary guidance in the

statistical and computer analysis of the data for the thesis.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to both the University of Manchester, which provided the Research Studentship that made it possible for me to undertake the research in the first place, and the University of Ife which provided the additional financial assistance required for the course. I am also very grateful to the Sidney Perry Foundation, Ipswich, for making an additional grant towards the completion of the programme.

I am grateful to all the staff of the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State, Bodija estate and those of the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority, Oluyole Estate, Ibadan, for their full cooperation during the data collection for the thesis; and to all individuals who supplied information which all helped to make the thesis a reality.

I wish to acknowledge the unflinching devotion, love and support of my wife, children and parents during the long period of my absence from home. It is a joy to realise that they all appreciate that the cause has been in pursuit of a living environment from which mankind may find fulfilment!

Isaiah Alade Afolabi Okevole
September 1987.

ABSTRACT

The research is in connection with the issue of man-environment-fit as related to one human behaviour setting, the residential setting.

Evidence from previous research has highlighted the variations in the peculiar characteristics and elements which inhabitants of different settlements value and which provide their needs-satisfaction, particularly within residential environments. It is believed that a right composition of the needs-satisfaction requirements results in man-environment-fit within residential settings.

The thesis explores the potency of socio-cultural elements in the adaptation of residential areas to bring about a satisfying man-environment relationship within the Yoruba cultural area in Nigeria. The objective is to determine to what degree the inhabitants of a new residential setting will adapt the physical and social characteristics of their new environment to reflect their previously known socio-culturally based environment in their quest for man-environment-fit.

Information which provided indicative criteria of traditional socio-cultural patterns of use and adaptation of the residential environment of the core area of a Yoruba city, Ibadan, was aggregated and employed to test the hypotheses of the thesis in two case study estates, Bodijs and Oluyole, in the city.

The research in the case study estates involved the use of questionnaire opinion survey, survey of "illegal" conversations, physical surveys and discussions with designers of the two estates.

Results from the research have supported the hypothesis that socio-cultural elements play prominent roles and exert strong influence in the adaptation of new residential settings.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of "person-environment fit" is the idea of achieving a condition in which the arrangement of the physical environment in which man performs his daily routines of living, working and recreating, blends not only with those requirements, but reflects also the social, cultural and economic characteristics of his particular community and society. Such an environment is, therefore, fitted to accommodate man's patterned behaviour with minimum restriction or coercion.

The concept of person-environment fit has attracted the attention of researchers in several disciplines apart from planning. These include, among others, geographers who are interested in the locational relationships and quality of places in space, and people's activities in them; economists who want to evaluate the cost/benefit, efficiency and performance of the individual's or society's economic activities within any given spatial setting; and psychologists who probe the effects of specific spatial arrangements on the behavioural responses of the individuals inhabiting such spaces.

The human-space relationship under focus in this thesis primarily relates to man's living area - the residential setting.

The idea of person-environment fit hinges on two basic

concepts. The first is man's quest for needs-satisfaction. All men everywhere crave to satisfy certain essential needs. Maslow (1954) enumerated these needs as:¹

- i. physiological needs - hunger, thirst, shelter
- ii. safety needs - protection from physical harm, reduction in psychic threats from others and personal privacy
- iii. affiliation needs - love, comfortable interpersonal interactions
- iv. esteem needs - relating closely to one's ability to personalize one's environment
- v. actualization needs - actual or perceived control of personal environment
- vi. cognitive/aesthetic needs - our ideas of beauty and image formation

The second concept relates to how these needs are met. Evidence from previous research shows that man in

different locations on the earth's surface has had to employ a variety of methods of interacting with his particular environment to achieve needs-satisfaction. Consequently, the needs-satisfaction formulae must be as varied as the existing settlement locations on the earth!

Research efforts must therefore be directed at finding out the most important or crucial elements of all the input elements utilised by the inhabitants of any particular location in the process of promoting needs-satisfaction. Some earlier research has shown that needs-satisfaction is the basis of behaviour, that is, "behavior motivation" (Portecus, 1977, 11). These behaviour motivations are themselves directed or coloured by sub-systems of behaviour. Talcott Parsons (1966)² suggested the following as the relevant sub-systems of behaviour:

1. physiological - age, sex, somatic imperfections

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| ii. cultural | - | values, norms, traditions, beliefs |
| iii. social | - | group cohesion, roles played in learning, working, socialising |
| iv. personality | - | predisposition to action, preferences, options, attitudes |

A possible interpretation from Talcott Parson's assertion is that it is possible to attribute the product of a specific behaviour to any one or combinations of these sub-systems. Consequently, the analysis of human behaviour within a living environment should yield some positive indications of man's needs-satisfaction motivations and of the general content of the requirements for meeting such needs when any of the sub-systems-of-behaviour combinations is used as the input.

In this research, the combination of the social and cultural sub-systems has been isolated as the dependent variable of the needs-satisfaction motivations which are responsible for the use and adaptation of residential environments. This particular combination can be termed man's socio-culture.

Raymond Williams (1958) described culture as "a whole way of life, material, intellect and spiritual"³. Eliot (1958) had a similar view of culture as being made up of "all the characteristic activities and interests of a people"⁴. The definition by Hartshorne (1939) has a strong geographical basis. He says,

Culture is represented not only by what we make but in a thousand other ways. These would include the physical characteristics of the people; the manner and substance of

thought, speech and writing; the way in which people eat, dance, walk or ride; the character of their clothing, shelter and grouping of these shelters into settlements; the way in which the people work and play and the tools and implements used in doing each...the various alterations of vegetation, soils, landforms, bedrock and even underlying formations....(5)

Rapoport (1977) stated of culture that:

... one can say that it is about a group of people who share a set of values, beliefs, a world view and symbol system which are learned and transmitted. These create a system of rules and habits which reflect ideals and create a lifestyle, guiding behavior, roles, manners, the food eaten as well as built form. There tend to be greater similarities within cultures than among them.(6)

Rapoport's description adds further perspectives of relevance to research into the expression of cultural characteristics in design, use and adaptation of residential areas. Thus apart from its being considered generally as "a whole way of life" and its being composed of all "characteristic activities and interests" of a people, culture is seen as embracing values, beliefs, and the meaning attached to objects and lifestyles.

For the purpose of this investigation, culture is viewed as a whole way of life having relationships with definable, limited physical environment. The following characteristics or attributes of the term "culture" are then of importance to this thesis, that:

- i. it relates to human behaviour and values
- ii. it has a physical component that is observable as the product or imprint of man's behaviour and activities over time, and

- iii. there is a physical boundary beyond which there could be a differentiation into physical evidence of another type of culture

For the purpose of this research, an aspect of human culture which deals with man's behaviour and values - that is, the socio-culture, is employed in the analysis of the adaptation by man, of three residential locations (considered as "behaviour settings") which are physical components (amongst others) of his life, actions and values. These behaviour settings are therefore part of man's cultural landscape. The three residential environments used as case studies in this thesis are the core area of the city and the two residential estates of Bodija and Oluyole, in Ibadan, Nigeria. The cultural area in which the three settings are located is the Yorubaland of Nigeria.

The Problem

The purpose of this research is to determine the strength of the socio-culture in the process of the adaptation of new residential environments by man. It seeks to explore the cultural influences involved in the process referred to earlier as "person-environment fit".

It was decided to research this process for the following reasons. First, there is a paucity of empirical research on the topic. Secondly, Nigeria offers the opportunity for empirical study of strongly differentiated socio-cultures. Thirdly, whilst a number of research studies have concentrated on Nigerian housing characteristics, urban

form and qualities, a recent bibliographic review of the existing literature in Nigeria (Onibokun, 1983) shows that none have focussed on cultural influences in the organisation and adaptation of new residential environments. Fourthly, the author had observed substantial environmental restructuring in one of the housing estates used as a *case study* during a five-year period in which he served as a Town Planning Officer in the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State (PDCOS), Bodija, Ibadan. The extent of these adaptations to the planned schemes, or "contraventions" as they are officially labelled, suggested that some fundamental cultural influences were involved.

The author is a member of the culture concerned, and having lived in the cultural area for the greater part of his childhood and adult life, has been a participant observer of all the Yoruba attitudes to housing and environment which are investigated in the succeeding chapters of this thesis.

Notes and References

1. A. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York : Harper & Row, 1954) quoted in J. Douglas Porteous, Environment & Behavior (Philippines: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, inc., 1977, pp. 10-11).
2. Talcott Parsons, Societies (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, 1966) quoted in J. Douglas Porteous, ibid. p. 11.
3. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780 - 1950 (London, 1958, p. 16), quoted in G. J. A. Ojo, Yoruba Culture: A Geographical Analysis (University of London Press, 1966), p. 26.
4. T. S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture (London, 1958, p. 31), quoted in G. J. A. Ojo, Yoruba Culture. ibid. p. 28.
5. Richard Hartshorne, "The Nature of Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers (vol.xxix, 1939, p. 332), quoted in G. J. A. Ojo, Yoruba Culture, ibid. p. 28.
6. Amos Rapoport, Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design. New York: Pergamon Press, 1977, p.14.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN

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CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 SCOPE

The Yorubaland of Nigeria provides the cultural setting for the thesis (see fig. 2.1). The case studies have been chosen in three locations within the city of Ibadan. These are the core area of Ibadan, mainly a traditional residential setting of established older property; and two estates, Bodiya and Oluyole, which are basically contemporary in creation and provide relatively new residential settings (see fig. 2.2).

2.2 HYPOTHESIS

Physical evidence of restructuring of an environment is a manifestation of lack of fit between the setting and the occupants of human behaviour settings. It is however, not necessarily true that where there is no restructuring then there is a condition of "fit". There may or may not be a feeling of fit. Reasons for non-restructuring may include "trying to be law-abiding", "not wanting trouble", "not pushful enough", or "not financially able". The patterns of use and adaptations in new residential areas, for instance, will be influenced by a variety of factors which may include the physical characteristics of the environment, the socio-cultural characteristics and economic conditions

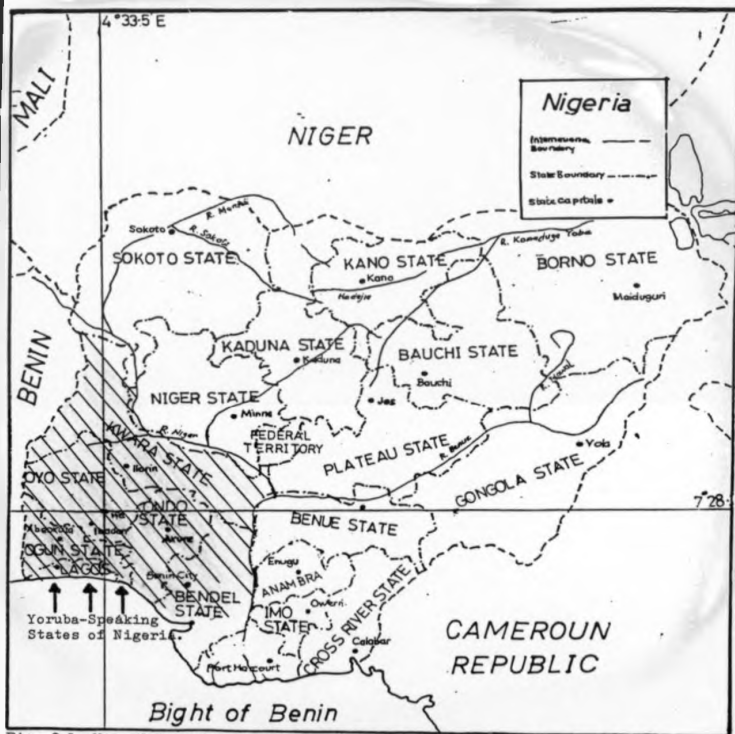


Fig. 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing the Cultural Area covered by the Thesis

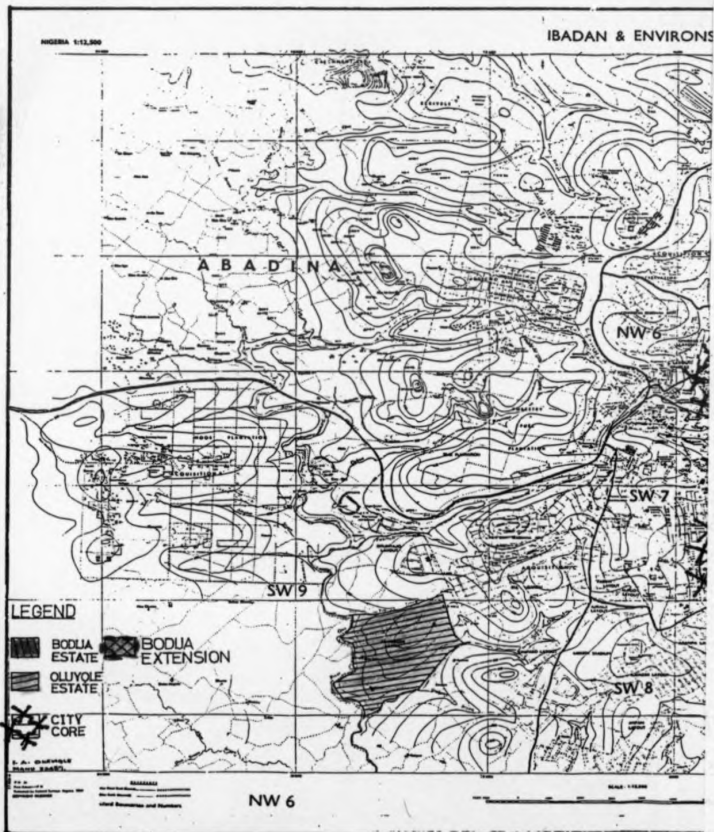


FIG. 2.2



of the inhabitants.

This research aims to discover the potency of socio-cultural structuring of residential settings in bringing about man-environment fit. It is therefore the contention of the thesis that the residents of any new residential setting will seek to regenerate certain morphological and social interaction systems in the new environment in order to accommodate some behavioural patterns which are in consonance with customary socio-cultural backgrounds in an effort to maximize the level of man-environment fit within their new residential setting.

Thus the hypothesis of this research may be summarized thus, that:

- i. the residents of new residential areas will seek to adapt their new environment along previously known socio-cultural lines in order to achieve man-environment fit; and consequently,
- ii. the level of man-environment fit achieved in residential settings is a function of the degree of socio-cultural structuring of the morphology of the new setting and the reproduction of social networks that residents succeed in effecting.

Morphology is here taken to represent all the external physical components of the environment. They include the basic route networks; and structures, that is, buildings and spaces utilized for living, working and recreating.

2.3 METHODOLOGY

In order to be able to obtain empirical evidence to prove the hypothesis outlined above, the following process

of research has been adopted:

2.3.1 Examination of existing results of empirical studies related to the subject — from literature sources.

2.3.2 Collection of information on the core area to provide indicative criteria of traditional socio-cultural patterns of use and adaptation of the residential environment. The core area studies include examination of the effects of imported cultures on the core area's traditional socio-cultural systems. Three major types of characteristics are examined, namely,

- i. aspects of the core's patterns which survive and maintain a constant link with the original traditional systems. These might be labelled "survivors-unchanged" characteristics.
- ii. aspects of the core's patterns which though still maintaining the structure of the original morphology with their associated human behaviour patterns, have had injected into them substantial elements of new cultural adaptations. These will be "survivors-adapted" characteristics.
- iii. aspects of the core's patterns which have completely lost their links with the original traditional morphology, and represent new alien cultural patterns. These are the "succession products".

2.3.3 Determination of the degree of adaptation of the new residential estates along customary socio-cultural lines:- through questionnaire survey, survey of "illegal" conversions, discussion with designers, and physical surveys.

2.3.4 Establishing any relationships between the data relating to the new residential areas and the hypothesis.

The process outlined above has been summarized in the flow-diagram in figure 2.3. A list of criteria for the socio-cultural traditional patterns of use of the environment has been compiled from the study of the core area. These have been grouped into categories. Each category has also been sub-divided into specific elements making up the category. The physical and non-physical indicators of each element have been identified where possible. The detailed break-down of the criteria is shown in Appendix iv. It was hoped that these sets of criteria would serve as bases for the comparisons of the situations found in the new residential estates being used as cases in the research. Each element of the criteria was cross-matched with the synthesized summary of conditions of the residential estates outlined in table 2.1, so as to be able to draw any relevant inferences relating to the hypothesis.

Relationships and the strengths of such relationships have been established where they exist, by the use of

Table 2.1 BODIJA AND OLUYCLE ESTATES SITUATION

CATEGORY	ELEMENTS
Official Surveys	i. Survey of "illegal" conversions ii. Other relevant compilations
Observed Phenomena	i. Physical restructuring ii. Change in use
Opinion Survey	i. Physical characteristics ii. Behaviour determinants iii. Preferred alternatives
Designers' Views	i. Design concept and philosophy ii. Design standards iii. Lessons

appropriate statistical methods. Where no association could be identified, other determining factors have been advanced where possible.

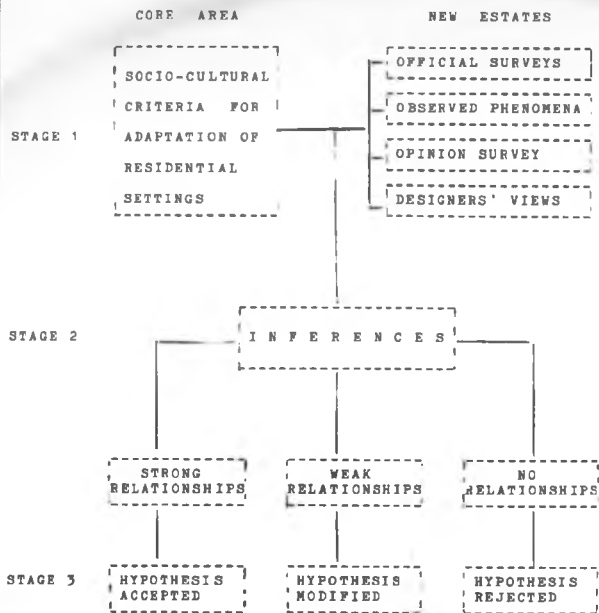


Fig. 2.3 FLOW CHART SHOWING PROCESS OF ANALYSIS OF DATA
AND PROOF OF HYPOTHESIS

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE SURVEY

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CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE SURVEY

3.1 THE CONCEPT OF BEHAVIOUR SETTINGS

The theory of "behaviour settings" evolved from Roger Barker's (1968) work in the field of ecological psychology. A behaviour setting, according to Barker, is made up of two parts, the "milieu" and the "standing patterns of behavior" associated with it. The milieu is the non-behavioural component of the behaviour setting, like for example, a building, a street or a stadium. Each of these features is associated with specific types of behaviour which normally occur within it, e.g. sleeping, walking and sporting activities, respectively.

A congruent relationship is expected to exist between each milieu and the standing pattern of behaviour associated with it. When this occurs, in Barker's terms, a situation of "synomorphy of behavior and milieu" exists. This indicates that the structure of the milieu matches the requirements of the behaviour which goes on within it. People for instance, keep quiet in church; pupils sit still at their desk in class; and the accommodation arrangements allow for spectators to display exuberant spirits on the sports ground. The particular behaviours appropriately match (are congruent with) their respective milieus.

This congruence between behaviour and milieu,

according to Barker, results from "eight possible sources" which he named as:

physical forces	learning
social forces	selection by persons
physiological processes	selection by behaviour settings
physiognomic perception	influence of behaviour on the milieu

All these, together, compel conformity with the standing patterns of behaviour associated with each milieu. People learn behaviour suitable for particular milieus by seeing others behave. Physical arrangements can enforce or encourage some patterns of behaviour and limit or prevent others from taking place. A narrow path for instance, will slow down movement of a crowd along it, while the absence of humps on a straight, wide road encourages speeding by motorists. Similarly, social forces are often coercive of behaviour, like a teacher ensuring silence in class by his pupils, and a powerful preacher commanding rapt attention and silence during his sermons.

One aspect of Barker's concept of behaviour settings however, about which there does not seem to be a full explanation is his comment that "some aspects of the behavior of different persons within the same behavior setting may differ widely"¹. However, in discussing the "influence of behavior settings upon the behavior of inhabitants" he notes that:

... one person may enter a drugstore to buy medicine for a friend, another may

enter to buy poison for an enemy; one person may go to church for spiritual satisfaction, another for social advantage; one patient in the doctor's office may have his anxieties allayed, another may have his worst fears confirmed; one pupil in a class may experience great success, another profound failure. Yet all these people will conform to the standing pattern characteristic of behavior in the setting.(2)

His concept therefore appears to be that though there could be differences in people's motives for entering any behaviour setting, and/or the effects on different people who participate in the behaviour setting may differ, yet all participants within the behaviour setting still have to conform to the standing pattern of behaviour associated with the specific setting — regardless of differences in their motives and/or in the effects on each person.

Barker does not speculate as to whether there is a link between whatever are the consequential effects (satisfaction, dis-satisfaction, achievement, etc.) on individual participants within a setting, and variations in reaction to the setting in which behaviour takes place. However, it is obvious that different levels of "satisfaction" or "achievement" may result for the various individual participants. Certainly where there are identical motives for entering into, and participating in any behaviour setting, it could reasonably be presumed that any differences in the level of "achievement" or "satisfaction" experienced are likely to arouse in each participant within that setting, corresponding differences

in reaction to the structural elements within that setting which they perceive as being associated with their experience.

It would follow that when there are unfavourable consequential effects on people as they participate in a behaviour setting, they are likely to react in order to redress or overturn the unfavourable conditions in the setting (Galster and Hesser, 1981). This point is of considerable relevance to the research undertaken in this thesis on adaptation of new housing environments. It may then be assumed that it is such a reaction against the component parts of the setting (because such components do not "match" desired behaviour) that is physically manifested in any behaviour which is different from the standing pattern of behaviour associated with some particular behaviour settings.

But Barker seems to be so much pre-occupied with the idea that people will always "conform to the standing pattern characteristic of behavior"³ in a particular setting, that the issue of non-compliance with the standing pattern of behaviour within a setting only gained a passing comment in his concluding remarks:

There are unresolved problems concerning the sources and extents of behavior variety within and across behavior setting, including in the limiting cases, conditions within inhabitants that make some behavior independent of the coercive forces of behavior settings, and the conditions within behavior settings that deprive them of coercive power over inhabitants.(4)

Rapoport (1977) however, threw a useful light onto these "unresolved problems" in his review of the works of Barker and of other contributors to the literature on behaviour settings⁵. He is of the opinion that a behaviour setting is more than just a combination of the "milieu" and the "standing pattern of behavior" associated with it. The behaviour setting, according to Rapoport, should be seen in the sense of a "stage" as used in drama. They are:

... places where particular activities occur, and they have boundaries which inform people that they are entering a different place. Once inside, the setting provides cues for appropriate behavior which depends on these cues being noticed, read and obeyed — i.e., on cultural agreement about the nature of cues and appropriate behavior.(6)

Rapoport's idea seems to allow greater flexibility in people's compliance with the cues that are provided in a setting than Barker's concept did. To achieve the expected conformity with the standing patterns of behaviour in any setting, the cues provided in that setting and the behaviour expected in compliance with the structure of the setting's milieu must have cultural relationship according to Rapoport. They must agree. This emphasis by Rapoport seems to tally with the concept pursued in this research that differences between the structure of the component parts of a behaviour setting (the cues), and people's culture-derived aspirations will influence the inhabitants' attitude to their behaviour setting (e.g. to their residential area). Some of the possible consequences are discussed later in this review.

3.2 FITNESS OF BEHAVIOUR SETTINGS

The issue of the differences in the "effects" on participants within any behaviour setting and their consequent reactions has led to attempts to find out the type of setting characteristics which will have the maximum potential for effecting a congruent relationship between a setting and the behaviour of its inhabitants. Some of the results of researches on requirements for achieving "person-environment fit" are highlighted below.

Onibokun's "systems approach" (1974) to methods of evaluating people's satisfaction with housing, examined the influence of four sub-systems "collectively and individually on consumers' satisfaction with their homes". The study covered tenants, management, dwelling and environment sub-systems, and related to public housing in three Canadian cities (Kitchener, Guelph and Galt). The information about tenants included stage in family life cycle, socio-economic status and lifestyle. The research was based on response by residents to questions on various aspects of their dwelling units, on their neighbourhood and on the environment, as well as on the management of the housing area. Responses were ranked on an attitude and feelings scale. In response to questions under the group which he called "positive attributes of habitability", aspects like adequate space and privacy in the house, adequate public services, and security of tenure, were mentioned as factors contributing to relative satisfaction.

In their study, Galster and Hesser (1981) divided the characteristics which influence residential satisfaction into two categories termed "compositional" and "contextual" characteristics. Their surveys were conducted in Wooster, Ohio, in 1975. They tried to find out the effects of the compositional characteristics of house-holds (social class, stage in the life cycle), and the contextual aspects (the physical characteristics of dwellings and the neighbourhood area in which house-holds lived), on the general residential satisfaction of residents. The model they developed for testing their hypothesis was based on the following concept. The individual has a set of defined needs which he expects to be met by an environment. When these are not met, a person resorts to any one or a combination of various actions. These include:

- i. attempting to reconcile the incongruence by redefining needs and aspirations.
- ii. altering the evaluation of the current situation, thereby producing a moderate amount of satisfaction.
- iii. expressing satisfaction with incongruous situations "out of a sense of fatalism and powerlessness to alter the situation".
- iv. altering conditions in the present dwelling through remodelling.
- v. moving to another, more congruent residential situation.

Their results suggested that,

... there are certain physical and social features of neighborhoods which people generally need or to which they aspire, and that people cannot adapt to the absence of these features.(7)

Specifically related to that conclusion they mentioned such physical and social desiderata as fewer dilapidated structures, lower densities, higher average property values, and greater proportions of the given individual's own race.

The study by Fried and Gleicher (1961) tried to explain the psychological or emotional attachment of residents to their local area. Their research was based in the West End of Boston, U.S.A. The area, which was regarded as slum, was marked for redevelopment. They reported that prior to being removed from the area, most residents expressed satisfaction about living in the area. Some of the factors responsible for satisfaction included kinship ties, neighbour relationships, localism in close interpersonal relationships, stability of tenure, perception of the local area as a home and sense of identity with the local area. They also found out that the more frequent the contact with parents and relatives, the greater the proportion of people who liked their environment very well. Similarly, people had stronger feelings about their area when it was possible to establish very close exclusive relationships with other members (see also Buttner, 1972). All these features when present in a setting aided the formation of a positive image by residents about their area.

Similar findings were reported by Marris (1962) from the study of the Surulere re-housing scheme in Lagos, Nigeria. The following quotation reported by Marris aptly

sums up what residents felt when they were removed from their familiar central Lagos residential environment and had to live in a rigid, overstructured environment different from their previously known flexible environment:

... and then, the condition of the houses at Surulere doesn't suit me. It's European style of building, there is no yard. They're just self-contained houses, and I'm used to communal living. When you come into a yard now, you see people coming and going, but out there, there's just empty land..(8)

The study indicated that alien housing styles; widely spaced units separated by "empty land"; highly emphasized privacy and anonymity, were all sources of dissatisfaction for the relocated residents; while communal living and closely built forms were sources of residential satisfaction for residents before relocation.

The results from the studies by Fried and Gleicher and Peter Marris, located in two contrasting cultural areas of the world; together with the findings from Onibokun's (1974) and Galster and Hesser's (1981) research clearly show that there are some differences according to cultural area in the elements which give residential satisfaction. But they also show that certain factors of residential satisfaction are common to residents of all settings. Such common factors include social interaction, friendship formation, neighbourliness, and the care and protection possibilities available to them in their environment.

An interesting finding from the two studies by Fried and Gliether and Peter Marris reported above, is that

of conflict between the desires of residents and those of the planners of residential areas. This conflict of interest was also noted by Lansing and Marans (1969) in their study of private dwellings in the Detroit region of U.S.A., attempting to evaluate neighbourhood quality as a determinant of residential satisfaction. They reported that while the planners tended to judge the neighbourhoods on the bases of physical characteristics, the residents tended to consider social factors as of high importance in addition to physical environment.

Anne Buttiner (1972) similarly recognized this conflict of interest between the two sides who she called the "suppliers (politicians, planners, architects) and the demanders (residents)" in her study of housing estates in Glasgow. Her study, based on residents' evaluation of the different housing estates, yielded some results concerning social space and the planning of residential areas. One of her findings was that duration of residence, location of district, stage in the family cycle, and level and type of social interaction appeared to be consistently related to the experience of "at-homeness" amongst residents. The people that remained near their original homes, for instance, based their feelings of "at-homeness" on their nearness to their kin and friends, whereas those away from their traditional home area found interaction generated around services useful for feeling "at home". Buttiner consequently suggested the provision of services and facilities particularly in areas where residents live

far away from their original homes, as necessary contact points to aid social interaction.

Her results also showed that it was possible to deduce from the aggregation of the aspirations and perceptions of the ideal residential environment produced by the responses of any group or community, certain generalizations which could be employed in the planning or replanning of their residential area. She suggested three criteria to be met in producing such a plan in order that "an ecological harmony between people and milieu" should emerge:

- i. A particular area design has to acquire social meaning.
- ii. The physical components of the neighbourhood must be stamped with the character of its residents.
- iii. Its service facilities must be attuned to the needs of the residents.⁽¹⁰⁾
(All emphases are mine).

The way that the inhabitants of any residential setting perceive their setting and the degree of "at-homeness" they feel will have great influence on the way such residents treat and maintain their territory.

A territory has been conceived of in natural science as an area of space in the environment (land, air, water) that an animal defends as an exclusive preserve (Flachsbart, 1969). There is some evidence that man also exhibits territorial behaviour. Having stated that fact, Porteous (1977) was, however, cautious in suggesting that this behaviour in man is probably instinctive and highly modified by culture. Sebba and Churchman (1983) see human

territorial behaviour as the behaviour of individuals or groups, similar to that of lower animals, claiming control over a particular area. In their concept, specific features of the territorial space are identified. Behaviour relates to the space itself. The space is defined and has a boundary from which intruders are kept away. These ideas are similar to those expressed by Brower and his colleagues (Brower et al, 1983) in stating that the features of a territory include:

... physical elements that delineate and define private or semi-private spaces and that make it possible for insiders to effectively protect against unwanted intrusion by outsiders.(11)

Flachsbart's (1969) summary of the findings from earlier studies suggests, though not so explicitly stated, that the degree to which people involve themselves with other people may determine the relative strength and application of territorial behaviour. It is the strength of the desire for interaction, together with the degree to which people need independence, privacy and control, that is responsible for their attitude to their "territory".

Territoriality, however, need not be associated with aggressive defence. Its more positive interpretation relates to claims to spaces required for the performance of specific activities and to completion of behaviour that requires uninterrupted sequences. Similarly, territories aid the making and execution of plans. Territories also have some qualities of organising behaviour, e.g. the effect of sharing a locale with someone may be social

bonding. The behaviour setting "congruence" concept (Barker, 1968) assumes that certain types of behaviour are accommodated in certain behaviour-milieus and presupposes the existence of specified territorial units in which such behaviours must occur uninterruptedly. In Barker's theory this then provides order and basis for predicting human interaction and behaviour. The resulting organization and order brought into human behaviour because of the existence of territoriality, according to Edney (1976), "reduces the stresses of life and promotes efficiency in the individual's interaction with, and adaptation to, his environment".¹²

Similarly, the discussion earlier above, on the influence of stability of tenure, perception of habitat as a home and sense of identity with a place (Fried et al, 1961), presumes the existence of a territorial area to which the individual has both private and social rights, mutually recognised and respected without aggressive enforcement.

Territoriality has great implications for residents of new areas. Once they leave their previous residential settings, they may be said to be temporarily deterritorialized. There will be psychological adjustment in coping with the new setting, particularly in respect of personal and community territories.

The last aspect of the characteristics of a residential setting considered in this review is the way the residents visualize and conceptualize their area,

i.e. the "mental map" fixed in the mind of the individual resident of a place. Much of the theory concerning relationships of urban imagery and urban form has stemmed from the works of Lynch and his associates (Lynch et al, 1958; Lynch, 1960). Lynch designed conceptual frameworks to help residents convey their impression of the city or town as a whole. The ultimate aim was to employ this method in tackling physical environmental problems so as to produce alternative solutions to the look, form, of an environment in line with formulated goals. (Lynch, et al, 1958; Lynch, 1960). Lynch (1960) eventually developed his model for the visual representation of the mental map of a city as the "image of the city"¹³. The city in this concept is made up of five elements: paths, landmarks, edges, nodes and districts. Each of these elements produces or creates strong mental pictures carried by the city's inhabitants and they aid "legibility" of the city.

An aspect of the image concept which is of direct relevance to this thesis is the effect of the images of the original areas from where they have come, which are fixed in the minds of the residents of new residential areas. Is there a process of adjustment of image, or is the process of adaptation of the new environment conditioned by the previously held image of the former residential setting?

Harrison and Howard (1972) in examining the role of meaning in the urban image, have noted that very often, the decisions we make in reference to our environment, closely

relate to trying to remake our surroundings into a form more like that of our "ideal image". This ideal image however, varies amongst individuals, and groups of people (Goodchild, 1974; Karan et al, 1980). The study by Goodchild tried to explore the variations caused by class differences in the image held of specific environments. As the results show, there is no easily identified single element nor a set of determining factors, that may account for an "ideal image" of any setting. Some aspects of city life may evoke different responses according to class, but there are also certain elements of any setting which may conjure similar responses from all classes.

The results of these studies appear to confirm the idea that every person acquainted with an environment derives a simplified cognitive structure of that environment. The result is a build-up of a personal image which is a generalised mental picture of the external physical world (Lynch, 1960, 4).

The attachment one has to a place and the meaning it possesses are also crucial and influence the image that is held of the place by individuals or groups of people (Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Marris, 1962; Rivlin, 1982).

However, Lynch also observed that there are "public images". These are made up of the:

... common mental picture carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants; areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture, and a basic physiological nature.(14)

Thus we might presume the existence of group or public images amongst residents of a behaviour setting such as the residential setting, and that such a group image will have very strong influence on both the meaning attached to such a setting; the consequent use made of the physical environment, and the level of attachment by the inhabitants to the setting. Generally therefore, a knowledge and understanding of the image held by the inhabitants of any setting must be invaluable in structuring an appropriate living environment for them. This idea was underscored by Lynch (1960) in his concluding remarks in referring to the applicability of the imagery concept to planning. He suggested that the preparation of plans for redeveloping landscapes should follow three major steps, namely,

- i. analysis of the existing form and public image of the area.
- ii. identification of significant public images and the inter-relationships between various important image elements, and
- iii. development of a visual plan.(15)

Such emphasis on existing form and public image is noteworthy. By inference, it stresses the importance of the socio-cultural characteristics of the previous environments of the residents who would occupy any new environment being contemplated. What is being advocated in essence by Lynch is a transference of the "public image" of the old city or a previously known socio-culturally based environment, to the new area in such a way that "it might prescribe the location or preservation of landmarks, the

development of a visual hierarchy of paths, the establishment of thematic units for districts, or the creation or classification of nodal points".¹⁶ In his concluding chapter he clearly advised that,

... we need an environment which is not simply well organised, but poetic and symbolic as well. It should speak of the individuals and their complex society, of their aspirations and their historical tradition, of the natural setting, and of the complicated functions and movements of the city world.(17)

Could these requirements as outlined by Lynch, as well as other needs highlighted in this review of the literature, be the missing elements in the new residential settings of Bodiya and Oluyole estates; and could attempts to repair these omissions be responsible for the large-scale restructuring visibly apparent on both estates?

Notes and References

1. See Roger G. Barker, Ecological Psychology. Stanford University Press, California, 1968, p. 29.
2. Ibid., p. 20.
3. In the chapter on "Application of Ecological Psychology" for instance, Barker strongly emphasizes the power of what he calls the "control circuits". These control circuits ensure compliance to the standing pattern of behaviour envisaged for each milieu. "... feedback from behavior that deviates from the standing pattern of the setting produces countering or vetoing actions by the environment that are roughly in strength to the degree of the deviancy." See Roger G. Barker, Ibid., pp. 186 - 187.
4. Ibid., pp. 204 - 205.
5. See Amos Rapoport, Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design. New York: Pergamon Press, 1977, pp. 298 - 299.
6. Ibid., p. 298.
7. George C. Galster and Garry W. Messer, "Residential Satisfaction: Compositional and Contextual Correlates", Environment and Behavior vol. 13, No. 6 (Nov. 1981), p. 748.
8. Peter Marris, Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Re-housing in Lagos. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1962, p. 94.
9. Anne Buttimer, "Social Space and the Planning of Residential Areas", Environment and Behavior vol. 4, No. 3 (Sept. 1972), p. 311.
10. Ibid., p. 311.
11. Sidney Brower; Katherine Dockett and Ralph B. Taylor, "Residents' Perceptions of Territorial Features and Perceived Local Threat", Environment and Behavior vol. 15, No. 4 (July 1983), p. 420.
12. J. J. Edney, "Human Territories: Comment on Functional Properties", Environment and Behavior vol. 8, (1976), p. 42.

13. Kevin Lynch. The Image of the City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1960.
14. Ibid., p. 7
15. Ibid., p. 116.
16. Ibid., p. 116.
17. Ibid., p. 119.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE YORUBA OF NIGERIA

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CHAPTER 4

THE YORUBA OF NIGERIA

4.1 THE YORUBA IN TOWNS

The Yoruba-speaking people of Nigeria are amongst the most urban of all black African peoples (Bascom, 1955, 1962; Mabogunje, 1962; Ojo, 1966, 1969). The following are some of the characteristics of Yoruba urbanization:

- i. The Yoruba established large, dense and permanent settlements.
- ii. Using the methods by Davis and Casia (1946), William Bascom (1955) estimated the index of urbanization of Yoruba cities to be 37.4. This compared well with those for Canada, 34.3 and the United States of America with 42.3. The figures in table 4.1 show that the Yoruba cultural area was more urbanized than Canada and several Western European countries.
- iii. Urbanization can be considered a traditional Yoruba pattern rather than it resulting from any contact with Europeans.
- iv. Despite the historic experience of prolonged inter-ethnic wars, famine and outbreaks of diseases of epidemic proportions, urbanism in Yorubaland still remains as dynamic as when it started.
- v. Traditional urbanization in Yorubaland was based on farming rather than on industrialization.
- vi. In addition to agriculture, trading and craft specialisations were also major forces behind the Yoruba urban economy and these formed the foundation for the establishment of monetary transactions long before contact was made with the outside world.

The points outlined above depict the Yoruba as having developed a community organisation distinctive from those

Table 4.1 PERCENTAGE OF YORUBA IN CITIES BY SIZE CLASS

	Over 2,000	Over 5,000	Over 10,000	Over 25,000	Over 100,000	Index of Urbaniza- tion
Yoruba (1931).....	78.8	58.9	45.9	29.6	15.3	37.4
Great Britain (1931)		81.7	73.6	63.1	45.2	65.9
Germany (1939).....		57.4	51.7	43.5	31.8	46.1
United States (1940)		52.7	47.6	40.1	28.8	42.3
Canada (1941).....		43.0	38.5	32.7	23.0	34.3
France (1936).....		41.7	37.5	29.8	16.0	31.2
Sweden (1935).....		37.1	33.4	27.0	17.5	28.7
Greece (1937).....		33.1	29.8	23.1	14.8	25.2
Poland (1931).....		22.8	20.5	15.8	10.7	17.4

Source: Bascom, William, Urbanization Among the Yoruba
(1955) p. 447.

of the surrounding regions not only in the scale of its operation but also in its character. Their cities portray very vividly, the peculiar social and cultural characteristics which enabled them to achieve such highly developed urban community living.

4.2 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF YORUBA CITIES

At the heights of their power, the kingdoms of the Yoruba extended over what today is covered by six out of the present nineteen states of Nigeria as well as parts of Dahomey and Togo (see figures 2.1, 4.1 and 4.2). Initially,

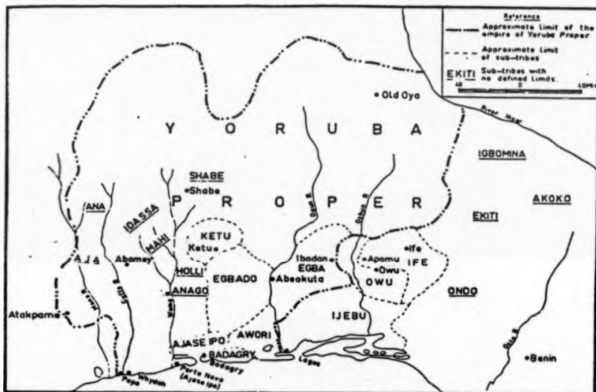


Fig. 4.1 The Area of Influence of the Yoruba during the 18th C.

Source: Ojo, G.J.A. Yoruba Culture. 1966, p. 17.

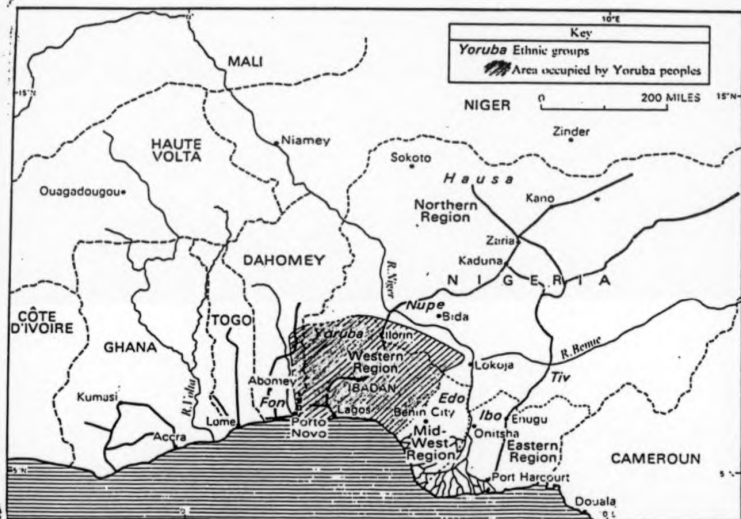


Fig. 4.2 Map of West Africa showing the Area Presently Occupied by the Yoruba Speaking Peoples.

Source: P. C. Lloyd et al (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. 1967, p. 2.

Note: There are also small groups of Yoruba speaking peoples in Togo.

the Yoruba area of influence was occupied by small kingdoms. These kingdoms possessed great warriors who loved to exhibit their prowess by making incursions into neighbouring territories. Thus they quickly extended their areas of influence over wider territories when a neighbouring kingdom capitulated. There had to be very efficient organisation in terms of administration and defence. Thus they built cities which were strongly fortified. It was into these cities that the inhabitants of surrounding lesser settlements fled for protection from outside attacks (Oyerinde, 1934; Akinola, 1963; Ojo, 1966; Awe, 1967).

One of the several means employed for protection was the erection of very formidable walls round the cities. Figure 4.3 shows the old city wall known as "Odi-Ibikunle" built in 1858 round the old city of Ibadan. Figure 4.4 shows the walls surrounding the city of Oyo. The size and number of the wall rings varied from town to town. In some instances the system consisted of rings of walls and ditches arranged in alternate positions to minimize the risk of attacks. The outer wall of Ibadan was said to be 24 miles (38.623 kilometres) while that of old Oyo was 25 miles in circumference (40.233 kilometres) (Ojo, 1966, 141).

At the entrance of each road leading into the city, there was erected, a gate (see figure 4.4). It was at these gates that tolls were also collected for the king (Babayemi, 1985). The number of gates varied from town to

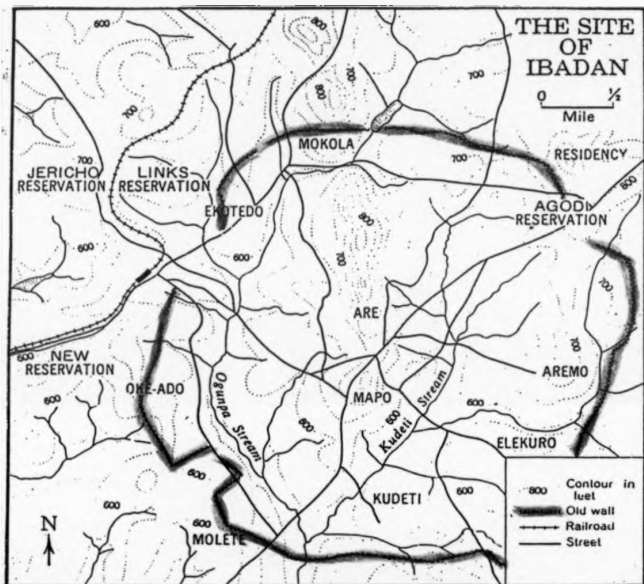


Fig. 4.3 The Site of Ibadan showing the Old City Wall

Source: Mabogunje, A. in The Geographical Review vol.52, 1962, p.58.

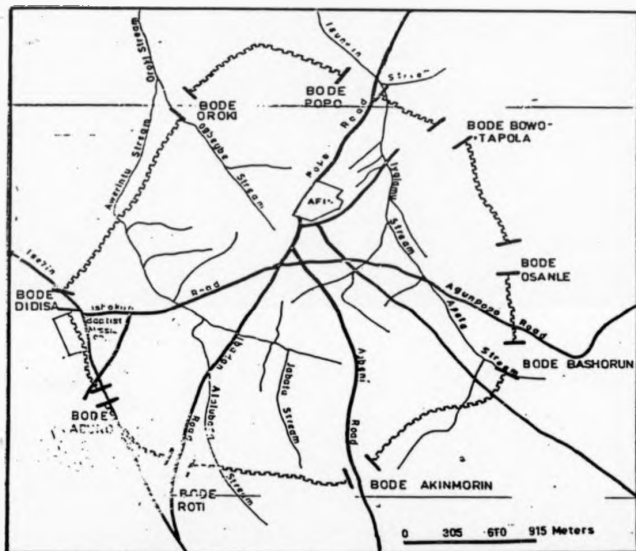


Fig. 4.4 Map of Oyo showing the Surrounding Walls and City Gates in the 19th Century

Source: Babayemi, S.O. "Preservation of Historic Buildings and Palaces of Cultural Interest in Oyo", 1985

town. Ibadan was reputed to have had 16 gates at one point in its development. The combination of the gates, the ditches and the walls thus provided effective security for each of the cities.

Another feature of the walled cities was the agricultural land protected by the surrounding city wall(s) which became invaluable during the periods when attacking forces besieged the cities. There were then sufficient lands for the city's inhabitants to raise food enough to feed themselves until the siege was over. Figure 4.5 shows such an arrangement for the city of Oyo. In other cities, part of the "background forest" was utilized for this purpose apart from its other cultural functions (Ojo, 1966). Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show the extent of the background forest existing within the palace walls of the town of Ado-Ekiti at two periods in the town's development.

The process of the establishment and growth of traditional Yoruba cities sketched above indicates that right from the beginning, a strong foundation was laid for their functioning to enable, as much as possible, normal life for the inhabitants, both in peace and in war.

4.3 THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF YORUBA CITIES

In most of the Yoruba cities, and similarly for all the earliest urban areas in Nigeria, contemporary land-use planning was introduced with the arrival of the British colonial administrators. Even then, the British adopted a policy of non-interference with the local administrations

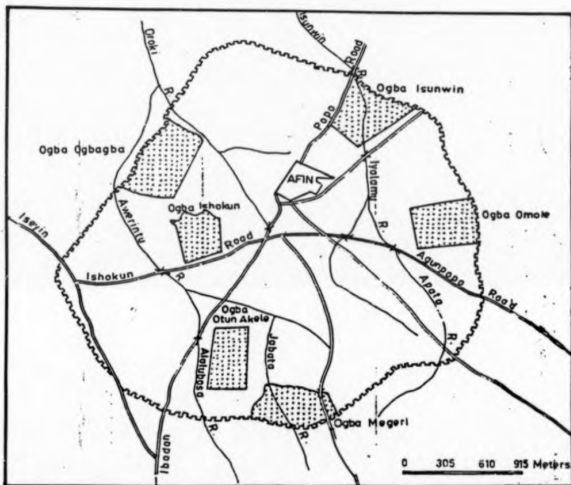


Fig. 4.5 Map of Oyo showing the Agricultural Lands (Royal Gardens) Enclosed by the City Walls

Source: Babayemi, S.O. op.cit.

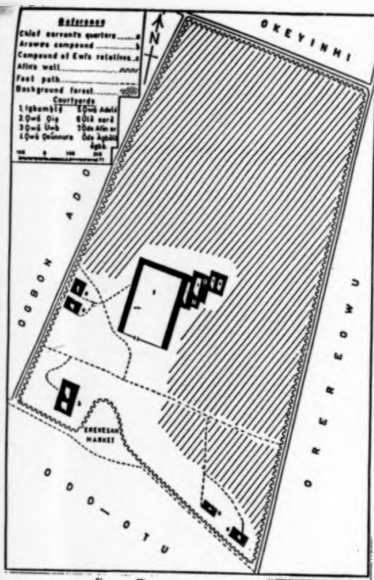


Fig. 4.6 The Lay out of the Afin Ewi in 1923

Source: Ojo, G.J.A. Yoruba Culture. 1966, p.139.

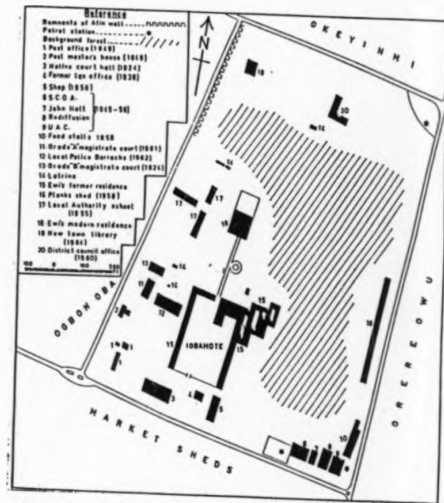


Fig. 4.7 The Lay out of the Afin Ewi in 1964

Source: Ojo, G.J.A. Yoruba Culture. 1966, p. 145

and their physical and social organisations. They elected instead to establish new areas which were then developed in line with their own imported principles and standards.

The first official policy on the physical planning of the urban areas in Nigeria was contained in the Township Ordinance No. 29 of 1917. It provided guidelines for the lay-out of the urban areas. These urban areas were then demarcated into "European" and "Non-European" Reservations. Adeniyi (1976) noted that,

... no attempt was made to make the provision of the ordinance applicable to the existing traditional cities, nor were there any attempts to re-plan them other than the application of certain sections of the Public Health Ordinance to enforce minimum sanitary regulations.(1)

Thus the "European Reservations" which were labelled Government Reservation Areas (GRA), created in different urban areas all over the country, and in which the European officials had to live, were laid-out and carefully built in line with the existing British town planning regulations and standards. The following quotation from Akinola (1963) sums up the outlook of the GRA:

... separated from the indigenous areas by intra-urban green areas and, with their scattered modern houses, large lawns in beautiful gardens and wide roads, resemble a typical British suburb.(2)

Similarly, commercial reservations were carved out at the outskirts of the existing traditional cities, and laid-out in large plots for the construction of large business houses, warehouses and consumer retail outlets. These commercial reservations stand out conspicuously in Ibadan

and other major cities of Nigeria.

All the residential and commercial areas established by the colonial officers, and all other subsequent land-use developments had to be accommodated outside the already heavily built and congested traditional core of the cities. The core of the cities have thus remained basically residential zones, mixed intermittently with a variety of non-residential uses; many of which were only lately superimposed on the already existing townscape.

There are consequently, two separate types of land-use structures in each of the early Yoruba cities as well as in other major towns in Nigeria. The details of this "convergence of two traditions" (Mabogunje, 1967) as it relates particularly to Ibadan are discussed in chapter six.

4.4 THE MORPHOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL CORE AREAS OF YORUBA CITIES

4.4.1 The Palace

The morphology of traditional core areas of Yoruba cities has a strong link with the social organisation of Yoruba societies. The Yoruba Oba (king) lives in a palace usually located in the centre of the town. The palace differs in splendour, size and status according to the relative rank of the Oba who lives in it. Indeed it has even been suggested that the status accorded a Yoruba town depended not merely on its land size or size of its population but on the traditional rank accorded its Oba or

Baale. Some of the criteria for ranking included the relative military strength commanded by the ruler of the town and the amount of "halo of tradition" with which the Oba and the town were surrounded which could place the town on a high political pedestal. Of particular importance was the Oba's ability to trace descent to Oduduwa, the legendary ancestor of the Yoruba. Such an Oba was automatically entitled to wearing the beaded crown and his town was regarded as "Ilu Alade" (crowned town or capital town) (Ojo, 1966). Such towns and their Obas were consequently ranked higher than other towns and Obas with no such traditional symbols attached to them. Ibadan, as discussed fully in chapter five, derived its present status from the very formidable military strength of its founders.

The Oba's palace is normally the largest single compound in the whole town and built to achieve an outstanding magnificence far greater than those of other inhabitants of the town (Ojo, 1966; 1967). Figures 4.8 and 4.9 are typical lay-outs of some of the notable palaces in Yorubaland.

A palace wall encloses all the different quarters which make up the palace complex, that is, the Oba's quarter with those of his functionaries. Enclosed within the palace walls was usually also the large forest associated with the palace complex. These days the forest has largely disappeared from the landscape of most of the palaces (see figure 4.7).

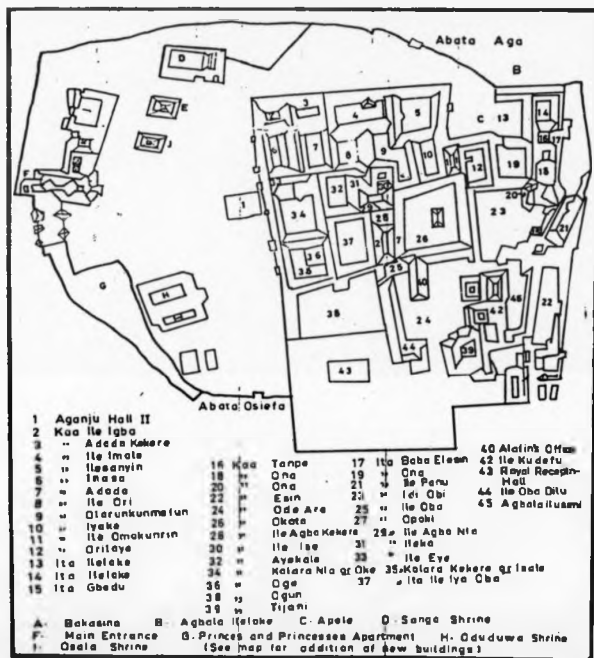


Fig. 4.8 Oyo Palace: Main Compounds

Source: Babayemi, S.O. op. cit.

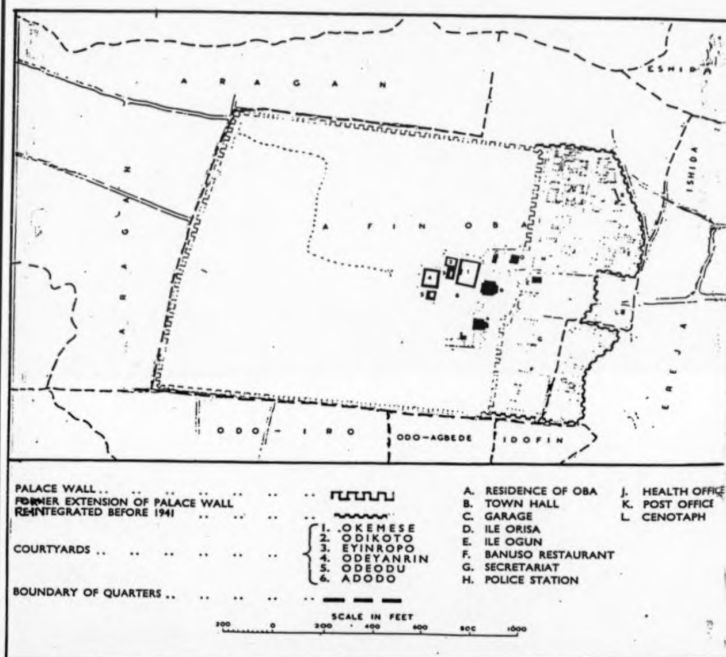


Fig.4.9 The Afin Ilesha in 1941

Source: Ojo, G.J.A., Nigeria Magazine. 1967, p. 198.

4.4.2 The Quarters and Wards

Next to the Oba's palace are the compounds of the senior chiefs — the quarter chiefs. The numbers of such chiefs differ from town to town depending on the varying traditions of each town (see figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12).

Surrounding the chiefs' compounds are the compounds of the other inhabitants of the city (figure 4.13).

The whole city is divided into quarters and wards. This division is based on sets of historical factors which include:

- i. patrilineage relationships, and
- ii. history of the settlement of the city

When the inhabitants of villages and smaller towns had to flee to larger, better defended, walled cities for refuge arrived, they found it convenient to be located together in the same area of the receiving city. In many cases the part of the city in which they settled bore the name of their root village or town. Thus within Ibadan for instance, the residents of Oje have traced their ancestors to Ijeru quarter of Ogbomoso (Lloyd, 1967). Similarly wards like Isoko, Ibapon, Oke-Ola, Osupa and Yaku within the present city of Ogbomoso were settled by refugees fleeing from the surrounding villages which bore those names (Oyerinde, 1934).

Thus, the inhabitants of a traditional Yoruba city, living in distinctive quarters and wards within the city, though now already welded together into one big "family" by their long historical association, could still trace their

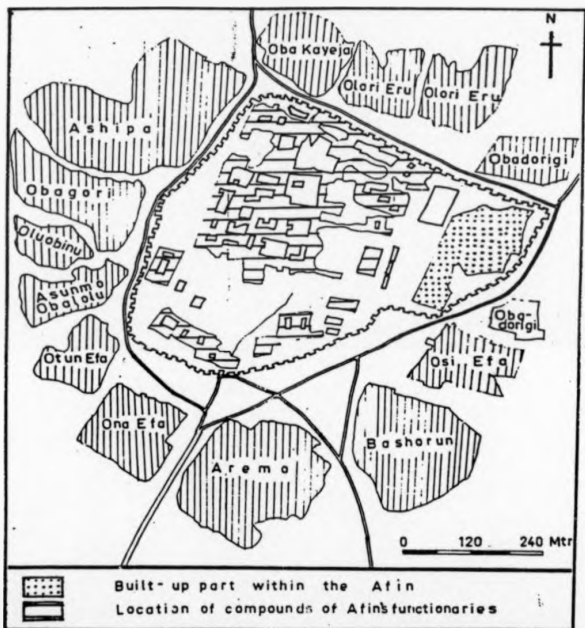


Fig. 4.10 Compounds of Alaafin's Functionaries around Afin Oyo

Source: Babayemi, S.O. op. cit.

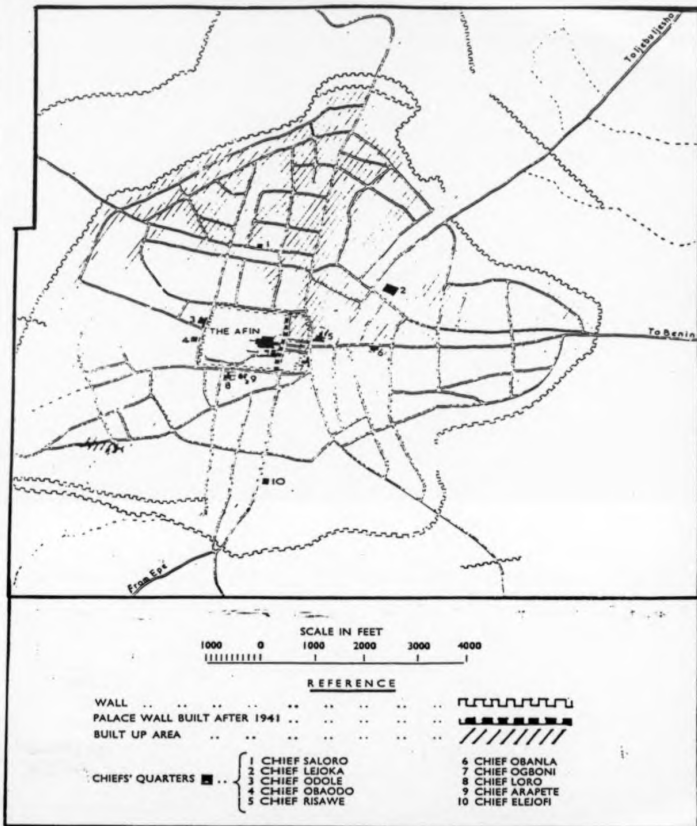


Fig. 4.11 Ilesha: Built-up Areas and Compounds of Important Chiefs in Relation to the Afirin

Source: Ojo, G.J.A. in Nigeria Magazine, 1967, p.199

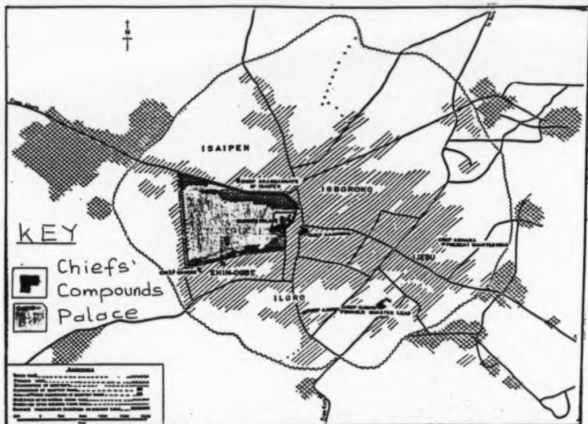
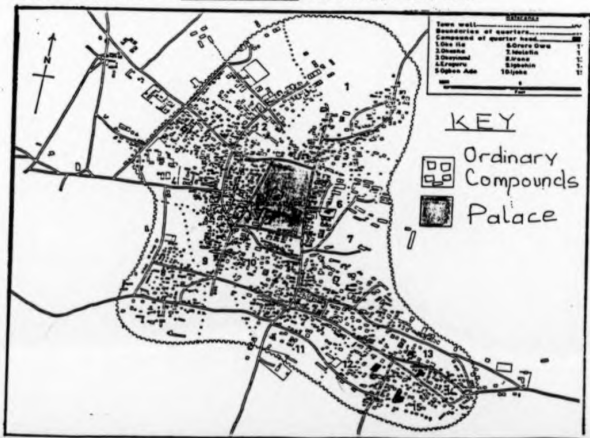


Fig. 4.12 (above) and Fig.4.13 (below) show the Arrangement of Quarter Chiefs' Compounds and the Compounds of Individuals respectively, in Relation to the Oba's Palace, Owo (above) and Ado-Ekiti (below).

Source: Ojo, G.J.A. Yoruba Culture. 1966. pp. 133, 135.



ancestral lineages to separate and different parts of the Yorubaland.

4.4.3 The Compounds

Each ward is composed of a number of large compounds — the smallest residential unit called Agbo-Ile. Each compound consists of a group of houses (karaa) and each house is made up of separate segments called odede. Each odede houses varying number of families which may range from a minimum of two to upwards of twenty depending on the size of the building unit (Okewole, 1977) (see also figures 6.2 and 6.3).

The compound is the main unit of aggregation of the Yoruba in towns. It is therefore crucial to the understanding of the organisation and adaptation of space usage in the traditional Yoruba residential settings. Details of the structure of the compound, the functions of its parts and its importance in the life of the Yoruba in towns are discussed in chapter six.

4.5 THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRADITIONAL YORUBA CITIES

The Yorubas established a sophisticated system of governance based on kinship, social stratification and political segmentation (Bascom, 1955). The Oba was at the head of the administration. Ojo (1967) gave a very vivid portrait of a Yoruba Oba in the following words:

... a Yoruba Oba was placed on the highest pedestal which any living person can attain. He was thought of as the link

between the living and the dead, and the vicar on earth of the ancestors. He was the most powerful, the most knowing and the wisest of all living human beings in his kingdom. In short, he was the epitome of man on earth.(3)

The Oba thus possessed unparalleled powers which he wielded as he chose. He had a council of very senior chiefs who held distinctive offices. Though there was seniority ranking amongst the chiefs, they were all collectively responsible for offering advice to the Oba. These senior chiefs who headed the different quarters into which the town was traditionally divided had their compounds not far from the Oba's palace (see figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12). They were responsible for the day-to-day happenings in their respective area. It was to each of these senior chiefs that the Oba referred cases and events relating to his section of the town for action.

The Oba therefore combined the duties of an administrator, adjudicator in cases of disputes, law-giver, commander-in-chief of the army in war, head-worshipper of the town's ancestral god or deity and was the focus of the annual or periodic festivals during which every town-person assembled on the extensive open ground usually located in front of the palace. He was, in effect, the focal point for the life of the inhabitants of the town. He was the emblem of cohesion, and it was from this that his legitimacy to rule derived and rested.

Even though the traditional system of governance as sketched above has been drastically altered by the current

political processes which have created new forms of administrative structure, the traditional rulers, nevertheless, still play very important roles in both the politics and administration of Yoruba cities. It is noteworthy that the current constitution accords high status to the traditional rulers thus allowing them to still perform prominent roles akin to their old traditional functions.

Notes and References

1. E. O. Adeniyi, "The Management of Urban and Regional Planning in Nigeria", The Quarterly Journal of Administration vol. 10, No. 4 (July 1976), p. 401.
2. R.A. Akinola. "Urban Geography of Ibadan", Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1963, p.72.
3. G.J.A. Ojo, "Royal Palaces as an Index of Yoruba Traditional Culture", Nigeria Magazine No. 94 (September 1967), p. 196.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE CITY OF IBADAN

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CHAPTER 5

THE CITY OF IBADAN

5.1 THE GEOGRAPHY OF IBADAN

5.1.1 Location

Ibadan is located in the south-west part of Nigeria. It is approximately 142 kilometres away from Lagos along the Lagos-Ibadan Express-way (see figure 2.1).

5.1.2 Area

Different interpretations have led to varying estimates of the areal extent of Ibadan. However, what is unanimously accepted is that the city has consistently expanded at very rapid rates, particularly in the last three decades.

Tracing this progressive increase in area coverage one source (Filani et al, 1977), showed that the area of the city was 2258 acres [913.8 hectares] in 1934; 5262 acres [2129.5 ha] in 1957 and 25217 acres [10205.2 ha] in 1966. This represented a compound growth rate of about 19 percent between 1957 and 1966. Assuming lower and upper annual growth rates of 10 percent and 20 percent respectively, these authors then estimated the area of Ibadan for 1977 to be between 72000 acres [29138.0 ha] and 187,000 acres [75,677.9 ha].

Akinola (1963) put the size of the city as 95 square

miles [that is 60,814.8 acres or 24,611.4 hectares] of about 5.5 miles [8.8 kilometres] radius. But by 1982, a published study on Ibadan indicated that the Municipal area of the city had extended to embrace a twelve-mile [19.2 km] radius round the Mapo Hill as the centre (Ayeni, 1982) (see figure 5.1). Plates 1 and 2 show the built-up areas of Ibadan from two locations on Oke-Sapati and Oke-Are — two ridges near the Mapo ridge at the traditional centre of the city.

Ibadan has continued to expand. The city is sprawling eastwards from the Lagos-Ibadan Express-way towards Ife and Akarran. Plates 3 and 4 show this eastward extension. Similarly, the city is extending northwards along the Iwo and Oyo roads; westwards beyond the Idi-Ishin and Eleyele; south-westwards along Abeokuta road and south along the Lagos and Ijebu-Ode roads. The effect of these rapid multi-directional growth pressures on land-use and physical planning is overwhelming, with the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IBMPA) seemingly unable to cope with the explosion, particularly of residential developments.

5.1.3 Population

The population of Ibadan has increased very rapidly since its initial establishment as a war camp in the 18th century. Table 5.1 gives a picture of this growth. By the last officially accepted and frequently quoted National Census figures of 1963, Ibadan had a population of 625,000. The projected figure for 1981 gave the city a population of

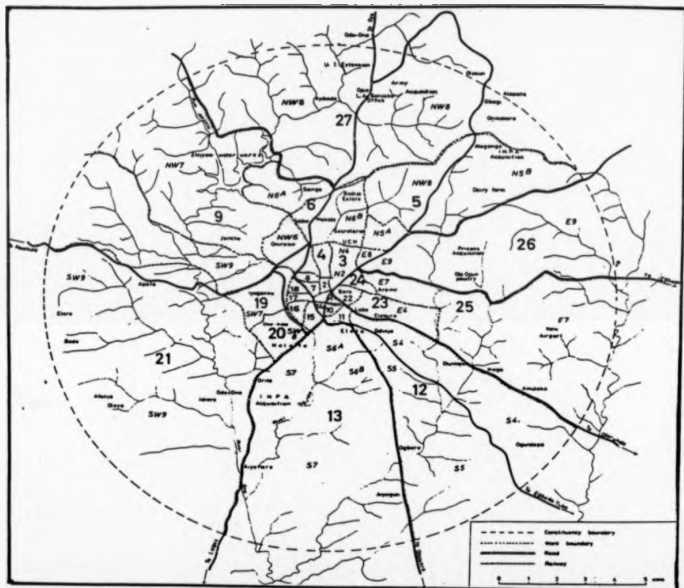


Fig. 5.1 Map showing the Administrative Extent of the Ibadan Metropolis, 1982

Source: M.O. Filani, (ed), The Ibadan Region. 1982, p. 86.



Plate 1. A view of Ibadan's core from Oke-Sapati.

Note

New road winds its way through a dense mass of buildings — an indication of super-imposition of vehicular routes on a hitherto footpaths culture.



Plate 2. A View of Ibadan's core from Oke-Are.



Plate 3. Newer residential developments along the Ibadan-Lagos Express Way.



Plate 4. Newer residential developments along the Ibadan-Lagos Express Way.

Table 5.1 THE POPULATION OF IBADAN 1851 - 1986

Year	Population	Rate of Growth
1851	100,000	-
1890	120,000	-
1911	175,000	-
1921	238,075	3.1
1931	387,133	5.0
1952	459,196	0.8
1963	625,000	2.8
1973	1,119,280	6.0
1981	1,783,962	6.0
1986	2,386,941	6.0

- Sources: i. The figures for 1851 to 1981 were extracted from Ayeni, Ibadan Region, 1982, p. 85. He explained that the 1851 and 1890 figures were estimates by Missionaries while figures for 1911 to 1963 were from census publications; and that the figures for 1973 and 1981 are based on projections from 1963 figures at 6.0 percent per annum.
- ii. The figures for 1986 are the Author's projection from the 1981 projected figures by Ayeni, at the same rate of 6.0 percent per annum.
- iii. The projections become necessary because there are no published census figures post 1963.

just under 2 million. If a consistent rate of growth of 6.0 percent is assumed between 1981 and 1986, the city's projected population for 1986 would be 2,386,941, that is, approximately 2.4 million.

5.2 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN

5.2.1 Establishment and Growth

Ibadan is believed to have been founded by a very powerful warrior, Lagelu. His first settlement was located to the northern end of the present city, at the forest-grassland boundary. In Yoruba, this type of area is known as Eba-Odan (that is, near the grassland). It was from that description of the initial settlement that the present name, Ibadan, derived.

That first attempt was broken up by the combined forces of a number of powerful Yoruba sub-kingdoms whose warriors resented the growing strength of the new settlement. But Lagelu himself proved unconquerable and he later moved to the site where the Mapo Hall and the Oja-Iba (Oba's market) now stand (Akinola, 1963; Awe, 1967) (see plates 11 and 12).

The major factors which were responsible for the rapid growth of the city into what it is today could be summarized as follows:¹

1. Ibadan in its early stages was reputed to be "an impregnable defence post which rapidly grew into a powerful military state" (Akinola, 1963, 49) (see figure 5.2)

- ii. Because of its strong military position it received a large scale influx of refugees forced out from different parts of Yorubaland by the raging inter-ethnic and the Fulani wars of the 18th Century.
- iii. Increase in cocoa cultivation from about 1890 made Ibadan the centre of a rich agricultural district and it thus became a service and trading centre.
- iv. Extension of the railway from Lagos to Ibadan in 1901 made the city a collecting centre for agricultural produce.
- v. The city became an educational centre with the establishment of Nigeria's premier university in Ibadan in 1948.
- vi. Ibadan as capital of the Western Region of Nigeria in 1946, grew as an administrative centre for the whole of Yorubaland.
- vii. The consequent expansion of employment opportunities at the capital attracted a large population from the hinterland, particularly of school leavers.

5.2.2 Physical Structure

The physical structure of the city of Ibadan has evolved under the influence of similar historical and administrative processes to those that were described in chapter four as obtaining in most large traditional urban centres in Nigeria. Hence, there is in Ibadan a clearly defined traditional core area with its own distinctive history, process of establishment and growth, and morphological characteristics different from the relatively newer parts of the city which surround the core.

The newer parts of Ibadan contain clearly defined land-uses located as far as possible according to contemporary imported town planning principles of land-use

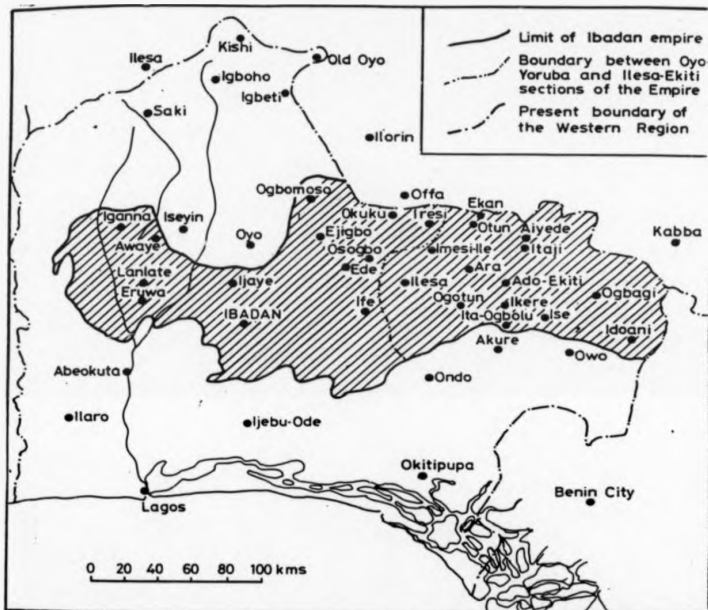


Fig. 5.2

The Ibadan Empire, 1861 - 93

Source: M.O. Filani, (ed), The Ibadan Region. 1982, p. 10

soning (see figure 5.3).

The situation is not the same for the traditional core of Ibadan. The core was established purely on the Yoruba philosophy of community living. The residential area was regarded as a composite human environment which satisfied practically all the day-to-day needs and accommodated most human activities necessary for satisfactory living, i.e. sleeping; resting; cooking; playing; working — crafts, trading; and inter-connecting mobility.

The core has however, not remained wholly traditional in structure. There has been aggressive infiltration of modern land-use types into this old structure. Sometimes these infiltrations have taken the form of small units but in other cases there have been introductions of quite massive scale as a result of new political and, or, administrative policies. Such uses include schools, health centres, and new roads. These uses were often introduced in the face of stiff opposition from the inhabitants who feared the inevitability of their being deprived of part or all of their living quarters (see plates 1, 5, and 6). But despite all the pressures for physical change resulting from the activities of modern economic, social and political institutions, the traditional city core of Ibadan has, to a great extent maintained its basic traditional morphological structure,

... because in Ibadan, the new has failed to swallow up the old, both continue to exist, strangely juxtaposed, maintaining rather complex relations with each other, and functioning almost despite each other.(2)



Plate 5. Remnants of a traditional compound: Beere-Oranyan road.
The inevitable result is a row of ugly-looking truncated edges of compound remains as in both plates 5 and 6. Verandahs and entrance doors are dangerously exposed to the motor road.



Plate 6. Side-street road from the Beere-Oranyan road cuts through existing structures.

A recent attempt to map the land-use for the city of Ibadan is depicted in both table 5.2 and figure 5.3. Residential use accounts for about 61.4 percent of the total metropolitan land use. This includes the core use, the low and medium density Government Reservation Areas as well as the areas of acquisition for barracks and the housing developments on Ecdija and Oluyole estates.

Table 5.2 LAND-USE IN IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

Type of Use	Area in Hectares	Percent Total
High Density Residential	12,968.75	28.62
Medium Density "	2,812.50	6.21
Low Density	6,406.25	14.14
Govt. Acquisition for Housing	3,750.00	8.28
Govt. Acquisition for Barracks	1,875.00	4.14
Industrial	7,500.00	16.55
Commercial	150.25	0.34
Institutional	1,562.50	3.45
Airport	1,562.50	3.45
Open Space	625.00	1.38
Rural Use	4,843.75	10.69
Agricultural Use	1,250.00	2.76
Total	45,312.50	100.00

Source: M. O. Filani, ed. Ibadan Region
Published by the Department of Geography,
University of Ibadan for the 25th Annual
Conference and Silver Jubilee Celebra-
tions of the Nigerian Geographical
Association, (1982), p. 92.

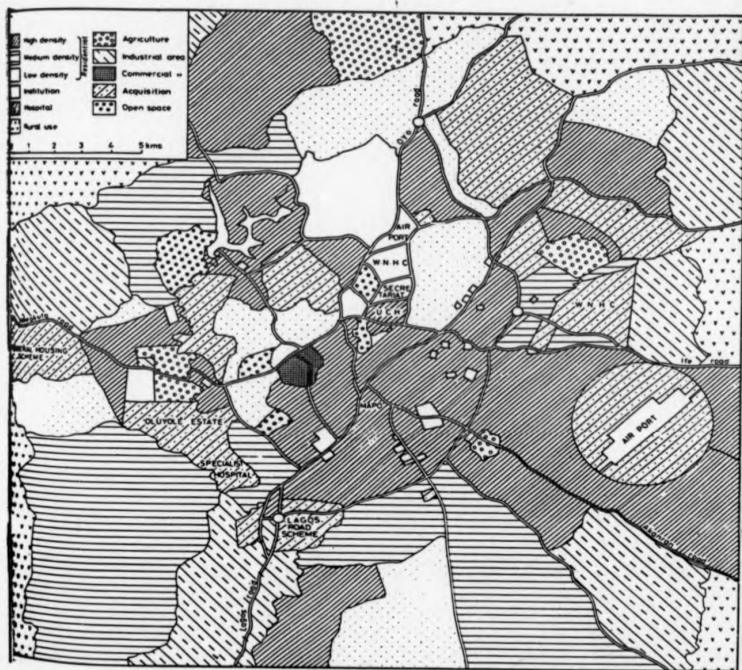


Fig. 5.3 The Urban Land Use of the Metropolitan Area of Ibadan

Source: M.O. Pilani, (ed), Ibadan Region, 1982, p. 92.

5.2.3 Traditional Core Area

The traditional core area is the largest single residential unit in Ibadan. For the purpose of this thesis, this area comprises all areas enclosed by the old Ibikunle wall (see figure 5.4) minus the "newer western suburb" and the "post-1952 suburb" (Mabogunje, 1962). It also excludes Bodija Estate and the various Reservations shown in figure 5.4. It is an area settled largely by the initial founders and refugees and includes their subsequent suburbs round the oldest part of the city. The units include:

- i. The oldest part of the city which extends for about half a mile round the Mapo Hill as centre.
- ii. The oldest suburb which surround the old core; including such wards as Agbeni, Ayeye, Alekuso, Popo Yemoja, Oje, Gbenla, Oke-Foko, Oke-Ofa, Adeoyo and others within those loci.
- iii. The newer eastern suburbs like Agugu, Aperin, Odinjo and Eleta.

5.2.4 Bodija and Oluyole Estates

Bodija and Oluyole estates are two of the newer residential zones that have developed outside the traditional core area. But even Bodija (located in the north) and Oluyole (to the south-west of the old city core) which were regarded as "new" twenty and ten years ago respectively, have today both been themselves enveloped by other newer residential suburbs of the rapidly expanding city (see figure 5.5).

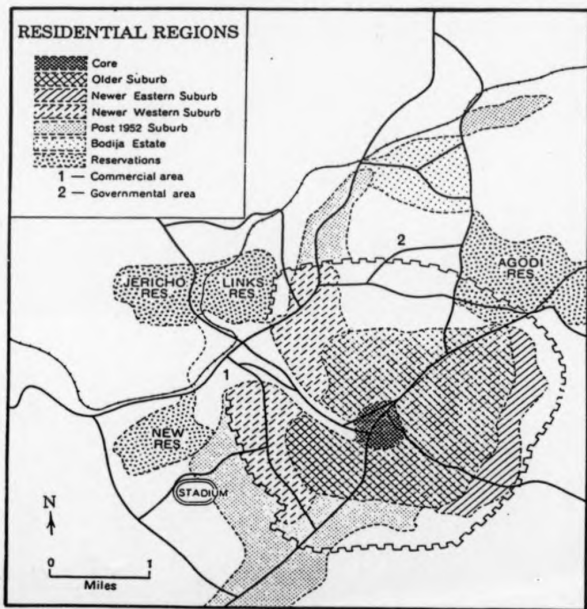


Fig. 5.4 Residential Regions of Ibadan showing the Location of the Old City Walls

Source: Mabogunje, Akin. in *The Geographical Review*, vol. 52, 1962, p. 64.

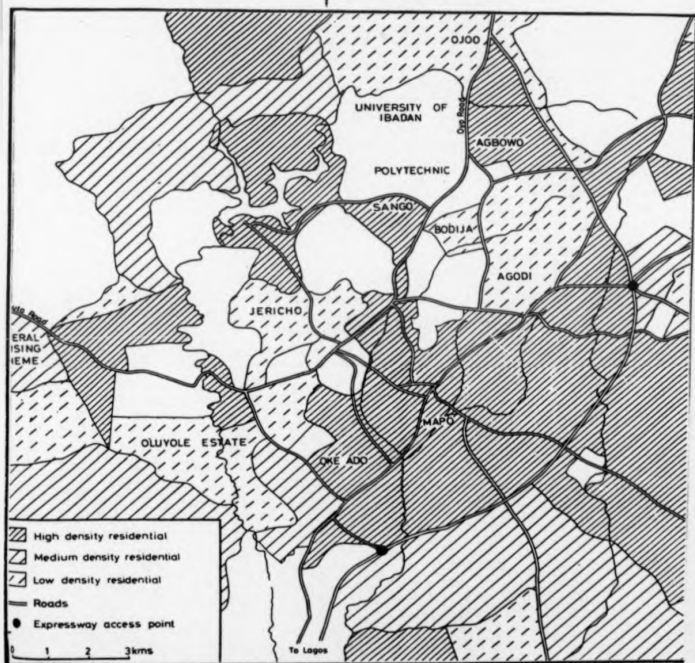


Fig. 5.5 Residential Zones in Ibadan

Source: M. O. Filani, (ed), Ibadan Region. 1982, p. 230.

5.2.5 The Newer Suburbs

The later residential districts in Ibadan have also developed physical structures which clearly indicate adaptation of the core's characteristics. Of particular interest are such areas of the city like Agugu, Academy, and the zones east of the Ibadan-Lagos Express Way in the east; Eleyele and Ijokodo in the north-west; Ojoc, Monentan-Iwo road, and Olorunda road in the north. The following traditional core characteristics have been observed in these newer residential zones:

i. The tendency towards the construction of multi-family buildings

Figures 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8 show typical plans of buildings in the newer zones. The building consists of two rows of rooms on each floor. Each room opens on to a corridor. A family occupies a minimum of one room or a maximum of one floor in a two-storey building; or the whole building in the case of a bungalow. Thus within a six-room floor there could be a minimum of one house-hold (or family) or a maximum of six house-holds inhabiting the floor. Thus there might be a minimum of two or a maximum of twelve house-holds occupying a two-storey building. Attached to the rear of the building are the conveniences as shown in the plans. This type of building design is popularly referred to in Nigeria as the "Face-Me-I-Face-You". The corridor onto which each room opens serves as a common contact point within

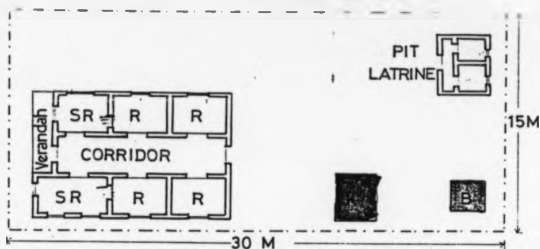


Fig. 5.6 Plan of a Face-Me-I-Face-You Building

KEY

- SR Sitting Room
- R Bedroom
- Kitchen
- SH Shop
- ST Store
- Bathroom
- C Water Closet
- Cooking Place
- Plot Boundary

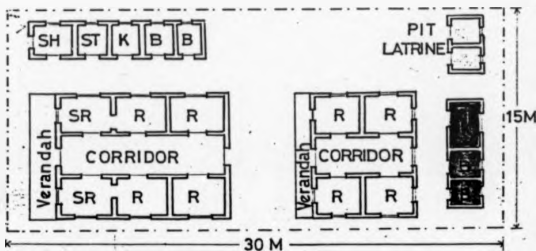


Fig. 5.7 Plan showing Site Use Intensification

Scale: 1cm rep 2M

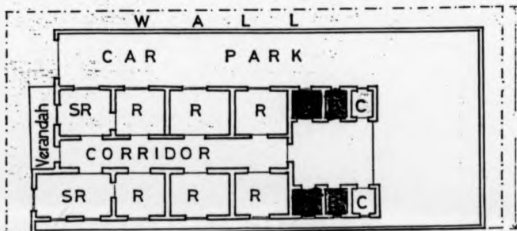


Fig. 5.8 Plan of a Face-Me-I-Face-You Building

Source of Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8:

Okeola, I.A., M.Sc. Thesis, A.B. U. Zaria, Nigeria, 1977, p. 52

the building. It is noteworthy that this is similar in its form to the Odede in the traditional core (see section 6.1.2.1; figure 6.4; and Okevole, 1977, 56). Plates 7 and 8 show the typical "Face-Me-I-Face-You" buildings in Agugu and Academy along the Ibadan-Lagos Express-Way.

ii. Buildings aggregating closely together, maintaining high building densities

In contrast to the planned residential estates of Bodija and Oluyole, buildings aggregate very closely together in these newer districts as is indicated by the pattern in plates 3,4,7 and 8. In areas where the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IEMPA) has managed to institute controls in line with its development regulations, the density is lower with wider air-spaces (set-backs) between buildings.

iii. Lack of rigid territorial demarcations

Any desire to erect strong territorial demarcations in these newer areas is probably borne, more out of safety needs and affordability than from the defence of personal space. A substantial number of the buildings in these areas have no physical territorial boundary demarcations, and where any are erected as in the pictures in plates 7 and 8, they are more ornamental than otherwise.

The analysis of the situation in the newer areas of



Plate 7. Typical Face-Me-I-Face-You buildings in a newer area of Ibadan.

Note for both plates 7 and 8:

- i. Closeness of buildings.
- ii. Few territorial boundary demarcations.
- iii. Verandah located at entrance to building similar to those at entrances to traditional compounds in the core.



Plate 8. Typical Face-Me-I-Face-You buildings in a newer area of Ibadan.

Ibadan in relation to the adaptation of residential environments clearly shows the strong influence of socio-cultural parameters in the life of the inhabitants. It also confirms the findings of Aminu (1977), in his study of the social, cultural and economic bases for housing preference in Ibadan. In the research, Aminu aimed among others, to determine the residents' perception of their environments as well as their evaluations and preferences about their future residential environment. He divided the city into three main areas:- the traditional, transitional and the new. Aminu reported that in response to a question which requested respondents to choose the type of family structure they would prefer for their future type of residence, 80% of the respondents in the traditional area, 79% of the respondents in the transitional area and 49% of the respondents in the new area did not select single family structures as their future type of residence. They would prefer such multi-family units/groupings as apartment buildings, row-houses and duplex buildings. He then concluded that "this indicates that apartment buildings, cluster developments, row-houses and PUDs (Planned Unit Development) seem to be appropriate residential alternatives to many people". There is no doubt that this desire for multi-family instead of single-family accommodation, has an intrinsic socio-cultural value among the Yoruba. The research findings are thus significant with respect to the main issues of this thesis which are explored in greater details in the following chapters.

Notes and References

1. See for instance the accounts by R. A. Akinola, "Ibadan: A Study in Urban Geography" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London. London School of Economics and Political Science, 1963), p.49; Akin Mabogunje, "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan" in The Geographical Review vol 52 (1962), pp.56-77 and Bolanle Aye, "Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings" in The City of Ibadan edited by F. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Aye. (Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1967).
2. A. L. Mabogunje, "The Morphology of Ibadan" in F. C. Lloyd, et al. (eds), The City of Ibadan *ibid.* p. 44.
3. The area he termed "traditional" relates generally to the area delimited as traditional core area in this thesis. The area he called "transitional" are the areas referred to as the newer suburbs in this thesis while his "new" area category corresponds generally to such planned residential estates like Bodija and Oluyole as well as other newly developing residential zones in the city.

CHAPTER SIX IBADAN CORE RESIDENTIAL SETTING

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CHAPTER 6

IBADAN CORE RESIDENTIAL SETTING

6.1 PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

In this section, attempt is made to focus on the beliefs and values of the Yoruba which have influenced their utilization of the physical environment. The examination is focussed particularly on their residential design philosophies with the aim of showing that the traditional core areas of Yoruba cities did not just emerge from "spontaneous growth" (Akinola, 1963) and do not consist of an "extensive confused mass of housing" (Mabogunje, 1967) and that it is indeed only to a "casual observer" that they present an "imagery of physical planlessness" (Onibokun, 1973).

Rapoport (1977) is of the opinion that there are different "rules" which are employed by people in different areas to organize their space; and that such rules are linked to culture. He goes on further to explain that:

... what distinguishes one environment from another is the nature of the rules embodied or encoded in it. "Unplanned", organic or disorderly environments can be understood as resulting from a set of rules different to those of the planning/design sub-culture, as can the views of French observers that the American city lacks structure, or American views that Islamic cities have no form.(1)

Mabogunje (1967) described the resultant morphology of

any city as "the physical expression of its society's objectives".² This seems to tally with Rapoport's "rules" concept. In addition to "society's objectives" however, also important according to Mabogunje, is "the use of the material equipment and capabilities that society has at its disposal to achieve these ends".³ This addition from Mabogunje emphasizes the level of technology as aid to adaptation of the physical environment. This latter factor may principally relate to enhancement of quality, rather than to the pattern of the physical environment. As this thesis is concerned basically with the patterns rather than the design quality of the Yoruba core area, greatest emphasis is placed in this section on the "rules" or "society's objectives" which help in creating those patterns, particularly for the city of Ibadan.

6.1.1 Morphology

The traditional city core complex in Ibadan is located on the Mapo Hill.⁴ The core complex comprises the Central Palace of the Olubadan (Oba of Ibadan), the Oja Iba (Oba's Market) (plate 12), the Mapo Hall (for local administration) (plate 11) and the Central Mosque and the St. Peter's Church (representing religious elements) (see figure 6.1).

Before the Central Palace was built in 1983, each Olubadan reigned from his family's traditional compound. When a man who had risen to the office became the Olubadan, his family compound was renovated to the standard befitting

the high status of the Olubadan (see plates 9 and 10). The renovated compound thus stood out conspicuously in quality and elegance from other surrounding traditional compounds. The adapted palaces differed in quality and style of their architecture depending on the prevailing standards. However, each of the palaces became the focal point for the city's indigenous population especially during any important cultural festivals.

The Oba's market is held on a wide open ground stretching south-westwards from the Mapo Hill slopes (figure 6.1). It is significant to the social and cultural life of the Ibadan people (see sections 6.1.2.3 and 6.3.1).

The Mapo Hall was built on the crest of the Mapo Hill and is the centre for the local government administration for the city (The Ibadan Municipal Government). Usually attached to traditional core complex in Yorubaland is the city's chief shrine(s) where sacrifices are offered to the gods. Apart from such shrines around the Mapo Hill, modern religions (notably Islam and Christianity) also have conspicuous representations (of Mosque and Church) within the core complex.

Surrounding the city core complex are the compounds of important chiefs related to the earliest settlers of the city who are surrounded by the compounds of their followers. This is the oldest core of residential buildings in Ibadan which is said to extend for about half a mile on all sides of the Mapo Hall (Mabogunje, 1963). Successive rings of compounds grew up round this oldest core as more refugees



Plate 9. The Palace of the Late Olubadan, Oba Akinbiyi, at Elekuro, Ibadan, surrounded by other traditional compounds.



Plate 10. The Palace of the present Olubadan, Oba Asanike, at Idi-Aro, Ibadan, surrounded by other traditional compounds.

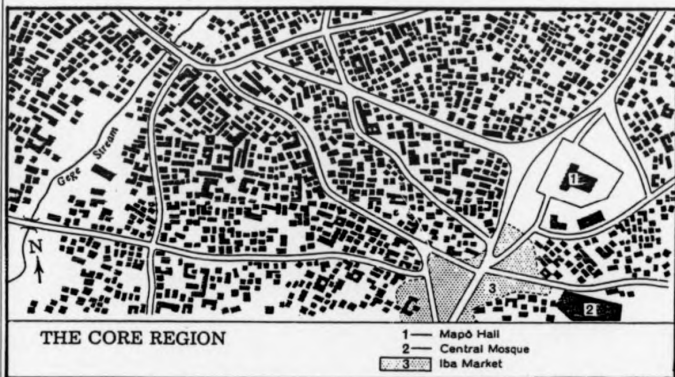


Fig. 6.1 Map of the Core Centre of Ibadan

Source: Mabogunje, Akin. in The Geographical Review. 1962, p. 66.



Plate 11. Mapo Hall situated on the Mapo Hill, Ibadan.



Plate 12. Part of Oja-Iba from the Mapo Hall.
The centre of the market is about forty metres west of this picture. Further away (centre of picture) the Oja-Iba merges into the Orita-Merin - Agbeni market complex.

flocked into the city (figure 5.4; plates 1,2,5 and 12). There was, consequently, a "tendency towards compactness rather than dispersal" (Ojo, 1966, 132) because of the conditions which brought these early settlers into the city.

The "plan" of the traditional core of Ibadan described above was therefore neither accidental nor did it result from "physical planlessness". The houses had to be very close to others for purposes of defence and social interaction with friends and family members. The closeness of the arrangement of the units of buildings consequently did not leave much space for movements. But in those days, the level of development did not require more than paths for the pedestrians and the beasts of burden. These were adequately satisfied by the "labyrinth of footpaths" which criss-crossed the residential areas (plates 13 and 14).

The "rules" embodied in the Ibadan core area morphology, and indeed of all traditional core areas of Yoruba cities, were deliberate and purposeful, intricately linked to the people's web of social and cultural systems. Commenting on this pattern, Ojo noted:

... On the face of it, the disposition shows a haphazard, disorderly assembly of compounds; but in fact a subtle order binds them together. This order derives from the socio-political structure of the Yoruba, an order which imposes on Yoruba towns a more or less identical morphology whatever the class of the town. (5)

The basic "socio-political structure" (apart from allowance made to comply with the challenges of the



Plate 13. Typical foot path through traditional core.

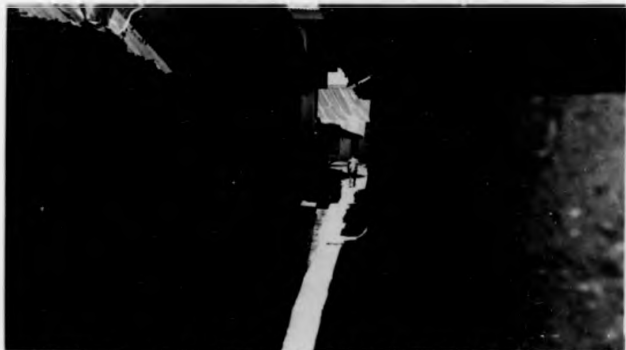


Plate 14. Narrow alley separating one traditional compound from another.

physical environment, especially topography as in Ibadan) demands hierarchical levels of focal points, namely, from the compounds of the ordinary inhabitants, at the lowest level, to the ward/quarter chiefs' compounds and finally to the Afin (palace):

... In this arrangement, the inmates of a compound are responsible to the heads of the simple families who in turn make the head of the extended family or patrilineage... their focus. All of them gravitate to the chief of the quarter. As a result the compounds... are built as far as compatible with the terrain, around the compounds of chiefs to whom they are related or owe allegiance,.... All the quarters, with the chiefs' compounds, are designed to look towards the Afin, where the Oba resides, since all of them have the Afin as the convergence point of interests.(6)

6.1.2 Site Occupancy

6.1.2.1 The Compound

The compound is the smallest unit of aggregation of traditional Yoruba people. All members of the extended family live together in one compound. The extended family is made up of "the descendants in the male line of a named ancestor". The compound is thus the unit of common residence of patrilineal descent groups.

Because the compound literally accommodates scores of people within it, it usually is massive in structure (see plates 15 and 16). Frobenius, one of the nineteenth century visitors to Africa was quoted as saying,

... it may. I think, he said that no province in the western half of Africa can show finer lines in its general architecture than Yoruba. Everyone of these towns resolves itself into a definite number of astonishingly large compounds, all of which are severally built on a clearly organized system and in themselves give expression to an extended, powerful, systematic... social ideal. (8)

The design and arrangement of each of the sections of the compound and the use that is made of each, speak loudly of the "social ideal" of the Yoruba which this compound system manifests.

The compound is built in the form of a rectangle with the outer walls forming its boundaries (see plates 15 and 16). Thus there is no other boundary fence on the site of the ordinary people's compounds. Boundary wall fences are however constructed round the palace of the Oba (plates 9 and 10) and the compounds of the important quarter or ward chiefs. Because the external walls of the ordinary compounds make up a complete enclosure, they are an effective defence mechanism against intruders and thus provide adequate security for the inmates.

Often, there was a single entrance into the compound, fitted with a very strong, carved, wooden door. However, because of the recent "growth by fission" processes (Nabogunje, 1962) in the city, many of the compounds are now devoid of the characteristic entrance doors. The once large, continuously extending rectangular enclosures have been restructured to produce variously shaped buildings and



Plate 15. Typical traditional compound still intact. Oba Asanika road, Idi-Aro area, Ibadan.

Note the length of the side of the compound parallel to the road (total length not covered by the exposure). Approximate length is 240 feet.

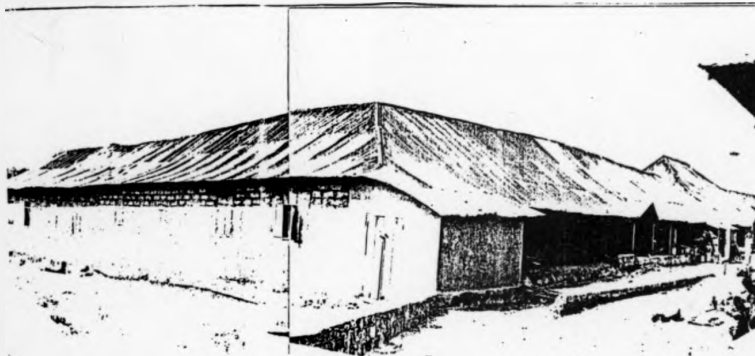


Plate 16. Typical Traditional Compound Still Intact

The compound in the picture above was recorded in Ogbomoso, Oyo State of Nigeria - about 108 km north of Ibadan, along Akunko-Aiyegun road.

Note: i. The extensiveness of the compound, in length and breadth.

ii. Very small windows pierced into walls.

iii. Main entrance to the compound where a gable appears on the roof.

wider entrances have been created between the new formations (plate 17).

The ultimate end of the process as illustrated in figure 6.2 is a break-up into smaller self-contained residential units filling up the previous site of a hitherto single residential unit. The centrally enclosed, large open courtyard may have also been built upon (figure 6.3). The only courtyards remaining are the smaller ones enclosed by the smaller sections of the compound as shown in figure 6.4.

The courtyard varies in size from the large types found in the compounds of the Obas and the chiefs, to the smaller ones found in the compounds of the ordinary towns-⁹people.

The courtyard is utilized for a variety of functions. Plates 18 to 21 represent different views and some of the functions of the courtyard. In the earliest periods of their history the Yoruba normally buried their dead older members within the compound (plate 18). This was to ensure the continuance of abode of the spirit of the departed member of the family within the compound. It was believed that the dead person's spirit, particularly of parents, would continue to protect the family members from evils such as epidemics, malevolent acts of the gods, and sorcerers. This practice still exists today in many parts of the core and indeed in the newer residential suburbs of the city.

The courtyard provides open space for drying laundered



Plate 17. An old traditional compound undergoing the "process of growth by fission".

Notes

- i. Shapes of the new parts— "L", "I".
- ii. Entrance created into new formation and which now separates the two units in the picture.
- iii. Wall material of the old compound has still not changed ; it is still mud.
- iv. Roof has changed from thatch to corrugated iron sheets.
- v. Part of the extension of the compound to the right side of the picture has been truncated by the super-imposed Beere-Oranyan road, leaving unusable and exposed remains of a once well protected room as another unprotected entrance into the compound.
- vi. A new, modern, two-storey building (centre) has sprung up as one of the new units in the process of "growth by fission".

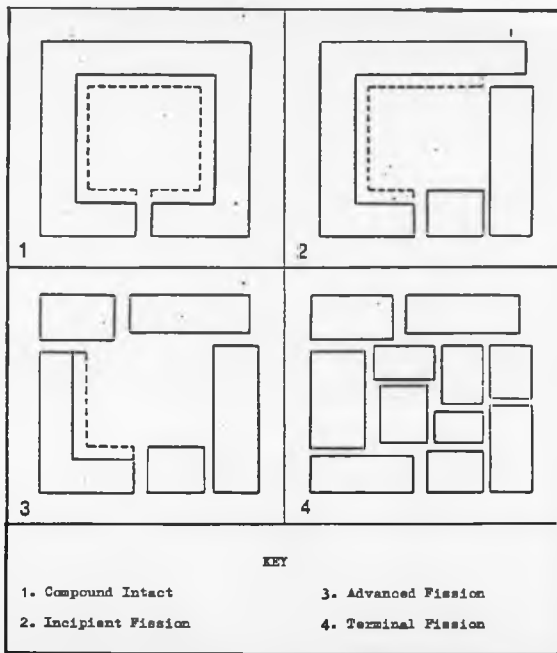


Fig. 6.2 Diagram to Illustrate the Fission Disintegration of Compounds

Source: Mabogunje, Akin. in The Geographical Review. vol. 52, 1962, p. 60.

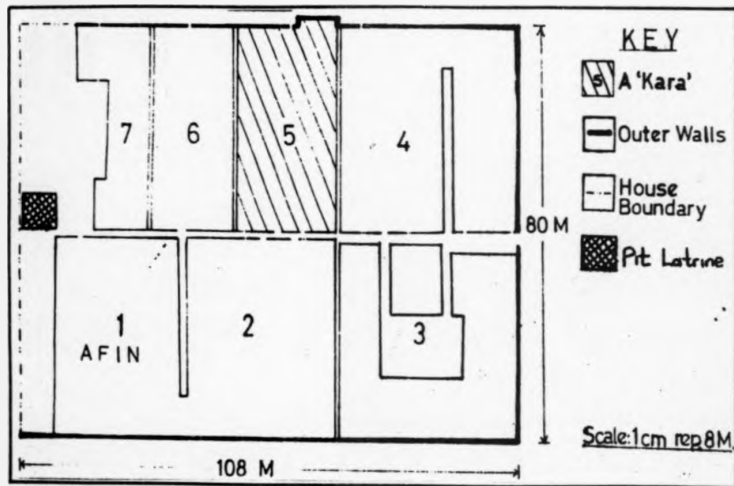


Fig. 6.3 Plan of a Typical Compound already undergone 'Pilling-In' and cut into smaller units

Sources: Okewola, I.A., M.Sc. Thesis, 1977, p.51.

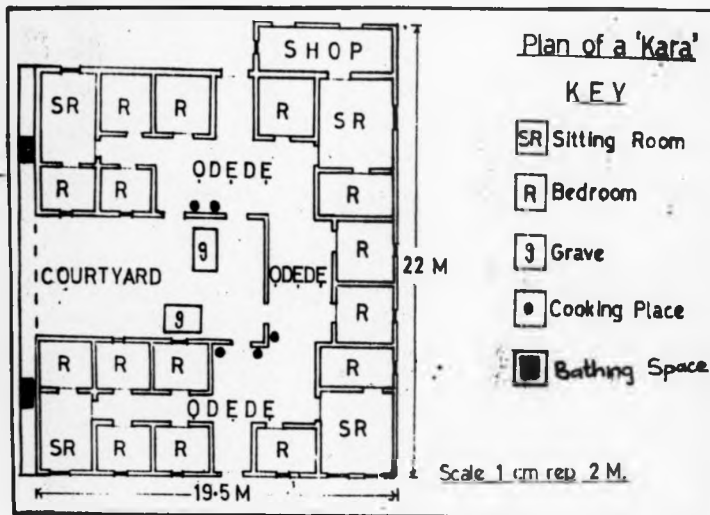


Fig. 6.4 Plan of One Section of a Compound

Sources: Okewole, I.A. , M.Sc. Thesis, 1977, p.51.

materials (plate 19). At different corners of the courtyard (plate 20), clay pots (nowadays empty tin drums) are carefully arranged as receptacles for the rain water or to store water which had been collected from various sources within and outside the compound like wells, streams, pools and the irregularly flowing public water taps.

Medicinal herbs are often planted behind water pots within the courtyard (plate 21) or just outside the compound, usually near the bathing area (plate 22) where the plants will obtain nourishment from the wet surrounding. The plants thus remain green the whole year round to provide the much needed leaves for varied traditional concoctions to cure all manner of illnesses and diseases afflicting both adults and children.

The courtyard is also useful for a number of other socio-cultural activities. It is here that the moonlight plays and night-time story-telling to children (mainly by women), take place; while the male adults sit resting or discussing some social or family matters at another corner of the open ground.

The rooms of the compound are built inside the outer boundary walls, all arranged with their doors to open on to an elongated corridor called odede which runs the length or breadth of each wing of the compound (figure 6.4). The door-ways in plate 20 lead into this corridor from the courtyard. The corridor serves a variety of purposes. It is here that residents relax during the day, particularly women, before or after cooking. The males often prefer



Plate 18. Graves of deceased old members within a family compound.

Children are customarily buried outside town or away from view.



Plate 19. Laundered materials drying within compound.



Plate 20. Water collection provision within compound courtyard.

Plate 21.

Storage and medicinal herbs
in compound courtyard.

Junk and materials not
immediately in use inside
the house are dumped at the
sides of the courtyard
walls.



either the "sitting room" (a large multi-purpose room usually attached to the bedroom of the head of that section of the compound), or to relax under the shade of trees outside and in front of the compound. Most compounds particularly along their front entrance wall have their roof and side walls extended to provide a verandah (plates 15 and 16) which is very useful as a place for relaxation during both day and night times, especially during the hot seasons of the year.

The internal odede is also utilized to receive visitors - particularly any large number. Mats, low stools and skins of large animals are spread on the floor for guests to sit on. The odede therefore provides opportunity throughout the day for a very high contact rate amongst the residents of the different sections of the compound as it is the first and unavoidable meeting point with the other inmates on leaving one's bedroom. A greater amount of the non-working, home-bound time is spent within the odede than elsewhere in the compound. This site plan of the compound therefore encourages a very high level of inter-personal relationships amongst the residents who consequently are obliged to share each other's problems and look after one another's interests.

6.1.2.2 Open Space

The largest open spaces within traditional areas of Yoruba cities are probably (except for Ibadan) the large grounds attached to the Oba's palaces. These are of two

categories — the ones enclosed within the palace walls (see figures 4.10, 4.11, 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15), and the ones directly in front of, or adjacent to the palace. These are utilized for social and cultural activities which occasion inhabitants to assemble on them. The large open space outside the palace, apart from its ceremonial use, is also utilized as a market. In the past, no permanent structures were constructed on them, but now many of these open spaces have been built up with permanent or semi-permanent structures used as shops or stalls of the Oba's market.

In Ibadan, two major factors were responsible for the disappearance of this feature of its traditional morphology. One was the constantly shifting location of the Oba's palace before the erection of a permanent palace on Mapo hill. The other was a result of the rapid growth of the city's core population through the different periods of its history which has consistently pressurized land-use requirements particularly as Ibadan became such a popular regional centre for trade. Consequently, what would have otherwise remained a large stretch of open ground has been deeply encroached upon by both permanent stalls and shops for the Oja-Iba as well as residential buildings (plate 12).

The other major open spaces within the core are attached to the various public and semi-public uses like churches and schools. The amount of space depends largely on the terrain, the use of the land, the cultural value



Plate 22. Herbs and fruits growing outside the compound.



Plate 23. A Primary school located on the crest of Sapati ridge, Oke-Ara, Ibadan.

attached to it and also on the strength of the development control or regulatory policies of the political process which took over the city's later administration. It could be just a narrow strip of open space for instance, if attached to uses like the primary school in plate 23, located on the Sapatu ridge in the Oke-Are area of Ibadan; or a very large space if it utilizes a reserved forest or bush zone near a river on which no buildings had been erected within less than 200 metres of the river channel (e.g. the two schools in Aperin in plates 24 and 25).

A final category of open spaces are related particularly to residential compounds and are utilized either mainly for recreational activities or for occupational-related activities.

6.1.2.3 Markets

Apart from the Oba's market which is normally held on open ground close to the palace of a traditional city core, other areas utilized as markets are spaces attached to the quarters or compounds of quarter chiefs, as well as any large "incidental" open spaces surrounded by a group of compounds. Many of these so-called "incidental" open spaces probably had other specific uses attached to them during the course of the city's development.

In Ibadan, some of the markets falling into the ward/incidental open market category include the Oje and Labo markets. Other markets will fall into what may be called the road-side markets category. The Beere-Napo



Plate 24. Open space provision in the core area.

Large open spaces attached to the two schools in plates 24 and 25 are part of the wide set-back for a river near them, over which no residences had been constructed before the schools were built.



Plate 25. Open space provision in core area.

(plate 26), Mapo - Orita-Merin, Orita-Merin - Ayeye and Orita-Merin - Agbeni, are some of the popular markets in this category.

Some of the open-air markets are held only in the morning while others take place only at night but most are both morning and evening uses.

6.1.2.4 Work-in-Residence

The traditional Yoruba houses provide facilities for residence, work and relaxation. The work-in-residence facilities vary according to the nature of occupation.

Trading is a major occupation of the Yoruba, particularly the women. Traders who do not attend the open markets mentioned in the paragraphs above utilize different areas of the compound to carry on their trading activities. Spaces used for this purpose include the verandahs in front of the house (plates 16 and 27), verandah extensions by erection of temporary structures with planks and iron sheets (plates 28 and 29) or the use of areas under the shade of trees planted in front of compounds. These types of trading are particularly associated with the elderly who are regarded as frail but who need to engage in some rewarding daily activities. This practice has a number of advantages:

- i. The elderly are kept busy and free from boredom.
- ii. They act as day-time guards over the compound since they exhibit their wares right at the entrance to the compound thus preventing any intrusion or break-ins by burglars.



Plate 26. Open-air market along a busy street: Beere-Mapo road.

Note the market uses all available space between the building line and the edge of the road.



Plate 27. Residential frontage trading in core area.



Plate 28. Trading activities on verandah of a compound in core area. Idi-Aro, Ibadan.

Shops are created in existing old compound residential units by either converting a room adjacent to the road or by the construction of extended verandahs with corrugated iron sheets.



Plate 29. Trading activities on extended verandah and temporary structures. Agugu, Ibadan.

Most of the new buildings on this road, in the newer suburb of the core, have shops on the ground floor.

- iii. They make satisfying financial gains and thus contribute substantially to family income.

Crafts are also conspicuously practised within the compound. Some traditional crafts like blacksmithing, weaving and dyeing which were always undertaken at the residences still survive till today (plate 30). This is despite the introduction of "alien ideas of urban existence as well as alien institutions"¹⁰ which, with the arrival of Europeans, began a process of separation of work from the place of residence. The practice, if anything, has in fact assumed greater dimensions and refinement. Deliberate plans are now devised for adaptation of old buildings which open onto any form of roads, streets or even footpaths, to incorporate different types of work-in-residence facilities (plates 29 and 31).

An interesting finding during the survey for this thesis was the fact that a good number of salary earners (e.g. office workers in both public and private establishments), return to such space-in-residence work places after office hours in order to "make more money" to supplement normal wage incomes. The most common part-time employments include retail sales; services like tailoring, sewing, shoe repairs, electrical appliances repairs, artworks; and such highly-skilled professional practices as nursing, pharmacy, medical surgery, draughtsmanship, planning and architectural design. Where easy and convenient accommodation has not been possible, private sitting rooms have been converted for the performance of



Plate 30. Traditional craft workshop attached to a compound.

This blacksmithing workshop occupies a portion of the open ground between the compound and the newly imposed residential road (foreground). Idi-Aro, Ibadan.



Plate 31. A Steel works shed within a compound. Agugu, Ibadan.

these professions. The idea of work-in-residence is therefore an entrenched facet of the life of the Yoruba, which modern ideas of urban living have failed to uproot.

6.2 TERRITORIAL BEHAVIOUR

The influence of the concept of territory (and its defence) amongst the Yoruba can be examined at two main levels; namely, the community level and the small group. The individual or unitary family level is not so significant in the traditional residential areas. This is because territories are owned communally.

The size or areal extent of a community's territory in Yorubaland depended either on its traditional and historical title to it or on the extent of its military strength, as noted in chapters four and five. The Yoruba communities, like communities all over the world, would go to any length to protect their territories from any external aggression. They do not compromise on their communities' territories; disputes, even in modern times, have been known to run through decades unresolved.

It is however, the small group and the individual or family levels of organisation of territorial behaviour that are of essential relevance to this thesis. Both these levels will be considered simultaneously as there is so much overlap in their exercise amongst the Yoruba owing to the effect of the residential unit on which life is organized — the compound.

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the compound is

the scene for the performance of almost all behaviour related to work (except farming), living and recreation. Every member of the extended family occupying each compound has a stake in its welfare and is therefore committed to its protection and maintenance. Thus it is territorial behaviour within each compound that will be closely examined.

6.2.1 Demarcators

The use of free-standing walls or fences, as noted earlier, was restricted mainly to the Oba's palace (plates 9 and 10), or to the compounds of quarter chiefs. The external building walls of the compound (plates 15 and 16) demarcated the territory of each compound. All members living within each compound recognize this demarcator of their exclusive territory from those of other compounds. Members are generally free to move about within the compound into any of the sections, to work, live or recreate without any one inhibiting their movement. However, because there has to be some sort of order, the compound has been divided into sections to enable the different patrilineal parts (of the extended family) to have prime claim to occupy these spaces. Thus in a large traditional compound it is not uncommon to have between five and ten defined sections as referred to earlier in this chapter (see also figure 6.3).

More recent changes in the Yoruba cities' social and economic life have also affected the site arrangement of

traditional compounds, as was also noted earlier in this chapter, bringing about the break-up of the hitherto continuous unit site plan into several units. Some members of the family who erect new modern types of buildings on their portions of the family land have also introduced the modern fencing concept (see plate 32). But these are exceptions rather than the rule. In most cases, these new structures merely stand out amidst the generally older forms and structures without any physical demarcations around them (see plates 1 and 33).

Within each section inside the compound (figures 6.3 and 6.4), there are no physical demarcators other than the room walls. Each bedroom opens on to an open communal space, the odede. Thus the only private territory within each section of the compound is the bedroom. Even the cooking places and the water pots are communally utilized.

6.2.2 Defence

Territorial defence within traditional core areas in Yorubaland has two aspects, namely, night-time and day-time defence. During the day, the protection of territory and property is in the main seen as the responsibility of each section of the compound. However, because of the site arrangement of many compounds, with limited entrances, it is possible for the few (usually elderly) inhabitants who remain in the compound while others are engaged in various economic activities outside the compound and in different parts of the city, ¹¹ to oversee the whole compound.



Plate 32. Free-standing walls and fences demarcating private residential units in the core area.
These are exceptions rather than the rule.



Plate 33. Old traditional compounds broken up into series of two-storey buildings/and redeveloped smaller compound remnants.

At night-time the defence of the community is no longer the responsibility of each compound alone. There is a ward by ward arrangement whereby special traditional guards, whose occupation in earlier times would have been hunting and who carry guns, parade the streets and footpaths that surround each compound within the ward. They are specially equipped with powerful traditional charms with which they are reputed to be able to overcome all night marauders. These hunter-guards have such a reputation of invincibility, that hardly does any Yoruba person disbelieve their prowess. These groups of guards are still effectively employed in all traditional Yoruba areas. Indeed they are in demand even outside traditional areas in Yorubaland, as is clearly indicated by the analysis of territorial defence in Bodiya and Oluyole estates which follows in chapter seven.

In summary, therefore, territories are viewed by the Yoruba as belonging to the community — large or small — and their defence is seen as a communal responsibility.

6.2.3 Maintenance

The maintenance of the living quarters in the compound is given top priority amongst the Yoruba generally. Cleanliness is taught to children very early in life, and children grow up with the idea of "sweeping the floor" (of the bedroom, sitting room, the odeda and the courtyard) first thing in the morning on waking from sleep — before they move on to other duties. Even though the pressures of

modern urban living (of children going to school early in the morning, and of parents moving out to wage employments instead of staying to practise home crafts), have brought considerable strains to the society, the duties of cleaning the compound are still faithfully carried out. Each compound has its own system of effecting maintenance within its territory. Cleaning of the general areas is done on rotation amongst the female group; who either do the cleaning themselves or assign any of their older children (both boys and girls) to carry out the work when it is their turn, in their section of the compound.

However, it is the method of disposal of the refuse so collected, which has today become one of the greatest problems for both the Ibadan Municipal Government and the Oyo State Government.

Before the modern administrative process of refuse collection in the city was established, collection of refuse was initiated from the compound and ended at specific disposal dumps located at strategic points in each ward. Disposal methods were principally burning or deposition into nearby streams or old ditches or hollows (usually large excavations from which the mud used in the construction of the compounds was obtained). That system proved to be sufficient to deal with the refuse generated in each ward before the city grew in both size and population but has certainly ceased to be effective today. The practice of dumping solid waste into stream channels for instance, has caused very serious flooding of

residences on both sides of the several streams which cut through the city. Ayode (1983) noted that Ibadan witnessed at least seven major floods between 1951 and 1980, each causing considerable damage to life and property. However, because such methods of disposal are practices deeply entrenched in the society, it has been very difficult to get the inhabitants, particularly of the core area, to change their habits and to participate fully in the various modern systems of refuse collection and disposal introduced into the city by successive municipal and state governments.

6.3 SOCIAL INTERACTION

The study by Flachsbart (1969) referred to in chapter three, underscores the importance of man's need for the companionship of other people and the adverse effect of social isolation. The Yoruba community's living arrangements cater very efficiently for the satisfaction of this need for social interaction. There are a variety of avenues for meeting and socializing with others. These avenues are explored briefly in the following paragraphs.

6.3.1 Contact Points

Some of the major characteristic features of the Yoruba traditional core area morphology discussed earlier in this thesis are particularly significant in providing locations for social interaction for the inhabitants.

The large open ground attached to the Oba's palace for

instance. draws large numbers of people together on important occasions — festivals, ceremonies, social and political rallies. Each of the towns and cities also has its own town hall which serves as venues for many of the town's more important meetings. Neighbourhood (that is quarter or ward) halls are also avenues for the meetings of the inhabitants at the quarter or ward levels.

Another category of contact points are the open spaces which are also used as markets, from the large Oba's market (infront of the palace), to the smaller ward markets located within the residential areas. These traditional open-air markets, apart from serving an economic function, are also social interaction points. Both the morning and evening markets provide opportunity for meeting and interacting with friends and relations. An interesting description of these markets within one traditional city core follows:

The urban daily night markets ... are only important with regards to the intra-urban retail marketing, and contribute little to interaction between the town and the rural areas except in as much as they provide recreation grounds for rural inhabitants who have come to town on important festivals. They could be seen in these markets at night, not buying anything but to enjoy the fun of meeting old and new acquaintances and also keep dates with lovers.(13)

This phenomena is common to almost all the open-air markets in the evenings. The Oja-Iba in Ibadan, apart from satisfying both the smaller-scale urban trade area and the inter-regional trade between Ibadan and surrounding

regions, has been described as having

...other, and perhaps more compelling attractions for the majority of people in the older part of the city. It is not only a forum of economic transactions, it is also the centre of social intercourse. On an evening, a young man may attend the market in the hope of meeting a young lady who may appeal to him. He may also attend it to hear the latest in the politics of the city or even of the country, to share comradeship with his friends or even just to feel a sense of belonging....(14)

The streets also perform a similar function during the evenings. They become alive as recreation corridors with young men and women who stroll along them or congregate in varying numbers at points along the streets at which specific attractions have been created. Because these contact points obviously offer unlimited opportunity to meet old or find new friends, and they serve as recreation spaces at practically no financial costs to the users, they are very popular, not only with the youth, but even amongst the middle-aged adults. Because of the opportunities offered for business, people who have grocery (provisions) and drinks shops attached to residences which open on to these streets, attract these street users to the front of their shops by having music blasting out onto the streets, thus increasing the chances of making sales and contributing to the recreational atmosphere. It is important to note the relationship between this utilisation of the street as a contact point during the evening and the Yoruba traditional concept of ere ale (the evening or night play). Ere ale is a popular activity amongst the

Yoruba. It involves a variety of games organized by the young people — both boys and girls — on the open spaces within different points of the town enclosed by groups of compounds, or on parts of the larger open market squares located in the different wards in the town. It could take the form of competitive or informal games or of dancing, either by sex or between sexes. The boys try to display their agility in front of the girls while the girls try to attract the boys through singing and dancing or a variety of other forms of play and flirtation. These activities reach their peak in moonlight.

The introduction of modern social and recreational activities together with other European ideas of urban living have obviously affected the traditional practice of ere ale but the concept lingers on. The street-recreation phenomenon seems to have surfaced as a substitute for the dying more traditional aspects of ere ale as it still affords the opportunity for the young to meet outside the confines of their homes.

The arrangement of the sections of the traditional compound was noted earlier in this chapter as fostering a very high level inter-personal relationships amongst the inmates. The odede was particularly singled out as the focus for group meeting, recreation, resting and conversation and for receiving visitors.

6.3.2 Other Opportunities

Apart from the specific physical locations discussed

above which provide the opportunity for the inhabitants to meet other people and interact together, there are a number of other socialising agents and facilities entrenched in the Yoruba pattern of life.

There are a variety of societies and clubs of which a person may be a member. These may be social, cultural, religious, or educational. These societies and clubs offer various forms of assistance and support to their members apart from the opportunity for social interaction which they provide. Thus every one, young and old, aims to be a member of as many of them as they can afford in time and finance. Every member looks forward with eagerness to the meeting days which for many are scheduled for the week-ends. There, both private and general matters (that is, those concerning individual members or the entire community and even the city or the country) are discussed. Refreshments - food and drinks - are served. Thus, on a regular basis, a person may find some solution to a personal problem or secure mental relief from pressing and burdensome issues merely by attending these meetings, where he comes in contact with a variety of personalities.

In between such society meetings, people engage widely in visiting the homes of friends and relatives or being visited in turn.

This characteristic of associations is not peculiar of course to the Yoruba cultural area. It is found among other cultural groups in Nigeria and many other African societies. Hanna and Hanna (1971) reported several examples

from different African societies where both ethnic and non-ethnic associations exist in urban areas, particularly within residential neighbourhoods in which distinct ethnic clustering had also occurred. They noted that both ethnic and non-ethnic associations (like women's associations, religious associations, old boys' associations, professional groups associations etc.) act as instruments of change and function effectively with respect to "adaptation, integration and the representation of special interests".¹⁵

These constellations of contact networks leave no member of the community lonely unless by choice. The traditional pattern of membership of and attendance at society and club meetings as well as the regular interchange of visits with friends and relations contribute immensely to individual and society welfare, which is discussed in the next paragraph.

6.4 INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY RELATIONSHIPS

Even though there were initially, mixed opinions about the relationship between design features and human behaviour within the housing environment (Fried et al, 1961; Gans, 1961; Rosow, 1961; Rainwater, 1961); research continues to indicate that site arrangements can influence or direct people's behaviour and in particular their relationship with other people (Gutman, 1966; Rapoport, 1977) — albeit that the findings of this further research are not universally accepted. It has been argued that

liking for an environment increases according to the frequency of contact with parents and relatives and that people develop strong feelings of attachment about their area when there are intense local relationships with others (Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Buttimer, 1972). This presupposes the existence of certain physical elements which will facilitate these relationships.

This would indicate that planners should make a deliberate effort to incorporate those features in their designs which will facilitate strong social relationships between the inhabitants of residential areas where custom and preference, as amongst the Yoruba, is for this form of living. Effort must be made to include those elements which have the potential to directly or indirectly promote neighbourliness, social interaction and cooperation amongst residents and thus assist them to receive both moral and material assistance during both normal and stressful occasions.

The Yoruba traditional residential settings produce such circumstances. The morphology is such that it aids and facilitates contact, promotes interaction amongst the inhabitants and creates a sense of companionship.

6.4.1 Neighbourliness

Neighbourliness as a phenomenon in residential areas will probably result more from personal decision by residents rather than from site arrangement per se. But this decision may well be aided and encouraged by

appropriate and conducive environmental arrangements.

The arrangement of the units within Yoruba traditional residential areas, coupled with the society's community living ideals, make neighbourliness the natural choice and exclusiveness the aberration.

6.4.2 Cooperative Efforts

The level of neighbourliness amongst residents influences the nature of issues and activities in which there will be joint effort. The nature of the Yoruban community life encourages a great deal of cooperation in getting things done — particularly in the residential areas.

Defence has already been instanced as one example of an area of cooperation. Sharing of responsibilities often extends into private domestic affairs, like the discipline of children. The adult in one family often scolds or beats a child from another family in order to correct any misdeeds by the child. The child's parents approve of such joint disciplining and will consider it an irresponsible act on the part of their neighbour if he fails to carry out that "duty".

6.4.3 Brother's Keeper Roles

The extended family accommodation provides opportunity for family members to receive care and protection, as well as moral and material assistance from other members of the family. "Brother's keeper" roles are performed by the

individual for other members of the community. By so doing, no individual is left to solve his problems alone. The extended family and the wider local community (e.g. the society membership network) share an individual's mental agony as well as contributing materially to alleviate any unexpected misfortunes.

Other family members will take responsibility for the custody of children if the parents become financially unable to cater for them, and it is an expected duty for such children to be given some form of training, whether educational or in work skills. A picture of this feature of Ibadan "social security" is provided by Akinola:

There is no national insurance scheme in Nigeria, and most people in the older parts of Ibadan live together in large compounds of extended families whose intense ties provide a social security in cases of unemployment, sickness, disablement and old age. In these areas, the outstanding social features are the deep affection and mutual obligation of the members of the family group, the frequent visits, meetings and celebrations, all of which illustrate the unity of the extended family. (16)

As in the case of other features of traditional core area of Ibadan, both social and physical, the phenomenon described above has been affected by modern economic and cultural influences. However, these have not succeeded in eliminating the solidly entrenched informal "social security" system. In effect this means that the relatively few well-to-do members of a family group are continually being caught up in a pervasive web of poverty; having to bear the strain of the downward pull of their dependants.

6.5 COGNITIVE MAPPING

All members living within each compound view that space enclosed by the compound walls as sacred to their family. They do all in their power to create and maintain a prestigious image for the "house". Indeed, a lot of importance is attached to membership of a "house". Children are taught from childhood to be proud of their particular house and to uphold the tenets of the patrilineal ancestors of that house. Any deviation from such principles, it is feared, would bring untold repercussions.

A house collects a stigma if evil deeds are associated with its members or if severe outbreaks of disease or epidemics have occurred within its compound in the past. Similarly, a house will have a prestigious name attached to it for some specific heroic deeds of its members. In this case, every member of that house is proud to be associated with it. Indeed, so strong is the attachment to one's traditional compound that there is allegiance to it by all members of the extended family, even when they do not physically reside within the compound. Members who have moved out of the core area to the suburb or out of Ibadan, return regularly to their family compounds to maintain an unbroken connection. A most interesting aspect is the practice of labelling new houses, built by emigrating members outside the core, by the name of the individual's original traditional compound adding a suffix, "number 2", to the label. An example would be "Ile Olupo No. 2"; to show that it is an extension, in other

space, of the original Olupo house No. 1! This strong attachment to roots is evidence of the sense of belonging to the community.

On a wider scale, the inhabitants of each compound view themselves as part of a ward and take pride in being associated with that ward, adugbo. As members of an adugbo there is healthy rivalry with other adugbos in the city which is seen as promoting common good of the city. Again on the city scale there is intense political wrangling with other towns and cities in the state over political patronage, appointments, distribution of amenities and the like. At this scale the indigenous Ibadans are again solidly united. A great deal of emphasis is placed on common ancestral ties and the names of Lagelu and Oluyole¹⁷ become vital in sealing the necessary oneness of purpose. Because of the legendary meaning attached to these founders of the city, the Ibadans take pride in naming strategic locations and establishments after them. Thus there is an "Oluyole Secondary School", a "Lagelu Grammar School" and specific shrines where named ancestors are worshipped. These shrines have become historical landmarks in the city. These and similar physical elements with strong cultural connotations are meaningful in the attachment of the indigenes to the city.

No doubt other aspects like the history of the settlement and how the inhabitants were brought together, the arrangement of the morphology and the social network formed within the physical space; all also aid the meaning

attached to the city by the inhabitants, particularly those of the core. To be able to profess oneself omo Ibadan or omo Oluyole (that is, "son of Ibadan", meaning an indigene of Ibadan), undoubtedly confers significant pride of place to the claimant with regard to economic, social and political considerations within the Ibadan municipality.

Notes and References

1. Amos Rapoport, 1977, op.cit., p.14.
2. Akin Mabogunje, 1967, op.cit., p.35.
3. Ibid., p.35.
4. This is the site believed to be the nucleus of the present city of Ibadan by the indigenous inhabitants and is therefore the starting point for all traditional and cultural festivities in the city. See also chapter 5, paragraph 5.2.1.
5. G.J.A. Ojo, 1966, op.cit., p.132.
6. Ibid., p.132.
7. Akin Mabogunje, 1967, op.cit., p.46.
8. L. Frobenius, Voice of Africa vol 1. London, (1913), p.153, quoted in G. J. Afolabi Ojo, "Traditional Yoruba Architecture" in African Arts. vol 1 No.3, (1967), p.14.
9. Afolabi Ojo has noted that compound sizes vary from about 100 square feet [9.29 square metres] in Ekiti area to about 10,000 square feet [928.89 square metres] in Shaki area. See G. J. Afolabi Ojo, Ibid., p. 15.
10. Akin Mabogunje, 1967, op.cit., p.39.
11. See also section 6.1.2.4 concerning the trading activities of the elderly and their role in overseeing compound safety. See also plate 27.
12. It was indeed one of the issues for electioneering campaigns during the general elections of 1979 and 1983 in Ibadan.
13. I.A. Okewole, "Rural-Urban (Socio-Economic) Relationship between Ogbomoso and its Rural Areas". B.Sc. Dissertation, University of Ife, Nigeria, 1972, p.54.
14. Akin Mabogunje, 1967, op. cit., p.44.
15. William John Hanna and Judith Lynne Hanna, Urban Dynamics in Black Africa. Chicago: Aldine. Atherton,

1971, chapters 6 & 7. See also Margaret Peil and Pius O. Sada, African Urban Society. Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984, chapter 6 on "Social Relations".

16. R.A. Akinola, op. cit., p.266.
17. These are the two most frequently mentioned names connected with the founding of the city of Ibadan.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BODIJA AND CLUYOLE RESIDENTIAL SETTINGS

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CHAPTER 7

BODIJA AND OLUYOLE RESIDENTIAL SETTINGS

7.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTINGS

Bodija Estate which is regarded as the oldest planned residential estate of its kind in Nigeria, was established in 1958. The original acquisition by the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation covered an area of 161.87 hectares. This is the part of the estate focussed on in this thesis, that is, the "old" Bodija Estate,¹ and hereinafter referred to as Bodija Estate (see figure 2.2). Bodija Estate is located to the north of the traditional city core of Ibadan.

The land for the Oluyole Estate site was acquired in 1962 by the Ibadan Town Planning Authority but the process of allocation of plots to interested members of the public did not start until early in 1969. Thus the estate is about ten years "younger" than Bodija Estate. The estate covers an area of 91.95 hectares. It is located to the south-west of the traditional city core of Ibadan (see figure 2.2).

The aims and objectives for the establishment of Bodija Estate are contained in the Law setting up the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation which was responsible for the establishment of the estate. It stated the functions of the Corporation as follows:

It shall be the duty of the Corporation, so far as its resources permit and subject to



Plate 34. The University of Ibadan - Secretariat road through Bodija Estate.



Plate 35. Entrance into Bodija Estate through Oshuntokun Avenue.

Note the denseness of the ornamental trees, shrubs and hedges in this picture and in plates 36 and 37 which give the estate a colourful, high quality and upper class appearance.



Plate 36. Entrance into Bodija Estate from Sango.



Plate 37. Entrance into Bodija Estate through Awolowo Avenue from the University of Ibadan - Secretariat road.

the provisions of this Law, to increase the availability in the Region, of dwelling-houses for acquisition by members of the public.(2)

The initial purpose for the establishment of the estate was thus only concerned with the provision of residential units for members of the public. If there were other objectives they were not so expressed in the original Law. However, subsequent pronouncements by government functionaries, as well as by researchers into residential developments in Ibadan have thrown more light on what could be the unexpressed intentions for the establishment of the estate. The following statement is typical of such post-occupancy evaluations:

It has served to introduce modern town planning into the city of Ibadan. It has set the pace in owner-occupied buildings and has afforded the low-income owners of those years the opportunity to own decent buildings at reasonable cost.(4)

Whatever the original formulation of objectives, it is indeed true to state that the successive managements of Bodija Estate have over the years attempted to :

- i. introduce modern town planning into a public residential setting
- ii. encourage development of owner-occupied dwellings
- iii. provide houses based on income differentials
- iv. establish a public housing estate with better accommodation and higher environmental standards than were obtainable in the individual traditional city core areas in the country.

The objectives for the establishment of Oluyole Estate were more comprehensively set out in the official publication which tried to promote the project. These were

to:

- i. reduce congestion and overcrowding in parts of residential areas in Ibadan city and to provide some area for job opportunities
- ii. minimise housing shortage in the city and to improve the housing condition of the people
- iii. create a modern neighbourhood where necessary social services and facilities will be provided, unlike the existing neighbourhoods which lack the majority of these essential facilities and amenities
- iv. discourage urban sprawl and un-related developments which spring up in the peripheral areas of Ibadan city
- v. set a visible example of positive planning and thus make the public aware of the advantages that a Town Planning Authority can bring to a properly planned community
- vi. discourage segregation in housing estates and thus correct the wrong impression which the existing Government Residential Areas have given the members of the public. (6)

The discussions in the following sections outline the case study methods used for this research, the general and physical characteristics of the two case study estates, the human social characteristics within the two estates and the structure and quality of the administrative machinery responsible for each estate. In the process of dealing with these issues, it is also hoped to show the extent of the achievement of the professed objectives for setting up the estates. But it is pertinent to mention at this stage, that there is conspicuous lack of an objective, for either of the two estates, which relates to the creation of new housing areas reflecting traditional characteristics of residential areas and land use. Finally, each of the physical and human elements identified will be

compared with the socio-cultural elements identified from the traditional core of the city (see Appendix IV). The aim is to examine the degree to which these comparisons afford support for the hypothesis of this thesis.

7.1.1 Case Study Methods

7.1.1.1 Land use analysis of each of the two estates was made. Lay-out designs of both estates were obtained for detail study. In particular the major land use patterns, typical lay-out arrangements, typical residential unit site plans, and the basic mobility network were identified.

7.1.1.2 Official Records

Official compilations from surveys of "illegal" conversions were obtained from the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State (PDCOS) and the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IBMPA) for Bodiya and Oluyole estates respectively. The former were used to update the data of the five-year survey conducted between 1979 and 1983 by the PDCOS.

7.1.1.3 Interviews with Designers

These sought information from the professional planners in both the Bodiya and Oluyole estates on the derivation and evolution of lay-out designs for the two estates.

7.1.1.4 Opinion Survey

Opinion surveys were conducted in both Bodiya and

Oluyole estates. The questionnaires contained both pre-coded and post-coded questions and sought the opinions of the residents on a variety of matters concerned with the estates' life and features.

The pre-coded questions gave the respondents multiple-choice answers to choose from. Questions in this category required direct, unambiguous answers.

The post-coded questions were open-ended, but were framed so as to contain no lead statements that could influence respondents. The answers to this group of questions were later aggregated into forms which could be coded for analysis.

A 20 percent sample of all developed plots on each of the estates was attempted. From the layout plan for each estate every fifth developed plot along each road or street was picked by the systematic random sampling technique. One house⁷ hold head (house-owner or tenant) from each plot picked was then chosen for the interview.

The survey itself was carried out during the period between 5.00 p.m and 7.00 p.m each day for three weeks. The time chosen was determined to be the highest possible contact time. This information emerged from an earlier conducted pilot pre-test of the survey questions in similar housing areas of Ibadan.

During the first week, the questionnaires were distributed by hand to each house owner or tenant (head of household) of the sample plots. As the questionnaires were given out, appointments were fixed for date and time of collection of the completed questionnaires. The respondents were requested to take as much time as they considered convenient to give answers to all the questions on the questionnaire. About 20 percent of the questionnaires were returned during the first week, and about 80 percent were in by the end of the second week. The remaining 20 percent which included questionnaires returned unfilled or partly completed, were picked up during the third week of the survey. This was after several call-backs by the research team to the respondents' homes.

Altogether 210 questionnaires were served in both Bodiya and Oluyole estates - 180 in Bodiya and 30 in Oluyole. 180 were fully completed from both estates. This made 85.71 percent of the total served. 30 questionnaires were only partly completed or not filled at all, making up 14.29 percent of the total served on both estates.

The time of the year chosen for the survey was probably a great contributory factor to the response rate obtained. The whole survey was completed during the last two weeks of April and

the first week of May. This was a relatively dry and mildly hot period in this south-western part of Nigeria. The response rate might well have been lower if the survey had taken place during the heavy, tropical rainy months of July to October.

The questionnaires contained 48 questions covering 52 variables (see Appendix I). These variables were classified into 14 categories. The details of these are set out in Appendix II.

A preliminary manual analysis of responses to the open-ended questions was made. This was to produce lists of all the possible responses to each of the multiple-response questions. These responses were later coded as indicated against the specific variable in the coding format set out in Appendix III.

7.1.2 Physical Characteristics

The designs of both Bodiya and Oluyole estates were based on the neighbourhood unit concept. The plans aimed to serve the community on each estate with adequate provision of social facilities like shops, schools, places of worship, recreational facilities and of basic infrastructure — water, electricity and modern road and street networks.

Table 7.1 shows the land use analysis for Bodiya Estate while table 7.2 is the analysis for Oluyole Estate. The analysis in table 7.1 and the plan in figure 7.1 show

Table 7.1 BODIJA ESTATE: LAND-USE ANALYSIS
OF THE ORIGINAL LAY-OUT PLAN

Land Use	Areas in Acres	Areas in Hectares	Percentage of Total
Residential	264.96	107.31	66.28
Public and Semi-Public	34.86	14.12	8.73
Commercial	2.23	0.90	0.56
Open Space	33.33	13.50	8.34
Road and footpaths	64.29	26.04	16.09
Total	399.68	161.87	100.00

Source: Property Development Corporation of Oyo State.

Table 7.2 OLUYOLE ESTATE: LAND-USE ANALYSIS
OF THE ORIGINAL LAY-OUT PLAN

Land Use	Area in Acres	Area in Hectares	Percentage of Total
Residential	92.77	37.57	40.87
Industrial	38.50	15.59	16.95
Commercial	6.71	2.72	2.95
Educational	5.93	2.40	2.61
Religious	2.50	1.01	1.10
Office	0.97	0.39	0.42
Recreational	34.26	13.88	15.09
Roads	45.40	18.39	20.01
Total	226.74	91.95	100.00

Source: Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority.

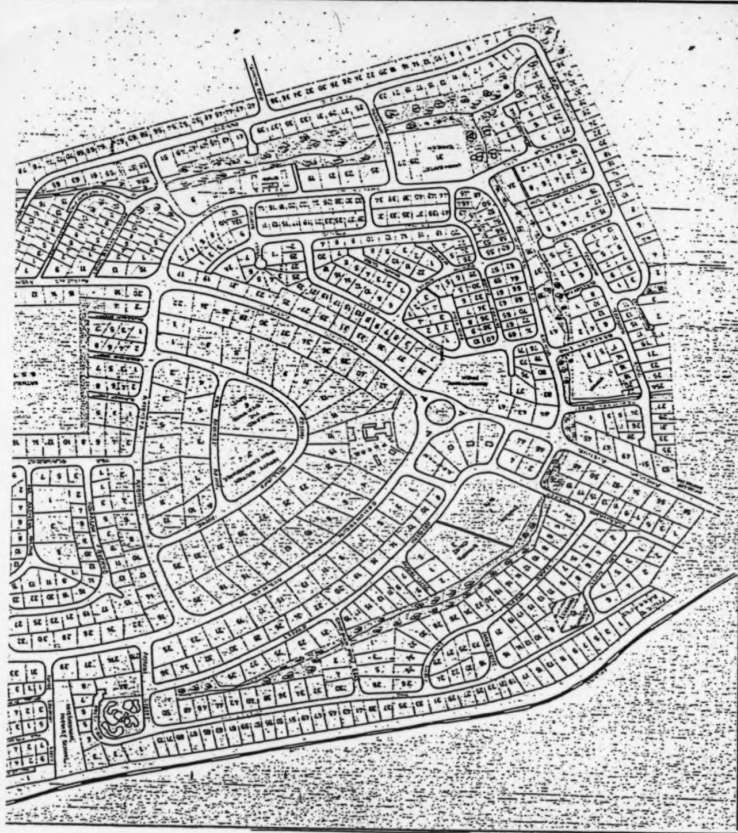
that provision for residential development took the largest percentage of the total planned land use for Bodija Estate. Its 66.28% is clearly larger than all other uses put together. The residential allocation for Oluyole (40.87%), in relation to other uses, is less emphasized than in Bodija. Similarly, Oluyole's plan provided for more public and semi-public plus a variety of residential related services and facilities than was provided for on the Bodija plan. Such services and facilities include primary and secondary schools sites, health centre, community centre, places of worship, post office, police post and fire station. However, as is demonstrated later in this chapter, only a few of the planned sites for the various services and facilities had been allocated for development by the end of 1985; only three out of the seven allocated plots had been developed by the end of the same period (see table 7.4). Also, Oluyole Estate plan provided for clearly defined areas for industrial and commercial (sales and offices) uses. Out of a total of 440 plots on the Oluyole Estate, 43 plots are allocated for commercial use, 35 of which had been fully developed by the end of 1985, whereas there are only three commercial plots provided for on Bodija Estate, out of which only two had been developed by the end of 1985. Apart from the Bodija International Primary School located at the north-eastern corner of the estate, the police post opposite the Corporation's offices, two church sites, and a Seminary, there are no other officially located public/semi-public facilities on the

estate.

7.1.2.1 Open Space

The over-all design structure of both estates indicates a house-to-street pattern of relationship in the site planning unlike the house-to-square or house-to-courtyard structure of the traditional core. There are thus no enclosed or semi-enclosed open spaces for groups of housing units that could act as community foci, social unification and rallying points in the manner of the community open spaces (markets, squares and courtyards) in the core. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show that public open space provision is linked largely to undevelopable land along stream channels, or bordering swamps, rocky outcrops and power lines. There is only one functional open space on each estate — the Bodiya Football Ground labelled "Recreational Park" and the yet-to-be-developed "Open Space and Park" on the Oluyole Estate.

The only other "open space" on Bodiya Estate is the Independence Square (plates 38 and 39). This is a piece of ground enclosed within a large traffic circle located in front of the PDCOS offices. The space has been landscaped with wide-crowned trees which provide shade under which sitting facilities for a maximum of 12 persons have been provided. This place has, however, been rarely used as it suffers noise and fumes from the heavy through- and residential traffic, has no facilities for children's play and is dangerous of access. Thus it has hardly served much



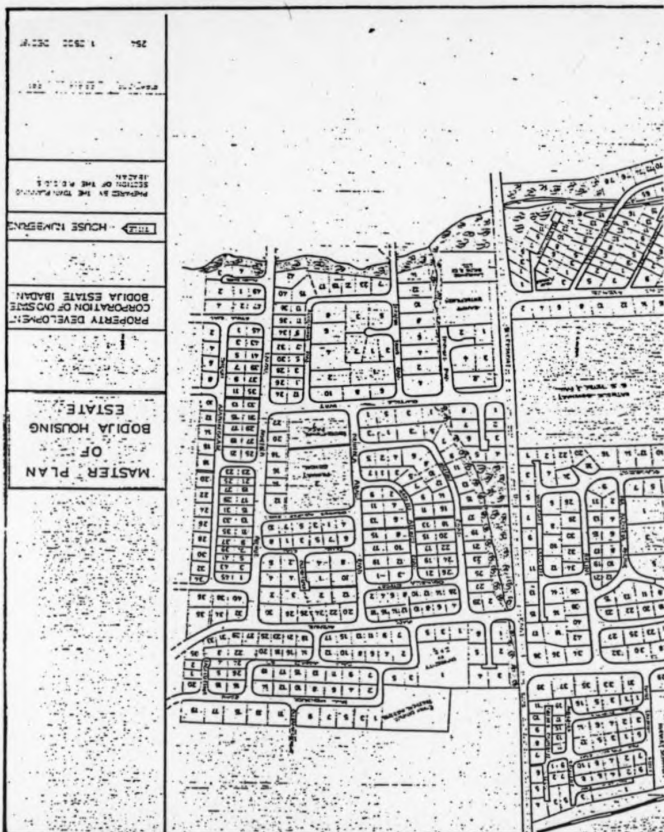


FIG. 7.1

IBADAN TOWN EXTENSION SCHEME No. 1 SOUTH WEST RING ROAD, IBADAN



EXTENSION SCHEME No. 1 SOUTH WEST RING ROAD, IBADAN





Plate 38. Independence Square, Bodiya Estate.

The only "open space" developed as a park with sitting facilities, shaded by a system of wide-crowned trees. It is located in front of the PDCOS offices and acts as a traffic circle surrounded by roads. The lack of privacy and closeness to so much vehicular noise reduce its usefulness as a relaxation place for the residents.



Plate 39. Traffic circle at Independence Square, Bodiya Estate.

useful purpose except as an ornamental or landscaping element.

Four questions on the survey questionnaires specifically sought residents' opinion about open space provision on Bodija Estate. In response to the question to name any facilities that exist on the estate, for meeting with old friends and making new ones, which the residents often or sometimes visit or use, the Independence Square was mentioned by only eight out of the 156 respondents, that is, 5.1 percent of the sample. Only one of the eight said he visited the square daily, two weekly and five, only occasionally. This low utilisation of the Independence Square is not surprising because of its characteristics highlighted above. However, the fact that some residents took advantage of its presence on the estate to satisfy a specific need shows how much lacking are open spaces/recreational areas on the estate.

Another open-ended question requested the respondents to comment on the arrangement, distribution and number of public open spaces where both adults and children could meet to relax and play. The result of the responses is set-out in table 7.3. Since respondents were given free choice of description, a variety of responses was obtained. It is pertinent to observe that there is a predominantly negative view of open-space provision. Only 18 respondents (11.5 percent) described the provision and distribution of open spaces as adequate.

There is a 34.26 acres land allocation for open spaces

Table 7.3 RESIDENTS' DESCRIPTION OF OPEN SPACE
PROVISION: BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

COMMENT	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY		RELATIVE FREQUENCY (%)		ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
None perceived as existing	23	10	14.7	41.7	15.3	41.7
Only one open space perceived	10	-	6.4	-	6.7	-
Open space described as undeveloped	6	7	3.8	29.2	4.0	29.2
Grossly inadequate	13	-	8.3	-	8.7	-
Inadequate	80	4	51.3	16.7	53.3	16.7
Adequate	18	3	11.5	12.5	12.0	12.5
Refused to answer	6	-	3.8	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

and recreational parks for Oluyole Estate. This is made up of the square-shaped open space which is surrounded by the public and semi-public uses between the high and medium density areas of the estate (see figure 7.2), as well as by those areas described as of "varied dimensions and locations along Ona and Yemoja streams". None of these latter areas had been developed for public use as at the

end of 1985. Thus the reactions of the respondents to the open-ended questions on open space provision on the estate were as uncompromising as the ones given by Bodija residents (table 7.3). Only three out of the twenty-four respondents (that is, 12.5 percent) mentioned that there was adequate provision. Even these added that the spaces provided had yet to be developed. The remaining 87.5 percent felt disappointed with open-space provision and development.

7.1.2.2 Development Control

All property owners on both estates are obliged to comply with regulations operated by the authority that manages the estates. This is in respect of zoning requirements, building standards, set-back standards, height of buildings, territorial demarcations, landscaping, and compliance with approved site usage. Whilst not wholly effective (as evidenced by the contraventions analysed later), this control has ensured the evolution of residential settings which are physically distinct in terms of their aesthetic qualities from the less rigidly controlled traditional city core setting.

The plot sizes on the estates are much larger than in the traditional core. Medium density plots average 30 metres by 36 metres while the high density plots average 18 metres by 30 metres on the estates. As discussed in chapter 6, the previously large compound sites of the traditional core setting have been broken up into smaller units and

the open spaces within them filled with new residential units. The effect of this "growth by fission" is a break-up of the individual family compound plots into smaller dwelling unit plots. Plot sizes of 7.5 metres by 15 metres are thus not uncommon within the core.

7.1.2-3 Site Coverage

As was noted in the preceding paragraph, stringent development control is being attempted on both estates. Such controls include site coverage, room sizes and site planning. The following evidence however, shows the ineffectiveness of site planning control particularly as it relates to site coverage.

The initial plans provided for a one-family residential unit on each plot. Allocations are thus made on a one-family-one-plot basis. However, a large number of plot owners prefer to erect units that provide accommodation for more than one family on their property. Table 7.25 shows that 51 (32.7%) out of the 156 properties surveyed on Bodija Estate had two or more families living on each property. In Oluyole Estate, 12 (50%) of the 24 properties surveyed had two or more families living on each property.

Plates 40 and 41 show the typical residential development on Bodija and Oluyole estates. Plot owners find it convenient to erect two-storey units which are flexible and adaptable to accommodate two separate families usually located one on each of the floors. Where bungalows are



Plate 40. Typical residential unit development: Bodija Estate.

Note for both estates (plates 40 and 41):

- i. The wall fence, steel gate, thick hedges, a variety of ornamental and fruits bearing trees all emphasizing the exclusive nature of each estate.
- ii. There is great privacy. Unwanted visitors, even neighbours are effectively shut out. This is in sharp contrast to the open environment of the traditional core area.



Plate 41. Typical residential unit development: Oluyole Estate.

Table 7.4 ANALYSIS OF ESTATE DEVELOPMENT:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES*

Land Use	Total No Plots in the Scheme		No Plots Allocated Fully Developed		No Plots Allocated Being Developed		No Plots Allocated Not Yet Developed	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Residential	910	334	904	234	4	58	2	39
Commercial	3	43	2	35	-	7	1	8
Industrial	-	50	-	11	-	7	-	25
Recreational								
Play ground	1	2(1)	1	-	-	-	-	-
Park	1	1(2)	1	-	-	-	-	-
Public/Semi-Pub.								
Utilities	9	12	9	3	-	1	-	3
Total	924	442(3)	917	258	4	73	3	75

Source: Research Survey. April/May, 1986.

Notes

- * Figures for Oluyole, correct as at end of 1985.
Figures for Bodiya, correct as at end of 1986.

- (1) Plots not yet allocated as at end of 1985.
(2) Plots not yet allocated as at end of 1985.
(3) Two of the residential plots have been used for the development of the IBMPA offices.

preferred, each bungalow is designed as two semi-detached flats to accommodate two families. In addition, one or two out-houses, often labelled "Boys Quarters" on the site plan, are located at the rear of the main building. Each of the out-houses also accommodates a separate family. Thus it is possible to have up to four or even more separate family units living on each property. Similarly, additional rooms are sometimes added to existing dwelling units on the site

in order to increase accommodation for either the enlarged nucleus family or provide one for a grown up member of the extended family.

This phenomenon of the development of additional units or rooms, apart from providing opportunity for the invasion of new uses as is discussed fully in the following section, also results in intensification of land use within each property site. While some of the new units built are used as residences, others accommodate non-residential uses like children's nursery, hair dressing saloons, provisions shops, guest house and offices. In Bodiya Estate where the practice is pronounced, 16 respondents indicated having erected additional new units or rooms. The following is a sample of the reasons they gave in answer to a question which requested them to state any particular reasons for the introduction of the new units:

- i. Because of the nature of our large family.
There was more money at the time, materials were cheaper.
- ii. More people in the family.
- iii. For more accommodation and free movement for the members of the family.
- iv. For children.
- v. Increased children.
- vi. The additional unit is for grown-up children.
- vii. Just to make it adaptable to the existing use of buildings in the area.
- viii. For selling soft drinks for the people living in the area.
- ix. For security reason.

Although most of the reasons volunteered had to do with increase in the size of the family, such reasons as in (vii) - (ix) explain the other uses made of the new units but which respondents were reluctant to spell out (see next section).

Table 7.5 shows that 34 percent of the dwelling units surveyed on Bodija Estate are over 20 years old, 46.2 percent are more than fifteen years old and only about 11 percent are between one and five years old. In contrast, the ages of the dwellings surveyed on Oluyole Estate range between only three and fifteen years; an indication of the relatively short existence of the estate, compared with Bodija Estate.

In general plan and lay-out, Bodija and Oluyole estates have distinctive physical structures that contrast strongly with the predominantly Yoruba traditional city core structures. However, the large scale spatial restructuring and use adaptations that have been introduced into these estates, particularly the older Bodija Estate, suggest that there are more fundamental causes at work than just the normal evolutionary land use invasion-succession⁸ processes.

7.1.2.4 Site Use Change

In September 1979, an attempt was made by the PDCOS to compile a list of unauthorized uses on Bodija Estate. These involved predominantly changes from residential uses to other uses, or adaptation of the existing residential sites

Table 7.5 AGE OF DWELLING ON PROPERTY:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE

Age of Dwelling	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency		Adjusted Frequency	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Less than one year	1	-	0.6	-	0.7	-
1 - 2 years	2	-	1.3	-	1.3	-
3 - 5 years	14	7	9.0	29.2	9.2	29.2
6 - 10 years	38	12	24.4	50.0	25.0	50.0
11 - 15 years	25	5	16.0	20.8	16.4	20.8
16 - 20 years	19	-	12.2	-	12.5	-
More than 20 years	53	-	34.0	-	34.9	-
Refused to answer	4	-	2.6	-	Missing	
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

to accommodate some residential-related uses. 81 residential plots had one form or other of use change categorized in table 7.6. Of these, 41 plots (50.62%) had commercial activities connected to sales, storage or a variety of services and 30 plots (37.04%) had office accommodation within their premises. Thus these two categories of commercial activities and business office uses comprised 87.66 percent of the total use changes from residential recorded in 1979. In 1980, about fifteen months later, a follow-up survey revealed that the number of plots

involved in use changes had risen to 153. This is an 88.89 percent increase on the 1979 figure (see table 7.8). There were broadly corresponding increases in commercial and office uses over the preceding year's figures. Instances of commercial sales and services increased to 79 plots from

Table 7.6 NATURE OF USE CHANGE INTRODUCED:
BODIJA ESTATE

Type of Use	1979		1980		1983	
	No of Build-ings	% of Total	No of Build-ings	% of Total	No of Build-ings	% of Total
Commercial						
Sales & Services	41	50.62	79	51.63	68	37.16
Office	30	37.04	58	37.91	86	46.99
Industrial	1	1.23	1	0.65	4	2.19
Educational	7	8.64	11	7.19	14	7.65
Religious	-	-	-	-	1	0.55
Social	-	-	-	-	-	-
Recreational	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hotel, Guest House	1	1.23	3	1.96	3	1.64
Any other	1	1.23	1	0.65	7	3.83
Total	81	100.00	153	100.00	183	100.00

Source: Calculated from the survey by the Town Planning Section, PDCOS, Sept. 1979, Dec. 1980 & June 1983.

41, an increase of 92.68 percent while instances of office use rose from 30 to 58 plots, making a 93.33 percent increase over the previous year. By 1983 when another survey was conducted, the total number of plots involved in use changes had gone up to 183. Thus within a span of five years between 1979 and 1983, there was an increase of 102 plots (that is 125.93 percent) involved in the introduction of uses which were officially termed "contraventions" on Bodiya Estate.

Table 7.7 shows details of the locations of the new uses within the properties involved in the introduction of the contraventions (see also plates 42 and 43). The analysis indicates rapid rates of both "invasion" and "succession" by "unapproved uses" in an estate that was planned mainly for residential use. It is noteworthy as shown on table 7.7, that where it was not possible for the new use to invade or succeed the previous uses by taking over parts of, or the whole of the buildings involved, new structures were erected within the premises to accommodate the new uses introduced.

The figures for Oluyole Estate are not as dramatic as for Bodiya Estate. Table 7.9 shows that in 1985 only 12 plots of the total of 234 developed residential plots on the estate were involved in introductions of unapproved uses. However, what is of interest is the nature of uses introduced, particularly, the commercial uses and the instances of hotel/guest house adaptation. These are similar to the ones found on Bodiya Estate.

Table 7.7 PART OF PROPERTY CONVERTED TO NEW USE:
BODIJA ESTATE

Part of Property	1979		1980		1983	
	Abso- lute Freq	% of Total	Abso- lute Freq	% of Total	Abso- lute Freq	% of Total
Whole Main House	31	38.27	64	41.83	79	43.17
Part Main House	36	44.44	77	50.33	87	47.54
One Out-house	6	7.41	6	3.92	7	3.83
New Unit Built	8	9.88	6	3.92	10	5.46
Total	81	100.00	153	100.00	183	100.00

Source: Calculated from the surveys by the Town Planning Section, PDCOS, 1979 - 1983.

Table 7.8 GROWTH IN USE CHANGE WITHIN BODIJA ESTATE
1979 - 1983

Type of Use	Between 1979 & 1980		Between 1980 & 1983		Between 1979 & 1983	
	Abso- lute Incr- ease	% Incr- ease	Abso- lute Incr- ease	% Incr- ease	Abso- lute Incr- ease	% Incr- ease
Sales & Serv- ices	38	92.68	-11	-13.92	27	65.85
Offices	28	93.33	28	48.28	56	186.67
Industrial	0	0.00	3	300.00	3	300.00
Educational	4	57.14	3	27.27	7	100.00
Religious	-	-	1	E	1	E
Social	-	-	-	-	-	-
Recreational	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hotel/Quest House	2	200.00	0	-	2	200.00
Any Other	0	0.00	6	600.00	6	600.00
Total	72	89.89	30	19.61	102	125.93

Source: Calculated from surveys by the Town Planning Section, PDCOS, 1979 - 1983.



Plate 42. Typical advertisement boards/posts for commercial activities: Bodija Estate.

Not all commercial activities are located conspicuously within premises. Signsboards are thus located at strategic points as in this picture, to inform passers-by that they take place within.



Plate 43. Garage converted for commercial activities.

Table 7.9 NATURE OF USE CHANGE INTRODUCED:
OLUYOLE ESTATE

Type of Use	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Commercial Sales	3	25.0
Services	4	33.3
Offices	-	-
Industrial	-	-
Educational	3	25.0
Religious	-	-
Social	-	-
Recreational	-	-
Hotel/Guest House	2	16.66
Any Other	-	-
Total	12	100.00

Source: Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority.
Figures as at end 1985.

The opinion survey conducted on both estates also confirms the pattern of the new uses introduced on both estates since their establishment. The figures presented in tables 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12 do not convey the same magnitude of change as is indicated in the management authority surveys presented in the earlier tables. It was not easy to ensure that respondents gave the truth. Many of them were suspicious of the interviewers and were reluctant to

Table 7.10 SUMMARY OF RESPONSES ON USE CHANGES:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Response Category	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
No Change	127	19	81.4	79.2	-	-
Use Changed Partly	21	5	13.5	20.8	87.5	100.0
Use Changed Completely	3	-	1.9	-	12.5	-
Refused to Answer	5	-	3.2	-	-	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

Table 7.11 PART OF PROPERTY CONVERTED TO NEW USES:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Part of Property	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Whole Main House	3	-	1.9	-	12.5	-
Part Main House	9	2	5.8	8.3	37.5	40.0
One Out-house	8	1	5.1	4.2	33.3	20.0
New Unit Built	4	2	2.6	8.3	16.7	40.0
Not Applicable	132	19	84.6	79.2		
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

disclose activities within their premises which the authorities had clearly declared as contraventions. However, tables 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12 again confirm the existence of invasion-succession characteristics and the types of "unapproved uses" on the two estates.

Table 7.12 NATURE OF USE CHANGE INTRODUCED:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Type of Use	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency % (1)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Commercial	11	3	7.1	12.5	45.8	60.0
Industrial	3	-	1.9	-	12.5	-
Educational	3	-	1.9	-	12.5	-
Religious	2	-	1.3	-	8.3	-
Social	1	-	0.6	-	4.2	-
Recreational	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hotel/Guest House (2)	1	1	0.6	4.2	4.2	20.0
Any Other	3	1	1.9	4.2	12.5	20.0
Not Applicable	132	19	84.6	79.2		
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

Notes

1. Percentage of actual use change.
2. These were made up of such establishments as clinics and hospitals.

7.1.3 Human Characteristics

The occupants of the first set of dwelling units on Bodija Estate were "white-collar workers and professional people" in both the civil service and private enterprise whose populations were then rapidly growing in the city. Mabogunje (1962) states that the indigenous population from the core area were not attracted to the new estate and showed no interest in buying even the lowest-priced houses.⁹ Hence for quite a time, the occupants of the Corporation-built houses, as well as of the privately owned plots on the estate were immigrants from other parts of the region, most of whom were Yoruba-speaking. However, the situation has changed considerably since the creation of new states out of the previous Western Region which existed when Bodija Estate was first established. Now there are a sizeable number of indigenous Ibadan population residents within the estate. Table 7.13 shows that 10.3 percent of the respondents in the Bodija survey are from Ibadan; 37.8 percent are Yoruba from Oyo state, whose capital is Ibadan; while 42.3 percent are from other Yoruba-speaking states in Nigeria. Hence, 92.2 percent of the total number of respondents were Yoruba. This suggests that the residents of Bodija Estate are predominantly from the Yoruba cultural area.

Similarly, as table 7.13 shows, 16.7 percent of the respondents in Oluyole Estate are from Ibadan; 37.5 percent are indigenes of other parts of Oyo state outside Ibadan; while 37.5 percent are from other Yoruba-speaking states of

Nigeria. Thus, the Yoruba-speaking residents comprised about 91 percent of the sample population on the estate.

Table 7.13 CULTURAL AREA OF RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE

Cultural Area	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
From Ibadan	16	4	10.3	16.7	10.5	16.7
Oyo State Outside Ibadan	59	9	37.8	37.5	38.6	37.5
Other Yoruba States	66	9	42.3	37.5	43.1	37.5
From Outside Yoruba States	12	2	7.7	8.3	7.8	8.3
Refused to Answer	3	-	1.9	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

The survey results also show that civil servants form half of the sample of heads of families on both Bodija and Oluyole estates, the figures being 56.3 and 50.0 percent respectively (table 7.14).

Table 7.14 OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF HEAD OF FAMILY:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Occupational Class	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Civil Serv, Manager	76	10	48.7	41.7	50.3	41.7
Civil Serv, Other	9	2	5.8	8.3	6.0	8.3
Private Prof, Manager	12	2	7.7	8.3	7.9	8.3
Private Prof, Other	28	4	17.9	16.7	18.5	16.7
Business, Manager	21	6	13.5	25.0	13.9	25.0
Business, Other	5	-	3.2	-	3.3	-
Refused to Answer	5	-	3.2	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

The majority of the respondents, as expected, were males (table 7.15). This was because the questionnaire was addressed to the head of the family interviewed on each property. Table 7.17 shows that 91.0 percent of the respondents in Bodijs Estate were married and 8.4 percent, single. 87.5 percent of the respondents on Oluyole Estate were married while 12.5 percent were single. The bulk of the respondents in both estates were aged between 26 and 65

Table 7.15 SEX COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Sex	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Male	112	20	71.8	83.3	73.2	87.0
Female	41	3	26.3	12.5	26.8	13.0
Refused to Answer	3	1	1.9	4.2	Miss- ing	Miss- ing
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

Table 7.16 AGE RANGES OF RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Age	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
18 - 25 Years	3	1	1.9	4.2	2.0	4.2
26 - 45 Years	78	13	50.0	54.2	52.3	54.2
46 - 65 Years	62	8	39.7	33.3	41.6	33.3
Above 65 Years	6	2	3.8	8.3	4.0	8.3
Refused to Answer	7	-	4.5	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/ May, 1986.

years (table 7.16). This range encompasses the active working age of the senior grades of the civil servants, the highly-skilled professionals and business executives who have been shown earlier above to predominate amongst the respondents on both estates (see table 7.14).

Table 7-17 FAMILY COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

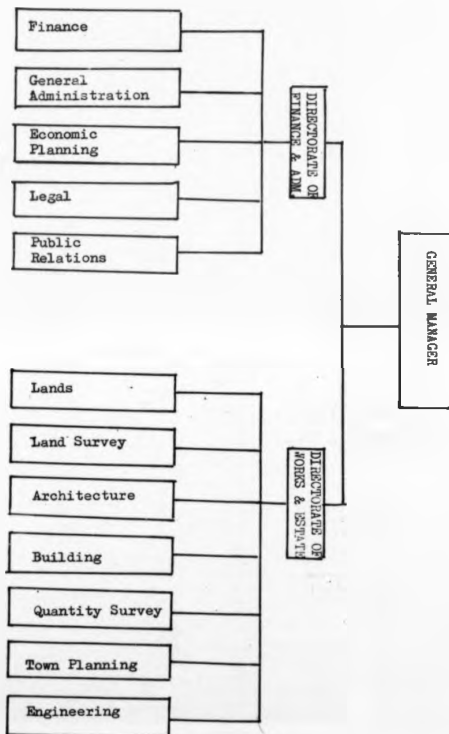
Family Composition	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency %		Adjusted Frequency %	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Single, No relatives	4	-	2.6	-	2.6	-
Single, With Relatives	9	3	5.8	12.5	5.8	12.5
Married, No Chn, No Rel.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Married, No Chn, With Rel.	4	-	2.6	-	2.6	-
Married, With Chn., No Rel.	59	9	37.8	37.5	37.8	37.5
Married, With Chn., Rel.	79	12	50.6	50.0	50.6	50.0
Not Specified	1	-	0.6	-	0.6	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey. April/May, 1986.

7.1.4 Administration

Bodija Estate is administered by the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State (PDCOS). The PDCOS, apart from its role in residential development is also engaged in the development of commercial and industrial estates. The Corporation has a number of such commercial, industrial, and residential estates in several towns within Oyo State. In addition, the Corporation maintains a land bank from which suitable sites are selected for development as and when new projects are designed and approved.

The General Manager is the chief executive officer of the Corporation. Next in rank to him are two executive directors, one heading the Directorate of Works and Estate (DWE), while the other is in charge of the Directorate of Finance and General Administration (DFA). The planning, design, development and maintenance of the residential estates are handled by the DWE. This division has, attached to it, all the technical and professional sections of the Corporation concerned with residential estate development (see figure 7.3). Each of the seven sections within the DWE are actively involved when a new estate is to be opened up. However, for a long established and mature estate like Bodija, the major functions are those of supervision and maintenance. Thus only three sections, namely, the Lands, Building and Town Planning are actively involved in supervision and maintenance duties on this estate. The Building Section, occasionally requiring the assistance of the Engineering Section, carries out the day-to-day

Fig. 7.3 Administrative Structure of the PDCOS, Bodija Estate, Ibadan

maintenance required on the roads and drains. It also draws from the pool of the labour gang to maintain the public lawns, roadside grass and landscaped areas.

The Lands Section principally deals with acquisition of suitable sites for the Corporation's land bank and allocation of estate plots to applicants. The section therefore keeps all relevant information on each applicant for land allocation. There is however occasional overlap of function between it and the Town Planning Section in the area of granting permission for the construction of temporary or permanent structures on sites within the estate which were not planned for such uses on the Bodija Master Plan. The Lands Section claims it is its responsibility to grant the Temporary Occupation Licence (TOL) ¹⁰ since it deals with plot allocation. The Town Planning Section however, claims that it is its responsibility not only to plan and lay out estates but also to see to it that what was planned and designed is fully implemented and satisfactory. Thus any deviation from the Master Plan for the estate is regarded as contravening the planning regulations for the estate.

The effect of this unresolved functional overlap is felt in the area of control and management. Physical planning, monitoring and development control activities are statutorily conferred on the Town Planning arm of a property development agency like the PDCOS. This is because it is supposed to be best qualified to handle such

functions. But where the Town Planning Section is unable to perform such roles because its functions have been usurped by another arm of the larger organisation, there are bound to be discrepancies in the application of control regulations. This will ultimately lead to ineffective development control and management of the estate with two arms of the same establishment giving conflicting rulings and operating different approval (or disapproval) procedures. The situation as described above has rendered the Town Planning section of the PDCOS relatively powerless to enforce removal of the numerous "temporary" uses, usually involving kiosks, mini-stores, Day-cars sheds, extensions to existing structures and conversions of residential units, particularly in the face of the determination of the residents to keep them.

Such a confused situation is no doubt partly responsible for the predominantly negative views expressed by the respondents on Bodija Estate in response to an open-ended question which requested them to describe their impression of the management and control of the Estate by the authority. Table 7.18 shows that only 24.3 percent of the respondents thought that management and control of the estate was either "fair" or "good" enough. The remaining 75.7 percent thought it was poor, inefficient or deplorable, or recorded that they noticed any development control activities only when a new construction was in progress.

Another reason for the generally poor rating for

Table 7.18 RESIDENTS' VIEW OF MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL
OF ESTATE: BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Respondents' View	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Good	8	3	5.1	12.5	5.3	12.5
Fair	30	15	19.2	62.5	20.0	62.5
Poor	39	1	25.0	4.2	26.0	4.2
Inefficient	19	3	12.2	12.5	12.7	12.5
Deplorable	46	2	29.5	8.3	30.7	8.3
Only Inspect New Construction	8	-	5.1	-	5.3	-
Refused to Answer	6	-	3.8	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

management and control on the estate may be deduced from the residents' view of the maintenance level on the estate. Table 7.19 shows that 59.6 percent of the respondents thought that maintenance was low while 40.4 percent of the respondents rated the maintenance level on the estate as fair, high or very high in quality. It is conditions such as that depicted in plate 44 which caused a great disaffection for management with regards to maintenance on the estate. Many residents spoke specifically of overgrown roadsides and uncleared open drains. Others mentioned that the roads were state of disrepair. "

Table 7.19 RESIDENTS' VIEW OF MAINTENANCE LEVEL
ON ESTATE: BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Respondents' View	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq. (%)		Adjusted Freq. (%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Very High	3	-	1.9	-	1.9	-
High	11	2	7.1	8.3	7.1	8.3
Fair	49	17	31.4	70.8	31.4	70.8
Low	92	5	59.0	20.8	59.0	20.8
Very Low	1	-	0.6	-	0.6	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Table 7.20 USE OF ENVIRONMENT BY NEIGHBOURS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Respondents' View	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq. (%)		Adjusted Freq. (%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Well Kept	83	17	53.2	70.8	56.1	70.8
Fair	58	6	37.2	25.0	39.2	25.0
Poor	7	1	4.5	4.2	4.7	4.2
Refused to Answer	8	-	5.1	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

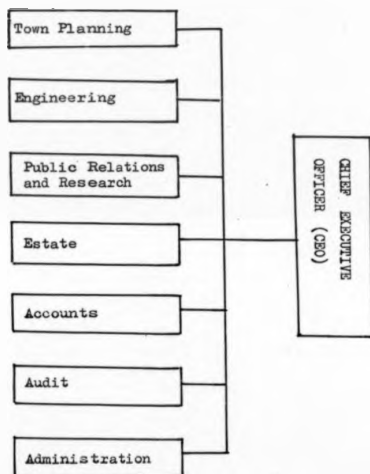
Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

It is clear from the responses obtained to the question on the impression of residents as to the way their neighbours use their plots or the local environment generally, that a majority of the respondents held management rather than residents, to be responsible for poor maintenance on the estate. Table 7.20 indicates that 53.2 percent of the respondents thought that their neighbours kept their environment well while 37.2 percent of the respondents said that their neighbours kept their environment in a fair condition. Only 4.5 percent rated their neighbours poor in this respect while 5.1 percent gave no opinion.

Oluyole Estate is administered by the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IBMPA). It has a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The Authority is divided into seven departments, namely, Town Planning, Engineering, Estate, Public Relations and Research, Accounts, Audit and Administration (see figure 7.4). In contrast to the PDCOS, all development control activities are handled by the Development Control unit within the Town Planning Department at the IBMPA. Documentary evidence also suggests clearer demarcations of functions for the different sections and departments of the Authority.

The result of the opinion survey on Oluyole Estate shows a high rating for the management as well as the maintenance level on the estate. A total of 75.0 percent of the respondents rated management and control of the estate as fair or good, while 25.0 percent thought that management and control of the estate was poor, inefficient or

Fig. 7.4 Administrative Structure of the IBMPA, Oluyole Estate, Ibadan



deplorable (see table 7.18). This obviously contrasts with the views expressed by respondents on Bodija Estate. The establishment of a separate Development Control Unit and greater clarity of function delimitation for the different sections of the Authority may be some of the factors which aided the management of Oluyole Estate to achieve higher rating from respondents on the estate in connection with management and development control than did the Bodija Estate management.

Similarly, the respondents on Oluyole Estate rated the maintenance level on their estate quite highly. 79.1 percent thought that maintenance on the estate was either fair or high (see table 7.19). The respondents on Oluyole Estate also thought that their neighbours kept their surroundings well as shown on table 7.20. However, an element which repeatedly came under criticism on Oluyole Estate was the roads. Most of the respondents who expressed disappointment with the authority's management as well as the maintenance level talked about the poor state of many of the estate roads. In particular, they felt unhappy about the dust which enveloped their buildings as vehicles passed on some of the major streets, like the one on plate 45, whose surface had been removed in readiness for resurfacing but where action was slow in affecting the necessary repairs.

The detailed explanations volunteered by some of the Bodija respondents during the opinion survey support the view that there may have been a slackening of



Plate 44. Uncleared open drain: Rotimi Williams Avenue, Bodiya Estate.



Plate 45. Dusty road awaiting resurfacing: Oluyele Estate.

enforcement of regulations on the estate by management. One such comment was made by an older resident who wrote on the completed questionnaire, his impression of the time when "Bodijs was a show-piece estate in the whole country". Then, according to the respondent, "management was firm and decisive in dealing with cases of mis-use of the environment; the roads were in excellent condition and the environment looked more beautiful".

7.2 TERRITORIAL BEHAVIOUR

Territorial behaviour on both Bodijs and Oluyole estates is similar. This may be attributable to the similarity in the socio-economic class of the residents on both estates (see table 7.14)¹², and the fact that the majority of the respondents in each estate belong to the same cultural stock - the Yoruba (see table 7.13). Two specific features of territorial behaviour in the two estates are discussed here. The first is the demarcation and defence of personal space. The other is demarcation and defence of community or group territory.

The research reveals a sharp contrast in territorial demarcation of personal space between that practised by traditional core residents and that observed in the two estates. As stated in chapter six, the traditional Yoruba communities do not lay emphasis on demarcating personal space. This is attributable to their living in large family groups within large residential units - the compound. Thus community space demarcations take precedence over personal

space demarcations. In contrast, there are rigid territorial demarcations, which emphasize personal space within the two estates. This may be attributed to a number of factors. One is the design concept itself which provided definite boundaries to spaces allocated to the applicants, intended to operate on a one-family-one-space basis. The other is adoption and adaptation of western-style residential living in which personal space is demarcated by physical elements which clearly inform outsiders of the presence of exclusive territorial boundaries. A third factor is the need for precautionary security measure against one of the evils of urban centres - burglary. Personal space demarcations not only serve to inform outsiders of the existence of territorial boundaries but also act as deterrents to prospective intruders. The fourth factor relates to the socio-economic class of the residents of the two estates. The educated elites that occupied both estates identified themselves with the new form of residential structure. The structure was convenient to utilize, and provided a unique opportunity for the newly emerging middle and upper classes to try out a western lifestyle which would distinguish them from the surrounding lower classes and the traditional population groups, and thus enhance their status. It is against these four basic factors that one could interpret the territorial demarcations which feature prominently on both estates. Plates 40, 41, 42 and 43 show some of the characteristics of personal space demarcations.

Another aspect of territorial behaviour on the two estates relates to the defence of personal space. Apart from the provisions of wall and steel fences and the use of highly trained dogs (see plates 46 and 47), residents also employ traditional methods of protection as evidenced below, for their individual sites or for a group of sites along each of the streets on each estate.

Respondents were asked to describe the security arrangements that they have on their sites. The multiple responses were later aggregated and coded. Table 7.21 shows the frequencies of the first ten most recurring features mentioned. Out of the 146 valid cases (that is, of respondents who answered the question) on Bodija Estate, 28.1 percent use guards while 17.8 percent use guards for both day and night. Thus a total of 45.9 percent of the respondents employed the services of guards for their sites. Similarly, out of the 24 valid cases on Oluyole Estate, 33.3 percent use a night-time guard while another 33.3 percent employ guards for both day and night times. This shows that a total of 66.7 percent of the respondents on Oluyole Estate engage the services of guards for their individual properties. The term "guards" used in this context equates the Yoruba version called Ode (as described in chapter six) who are employed to protect the traditional residential areas of the core (mainly during the night). Two major groups of these guards feature prominently on the two estates. One group comprises the Yoruba traditional guards. The other group are of



Plate 46. Territorial demarcation: Bodija Estate.

High walls and a steel fence combine to keep unwanted visitors and prospective intruders out, and ensure privacy of territory.



Plate 47. Security provisions: Bodija Estate.

Use of highly trained dogs in addition to fencing is popular on both Bodija and Oluyole estates.

Table 7.21 INDIVIDUAL SITE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Type of Arrangement	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Security Dogs	41	5	19.3	12.8	28.1	20.8
Night-time Guard	41	8	19.3	20.5	28.1	33.3
Wall Fence	33	7	15.6	17.9	22.6	29.2
Day and Night Guard	26	8	12.3	20.5	17.8	33.3
None	18	4	8.5	10.3	12.3	16.7
Steel Gate	15	4	7.1	10.3	10.3	16.7
Joint Street Arrangement	13	1	6.1	2.6	8.9	4.2
Burglar Proof Steelworks	11	1	5.2	2.6	7.5	4.2
Security Lights	8	1	3.8	2.6	5.5	4.2
God	6	-	2.8	-	4.1	-
Total Responses	212	39	100.0	100.0	145.2	162.5

146 Valid Cases.

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

north-eastern Nigeria origin. These are the equivalent of the Yoruba traditional guards. Having migrated to the south they are readily available for employment as guards in such sheltered and exclusive residential areas like the Bodiya and Oluyole estates. The residents of such estates are



Plate 48. Officially provided contact facility: Bodiya Estate.

This is the only officially provided contact facility of its kind on the estate. The PDCOS staff and residents come to relax in the Club House in the evenings.

willing to employ these north-eastern Nigeria guards as substitutes for the Yoruba traditional guards who, owing to the development in modern urban living and contemporary urban economy, are now in short supply over the demand for their services in the cities. The remaining guards comprise a small proportion of official security guards employed to watch over various official residences owned by governments, companies, firms and other institutions - mainly during official working hours. Even this category of residents employ other private night-time guards who are usually drawn from either of the two categories of traditional guards described above. The fact that the residents of these estates have shown such willingness to utilise this traditional method of territorial defence supports the view of adaptation of traditional socio-cultural features in these two residential settings.

The second major feature of territorial behaviour on the two estates relates to the demarcation and defence of community or group territory. Even though there is strong emphasis on delimitation of personal space on both estates, residents on each of the two estates have established a permanent forum for meetings to discuss and take crucial decisions on the overall defence of their respective estates. These Residents/Owners Associations with representations from their respective estate managements, meet about once a month to discuss a variety of issues affecting their estates. This arrangement has resulted in a variety of improvements for each estate. Issues like

water supply, electricity generation, maintenance on the estate, as well as security arrangements come up frequently. In the latter regard decisions have been taken, particularly in Bodija, to employ jointly, night guards (Ode) to man the three major entrances into the estate (see plates 35, 36 and 37) from midnight till dawn. Also joint street surveillance arrangements are encouraged amongst residents living along each street or road on the estates. Table 22 shows that 43.4 percent of the respondents on Bodija Estate and 12.5 percent of respondents on Oluyole Estate mentioned that such joint street security arrangements existed on their respective estates. Similarly, 24.8 percent and 50.0 percent respectively from Bodija and Oluyole estates indicated the presence of night guards at the gates leading to their estates. The table also shows the variety of security measures implemented for each estate which respondents were aware of. It is significant then to note that there is considerable effort by both the management and residents of each estate to maintain adequate security in the two estates. It is equally of importance to this thesis that traditional Yoruban community security approaches have been adopted in addition to the contemporary conventional security systems. The regular meetings of estate residents, the appointment of traditional security guards and the establishment of joint security surveillance for small areas on each of the estates show that Yoruba socio-cultural systems continue to be influential on the new estates.

Table 7.22 DESCRIPTION OF ESTATE SECURITY:
BODIJA AND OLUVOLE ESTATES

Description	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Joint Street Arrangement	63	3	28.5	8.6	43.4	12.5
Night Guards at Main Gates	36	12	16.3	34.3	24.8	50.0
Police Patrol	35	7	15.8	20.0	24.1	29.2
Police Post on Estate	23	-	10.4	-	15.9	-
Individual House Arrangement	25	4	11.3	11.4	17.2	16.7
None	13	2	5.9	5.7	9.0	8.3
Road Barriers	10	4	4.5	11.4	6.9	16.7
Fencing Round Estate	9	1	4.1	2.9	6.2	4.2
Fair	4	2	1.8	5.7	2.8	8.3
Poor	3	-	1.4	-	2.1	-
Total Responses	221	35	100.0	100.0	152.4	145.8

145 Valid Cases.

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

7.3 SOCIAL INTERACTION

One of the aims for the establishment of the Residents/Owners Associations on each of the two estates is to encourage social interaction amongst residents, as well

as to find solutions to particular problems faced by them. Apart from its scheduled monthly meetings, the association on Bodiya Estate, in collaboration with the PDCOS management, organizes an annual Christmas party to bring residents and their families together. The teacher-parent meetings of the Bodiya International School also aid interaction amongst residents who have children in the school. Although these institutionalized meetings were mentioned by respondents during the surveys, they did not figure as frequently in the responses as mentions of other avenues for social interaction as shown on table 7.23. The table shows the ten most frequently mentioned avenues through which respondents said they could meet old friends and make new ones. This open-ended question was asked to obtain a picture of the nature of social interaction existing amongst residents on each estate and of the various facilities that existed for promoting such interaction. Fifteen different contact facilities were repeatedly mentioned by the respondents. In Bodiya, the church was mentioned by 53 (47.3 percent) of the 112 respondents that answered the question. Attendance is weekly plus occasional mid-week prayer meetings. Related to the church services are the church-based or church-related associations - the "religious associations" which are formed by different groups of church members. Membership is usually based on either age, social class or on "old" boy or girl status of some schools or colleges. 15.2 percent of the respondents mentioned religious associations as their

Table 7.23 CONTACT FACILITIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Name of Facility	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Church	53	1	27.3	6.7	47.3	10.0
Sports Grounds	38	1	19.6	6.7	33.9	10.0
Social Clubs	22	3	11.3	20.0	19.6	30.0
Religious Associations	20	-	10.3	-	17.9	-
Residents' Association	17	3	8.8	20.0	15.2	30.0
Hotels and Guest Houses	14	6	7.2	40.0	12.5	60.0
Club House (PDCOS)	13	-	6.7	-	11.6	-
PDCOS Independence Square	7	-	3.6	-	6.3	-
Street Defence Meetings	7	-	3.6	-	6.3	-
Mosque	3	1	1.5	6.7	2.7	10.0
Total Responses	194	15	100.0	100.0	173.2	150.0

122 Valid Cases.

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

contact points for meeting old friends and making new ones. The sports ground was also high in the frequency of mentions by respondents on Bodija Estate - 33.9 percent mentioned this facility.

The situation on Oluyole Estate differs from Bodija Estate markedly. Hotels and guest houses were the most frequently mentioned facilities. Next in the frequency of mentions were social clubs and the Residents' Association.

The contrasting situations on the two estates are clearly affected by the nature of facilities provided within each setting. On the Bodija Estate Master Plan, provision was made for two church sites, plus a site for a Seminary which also has a church building within its premises. All the three churches have been developed. These churches are convenient locations on the estate where residents who are Christians can satisfy both their religious needs and their social interaction requirements. On the other hand, there was no developed church site at the time of the survey on Oluyole Estate. Hotels and Guest Houses were mentioned more frequently by respondents on Oluyole Estate because these were the most readily available avenues for relaxation and social contact on the estate. There is no developed open space nor any sports ground on the estate, but potential for such facilities to service social interaction and community development is reflected in the high demand for developed open spaces and children's play grounds by respondents, as shown on table 7.24.

A very striking aspect of the survey result shown on table 7.23 is the fact that of the ten most frequently mentioned facilities on Bodija Estate, six were established by either the tenants or the resident/absentee property

owners, while all the six mentioned by the Oluyole Estate respondents were similarly established by tenants or property owners to meet the residents' social interaction needs. Some of these points of contact like the hotels and guest houses were "illegally" established initially before acquiring post development legality.

Table 7.24 FEATURES DESIRED BY RESIDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Features	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Recreational Facilities	49	7	22.9	15.6	39.8	31.8
Street Lights	32	5	15.0	11.1	26.0	22.7
Developed Open Spaces	28	13	13.1	28.9	22.8	59.1
Children's Play Grounds	25	8	11.7	17.8	20.3	36.4
Maintenance of Facilities	21	4	9.8	8.9	17.1	18.2
Efficient Security	14	4	6.5	8.9	11.4	18.2
More Shopping Facilities	13	1	6.1	2.2	10.6	4.5
Community Centre	11	-	5.1	-	8.9	-
Secondary Schools	11	-	5.1	-	8.9	-
Post Office	10	3	4.7	6.7	8.1	13.6
Total Responses	214	45	100.0	100.0	174.0	204.5
145 Valid Cases.						

Sources: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Another significant feature is the nature of the provisions made by residents to meet their social interaction needs. Similar social clubs, religious associations, residents' associations and small area (street) meetings feature in and form the basis of the network of social interaction amongst residents of traditional core of Yoruba cities discussed in chapter four. It is therefore notable that these features have been reproduced in the development of two new estates in which the majority of the residents are Yoruba. The various associations function to promote the welfare and sense of belonging of residents as well as providing opportunities to bring residents together.

Because there were only limited contact facilities provided on each estate through which social interaction amongst residents might be promoted, the residents themselves have devised ways of providing such necessary avenues and continue to seek development of further avenues. In the process, some of their actions have fallen foul of the established official regulations. This is the case with the establishment of hotels and guest houses which fall into the category of "contraventions" on both estates. Of course, the economic motivation for the establishment of hotels and guest houses is also recognised. But it is equally true that it is in response to the demands for their provision, and the anticipated potential markets for them on both estates that the proprietors embarked on their development.

The high demand for recreational facilities, developed open spaces, and children's play grounds by respondents from both estates reflects the gross deficiency in such facilities within the two estates, and indicates the adverse effects felt by residents because of this deficiency. It is to be noted that open spaces are generously and consciously provided within traditional Yoruba city cores in the form of communal squares, morning and night open market areas, and large or small courtyards surrounded by either groups of compounds or inserted within individual compounds. Thus provision of recreational or play areas is embodied in the traditional city core structure.

7.4 INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY RELATIONSHIPS

The discussion of the Yoruba traditional unit of dwelling in chapter six highlighted the importance of the compound system. One main feature of the arrangement was the multiplicity of primary nuclei-families living within the same physically demarcated enclosure - the compound. Another feature was that all the male heads of the different primary, nuclei-families living within the same compound are descendants of a named ancestor. These two features of Yoruba compound living are important in the interpretation of the situations developing on both Bodija and Oluyole Estates. A similar system to Yoruba traditional compound living is gradually emerging on both estates.

Property owners - both on privately-built and on Corporation-built plots, have succeeded in adopting their sites to accommodate more family units than just their own. This has led to the development of multi-family living on sites designed to accommodate only single families. This trend has become firmly entrenched on both Bodija and Oluyole Estates. As table 7.25 indicates, 32.7 percent and 50.0 percent respectively, of properties surveyed on Bodija and Oluyole estates accommodate two or more separate families. Altogether there were 51 such properties on Bodija Estate and 12 on Oluyole Estate in the surveyed samples.

One of the questions requested respondents to state the nature of their relationship with each of the other families living on the same property with them. The relationship between each respondent (who is a family head) and the first mentioned other family (head) living with him on the same property was set out in table 7.26. The analysis presented in the table concerns only the first 51 pairs of families living on the 51 properties where two or more separate families live. The table shows that out of the total of 51 pairs of families, 14 pairs (27.45 percent) are related by blood; that is, the heads of the families are from the same parents or belong to the same extended family. This aspect is noteworthy as it accords with the hypothesis that there will be a transference of traditional socio-cultural living arrangements of the Yoruba into the contemporary residential settings typified by Bodija and

Table 7.25 NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVING WITHIN SAME
PROPERTY: BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Number of Families	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
One	102	12	65.4	50.0	66.7	50.0
Two	38	7	24.4	29.2	24.8	29.2
Three	6	2	3.8	8.3	3.9	8.3
Four or More	7	3	4.5	12.5	4.6	12.5
Refused to Answer	3	-	1.9	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Table 7.26 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIRST MENTIONED PAIRS
OF FAMILIES LIVING ON SAME PROPERTY:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Relationship	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Same Parents	3	1	1.9	4.2	5.9	8.2
Same Father/Mother	5	2	3.2	8.3	9.8	16.7
Same Extended Family	6	1	3.8	4.2	11.8	8.3
Same Town	5	-	3.2	-	9.8	-
Same State	12	3	7.7	12.5	23.5	25.0
Not Same State	20	5	12.8	20.8	39.2	41.7
Refused to Answer	3	-	1.9	-	Missing	-
Not Applicable	102	12	65.4	50.0	Missing	100.0
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Oluyole estates.

However, the apparent reproduction of the traditional Yoruba community living patterns in the two case study estates is not wholly attributable to socio-cultural factors. Economic considerations play a major role in the determination of the number of separate family accommodations which are provided for by property owners on their sites as evidenced by occurrence of occupation by families without blood ties. Some of the reasons volunteered by respondents in answer to the question as to why they had erected additional units on their site support the idea of economic considerations. Reasons for the erection of additional units either for commercial or domestic rental purposes were "to make more money" or "to yield more revenue". Other reasons offered support the view that traditional living patterns are an important influence, for instance, reasons such as "to live close to someone else on my plot", "to provide accommodation for some relations", and "to accommodate visitors". The trend therefore seems to represent both the satisfaction of economic motivations and the reproduction of the traditional Yoruba system of multi-family living on the same property. This is a trend which is contrary to the original site planning intentions but which the authorities in both estates have failed to arrest and may not succeed in arresting because of its several inherent advantages described by the respondents. A further factor mentioned by respondents is that the system has helped considerably to

improve security of properties on both estates. It is common to find one or two elderly members of the different families accommodated on the same property, who are permanently at home during the day when the adult members of the families (in most cases both husband and wife) are away at work and the children are in school. As in the core areas, these "grandmas" help to oversee the different units within the site while everybody is away. One of the frequently recurring explanations volunteered by respondents in answering why some parts of the buildings on their premises have been converted for commercial use was "to keep Grandma active". This again is a traditional way of taking responsibility for the elderly by providing some physical activities to occupy them. These elderly women derive satisfaction from the commercial activities which not only keep them busy but also relieve them of loneliness.

The system also helps to look after the welfare and security of neighbours — someone is at hand to notice any unwanted movements into their next-door neighbour's property. This may be one of the factors responsible for the generally favourable view of the relationship between next-door neighbours which respondents gave during the survey. 97.4 percent of the respondents on Rodija Estate described their relationship with their immediate neighbour as either friendly (70.8 percent) or very friendly (29.2 percent); (see table 7.27). This good relationship which exists between next-door neighbours is manifested in

Table 7.27 RELATIONSHIP WITH IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Relationship	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Very Friendly	55	7	35.3	29.2	35.9	29.2
Friendly	94	17	60.3	70.8	61.4	70.8
Fair	2	-	1.3	-	1.3	-
Not Friendly	2	-	1.3	-	1.3	-
Refused to Answer	3	-	1.9	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

interchange of frequent daily or weekly conversation and of visits between such neighbours. On Bodija Estate, 26.3 percent of the respondents said they communicate with or visit their neighbours daily, 28.8 percent do these several times a week, while 10.3 percent maintain communication or visit their neighbours at least once a week. On Oluyole, the figures are 16.7 percent daily, 62.5 percent several times a week and 12.5 percent once a week (see table 7.28).

The effect of this is a circumstantial closeness and understanding between families living on adjacent plots within the estate. The relationship with families living beyond three or four plots away however, is rather superficial and restricted largely to occasional chance

Table 7.28 COMMUNICATION RATE WITH IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Rate	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Everyday	41	4	26.3	16.7	26.8	16.7
Several Times a Day	45	15	28.8	62.5	29.4	62.5
Once a Week	16	3	10.3	12.5	10.5	12.5
Few Times a Month	35	2	22.4	8.3	22.9	8.3
Once a Month	4	-	2.6	-	2.6	-
Few Times a Year	11	-	7.1	-	7.2	-
Never	1	-	0.6	-	0.7	-
Refused to Answer	3	-	1.9	-	Missing	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

meetings on the street. Comments at the Residents/Owners meetings indicate that the range of the network of neighbourliness is limited to perhaps a couple of plots. This falls short of the situation in the core area where the network covers a whole block (ward) which may include up to ten or more traditional compounds. The limited range of neighbour-relation on the estates is ofcourse to be expected as residents on each property do not necessarily have the same family/patrilineal root as residents of the other properties in the neighbourhood (see table 7.26), in

contrast to what is often the case in Yoruba traditional city core areas (see chapters 4 and 5). Apart from the absence of widespread kinship connection, the nature of the occupation of residents, their educational level, cultural assimilation and the general complications and demands of modern urban living mitigate against maintaining the type of large-scale network of spatial relationship that exist in traditional core areas.

However, residents seem to derive from the limited spatial network of neighbour-relationships a similar sense of satisfaction and fulfilment as occurs in the Yoruba traditional core settings, judging by the way they described their experiences during the survey. Many of them want to see a less "rigid", and less "too exclusive" environment.

7.5 COGNITIVE MAPPING

It was shown in paragraph 7.2 above that a majority of the respondents on both Bodija and Oluyole estates are Yoruba. Further analysis (see table 7.29) shows that 43.6 percent of the respondents in Bodija Estate and 33.3 percent of the respondents on Oluyole Estate once lived within a traditional city core. This result suggests that at least a third of the residents on each estate could be presumed to have lived within a Yoruba traditional city core at some time in their earlier lives before moving into their present homes.

Table 7.29 PREVIOUS RESIDENTIAL AREA OF RESPONDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Area	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq. (%)		Adjusted Freq. (%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
In a Village	14	1	9.0	4.2	9.0	4.2
In a Small Town	56	13	35.9	54.2	35.9	54.2
In a City Suburb	18	2	11.5	8.3	11.5	8.3
In a Traditional City Core	68	8	43.6	33.3	43.6	33.3
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

The hypothesis that is being tested in this section is that the decisions that residents of Bodija and Oluyole estates have made in relation to their respective environments closely relate to trying (either consciously or unconsciously) to remodel their surroundings into forms more akin to those of the traditional areas in which they may have previously lived or with which they have cultural connection. In examining the evidence for this hypothesis, it is necessary however, to take cognisance of values placed by residents on orderly, beautiful, peaceful, quiet and secure environment in choosing these estates as places to live. The variety of

responses shown on table 7.30 indicates the types of things residents look for when they have the opportunity to choose the milieu characteristics of their environment. The table shows the first ten most frequently mentioned characteristics. Most of these features are perceived as present in both Bodija and Oluyole estates — as shown by the respondents' specification of the elements which gave them satisfaction on the estates (see table 7.32). The presence of these elements must have fulfilled the initial expectations of residents when they were moving in to the estates (see table 7.30) and contributed immensely to their feelings of satisfaction. Most of the features are not core characteristics. Thus the planned environment of each estate seems suitable and the planning efforts apparently justified. However, the plans are not well suited to supplying satisfaction of other aspirations — aspirations which appear to have a socio-cultural basis. The adaptations of the settings that have been undertaken must necessarily be highly valued by the respective residents as contributing to the achievement of person-environment fit. Table 7.31 for instance, shows that the desire to accommodate relatives and visitors was mentioned by 13.3 percent of the respondents on Bodija Estate and 20.0 percent of the respondents on Oluyole Estate, as one of the responses to the question which requested them to state any particular reason(s) for their choice of the type and number of building units they have on their plots. This desire to accommodate relatives and visitors stems

Table 7.30 REASONS FOR CHOICE OF ESTATE:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Reason	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Quietness	70	8	18.8	13.8	49.0	33.3
Availability of Amenities	70	14	18.8	24.1	49.0	58.3
Accessability	42	8	11.3	13.8	29.4	33.3
Security Arrangement	35	6	9.4	10.3	24.5	25.0
Neatness of Environment	32	2	8.6	3.4	22.4	8.3
Planned Environment	32	3	8.6	5.2	22.4	12.5
Privacy	26	1	7.0	1.7	18.2	4.2
Low Density	24	5	6.5	8.6	16.8	20.8
Peacefulness of Environment	22	2	5.9	3.4	15.4	8.3
Location from Work	19	9	5.1	15.5	13.3	37.5
Total Responses	372	58	100.0	100.0	260.1	241.7

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

fundamentally from the multi-family co-habitation image of the traditional Yoruba city core still being held firmly by residents.

Similarly, respondents were definite about why they put up the additional units on their property or converted

Table 7.31 REASONS FOR CHOICE OF TYPE OF HOUSE:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Reason	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Family Size Needs	62	13	26.5	31.0	48.4	65.0
Privacy	41	5	17.5	11.9	32.0	25.0
Convenience	30	3	12.8	7.1	23.4	15.0
Affordability	29	8	12.4	19.0	22.7	40.0
Ease of Maintenance	24	3	10.3	7.1	18.8	15.0
To Accommodate Relatives & Visitors	17	4	7.3	9.5	13.3	20.0
Land Space	11	4	4.7	9.5	8.6	20.0
To Provide Additional Income	9	2	3.8	4.8	7.0	10.0
Security	7	-	3.0	-	5.5	-
No Choice	4	-	1.7	-	3.1	-
Total Responses	234	42	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

parts of the buildings on their site for commercial purposes. Many of the reasons offered were of the type "to provide additional income" or "to keep Grandma active". The whole idea of the work-in-residence space provision is a solidly entrenched socio-cultural feature of the Yoruba

traditional city core areas. So also are the other features dealt with in the analysis above — network of social interaction, facilities for recreation and relaxation, communal territorial security arrangement, neighbourliness and the development of "brother's keeper" roles amongst residents. All these traditionally-related elements plus the ones listed in table 7.32 have created high satisfaction levels on both estates.

Table 7.32 INDICES OF SATISFACTION AMONGST RESIDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Satisfaction Index	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Accessibility	40	9	21.7	25.7	35.1	40.9
Available Amenities	30	4	16.3	11.4	26.3	18.2
Planned Environment	28	6	15.2	17.1	24.6	27.3
Quietness of Environment	27	5	14.7	14.3	23.7	22.7
Aesthetic Beauty	14	3	7.6	8.6	12.3	13.6
Privacy	13	-	7.1	-	11.4	-
Trees and Flowers	10	1	5.4	2.9	8.8	4.5
Neatness of Environment	9	3	4.9	8.6	7.9	13.6
Security	7	1	3.8	2.9	6.1	4.5
Recreational Facilities	6	3	3.3	8.6	5.3	13.6
Total Responses	184	35	100.0	100.0	161.4	159.1

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Table 7.33 INDICES OF DIS-SATISFACTION AMONGST RESIDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Dis-satisfaction Index	Count		Percentage of Responses		Percentage of Cases	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Bad Roads	78	13	40.2	40.6	66.7	61.9
Poor General Maintenance	39	6	20.1	18.8	33.3	28.6
Dirty Drains	24	-	12.4	-	20.5	-
Undeveloped Open Spaces	15	9	7.7	28.1	12.8	42.9
Inefficient Services	13	1	6.7	3.1	11.1	4.8
Very Few Open Spaces	9	1	4.6	3.1	7.7	4.8
Poor Security Arrangement	7	1	3.6	3.1	6.0	4.8
Too Exclusive	5	-	2.6	-	4.3	-
Monotonous Housing Types	2	1	1.0	3.1	1.7	4.8
Noise from Public Transport	1	-	1.0	-	1.7	-
Total Responses	194	32	100.0	100.0	165.8	152.4

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Table 7.34 indicates that more than 85 percent of the respondents on Bodija Estate and all the respondents (100 percent) on Oluyole Estate like their estates at least "moderately well". Consequently, 94 percent in Bodija Estate and all the respondents on Oluyole Estate rated

Table 7.34 SATISFACTION RATING BY RESIDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Rating	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Like it Very Much	45	10	28.8	41.7	29.0	41.7
Like it Moderately Well	88	14	56.4	58.3	56.8	58.3
Like it only a Little	20	-	12.8	-	12.9	-
Dislike it	1	-	0.6	-	0.6	-
Dislike it Very Much	1	-	0.6	-	0.6	-
Blank	1	-	0.6	-	-	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

Table 7.35 FEELING OF HOMELINESS AMONGST RESIDENTS:
BODIJA AND OLUYOLE ESTATES

Rating	Absolute Frequency		Relative Freq.(%)		Adjusted Freq.(%)	
	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu	Bod	Olu
Very High	28	1	17.9	4.2	17.9	4.2
High	59	11	37.8	45.8	37.8	45.8
Fairly High	61	12	39.1	50.0	39.1	50.0
Low	5	-	3.2	-	3.2	-
Very Low	3	-	1.9	-	1.9	-
Total	156	24	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Opinion Survey, April/May, 1986.

their feeling of homeliness to be at least fairly high (see table 7.35). The obvious inference that could be drawn from the results and analysis outlined above is that when a group of residents of any residential setting have the type of environment they want, and/or succeed in continually adapting such an environment to suit their requirements, there must necessarily be both satisfaction and a feeling of at-homeness within such an environment.

The items on table 7.33 which indicate the sources of dis-satisfaction to residents clearly show the weakness of management in relation to planning control and maintenance of the estates. These adverse elements are not necessarily permanent features. Some structures, like buildings and routes in fully mature residential settings where no extra spaces for expansion or rearrangement are available, may not be eliminated realistically in order to redress the situation. However, other features which are caused essentially by poor maintenance of the infrastructures may be eliminated by efficient reorganisation of the different management machineries for dealing with such issues.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that the residents of both Bodija and Oluyole Estates have employed an amalgam of socio-culturally based characteristics in order to create situations of person-environment fit within their respective residential settings. These are in addition to the conventional physical provisions which planners and developers of residential settings provide or

do not provide; and which are normally focussed on in the discussions of "setting deprivation" and "setting aggravation".¹³ Some of the deficiencies which constitute setting deprivations for Bodiya and Oluyole, identified during the survey, have been listed on table 7.24. while table 7.33 shows other features whose continued presence on the estates are offensive, irritating and reduce both residential satisfaction and sense of at-homeness amongst the residents.

Notes and References

1. There is a later extension to the estate known as "Bodijs Estate Extension" covering an area of 53.87 hectares on the eastern wing of the "old" Bodijs Estate. The two parts are separated by the University of Ibadan-Secretariat dual carriage way (see plate 34 and figures 2.2 and 7.1).
2. Western Nigeria Housing Corporation: Annual Report, Year ended 31st March, 1963. Western Nigeria Official Document No.6 of 1964. p.14.
3. See Akin Mabogunje, "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan", The Geographical Review vol.52, (1962), p.72; M.O. Oyetunji, "Development Control in a Housing Estate: Bodijs Estate Experience", The Builders: A Quarterly Magazine of the Property Development Corporation of Oyo State News vol 3, No.1 (1982), p.10.
4. See "An Address Presented by the Governor of Oyo State (Chief Bola Ige) at the Launching Ceremony of the New Board of Directors of Property Development Corporation of Oyo State", 28th January, 1980.
5. See the brochure, Oluyole Estate produced by the Ibadan Town Planning Authority in 1969 as part of its publicity efforts to launch the Ibadan Town Extension Scheme No.1, otherwise known as "Oluyole Estate".
6. The Government Reservation Areas, as was discussed in chapter four, were initially residential reservation areas for the European government officials. The GRAs were usually physically separated from the general indigenous urban development areas of Nigerian cities. They were occupied by their Nigerian counterparts at Independence. Since that time, Nigerians have seen the GRA as a "misfit" in the contemporary urban landscapes because they indicate segregation of these senior cadre officials from the general public.
7. The interviewers were all instructed to note and insert the plot or house number as well as the street name on each questionnaire after leaving the respondent's premises. This was to aid future cross-checking of information but without creating unnecessary suspicions in respondents.
8. The concepts of "invasion" and "succession" are used in theories of Urban ecology with particular

reference to movement of human population or land-use. "Invasion" is the encroachment of a population or land-use on the territory of another. If the encroaching feature (population or land-use) succeeds in displacing the original inhabitants, then a condition of "succession" is said to have occurred. "In the climax phase of the succession all traces of the old uses or populations may be lost" (D.W.G. Tims, The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 87)

9. Akin Mabogunje, "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan". Ibid. p. 72.
10. The "Temporary Occupation License" (TOL) is given by the Lands Section of the PDCOS to applicants to occupy and or develop certain open or unoccupied spaces on the estate. Each occupier is charged a specific fee according to the type of use of the site. Indeed, the TOL was later extended to cover the use of existing residential buildings for such uses like offices, shops and Day-care centres.
11. Before the survey in Bodija was concluded in May, 1986, repairs had started on a number of the major roads within the estate which had hitherto called forth bitter complaints from residents. Notable amongst such roads were the Awolowo, Oshuntokun and Adeyi Avenues.
12. Background information obtained on the two estates during the preliminary studies for this research indicate that the residents of both estates fall predominantly into the middle and upper socio-economic classes.
13. See for instance, Tridib Banerjee and William C. Baer, Beyond the Neighborhood Unit. New York: Plenum Press, 1984, chapter 5, for a full treatment of these features which they label "environmental hardware" and which they claim could constitute "deprivations" or "aggravation".

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In chapters four to six, the various traditional and cultural characteristics of the Yoruba people were highlighted. Particular emphases were placed on the strong effects of the history of establishment of the Yoruba cities, and on characteristic Yoruba socio-cultural values in influencing the morphology and living patterns within the traditional Yoruba city cores. The socio-cultural indicators specifically analysed were grouped into five categories, namely: physical structure, territorial behaviour, social interaction, individual and society welfare and residential image formation. The aim was to set the stage for the analysis of the environmental use and adaptation of the two relatively newer Bodija and Oluyole estates.

It was demonstrated in chapter 4 that the Yorubas developed a complex administrative system of governance for the type of closely-knit community living which they evolved in the high-density settlements that they created. It was a hierarchical system with the Oba at the pinnacle of authority and the extended family compound as the smallest unit of aggregation. The effectiveness of the system ensured adequate defence for the different

communities, functional efficiency of each part of the city both in war and peace; and the sense and feeling of belonging provided much needed equilibrium and impetus to the inhabitants; consequently creating strong attachment to the community.

However, there resulted considerable modifications to the social and physical organisation of the Yoruba cities owing to a number of factors (chapter 5). These included phenomenal growth in population, introduction of modern social and economic systems, high pressures on family land leading to "growth by fission", and super-imposition of alien cultural land use systems both within and at the peripheries of the existing traditional cities. Despite the aggressive invasion by these external factors the Yoruba socio-cultural patterns have shown dogged resilience and have still remained to dictate use and adaptation of residential spaces even in newer residential suburbs surrounding traditional city cores. Details of the various characteristics of the Yoruba socio-cultural systems were analysed in chapter 6.

The following points emerged from the analysis. It was noted that there is order in the seemingly "chaotic" spatial arrangement of the Yoruba traditional residential areas. The arrangement resulted from certain sets of rules and society objectives. Each of the elements of the urban sets - the palace, the market squares, public buildings and open spaces - convey definite meanings to the inhabitants, and serve specific functions in the life of the

community. The smallest unit of aggregation, the compound, was organised to foster interaction, neighbourliness, cooperation and consequently to ensure individual and society welfare. Apart from its living-area function, the compound also provided facilities for work-in-residence and relaxation.

It was against the above background information about the socio-cultural characteristics of Yoruba residential areas that the situations in the two case study estates of Bodija and Oluyole were investigated in chapter 7.

It is pertinent to emphasize at this stage that a number of elements exerted considerable moderating influences on the pattern of use and adaptation of the residential environments of the two estates. Education, for instance, has a discouraging effect on the maintenance of traditional attitudes. The educated elites who occupy the two estates would be expected to maintain a certain level of "civilized" behaviour; much of which might be anti-traditional or anti-cultural. Similarly, the Christian religion (which has been embraced by a large proportion of the residents on both estates) must have exerted considerable influence on traditional attitudes to family composition and relationships. The idea of one-man-one-wife which has been generally adopted by the educated Christian elites, for instance, will obviously have affected the Yoruba customary attachment to and view of the extended family. Thirdly, the modern economic structure demands land-use zoning. Hence, the composite tripartite structure

of the traditional residential setting which accommodates living, working and recreating, will not, as a matter of course, be expected in the newer estates. As a result of these major moderating factors, substantial deviations from the core characteristics are to be expected in the newer residential zones (typified by Bodija and Oluyole estates) with respect to adaptation of physical space and attitudes to traditional and cultural issues. However, the findings summarized below provide enough justification of the research hypotheses of this thesis.

While it is true, for instance, that the two estates were planned for one-owner-one-plot occupation, the research indicates that in practice many owners have adapted the plan to accommodate multi-family occupation. Approved building plans are amended to create multi-family units. In other cases, additional units of buildings are erected on site for this purpose. A substantial proportion of the properties surveyed from both estates accommodate separate family units whose heads are related by blood within the same extended family structure. These two phenomena combine to represent a regeneration of the traditional Yoruba residential living patterns on the two estates i.e. extended family groupings occupying multi-family residential units. This finding indicates that the residents value a physical arrangement which supports multi-family living within close proximity.

Another physical characteristic very much in evidence

is the work-in-residence provision made on the residential property sites. In both estates not all the work-in-residence spaces are personally utilized by the property owners. Some of the facilities provided are let out for a variety of uses (commercial sales; services and offices; public and semi-public uses; and recreational facilities) which bring in substantial incomes for the property owners. The introduction of these commercial and office uses on such a large scale as shown in chapter 7, within areas designed mainly for residential use, is an indication of the desire by residents to reproduce this socio-culturally based feature of the traditional society in the newer settings.

The absence of developed open spaces which would be capable of use by both adults and children either for recreational activities or for social contacts, was highly criticised by respondents from both estates. In the traditional residential settings, as noted in chapter 6, open spaces are utilised, among others, for recreation and social interaction. Residents of the estates perceive developed open spaces as capable of performing similar roles to those of the traditional core areas. Related to the deficiency of developed open space provision is also the deficiency in other contact points for recreation and social interaction on both estates. The responses from the survey indicated that these inadequate provisions contributed to why residents have resorted to providing or patronising certain alternative avenues (e.g. beer

parlours, hotels and guest houses) for recreation and social contacts. These alternatives however, are officially "illegal", "unauthorized", or "unapproved". This finding therefore shows the desire of residents for both spatial arrangement and facilities provision which would satisfy social and communal interaction similar to those of the traditional residential settings.

The unitary family lot plans for both estates have imposed an initially rigid territorial demarcation and consequently promoted personal space defence. This is one of the several aspects of the living patterns on the two estates which are direct results of both planning design and alien cultural assimilation. However, the finding from the research has shown that residents also employ the traditional methods of territorial defence and have instituted a spatial arrangement which indicated that they value a physical arrangement which will make collective defence workable. This is also perceived as having the potential to reduce any threat to persons and property.

The gradual, but persistent, development of multi-family living patterns on individual lots on each estate has been welcomed by the residents as providing opportunities for neighbour's-keeper roles as well as aiding social interaction and contributing to both individual and society welfare on the two estates. These are features commonly obtainable within traditional cores of Yoruba cities and they have been shown to play a

considerable part in the development of feelings of attachment to their environment amongst residents of the two estates. This finding has thus shown that residents value a residential spatial arrangement which makes contact with their neighbours easy and thus provide neighbour's-keeper opportunities.

The situation recorded in chapter 7 of residents organising themselves on street level as well as on estate scale, for purposes of taking decisions on a variety of issues that affect both their small area and the whole estate, is a strong indication that residents would like to have a management arrangement which provides opportunity for collective responsibility in the management of both their small area and the wider community. This is clearly a feature of the ward/quarter/town administrative arrangement of the Yoruba traditional residential settings. Such an arrangement, the residents perceived, will make maintenance of the environment manageable.

The repeated emphases by residents on certain features which are recorded in tables 7.24, 7.30, 7.32 and 7.33 clearly indicate the strong desire by residents for a physical environment which is aesthetically pleasing, is provided with all the necessary modern services and meets modern planning standards.

The analysis in chapter 7, summarised in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter and in table 8.1, has shown that two major groups of factors were considered significant for residential satisfaction by residents of both Bodija and

Table 8.1 GUIDELINES FOR DESIGN PROPOSALS:
PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENT DESIRED

- | | |
|-------|---|
| i. | Supports multi-family living within close proximity |
| ii. | Is provided with facilities for social and communal interaction. |
| iii. | Makes collective defence workable. |
| iv. | Will reduce threat to person and property. |
| v. | Makes contact with neighbours easy. |
| vi. | Provides opportunity for collective responsibility in the management of the territorial area. |
| vii. | Makes maintenance of territory manageable. |
| viii. | Environment is aesthetically pleasing. |
| ix. | Environment is provided with all necessary modern services. |
| x. | Meets modern planning standards. |

Oluyole estates. One group of factors consists of structural physical layout features which planners and developers are expected to provide in modern residential settings. This group of factors ranks high in the satisfaction of the residents of the two estates as would be anticipated because of their mid to upper socio-economic status. The second group of factors of importance for residential satisfaction consisted of features which appeared to be related to the residents' socio-cultural heritage. The elements which provided satisfaction in this group tended to be introduced by residents rather than provided in the planners' designs or to be modified features created from the existing planned elements within the two estates, in order to support desired socio-culturally based lifestyles.

The summary of the research findings as highlighted above has thus supported the initial hypothesis of this thesis that residents of new residential areas will seek to adapt their new environment along previously known socio-cultural lines in order to achieve man-environment fit. The results have equally shown that the level of satisfaction derived by residents from their respective setting was conditioned by their perception of the degree of both socio-culturally based elements and modern elements present in the settings.

The question which then arises is whether a set of principles of estate planning and administration could be derived which would afford good opportunity of catering fully for both the groups of factors noted above without

sacrificing the clear positive attributes of each in the attempt to evolve satisfying person-environment fit?

It is proposed therefore that to achieve any meaningful person-environment fit within the tradition of Yoruba culture, the features mentioned in the summary of findings in the preceding paragraphs and itemized in table 8.1 must be incorporated in the design for new residential settings. The following are examples of site arrangements which are proposed to fit in as much as possible with such requirements.

8.2 SITE PLANNING

Figure 8.1 shows in schematic form, the basic residential structure of the traditional core area. It is a concentric pattern of rings of residential zones criss-crossed by a constellation of paths and narrow roads. It emphasizes a central focus of authority located at the centre (core). The existing situation of each city in Yorubaland today shows considerable adaptation of this pattern. The development of a modern urban economy; the administrative and political policies; and the rapid spatial expansion resulting from high pressures on land use have created multi-centred nuclei instead of the unitary, single-centred settlements of the old periods. Nevertheless, even in the newer zones surrounding the existing old core areas, and in subsequent residential districts there could be site planning approaches which, whilst embodying the necessary modern infrastructure, were