LAND USE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

IN LAGOS, NIGERIA

A thesis submitted for the degree of
DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY in Geography, 1974
at the University of Leicester

by
Ajato Amos
Preface

This study of Lagos is arranged in two parts. The first part, in Volume I, contains five chapters in which the thesis subject and the study area are introduced, a geographical examination of the study area is presented, the nature of industrialization examined; and, finally, the nature and problems of land acquisition ownership are discussed in detail.

In Volume 2—A theoretical treatment of the thesis problem, involving a review of existing theories in land use studies and introducing some original concepts on impact analysis as well as a model derived from the Lagos Study. Detailed case studies of each of the 56 land use categories are examined. Conclusions and suggestions arising from the study form the subject of the final chapter.

In view of the large amount of supporting material, in maps, tables, figures and photographs, it became necessary to provide a third volume for the reader's convenience. The third volume is, therefore, available for use in conjunction with either of the two volumes of text.

The Lagos land use map at the scale of 1:50,000, forms a key document prepared by the author for this study and is provided in a folded form in a special pocket attached to Volume 1. Map 9 is a reduced A4 size of Map 8.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to the numerous individuals and institutions whose aid greatly facilitated my field work in Lagos and my studies at Leicester. Never before have I felt so indebted to so many people but I am pleased to present here in concrete form the result of the time consuming and sometimes inconvenient investigations.

The list of helpers and informants who gave me their valuable time is so long that space does not permit my presenting them all here by name. They include farmers, village heads (bales), natural rulers (obas), chiefs, industrialists, businessmen, school teachers, students, government officials, estate agents, landlords, householders, land speculators and market women. To some of these, I have already acknowledged in appropriate parts of the text and in footnotes, the invaluable help I received. The several documents, sources and procedural hints never before published but which I am pleased to assemble here for the benefit of future researchers who may wish to be spared my pioneer efforts and troubles, might not have been made available to me without the kind co-operation of all those who answered my call for help at various stages of the study.

In particular, I record my gratitude to my State Government (the Lagos State Government of Nigeria) who awarded me the postgraduate research scholarship for this study. I also record my gratitude to the University of Lagos where I was based for my fieldwork, and in particular to Professor R. A. Akinola of the Department of Geography, who supervised me in the field, and his staff who were all most helpful in various ways.

I pay special tribute to two British academics who had influenced my academic development in various ways. First the late Professor C. D. Forde who as teacher and friend influenced my interest in Geography and Anthropology. Next, the late Professor L. D. Stamp, who, more through his pioneering effort in land use studies and several writings in Applied Geography than through personal contact, had inspired my present efforts. To Professor A. L. Mabogunje of Nigeria, I also express my appreciation of his inspiring leadership in the development of geographical research in Nigeria and for the occasional advice and guidance he gave me personally.
My gratitude cannot be complete without a mention of Professor B. W. Hodder who earlier on had encouraged me in my choice of this research topic. I owe a special debt to Dr. T. E. Hilton, my Supervisor, whose invaluable guidance, advice, constant encouragement and patience at difficult times of the work played major roles at all stages of this study, right to the last few hectic weeks in the completion of this thesis.

I hope everyone concerned derives as much satisfaction as I do from the completed work.

I also thank the Technicians at the Geography Department, Leicester University who offered advice and rendered valuable assistance with the maps and other illustrations.

Finally, I acknowledge the moral and material support of my wife, Yetunde, at difficult times of this work. A sociologist by training, she proved a useful research assistant.
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Dedication

To Yetunde, my wife,
for all we have endured together, and in
gratitude for her devotion, perseverance
and inspiration in all my endeavours, this
study of our home and childhood environment
is dedicated.
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<td>E.G. or Econ. G.</td>
<td>Economic Geography.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.G.N.</td>
<td>Federal Government of Nigeria.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.M.G.</td>
<td>Federal Military Government.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.J. or Geog. J.</td>
<td>Geographical Journal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.A.P.A.</td>
<td>Ikeja Area Planning Authority, see also I.T.P.A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.T.P.A.</td>
<td>Ikeja Town Planning Authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.C.C.</td>
<td>Lagos City Council</td>
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<td>L.C.T.S.</td>
<td>Lagos City Transport Service.</td>
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<td>L.E.D.B.</td>
<td>Lagos Executive Development Board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.M.T.S.</td>
<td>Lagos Municipal Transport Service.</td>
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<td>L.S.G.</td>
<td>Lagos State Government.</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.S.P.D.C.</td>
<td>Lagos State Property Development Corporation.</td>
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LAND USE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN LAGOS

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

In this study of Lagos, attention is focussed on the interaction between industrial activities and man's use of space. That interaction is seen as identifiable impacts of industrial presence upon the organised use of land and land resources in the area under investigation. The use of land is investigated by means of a detailed survey. From the results of such investigation, a theory of land use behaviour under impact of industrialization (as a process) is attempted.

1.1 Lagos is defined in a broad sense to cover the entire study area, involving the whole of Lagos, Ikeja and Ikorodu divisions, the eastern third of Badagri division and the western third of Epe Division and districts fringing the northern frontiers of Lagos State at Ikeja division. The study area has an approximate dimension of 40 miles along the Atlantic coast by 22 miles inland beyond the lagoon and creeks. Of the 880 square miles, the actual land surface amounts to only 560 square miles.

The original study was planned to cover the whole of Lagos State; but so many and intractable were the problems involved in covering such a "virgin ground" that a concentration of efforts and resources for more intensive work on the "study Area" proved more practical and rewarding.

See Map 1 for the sixteen concepts of the term "LAGOS" and p. 5.

1.2 Conceived in this study as a means of measuring and describing changes resulting from the interaction of a new process or idea upon an existing physical or human environment. The concept is operationalised in chapter 6 and presented cartographically in Map 18 as a method of spatial analysis of industrialization in Lagos. An impact may be positive or negative according to the context.

1.3 Since most writings on "Industrialization" (geographical or otherwise) carefully avoid defining the term, it becomes necessary to declare that, for the purpose of this study, that term refers to the radical change in the mode of making a living, as experienced in the Lagos environment since the factory system became introduced there in the late 1940s. The process is seen as involving extensive mobilization of the factors of production but this study focusses attention on a particularly neglected one of these "factors of production" - the LAND - on which all economic activity normally operates. Except in relation with agricultural activity, relatively little research exists on "Land", compared with the mass of material so far produced on "Capital", "Labour", "Raw Materials" and "Enterprise" in developing tropical regions.

See Appendix 41 - The Lagos experience of Industrialization.
Spatial variation (disparate development) is a prominent feature in the economic development of Lagos, as indeed of that of most contemporary developing tropical regions. In that variation, industrial presence (or relative absence) features as a significant factor. In turn the presence of industrial activity finds expression in the way land is used or allocated to satisfy man's various needs. Industrial presence or 'impact' is treated in detail in a part of this study on the contention that when economic development is measured in the observer's eyes by the degree of industrial activity (all activities applying some form of industrial method) and the organised deployment of land resources, it should be possible and useful to investigate the relationship between land use and industrialization in a given developing environment. Moreover, it is observed that industry accelerates 'land-use competition' and promotes (even provokes) the need for consciously 'organised land uses'.

1.4 The land is traditionally recognised as providing man with food, in all forms of agriculture, manufacturing, fishing or exchange through trade, shelter (from most primitive dwellings to high class residential homes), facilities for movement (roads, ports and airfields), work (for specialised occupation in societies), social institutions, trade (markets and commercial centres), recreation facilities and security, (defence against fellow humans). In a way the land provides our needs from the cradle to the grave.

The design of the land-use classification used in this study kept to a logical sequence based on these human needs in urban and rural environments. vide Appendix 30 and Map 8. Vide pg. 89, R.H. Best, Chapter 6 of I.B.G. Special Pub. on "Land Use and Resources", 1968.

1.5 The organised identification and exploitation of available resources. Sometimes this takes the form of opening up a wild natural environment or altering the landscape for the promotion of man's welfare. In Lagos this phenomenon continues to involve greater and higher economic activity; more and varied goods are produced; more swamps and forests are reclaimed to accommodate rapid increase at all levels of organised activity (commerce, industry, administration services and even modernised agriculture). Economic development there is synonymous with economic growth or the opening up of a region hitherto remote from the stream of modern organised production and consumption of wealth.

1.6 In this study the surface of the land regarded as a resource in its own right. For Lagos State (the smallest in size of Nigerian states and generally described by her government officials as "a marine state"), it is a most valuable resource indeed. The exhorbitant price of land within the study area further emphasises that point; although poor knowledge of the resource by users and the novelty of individual property rights are equally to blame for the inflated costs of building land.
Land and land resources in Lagos have the appearance of being inefficiently used. 9 Material or economic development, judged in conjunction with poor organisation in the use of land, appears to be sporadic and premature. As a result one observes acutely congested use of space in the highly industrialized parts of the state. At the same time, many parts of the state, lacking in industrial presence, suffer extreme neglect. In some cases, too, depression is already setting in and is leading to some observable local stagnation or blighting in the development of land use patterns. On the positive side of the scale, active development of hitherto neglected lands appears to accompany the introduction of industrial activity (of any kind) into given land areas, the areas having acquired new locational value as a result of "industrial presence". 10 The new economic activity generates "impacts" 11 on land use as described in this study.

Land use survey employed as a major method in this investigation proved particularly helpful as a main link between the field-laboratory, the map and explanations of human activities in relation to the physical environment of Lagos. The data used in the study came from four main sources: (a) General land use survey (mapping) of Lagos as a basis for a background picture and for sample derivation. Reliable secondary sources which could have reduced the need for field work of this nature were deficient and quite often totally absent. It therefore became correspondingly important to depend on primary data collection in order to achieve usable results. However, it must be noted that British or Polish style comprehensive survey was not feasible as land use in much of the greater

1.7 Refers here specifically to competing decisions as to which tract of land shall be used for what activity: e.g. five acres of good building land could be used for a factory complex, a housing estate (of various classes), a sports ground, an educational establishment or government office blocks. The competition becomes keener the more active or important the local settlement promises to grow. Industrial presence in the area may trigger off more active growth, thereby inciting more competition among categories of land use. Planning or zoning measures are applied to ease the situation.

1.8 Planning measures in the form of building regulations and sanitary conditions have existed for Lagos city generally and Lagos island in particular as far back as the 1860s. Unfortunately the lack of vigilance in enforcing these regulations and the recent boom in corrupt practices hinder any attempt at devising and operating an effective land use plan beyond the mere declaration of "zoned districts".

A well organised land use would aim at "putting every land using activity in its right place".
Lagos area was not intensive, it was not richly varied from place to place and, field surveyors were scarce. (vid. C. Board in I.B.C. Sp. Pub. 1968, P. 38 on "Modern Trends in Land Use Studies. (b) Case studies and detailed sample mapping were used, for closer investigation of relevant aspects of the enquiry. (c) Questionnaire systems and interviews - of land users and land holders, land use awareness tests, and, land consuming capacities of industrial firms, corporations and other large-scale land consumers. (See Appendix l). Visits were made to large factories, estates, plantations and planning authorities to collect information on the spot. (d) Air photos and topographical map analysis were also used to supplement the first two sources. These were also useful for delimiting the area under investigation and for filling in data on remote or inaccessible parts of the data field. 12

As background notes to the area under investigation, a geographical examination becomes necessary. To begin with, there are over a dozen concepts of 'LAGOS', each referring to a different unit area from the others. This causes confusion in grasping the exact location and areal extent of Lagos. Until now there has been no comprehensive survey of the various concepts of 'LAGOS' to which a confused reader may turn; nor is there a generally accepted delimitation for the term 'Lagos'. Rather each writer has interpreted the area according to his purpose or understanding. The only known common agreement appears to be in the statement ... 'Lagos is in Nigeria'. Pressed for more details, many enlightened respondents would concede to such related statements as ... 'Lagos is the capital of Nigeria' ..., 'Lagos is a port in West Africa' ..., 'Lagos is a City' ..., and, possible, ..., 'Lagos is a Nigerian state'. In the interest of clarity and more accurate relation of the issues discussed in this thesis to the field area, we examine each of the sixteen known definitions (or delimitations) of LAGOS, attempt a standard cartographic definition and provide a guide line to which Lagos is referred in each aspect of the thesis.

The various concepts of LAGOS relate to its physical (including locational), political, economic, historical and cultural contexts. It

1.9 Report of the UN team of experts led by Prof. Koenigsberger (1964) set down in print what any casual visitor in Lagos can easily observe. The streets are wide enough but they are used at any one time for all forms of transport, street trading and, at night, sleeping sometimes. Building plots are congested with multiple residential blocks which soon become derelict as a result of over-use. Vast land areas outside the popular dorsal strip from Lagos island to Agege exist beyond the creeks and swamps; but few are aware of these quiet retreats and did not bother to move out of the congested area until a new road is built and suddenly everyone rushes to build there. Lack of adequate awareness of Lagos land resources is apparently responsible for some of the unnecessary development projects embarked upon by the state government e.g. the so called Dolphin plan at a cost of $24m. would be unnecessary considering the vast swamps and creek islands that could have been reclaimed instead.
is possible to show cartographically the relationship between all the sixteen concepts which I have identified from various sources. (See Map 1 - A, B & C). The sixteen concepts of Lagos are:

1. Lagos 'Natural Region'
2. Lagos Inland
3. Lagos Port and its Hinterland (e.g. HODDER 1959)
4. Lagos Colony
5. Lagos State (Decree, May 1967) with five divisions
6. Lagos Division (with island and mainland)
7. Lagos Federal Territory - 1954 to 1967
8. Lagos Municipality
9. Lagos City Council Administrative Area
10. Lagos Metropolitan Region (Koenigsberger et. al 1964).
11. Greater Lagos
12. Lagos Industrial Region
13. Lagos City Transport Area (statutory territory for service)
15. Lagos State Property Development Corporation (Planning Authority) 1/4/72.
16. Eko (The Lagosian's Lagos and a cultural concept with indefinite/ shifting boundaries).

**Lagos (Natural) Region:** This is by far the largest definitive extent of Lagos when a comprehensive approach (combining physical and human or cultural Geographies) is applied for the purpose of delimiting the area. The boundaries of such a region are difficult to draw objectively in view of the many imprecise factors that must be taken into consideration in executing such a task. In the context of my present thesis and within the limits of

1.10. The presence or establishment of a factory or industrial centre at any location changes the significance of the locality. First labour is attracted there and gradually the place becomes worth knowing. Ijupeju, until five years ago was of very little importance (a border land or western Nigerian frontier area; but with the creation of the industrial estate, many middle class families have bought up almost all available free-hold building plots. Ijupeju has become, among other things, a fashionable residential district. (See Map 32 and Plate 31).

1.11 q.v. Footnote 1.2

1.12 The data field finally adopted, i.e. the Lagos Study Area as distinct from the originally projected coverage of Lagos state, did not contain any really inaccessible part, so a full coverage was achieved. However, the airphotos were helpful in planning actual trips, and where they were hopelessly inaccurate (as at Ikosi and Solodo river basin, it was a pleasure to confront the authorities of such air-photos with 'field evidence'.

the available evidence (maps, historic documents, oral tradition, geomorphological papers and personal field observations) I have delimited Lagos natural region as that part of southwestern Yorubaland stretching from Mahin lagoon and creek (west of the Apostle canal to Aiyetoro) in the east, to the west of Nakoue lagoon along the natural embankment east of the Cotonou to Yevie Road in southern Dahomey. The northern limit would correspond to a line drawn from Yevie (west) through Katagon and Lagbe in Dahomey, to join Atan, Otta, Ibefun and along the West-east main road to Tupu in Okitipupa Division. Thence the 'regional boundary' runs south along the watershed of the Silijo and Otu rivers into the Atlantic coast. The region therefore takes in all the lagoon and creek systems of Nakoue, Porto-Novo, Lagos, Lekki and Mahin which form an intricate network of water communication in the region - a significant factor in cultural links and economic exchanges in these parts through the ages.\(^\text{13}\)

The physical area on which the present study focusses attention is only part of this 'natural' region but the constraining influence of the whole region on land use systems in the area of study cannot be ignored. For it is within this region that most of the reception and responses to external and internal stimuli (by way of innovations and cultural contacts) take place.\(^\text{14}\) The net effect becomes expressed in the way land use is organised in the study area.

Factors limiting the physical extent of this 'region' may be taken to be the Atlantic Ocean to the south, the 'pull' of the urban (non-maritime) Yoruba land to the north and physical distance of the extreme east and west boundaries away from the focal centre of Lagos. The region covers an area of about two thousand four hundred square miles - stretching one hundred and seventy miles along the Atlantic shoreline by approximately twenty miles.

\(^\text{13}\) Today too much attention is paid to land transport in these areas and the canoe as a means of transport and trade between the lagoon or creek communities have dwindled in importance. A feeling of how trade and communication were conducted in the riverine communities can still be observed in a visit on a market day to Ojo beach, Ijede or Ikosi Market.

The peak period of intercreek communication point to the period of conflict between Yosoko and Akotoye, leading to the British intervention.

The Political boundary agreed by Britain and France had a traumatic effect on the free movement between, say, Porto-Novo and Lagos. As more efficient land transport became available, these water systems have declined further in use for transportation purposes. Perhaps the Lagos State Government will encourage a reactivation of this valuable cultural link and economic exchange.

The basic Yoruba fear of water should fade away as more people adjust to a water transport system.
inland into the Yoruba country. Politically, part of the region thus
defined is in Dahomey (an independent republic) and part in the Western
state of Nigeria; but the greater portion of it is in Lagos State.

**Lagos Island:** The term refers only to the smaller of the two islands
set in the largest lagoon of this region. The other island, Ikoyi, lies
to the east beyond the Macgregor Canal. Lagos was essentially a low
lying but settled swamp when it was discovered in 1472 by the Portuguese
who named it after its location in the 'lagoon'. This is today the C.B.D.
and constitutes the most intensively utilised space in the study area. It
is only two square miles approximately in area and in no part is the land
higher than ten feet above sea level. The indigenous name of Eko originally
referred to this island but as we shall see below, 'Eko' as a term has been
transposed from a physical land unit to a cultural area, sometimes with
political connotations.

**Lagos Port and Its Hinterland:** The port as such (quays and allied
installations) is made up of Apapa quays and Lagos Harbour (one opposite
the other). It is the largest port in Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea.
Through constant dredging, the approach channel now has a draught of about twenty
eight feet and takes ships of about 10,000 tons capacity. There are
eighteen deep water berths with most modern port installations. The Port's
hinterland stretches far inland beyond the Nigerian frontier into the
land-locked countries of Chad and Niger. For political reasons, however,
(Anglo-French Colonial heritage) its natural hinterland of Dahomey may be
regarded as lost.

This concept of Lagos, like almost all the other concepts, plays a
significant role in any effort to understand land use and industrialization
in the study area. The port for instance generates a high degree of
industrial activity. In turn this influences land-use changes in and around
the port area. The presence of the port, the many linkages developed by
its capacity to act as evacuating and distributive centre to and from the
hinterland, add to the complexity observed in land use behaviour under the

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1.14 The Study Area records early contact with Portuguese traders in the
15th Century and has since experienced a steady stream of imported
commercial, religious, political and sociological ideas. All these can
still be traced in the cultural landscape of contemporary Lagos.

1.15 Map 12 shows extent of Yoruba territory and is based on a separate
work by the author on Nigerian ethnic territories. Published Proceedings
of the 11th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological
impact of industrialization. For, increased port prosperity sets off a
chain reaction which leads to expansion of the port area, more industrial ac-
tivity, greater chances of capturing a wider or larger hinterland, and a
further influx of population which increases the land use rationalisation
complex dealt with in this thesis.

While the port is fully within the study area, only a section (the
immediate vicinity) of the pure hinterland comes within it; but the full
implication of this concept of Lagos in our particular study of land use and
industrialization is demonstrated later in this thesis when considering the
peculiarity of industries as land users. (More notes drawn from Hodder,
other references, Nigerian Ports Authority and my field notes).

Lagos Colony: This concept has a historical and political origin; but by
and large it corresponds with our modern Lagos state. It is not to be
confused with the Lagos kingdom (the island) which was ceded to the
British throne by Dosumu in 1861. Lagos Colony was 'finally established
under its own administration in 1866' (after the Berlin Conference of
1885). The unit was really an administrative amalgamation of the missionary
held zones of Badagri (Badagri town and all neighbouring territories), the
island colony of Lagos ceded to the British throne twenty five years
earlier, together with intervening lands between the Egba zone of influence
and Lagos Commercial zone, and the eastern - now defunct - port of Lekki.

When, twenty eight years later in 1914, Lord Lugard amalgamated northern and
southern Nigeria, Nigeria became known as the Colony (Lagos) and Protectorate
of Nigeria. Before this fusion, Lagos and Southern Nigeria had already
become 'joined' in 1906 by Sir Walter Egerton, and christened simply
'Southern Nigeria'. We see therefore that references to Lagos in literature
produced between 1886 and 1906 (Colonial Office records for example) were
in fact to Lagos Colony.

1.16 Ruy de Sequeira, commanding one of Fernao Gomez's ships on contract for
the King of Portugal, was the first known Portuguese to reach Lagos in
1472. The Portuguese subsequently named the present Lagos harbour
"Lago di Kuramo" after what is now Kuramo Waters south-east of Victoria
Island.

1.17 Lagos Port has already provided abundant material for geographical
study, in general recognition of its dominant influence on the nation's
economy, (import, export, manufacturing centre and passenger traffic).
While much of the work requires extensive updating; the acquaintance
with the following works proves to be very valuable groundwork prior to
the field surveys in 1972.

Hodder B. W. The growth of Trade at Lagos (1959) Tidj. vol.50,
1959
Ogundana, B. "Lagos: Nigeria's Premier Port". Nigerian G.J.,

Publications of the Nigerian Ports Authority provide good up to date
source material. See Plate 2 (viii). Lagos hinterland stretches beyond
Nigeria as far afield as Niger and Chad Republics and until Cotonon Port
was built, Dahomey was part of that hinterland.
Egerton's reason for proposing the scheme to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 29th January 1905 reveals the administrative anomaly which existed in the 'Colony' and at the same time indicates the changes in role which led to Lagos becoming the capital of Nigeria: Nicolson (1969)):

"...The different methods of administration forbade complete fusion. The basic difference ... was that the institutions of Lagos, and its Protectorate, were in the tradition of the colony, while those of southern Nigeria (without Legislative Council or Executive Council) were in the institutions of a protectorate'.

For the purpose of this thesis, the importance of Egerton's role in bringing about changes in Lagos Colony stands out when one considers that the man was concentrating his efforts on a scheme 'based firmly on the economic life and communications of the country' - a fact which could not fail to effect changes on the use of land in Lagos.

In Egerton's proposal IACOS becomes the main and obvious capital of Lagos Colony and Protectorate, being ... 'the centre of trade and communications by rail, sea and creeks; the administrative capital, with the full apparatus of "Crown Colony government" ...' although Egerton hesitated before recommending Lagos as the capital 'on health grounds, in comparison with Calabar'.

The amalgamation (Lagos Colony with Southern Nigeria) brought new possibilities to the development of Lagos: Lagos harbour was steadily improved and the railway and roads spread faster inland in keeping with Egerton's enthusiasm for building 'roads - good, broad straight roads right through the jungle from one tribal area to the next - then we'll be able to let in the light'. The new activity in Lagos harbour led to reclamation of the swamps and other changes in land use of the area. More housing was planned, e.g. the Lagos Secretariat which 'stands as a monument to the first Southern Nigeria development plan'.

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1.19 Palma ceased to function as a port since it became silted up on account of the eastward longshore drift in the area. The same longshore drift is responsible for the massive erosion at Victoria island and could have blocked off entrance to Lagos harbour, but for the specific construction works there, Palma functioned as Kosoko's port after the 1851 confrontation.

1.20 Nicolson op. cit.
The area known as Lagos Colony functioned as a political entity in one form or another, from its inception in 1866 to 1946 when the Richards constitution introduced Regional Government. From then (1946) references in political as well as general literature were more to 'Lagos and Colony' than to 'Lagos Colony'. Lagos, as the central capital seat of the Nigerian Federal Government, was frequently distinguished from the 'the Colony'. The latter meaning applied to those other parts of Lagos Colony which were left after Lagos (the Municipality) is taken away. For instance, The Richards Constitution (1946) referred to ... 'one member for the colony appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Native Authorities in the colony' to be the nominated unofficial member of the Legislative Council (out of a total of twenty four such members). Of four elected members, three represented 'The Municipality of Lagos'.

The Colony also had a Commissioner (of the Colonial Administration) who was a full member of the Legislative Council by virtue of his post.

We see from these political arrangements that since 1946 two concepts were being established from a former concept. The Lagos Colony was now acquiring the name Lagos Municipality (to which we shall return) and the Colony. Between 1954 and 1967 'The Colony' formed a province (administratively and politically) of the 'Western Region'.

LAGOS STATE: The state was created by decree (as one of twelve states) on 27th May, 1967, by General (then Lt. Col.) Gowon, when he dissolved the former regional set-up of Nigeria and created twelve brand new states.

The area corresponds with the former boundaries of the pre-1946 concept of Lagos Colony. On creation, it embraced the Colony province of the Western Region (from 1954-1967) and the Municipality or Federal Territory of Lagos. It has a total official area of 1,381 square miles and comprises

1.21 Sir Walter Egerton, governor of Lagos, 1904-1911. He was referring specifically to Lagos Island. Yaba was once suggested as capital of the protectorate of Nigeria (without the colony).

1.22 Nicolson op. cit.

1.23 Lagos Harbour development works commenced in 1907. Railway construction into the interior had started in 1898.

1.24 The building commenced in 1896. See colour plate and comments.
five administrative divisions viz. Badagry, Lagos, Ikeja, Ikorodu and Epe. The administrative Capital of the new State is in Lagos Island and co-exists with the Federal Capital; but the term Lagos Federal Territory became abolished with the creation of the new state. It can be said therefore that there are two administrative capitals in 'Lagos' - one serving the Federal government and the other serving the State government; while yet a third, within the Lagos Division, operates in the form of Lagos City Council. The implication of this on the pattern of land use and on the concentration of activities generated or sustained by industrialization will be demonstrated in a later part of this thesis.

With the exception of the geographical region and the concept of the Port Hinterland, all other concepts of Lagos in so far as they refer to unit areas, are found within the borders of the new state.

In areal extent, Lagos state is smaller than any other state in Nigeria but it is relatively the most intensively developed per unit of area. However, development, as hinted earlier in this chapter is unevenly distributed and some of the least developed parts of Nigeria can still be found in the state. Land value here responds most sensitively to locational advantage relative to centrality, accessibility to economic activity and the development of such infrastructure as public roads, mains electricity and water supply. All categories of land use - urban and rural - may be found within this state.

A large percentage of Nigeria's factories are located within Lagos State, mostly clustered together in the industrial estates of Lagos and Ikeja divisions and the vicinity of the port with pockets of numerous activities applying industrial methods (crafts, extraction of building sand, large scale agriculture such as Oke Afa Farms, and several foot-loose industries). Together, these generate considerable 'impact' on the way we organise the use of our land and land resources in the area.

Major geographical problems of this marine state are connected with its physical shape - a great length with highly restricted depth (92 miles long by 15 miles wide approx.) The several creeks, swamps and remote islands make movement in the state difficult and increase the separation of the extreme eastern and western ends of the state from the hub of active Lagos.26 (Ajagbagb 1971).

A term generally applied to industries that are able to locate anywhere without much ceremony. Such industries are usually of small scale and have relatively little demand for permanent site facilities. They do not require expensive capital investment on land and can move along at short notice. In Lagos, the several repair shops or works (set up by mechanics, shoe makers, water repairers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths - but not goldsmiths for whom a reputable site is important) belong, footloose industries. Interview with Taylor Woodrow of Lagos in 1972 revealed that many building and construction firms, although large and heavily capitalised, regard client's as their

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Lagos Division: This became, as from 27th May, 1967, the official designation of the area formerly known as Federal Capital Territory in the first seven years of Nigerian independence. The new division as we noted earlier, becomes an administrative unit of Lagos State. It comprises the islands of Lagos, Ikoyi, Victoria, Iddo, Oto, Tin Can and a slice of Kuramo Foreland; together with the three large low lying swampy peninsulas between Badagri creek and the entrance to Lagos Harbour. The mainland part is made up of Ebute Metta, Yaba, Idi-Cro, the University, Suru-Lere, New Lagos and Apapa (as far west as Ajegunle canal). The division also takes in a large slice (half) of Lagos lagoon. In all, this concept covers no more than 47 square miles of islands, mainland, creeks and lagoon. This Lagos forms the core of the area under investigation and is by far the most intensively developed in all forms of urban land use.

Lagos Federal Territory: This is the 27 square miles of territory so designated in 1954 as the seat of Nigeria's Central Government, independent of the three (later four) regional governments. It served as a kind of neutral ground to which people from all over the country flocked in search of better opportunities and the best that urban life could promise. This concept (Federal Territory) became abolished when the twelve state structure was proclaimed. The Federal Territory as we have shown, became in effect 'Lagos Division' within Lagos State.

As will be demonstrated later in this thesis, the concept held very wide consequences for the development and organisation of land use and the location of industrial activities during the thirteen years of its existence (the period of very active industrialization). The political boundaries of the territory posed serious planning problems and contributed to the rapid land use changes as well as the pattern of industrial location before and after 1967.


1.26 Lagos Island in particular and Lagos City - made up of the Old Federal Capital Territory of Lagos - generally, constitute the hub of active Lagos; shopping, business, entertainments, tourist attraction, education, religious centres and government institutions (State and Federal) are concentrated there.

1.27 All 36 sub-categories of land use types were represented during field mapping in 1972 (See Appendix 8a). For instance, within the districts identified in Table 1 as A to G (contained within 203 data storage units all the urban land use types are represented.
Lagos Municipality: As an areal unit, this is only another name for both the Lagos Federal Territory and today's Lagos Division. However, the concept remains in current usage unaffected by the political creation of Lagos State. It is more a businessman's concept with a sociological connotation for the greater concentration of civic activities per unit area here than anywhere else, even in Lagos State.

Lagos City Council Administrative Area: ²⁸ This corresponds with the two preceding concepts of Lagos Division and Lagos Municipality. It assumes a more political and administrative image at the grass-roots level than any of the other concepts. The daily running of Lagos Division - by way of providing essential services, such as health, sewerage and refuse disposal; and such other local functions as the State government may deem fit to delegate to that body. It would appear that the close proximity of the state government in the area, considerably weakens the power of the L.C.C.; but this is hard to determine while military rule lasts and while the two seats of higher order government remain superimposed on this single unit area.

Lagos Metropolitan Region: This is a less tangible concept that all those described above. It is more of a Planner's concept; and, like most concepts of a 'metropolis', its exact physical boundaries remain intangible and rely upon a subjective working definition offered by any one user of the concept. The first substantial mention and use of the concept is perhaps in the work of the U.N. team of experts who, after a technical survey of Lagos and its planning problems, published their findings and recommendations in 1964 (Koenigsberger, Charles Abrams, et al)²⁹.

At about the same time a Nigerian Traffic Engineer writing on 'Lagos Road Traffic Problems and Techniques for Solution' found it necessary to write:-

1.²⁸ The administrative area includes Eti Osa districts, east of Moba-Maroko districts, (usually regarded as Ikorodu division south of the lagoon) with the usual former Federal Territory of Lagos, as illustrated in a recent pamphlet issued by the Public Relations Section of the L.C.C. at City Hall, Lagos.

1.²⁹ Koenigsberger, O. et al. (1964) - Metropolitan Lagos (A U.N. Report) Published by the Government of Lagos, Nigeria.
"it is as well the author defines what he means by 'Lagos'. By Lagos is meant greater or Metropolitan Lagos or that area of urban development already executed or in planning stage extending beyond the political boundary separating the Federal territory from Western Region. Its most northerly limit is the parallel just beyond Ikeja; its easterly limit, the longitude east of Moba Estate. The sea coast to the south and the swamps to the west of Kirkikiri define the southern latitude and the western longitude respectively."

(S. Bankole Audifferen 1965)

He provided an illustrative map with the title 'Map of Metropolitan Lagos', referred to as Fig. 1 of his technical report. (See Map 30 ).

As a working definition, the concept of Lagos Metropolitan Region is most helpful for anyone engaged in a geographical study of modern Lagos, particularly from the human angle. On the ground the concept would be large enough to contain many of the existing concepts except for such all-inclusive ones as the Lagos Region and Lagos State. Lagos Metropolitan Region refers to all the continuously built-up area and the satellite settlements which became swallowed up with the growth of the city (through overspill, urban sprawl and rural-urban interaction centred on Lagos Municipality). The concept is a functional one based on a systems evaluation of Lagos and its socio-economic region.

In the particular context of land use studies in Lagos, this concept would be considered just large enough to exhibit a comprehensive set of land use categories. For instance as much as 95% of the human resources, 85% of Lagos state industries, and 88% of land undergoing active development, are in the area covered by this concept.

Metropolitan Lagos has become an accepted concept amongst planners and students of modern Lagos and her problems. So important has the concept become in official circles that by 1967 the Federal Military Government commissioned the Canadian Aero Service Ltd. to provide the Nigerian Federal Surveys with a 1:6000 aerial photo coverage of 'Metropolitan Lagos'. From that, the Nigerian Federal Surveys Dept. have prepared a 1:12,500 mosaic of the area in eleven sheets. Already this raw material is assisting a good deal of research - mostly of a planning nature - for further development of the conceived METROPOLIS. Research in Lagos draws much helpful information from such fast accumulating raw materials, despite the poor quality of the photographs (poor visibility and blurring effects from low cloud reflection).
This represents the most recent concept with planning connotations. The concept originated as a kind of cultural innovation in planning semantics during the 1960s, from the international wave of 'Greater' urban areas such as the better known 'Greater London', 'Greater New York', 'Greater Tokyo' or 'Greater Moscow', (P. Hall, 1964). At the time of this study, Greater Lagos as a concept is circulating only among a limited group - mostly town planners, some geographers and very few students. The concept means very little or nothing to local leaders and the masses.30

The comparative novelty of the concept and the diffused nature of meanings attached to it, make any accurate delimitation of Greater Lagos on the ground difficult and premature. Confusion sometimes arises from those writers who use the term Greater Lagos and Metropolitan Lagos interchangeably as though both concepts were one and the same; e.g. Audifferen (1965) and Koenigsberger at al (1964).31 However, two sources (Sada 1971) a geographer, and a Planning Authority (IEDE, 1970) appear to be quite definite about the physical extent of 'Greater Lagos'. They have produced some as yet unpublished maps of the concept. Both maps32 correspond closely with the study area on which this thesis concentrates maximum attention.

Greater Lagos extends beyond the Metropolitan Lagos defined above and, at least in theory, takes in all settlements to the north, east and west (of Lagos Municipality) over which central Lagos exercises urban and socio-economic influence (Ajagbue 1970)33. The western limit (of Greater Lagos) is at Ojo Town in Badagri Division, while the eastern limit is at the Agbowe/Igando line of settlements in Epe Division. The northern limit merges with the urban spheres of the Western State towns of Otta, Shaga and Ijebu-Ode; while the Atlantic Ocean provides a southern limit. Greater

1.30 The sample of 50 persons interviewed during fieldwork within Lagos, Ikeja and Ikorodu divisions were drawn (often arbitrarily) from school masters, civil servants, ex-politicians, soldiers, local government administrators in the planning office, students and market women. Answers to questions "Have you heard of the term "Greater Lagos" and what do you think it means?», revealed that only 8% of the sample knew what is meant. The low awareness of local geography borders on apathy, but in a place where the slightest expression assumes disproportionate political overtones the term is often mistaken for "...bigger and more powerful Lagos State government" encroaching farther into western state territory or "enjoying more privileges than other Nigerian States".

Lagos therefore takes in the entire physical extent of Lagos, Ikeja and Ikorodu Divisions with a large slice of Badagri Division, Epe Division and the south central fringes of the Western State. Greater Lagos as conceived so far covers a minimum area of 1,000 square miles (measuring 40 miles by 25 miles).

Land within the total area covered is in active use and the recent scramble for space due to the influx of people and industries has had the general effect of increasing land prices immensely throughout the area. With the exception of four sizeable industrial activities at Epe and Badagri, the impact of industrial activity appears to be concentrated within the area covered by Greater Lagos. It contains the core impact zone (Lagos and Ikeja divisions), thence there is a decrease in intensity to the peripheral low impact areas of Badagri and Epe divisions. 

*Lagos Industrial Region* This is an entirely new concept derived for the convenience of identifying area of industrial concentration. Thus, industrial estates, industrial zones and areas of allied industrial land use, together make up 'Industrial Lagos'. It is made distinct by the predominant influence of industrial activity.

Presented cartographically (map 11) Lagos Industrial region stretches from the port of Apapa, through the industrial estates of Iganmu, Yaba, Ijuje and Ikeja, to the projected Ogun River Industrial sector in the north-east of Ikeja Division. The entire area involved falls within Metropolitan Lagos or can be seen as rather concentrated within Ikeja and Lagos divisions. Of the Industrial Estates, which constitute the largest land unit of Lagos industrial region, only about one third has been fully developed so far. Embraced within the industrial region are also the many activities such as food production and raw material collection/extraction which rely upon intensive (industrial) methods of operation. The Government plantations, Oke Afa Farms, the saw mills district of Ebute Metta, the scattered brickworks, the 'Sand Dealers' area of maximum operation and the major acquisitions of the large land consuming productive Corporations (such as Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, Nigerian Railways, Nigerian Airways and the Nigerian Ports Authority) are found within the Lagos Industrial region.

1.32 See Maps 28 and 29 of this thesis.

It must be noted that unlike the situation observed in mature industrial regions (Minshull, 1967, pp.102-104) where industrial 'regions' had tended to be differentiated according to products of industries, e.g. textiles, heavy or light engineering, petro-chemicals and noxious 39 industries - the Lagos industrial region is not so differentiated. For the most part, the industrial estates for example are 'all embracing' as we shall see later in a closer examination of their structure. The region then is a functional one emphasising, not the types of industrial activity in their geographical region, but the fact of physical presence of some degree of industrial activity. The concept is particularly relevant in our analysis of industrial impacts on the use of land in Lagos.

**Lagos Transport Executive Area:** The L.T.E. is essentially a public body incorporated for the provision of bus services in the municipality of Lagos. The service plays a vital role in the commuting problems of Lagos city as is demonstrated later in this thesis when considering the influence of land-use organisation on traffic flow in Lagos. For movement to and from work in Lagos has become very important with the increasing impact of industrialization.

There is a structural imbalance between areas of population concentration and the centre using the maximum percentage of employed labour. 40 L.M.T.S. therefore operates as far afield into such 'dormitory suburbs' as Mushin and Shomolu to effect daily population movement between work place and residential areas at the cheapest possible rate (6d. or 5 Kobo for any destination within the L.M.T.S. Area, i.e. 2½p sterling equivalent). L.T.E. handles a substantial part of the estimated 95% of low income public service workers commuting to work by bus, and the 96% petty traders in the private sector travelling daily by bus. (Sada 1968).

The area of operation has expanded with the liquidation of former political constraining boundaries between Lagos and the pre-1967 Western Region. 41 Today L.M.T.S. operates 2,400 bus miles per day and owns 1,600 of the 6,000 "buses" handling passenger traffic within Lagos State. (Passenger vehicles).

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1.34 For 1973 prices see maps 16 and 17. Estimated increase over 1963 and 72/73 prices is about 250%, having risen by 150% from 1953 to 1963. Table 21b typifies the rising cost of land in a residential district of Mushin.
The catchment area for the L.T.E. stretches from Victoria beach on the Atlantic to Agege in the north. Ikorodu in the north-east, Ojo in the west and Moba Estate in the east. Recently (1972) the Lagos State Government is subsidising L.M.T.S. to extend their services farther afield to Epe and Badagri thrice weekly, thus decreasing the remoteness of these divisional centres from Central Lagos.

L.M.T.S. area is important in understanding the dispersal of population and human activities (particularly industry, commerce and administration) in the study area of this thesis. As the main operator on cheap fares, people and industries tend to rely upon it in deciding to move their homes or factories farther away from the centre of concentrated land use.

With many of the political constraints removed, what now restricts the expansion of the L.M.T.S. 'catchment' area appears to be the effective competition bus services of the L.T.E. suffer from private bus operators. It would appear therefore that the area is not likely to increase very much in the next decade or more. It is more likely that L.M.T.S. would seek to concentrate more intensive services within the area it currently serves. Water-borne transportation is currently being discussed by the L.M.T.S. and may soon increase the intensity of operation but may not materially affect the size of the area involved, i.e. about 700 square miles of area, (1972).

LAGOS EXECUTIVE DEVELOPMENT BOARD (L.E.D.B.) Area: The board was founded in 1928 'to control town planning and the general planning and development of Lagos Township and is responsible to the Ministry of Lagos Affairs'.

1.35 See map 13. (Economic map of Lagos State) At Epe the Plywood factory and boat yard are based on forest resources. At Badagri coir fibre is based on the abundant coconut palm as raw materials; the jute bags factory thrives on locally cultivated jute; while the sandy beach of Kweme, the geographical location of Badagri 40 minutes by a new express highway from crowded Lagos and the relatively quiet atmosphere were the underlying assets for her current popularity as a holiday resort (mainly weekenders).

1.36 See map 18. Industrial Impact map of the Lagos study area.

1.37. See map 11. The Industrial Estates of Metropolitan Lagos. The only fully developed estates in 1972/73 are Apapa, Yaba and by implication the saw mills district of Ebute Metta. Iganmu and Ikeja are heavily developed but still have room for expansion. Ogun River estate is still at the drawing board stage.
The areal extent of the board's mandate is what became later known as Lagos Municipality or Lagos Federal Territory - the 27 square miles of land which received full impact from the function of Lagos as a political capital of the Nigerian nation. The board lasted until March 1972 when it became merged with Ikeja Area Planning Authority to form the Lagos Property Development Corporation under the Lagos State Government and covers a much wider area.

In the 44 years of its existence, L.E.D.B. was responsible for major land development in the core area of Lagos. It carried out (as originally mandated) major schemes of slum clearance (in the present C.B.D.), land reclamation (from swamps, sand dunes and forest), road and drain construction in parts of the municipality, and the development of industrial and housing estates. Although the statutory area of the board was relatively small, it was responsible for rationalising land use in central Lagos and opened up more lands which lend substance to such larger concepts as Metropolitan Lagos. Much of the existing research on Lagos was carried out under the auspices of the L.E.D.B. The board served as a rich mine of information on land use, industrial projects, drainage and reclamation schemes, development of housing estates and trends of land prices/values in Lagos Division (see maps 16 and 17).

Just before it was scrapped and replaced by the L.S.P.D., Corporation, the L.E.D.B. had almost completed a scheme for building a new town at Amuwo, far away at the western edge of the Greater Lagos defined above. Perhaps the Board's most successful reclamation effort is the Victoria Island Reclamation Scheme.45

1.36 The Lagos industrial region is defined on this basis as that part of Lagos state within which industrial activity is concentrated and more specifically where the peoples livelihood is derived not so much from traditional farming as from modernised food production, manufacturing of goods, commerce and other tertiary activities. Such a region, expanding with increasing economic development would correspond to the physical extent of land experiencing an impact in 1972 of F1 and over. (See Map 18).

1.39 Defined as industries causing harm or offence by way of smell, smoke, dust, effluence or noise. Asbestos, dye, sewage works, flour mills, explosives and alkali works are among such industries.

1.40 Residential population such as are concentrated at Surulere, Mushin, Yaba, Agege, Obalende, Shomolu, Isiobu, Maroko and as far afield as Agege becomes the working population for Lagos Island and Apapa Port each week day. The movement generated by that population is reflected in the traffic chaos experienced on Lagos roads every morning, afternoon and evening (journey between home and work place.)
LAGOS STATE PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION: This planning authority set up by a decree of the Lagos State Military Government on March 1972, represents a unification of two major and very successful Planning Authorities in the state - the L.E.D.B. and Ikeja Town Planning Authority (also known as Ikeja Area Planning Authority). The move may be seen as purely a political decision aimed at removing the conflicting and often unnecessary duplication of activities by the two bodies. According to the decree setting up L.S.P.D.C. ....'it is in the interest of more efficient organisation of planning activities both in the areas covered by the two authorities originally and in the state as a whole'.

The new corporation differs from its two preceding bodies in that it is purely a planning body and covers a wider land area than either of the two parent bodies. Other functions, such as housing, roads, reattachments and public works hitherto performed by the L.E.D.B. or I.T.P.A., have now been transferred to the Lagos State Ministry of Works and Housing.

To understand the implications of creating the new corporation on the development of 'Greater Lagos', it becomes necessary to reflect on the strength and achievements of the two parent bodies, as well as the political constraints under which they had operated in the past four decades. We have already discussed the L.E.D.B. The Ikeja Area Planning Authority now deserves a closer look. I.A.P.A. covers a much wider area and was originally under the pre-1967 Western Region government who showed a particularly keen political interest in the successful activities of the I.A.P.A.

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1.41 See Table 22 - L.M.T.S. bus routes and operations.
1.42 Passenger origin zones for L.M.T.S. correspond with low and medium grade residential districts mentioned in note 40. Water transport would decongest without necessarily increasing passenger volume. However the local prejudice against travelling by water has to be broken first.
1.43 Lagos was declared a First Class Township in 1917, with small additions to the sanitary district which it had been since Sept. 16, 1899, (created by Public Health Ordinance 1899, Govt. Gazette, p.393). The Township area in 1917 is defined in Laws of Nigeria 1923, vol. III, p.368, and approximates (with very slight addition) later boundaries of the Federal Territory of Lagos or the present Division of Lagos State.
1.44 The board has had (prior to its ceasing operation in April 1972) 43 years of experience in town planning schemes, swamp drainage and reclamation, slum clearance and housing development in what is now Lagos division of Lagos State. In particular, the development of Yaba (1933), Apapa (1946) and Surulere (1955 to 1965) and of course the slums and internal lagoons of Lagos are the board's outstanding successes.
By the time the decree setting up L.S.P.D.C. came into effect I.A.P.A. had successfully developed 3 industrial estates, with a total area of 700 acres. Of the 650 factories in Lagos state, 226 were located in the I.A.P.A. area alone with the authority's active encouragement. Other two industrial estates were in the process of being developed. Four housing estates for all classes of residential purposes have been developed, of which Ikeja G.R.A. and Moba Estate compare favourably with L.E.D.B. schemes in Lagos Division. Unlike the L.E.D.B. whose experiences and mandate were limited to Lagos Division most of the time, I.A.P.A. has had long influence in Planning decision/control in Badagri, Ikorodu and Epe divisions as well as the vast largely urban Ibeja division. A significant shift in organisation and strategy within the I.A.P.A. itself since 1967 may be seen as the re-orientation of the source from which decisions originated - from Ibadan in the Yoruba heartland, to cosmopolitan Lagos in an essentially marine region undergoing tremendous impacts of rapid industrialisation within a severely limited space.

I.A.P.A. brought into the new corporation a rich resource of larger land area and a rich increment of well equipped and experienced personnel. In the new rationalised framework, existing political constraints were demolished at the same time as the body was made to concentrate its efforts solely on planning activities. All the non-planning responsibilities hitherto handled by the L.E.D.B. or I.A.P.A. in their own right became transferred to Lagos State Ministry or Works and Housing.

1.45 The Scheme involved the only complete sewage system preceeding housing development and is acknowledged as a first class job. It would appear that the board's officials applied their several years of experience in reclamation work here and made generous use of all modern planning techniques, personnel and equipment, unhindered by the usual needs for low cost development. In consequence land prices at Victoria Island were found to be the highest throughout the Study area in 1972.

1.46 This also took account of earlier recommendations (especially that by Koenigbeuger (1964) op. cit) for a Metropolitan Planning body which the pre-1967 political divisions (Western Region and Federal Territory of Lagos) had frustrated.

1.47 I.A.P.A. is just a more comprehensive version of Ikeja Town Planning Authority which itself derives its powers from the Town and Country planning Law (Western Region, No. 6, of 1956). Besides Western Region was conscious to check further extension of Lagos Federal Territory into Western Region's lands.

1.48 Mr. Jimu (an architect by training), who is the present head of L.S.P.D.C., was formerly head of I.A.P.A. The leadership nomination was a direct contest between himself and Mr. Craig another equally able architect and head of the former L.E.D.B.
Like the L.E.D.B., the I.A.P.A. was also very helpful in providing valuable information for research in its territory. Several feasibility studies and a comprehensive location map of industrial activity in the area were very valuable research documents made available to me by the former I.A.P.A. just before the decree.

We see from the above considerations that the new Lagos State Property Development Corporation inherited much that should make it proficient in its assigned purposes. Judging from the successes of the Corporation's parent bodies, one would expect L.S.P.D.C. to play a most active and constructive role in planning for a better land use organisation in those areas of Lagos State where it matters most. The Corporation should also provide many of the ideas needed to absorb, with minimum disadvantages, the increasing impact of industrial activities, at least in the fast developing Metropolis.

For the purpose of this study however, no attempt is made to prejudice the capacity or potentials of the corporation, except for any relevant information that may become available while this thesis is being written. The points to be borne in mind here are the favourable position of the new corporation as a planning body and the essential differences between it (L.S.P.D.C.) and its parent bodies (the L.E.D.B. and the I.A.P.A.) From these points, it is hoped, a thorough understanding of how the planning bodies (appearing in the research) fit into the relevant concepts of Lagos, will become easier.

**EKO (The Lagosian's Lagos):** The original of this term has become obscured by political and historical events, but as a concept of 'Lagos', loaded as it is with important politico-cultural connotations, it deserves mention.

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1.49 - see Appendix 17. The relatively long established role of Lagos Island as the National seat of government for Nigeria led to the unfortunate misconception among non-Lagosian Nigerians that "Lagos is no man's land". Such a provocative statement often under-lies the observed determination among Lagosians to assert their independence from domination either by the inland fellow Yorubas of the Western State or by the combined obliterating effect of immigrant non-Yoruba Nigerians in a Federal republic in which 'place of origin' as distinct from 'place of birth' matters most for socio-political identity, sometimes even economic survival.

Lagosians feel very strongly that other Nigerians tend to abuse their natural hospitality and generosity (nurtured over centuries of involvement in commerce); hence the justification for the various state government steps, notably the restriction on land purchase rights and housing policy, currently being applied to assert the rights and identity of Lagosians within the Nigerian federal structure.
Originally the term (whatever the accepted meaning of the word) referred only to Lagos Island and Oke Eko. As Lagos grew and the island natives (before the influx of non-Yoruba immigrants from other ethnic territories of the Nigerian Federation) became moved to the mainland - first to the European planned 'new estates' of Yaba and Ebute Metta, and later to Surulere - Eko, the land area, became transformed into another identity of Eko (the community of people bound by some intangible loyalty to common origin from the island). They acknowledged one king - the Oba of Lagos. In time Eko or Lagos Island has extended beyond the island to include almost the latest area of settlement of those communities who consider themselves the original Lagos islanders. Those communities are, as it were, the 'colonies' or new lands of Lagosians.

In that manner the New Lagos area of Surulere where Lagos island families were settled, following the great slum clearance scheme by the L.E.D.B. in the 1950s, became culturally Eko, like the island. In the same way, Yaba and Ebute Metta had some decades previously become Eko. Victoria Island is currently in the process of being added to the spatial extent of 'Eko' (see note 45). There is considerable field evidence to show that when the political slogan, ....'Lagos for the Lagosians' is uttered, the Lagosians referred to are those whose ancestors originated from Lagos island, but the Lagos claimed (in territorial extent) would practically involve the whole of Lagos division, with fair justification.

The significance of this concept of Lagos becomes very relevant to our purposes when considering such aspects of the thesis as land ownership, land tenure and political constraints on land use in the research area. Like many cultural entities held intact mainly by ethnocentric factors against massive odds (of cosmopolitan type pressure caused by external and indifferent cultures) the spatial extent of Eko remains placid - expanding or contracting according to circumstances. It usually suffices to regard Eko as synonymous with Lagos Island in spatial terms.

1.50 The move to Surulere in 1955/56 is considered the most traumatic for indigenous "Lagosians" See plates 3c and 7a, and C.P. 25a. The earliest resettlement programme at Ebute Metta was mainly associated with governor Glover's plan in 1867 to provide accommodation for those Egbas, Christians either expelled from Abeokuta or who sought the better economic opportunity promised by him at Lagos.
In field research, however, the researcher should be aware of the points made above when conducting delicate interviews connected with sensitive issues such as land ownership, residence and ethnic details. Evaluation of responses to key questions can depend on this subtle concept.

**THE STUDY AREA:** The nature of my research was such that almost all the concepts of Lagos discussed above overlap upon one another in the study area. In the main, the spatial extent as delimited on the ground has been flexibly maintained to meet or suit aspects of the thesis subject matter.

It was originally intended to cover the whole of Lagos State (the political unit) in the study, but in the process of developing my thoughts on the problem under investigation, especially at Lagos University, it became clear that concentration on a much smaller area would be more fruitful and practicable. For instance, having established that the problem of impact of industrialization upon land use in the area is clearly concentrated within two of the five political divisions - Lagos and Ikeja divisions - much of my research required to be intensively conducted in the area covered by those two divisions. At the same time there was the need to understand the 'regional system' which generates factors responsible for the observed patterns in the physical area of these divisions. A framework corresponding to Greater Lagos and Metropolitan Lagos became useful. Field coverage decreases in intensity outside this central block of Greater Lagos. I have moved freely outside the confines of this block when it was necessary to draw upon material from a wider field - often as far afield as Badagri and Epe.

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1.52 There was frequent need to take account of factors such as land tenure system, industrial impacts, historical association and events, economic activities, trade zones, cultural identity and government or political circumstances occurring in and around Lagos but which have direct consequences for the study area.

1.53 vide Map 18 - Spatial distribution of industrial impacts in Lagos, 1972/73; also Appendix 20. Impact scores of 40% upwards (F3 to F5) are concentrated almost exclusively in these two divisions.
That necessity did not arise too often; but on occasions when it did, no pain was spared to extend my investigations there.

The term 'Study Area', as used in this thesis, should therefore be visualised as a working mesh cast over 'Metropolitan Lagos' but occasionally stretching, when necessary, beyond the Greater Lagos area to more distant parts of Lagos State. That study area is in every sense only a part of the much larger but less significant Lagos Geographical Region defined earlier in this chapter (see Maps 1, 3 & 4). The study area has most of the ingredients required for a valuable geographical investigation of interaction between land use and rapid industrialization. People and work are concentrated there, the two creating discernible changes in the way land and land resources of the region are used.

Background to Resources of Lagos: Further geographical examination of Lagos State and Lagos Region shows a rich inventory of resources mostly underused and in many cases wasted on account of ignorance. We find also that some essential physical resources, such as building stones and power resources are not available and have to be 'imported' into the study area.

The physical resource base of the region consists of position (on the Atlantic coast), sea and fresh water, sandy beaches, rich marine life, light forest, pockets of rich agricultural soil supporting subsistence agriculture and export cropping (Ajaegbu 1971). The export crops are oil pala, coconuts, cocoa and rubber. With the exception of building land, the region land is notably lacking in minerals and building stone.54

Prospecting for oil is showing good promise but has only yielded positive results in recent years and full-scale operation has not commenced. The State Government is keenly interested in the prospects but it must be noted that the Federal Government's interest in offshore oil drilling over-rides local state control.

1.54 The only private "mining" activity here controlled or licensed by the Fed. Min. of Mines & Power is "Sand Extraction" from the lagoon, creeks, beaches and coastal dunes. There is hope for oil prospecting but there are no oil wells yet in any part of the Lagos Study area. The nearest and best stone quarries, such as provides granite for the training walls and port protection, are located 60 miles away at Abeokuta; but cement manufactured at nearby Etekoro or imported through Apapa combine with the sand resources of the study area to provide basis for concrete as the builder's substitute material.
Good quality building land as shown in the land quality evaluation table (Stewart et al. 1968) derived from field-work (Appendix 1) is significantly in short supply within the state as a whole. This inhibits land use potentials and increases development costs - for reclaiming the swamps, marshes and dunes. (see map 4).

Among the region's natural resources may be mentioned large unsettled tracts of land which the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources is currently hoping to turn into livestock grazing lands and forestry development schemes where appropriate. At the time of survey (January to May 1972) the majority of such land was either under bush fallow or in the 'gathering zone' as designated in the Land Use Survey (Category A0). A few areas - near Badagri and on the Lagos to Epe road - were being 'stocked' with cattle or timber (mostly tortona grandis, i.e. teak) as appropriate. Many of the government farm settlements and experimental agricultural stations like Agege, Ikorodu and Badagri (notably Ikorodu Farm Institute and Settlement Scheme and the Integrated Rural Development Scheme at Ajarra in Badagri) are making use of such vast and conveniently 'empty' land areas.

The forest, in what may be regarded as the 'gathering zone', yields many valuable products capable of a wide range of uses: raw materials for export, nuts and fruits, vegetable relishes (spices and condiments), medicinal herbs, leaves and roots, ropes, timber, gane, skins, wine (from raffia and oil palms) and fuel. The last item (fuel) is of particular importance in this region, deficient of power resources.

Water supply as a component of the physical resource base is particularly underdeveloped in the study area, for in no part of the region does pipe borne water supply exceed 16 gallons per day per head of population (compared with 40 gallons per day per person required in that environment). Water treatment plants are said to be inadequate but what water is made available is of good quality. Large catchment areas in the state await development. At the period of study, water supply constituted a major problem in Metropolitan Lagos and its lack has frequently interrupted factory operations, inconvenienced people in the crowded residential districts, caused widespread cholera and posed serious sewage disposal problems. Water is therefore a deficient physical resource next in importance to the poor power resources of the area.
The traditional source of energy in this area was the burning of firewood. At a later technological period charcoal was made available for those who could afford it. The forests of the region have suffered considerable depletion due to their providing firewood for an ever-increasing population. With the growth of crafts (e.g. blacksmiths), industries and the higher standard of living, wood-based fuel supply proves seriously inadequate.

There is no coal in the area, but the power station at Ijorah used to receive regular supplies of coal from Port Harcourt - a distance of 400 miles by sea. The Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, which has recorded an average growth rate in power supply of 20 per cent per annum in the last fifteen years, is the major supplier of power to the area but a number of private firms have found it necessary and convenient to provide their own generating equipment (often diesel). As much as 95 per cent of the electricity provided by E.C.N. in the area is generated outside the region. Until the merger in April 1972 (of E.C.N. and Niger Dams Authority), Electricity Corporation of Nigeria's main supplier of energy was the Niger Dams Authority who had a monopoly over the generating of commercial electricity in this part of Nigeria. Power used in the area is generated (outside the area) from H.E.P., thermal and diesel sources: but the Ijorah Power Station (within the area) has recently converted from thermal to diesel as part of a modernization project.

Oil and gas are becoming increasingly important in the fuel resources of the area but until further exploitation and exploration increases hydrocarbon yields of Lagos State, much of this sort of fuel will also continue to be imported from the other oil producing parts of Nigeria. The population and industrial concentrations in the study area, however, make it the highest consumer of these energy resources. Petrol is cheap in the area (4/- per gallon) and gas is available - not on tap - but by cylinder containers supplied on demand by Midogas and other dealers. Industrial gas is supplied by a special firm dealing exclusively in it.

The limiting factor in the general adoption of the new types of fuel (oil, gas, electricity) is explained in terms of shortage of equipment resulting from low per caput income of the majority of people in the area.
One observes that these new sophisticated fuels appear to be used exclusively by the higher income groups. The increasing use of the new energy sources appears, however, to be arresting the feared depletion of the region's forests caused by heavy population pressure on firewood resources. The new energy resources are particularly important in the way they dictate the pace of industrialization in the study area as is demonstrated later in this thesis. In the main, fuel supply reflects observable changes in the use of land and land resources of the area. Notably absent from the area in terms of power developments are H.E.P. sources. There are no suitable rivers or topography in the area for H.E.P.; nor are any dam building projects afoot.

Building materials deserve particular consideration among the physical resource bases of the study area. For, lacking in stone or suitable brick clays, sand-extraction from river beds, lagoons and sea beaches forms an essential base for the construction industry. By technological coincidence the concrete industry came to the world as an innovation just in time for the increased building activities in Lagos. In a close examination of the sand extraction industry - as probably the only significant mining activity in Lagos State - it became possible to demonstrate the increasing importance of this resource on the industrialization and development of modern Lagos. In some parts of the study area (e.g. Oworonshoki) sand extraction has replaced fishing as the dominant economic activity of the people. The tall buildings concentrated in the Central Business District, the modern houses in all the housing estates in the region, the magnificent Eko Bridge system, the rapid rise of privately built modern houses, all owe their existence to the building sands extracted within the state (from rivers, lagoon and coastal fringes and open cast quarries) and the cement either imported through the region's port or brought down from Ewekoro by road or rail in the neighbouring western state.

1.55 Burnt clay bricks from scooped earth at Yaba (Oko biriki) and Ebute Metta West were used for the many pre-1940 houses and government offices on Lagos Island and Ebute Metta; notably the Old Secretariat (colour plates 26b and 39). Concrete block making industries, dominated by the Nigerian Concrete Industries based at Matari, have grown very fast and often at a footloose fashion in response to the vast housing and other constructional development. The Sand Dealers' Association based at Ebute Metta South-East are also doing brisk business as revealed in the records of the Federal Min. of Mines, Lagos illustrated with a 1,50,000 map of 15.12.72, sheets 279 S.E. and 280 S.W.
The forest and the raw earth supply most of the building materials required for the thousands of traditional buildings in the area: mud for the walls, raffia thatch for the roofs and lianas or other ropes for binding the framework. Doors, windows and furniture come from the timber of the local forest. In the seasonally flooded low-lying areas, wooden props are used for the stilts which are typical features of the fishermen's homes in many parts of the state. (Plates 4a and 4b).

We see from the foregoing appraisal of elements of the local physical resource base that increasing industrialization is placing strain on resources which originally appear to have served traditional activities well within a simple land use system. Impact from the industrialization process is posing new challenges to discover and exploit new resource bases. New resources are being tapped but the rate of general economic development appears to be conditioned by the level at which the physical resource base is rendered capable of coping with the new activities and land use requirements.

**Human Resource Base:** The fact of human concentration cannot be ignored in the geographical appraisal of Lagos. The study area has the highest population density per unit area (one million people plus, in the Metropolitan area alone). Note the pattern of population changes plotted in Figs. 2a, 2b and 17 for the period 1500 A.D. to 1970.\(^56\)

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1.56 Although no reliable population count existed for any part of the study area before 1891 and the exact population figures at the time of this study (1972) remains controversial, there is a general agreement on the fact that since Lagos became a commercial centre (even from the slave trade days) the Island has always felt crowded within the "available space" until relieved by fare, swamp reclamation, slum clearance or political expansion into outlying territory. Population in the study grew phenomenally in three well documented periods: (a) after World War II; (b) just before and after Nigerian National Independence; and, (c) during and shortly after the Nigerian civil war (1967 - 70).

The Lagos City Council has officially recorded that for the 1952-62 intercensuses decade "the 67 square miles of Greater Lagos (estimated as 1.5 million people in 1972) had experienced a population growth of 200% - by 140% in the city and 670% in the rest of the urban area", with 70% of total population residing within less than half of the 27 square miles which constitute the City of Lagos.
This compares also with the expansion of land area under human settlement shown cartographically for the period. (map 34).

The past 100 years has seen steady immigration into the area by urban people (local Yorubas, colonial agents, liberated slaves from the New World and assorted fortune seekers). Changes in the political status of the study area over the past hundred years and particularly since the Second World War brought more immigrants into the area and this in turn is reflected on the ground as expanding 'colonisation, of the land. (Table 26 shows the physical expansion of Lagos over neighbouring land as population grows) Industrial activities have tended to follow substantial population presence up to a point where number of people rush into the area apparently on account of work opportunities expected to be created, by the increasing number of industrial, commercial and administrative activities of the area. The situation at the time of fieldwork (January to May 1972) is that more people are pouring into Lagos in the hope of securing employment in the industrial firms and the allied activities the factories have generated, than can be comfortably absorbed. This becomes obvious from the high number of unemployed and shortage of housing accommodation.

Some basic facts about the population (the human resources base) are relevant to our study:—

(a) The population is concentrated within Lagos and Ikeja divisions. Some socio-economic distinctiveness in residential areas is discernible - low income groups congregate in the already overcrowded low rent districts of Mushin, Ajegunle, Surulere, Shomolu, Falomo and pockets of slums in Lagos island. Many more of this class live out of doors. The majority are unemployed, under-employed, or simply unemployable for want of urban skills. The well-to-do (middle and high income groups) live in apartment houses or the low density areas of Ikoyi, Ikeja Government Residential Area, Palm Grove Estate, parts of Yaba and Surulere. An increasingly large number are living in the industrial estates and in employer's special quarters made necessary by the hopeless housing problem.

1.57 Defined for our purpose as human impacts on the local wild landscape - reclaiming swamps, forests and coastal dunes through residential development, various economic activities and transportation facilities.

1.58 vide Maps 10,19 & 20 and compare plates 6,7,26,27,28,29,30 & 33 on types of residential property.
The Nigerian Railways employees' quarters at Oke Ira is the oldest and most typical example of this latter type of residential accommodation.

(b) Distance is a problem adding to restriction of mobility between residence and workplace. The loss of national productivity resulting from this problem has recently been estimated by Sada (1972) as 25%. My field observation would suggest a higher rate of 30% at least. The congestion one observes on the roads, streets and business centres appears more to be related to wrong use or organisation of space, and poor planning, confirming an earlier observation by the UN. report (Koenigsberger et al) 1964 study.

(c) A substantial number of the working population in Lagos works in the civil service, Local Authority and the headquarters of business firms operating in the country. The presence of industrial estates and the port accounts for yet another section of the working population. Almost as many 'ancillary workers' mostly living in the low income areas of Ajegunle, Falomo and Shomolu (Ironically within reach of the high class residential areas) are there to render domestic or menial services to the higher income group.

(d) The age composition of the population: A broad base without the usual tapering apex characterises the population pyramid of the area under study. The youthfulness may be gleaned from the fact that as many as 320,000 children (in a population of just over one million) were enrolled in full-time education (300,000 primary and 20,000 secondary) for 1970 alone. The sex ratio stands at three males to five females - corresponding well with most primate cities, such as Hong Kong or Rio de Janeiro.

1.59 "Time distance" is a more meaningful measure than mileage in the study area. For example workers living on the mainland, say Surulere, may expect to spend six hours a day journing to work and returning to their homes, i.e. three hours either way. Moreover, the extremely limited access routes to the central area (see Fig.12) and the apparent polarisation between residential districts and work places (factories, government offices and the C.B.D.) increase the problem. For Lagos it is fair to conclude that planners have so far failed "to place living and working areas in advantageous relative positions." (Audiffren, 1965, para. 7-5.01).

1.60 Accepting Sada's 25%, the extra 5% is a reasonable yield from roadwear and repelled business which did not feature in Sada's estimate. see Sada, P.O. in The Geographer, J. of Lagos University Geog. Soc., May 1972, pp.

1.61 The validity of this statement derives from the author's calculation based on Lagos State government official 1972 figures of 1.5 million people for Greater Lagos, 90% said to be under 50 years old, a 5% birth rate and 360,000 registered school pupils (of whom only 8% were at Secondary Schools)
(e) Quality of the Population: A significant feature in this respect is the rural outlook of the new immigrants into the Metropolis. For the most part, they are ill-equipped, as noted above, for city life and still less for factory routine. Many are drifters to the big city with high hopes but lacking in urban skills. For some as yet uninvestigated reasons there are many literate and even well-educated but jobless youths among the immigrants. As noted by Koenigsberger et al (1965), but since aggravated by the civil war, chronic under-employment can be observed throughout the study area.

Health hazards among the population are high in the sense that the average citizen (recent immigrant or not) is down with malaria - a debilitating disease - about once in any two months as a matter of routine! Cholera and other plagues claim regular victims.62

It is significant in this appraisal to note that residual skills and an industrial tradition are new to the study area. Among the population in general, the present generation of factory workers are very often the first generation to break with traditional rural activity.

Awareness of the diverse possibilities of land use is rather low as many respondents during field interviews were not aware of alternative profitable uses to which they could put their lands or holdings besides primary cultivation, building a house on it or selling it for cash to someone else who would build a house on it. Land value, for instance, was based, as far as the respondent was concerned, on his/her limited knowledge of what the land may be used for, e.g. residential building plot. It will be shown later in this thesis that this basic attitude of the people accounts to some degree for the poor organisation of land use in the study area.

Other Natural Assets of Lagos: Location has been and remains a major asset in the economic development of Lagos. Conveniently positioned on the West African Atlantic coast, Lagos serves as the 'gateway to the Federal Republic of Nigeria'. Through that gate Portuguese traders brought their European merchandise and the notorious slave trade; British traders, missionaries and colonial might entered.

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The 1972 field work was conducted just at the final stages of a serious cholera epidemic in Lagos, which was an outcome of poor water supply and sudden influx of immigrant population consequent upon the 1967-70 Civil War. Special precautions had to be taken by all participants in the survey; in particular, drinking of water or buying cooked food from local hawkers were not allowed. This made feeding arrangements for participants in what is already an arduous task, quite complicated but never ignored.

1.62
Currently, Lagos handles 65 per cent of Nigeria's import trade and about 70 per cent of the nation's overseas passenger traffic. The nation's chief port is there and has given rise to many 'port industries'. Lagos has been appropriately described as 'the hub of the nation's public and business administration' (Nigeria Year Book 1972, p.153), with significant consequences for the land use in the central area (i.e. the Metropolis).

Set in a lagoon environment between the surf beaten coast of the Atlantic Ocean and the high forests of early urbanised Yoruba country, the study area for a long time provided refuge and even sanctuary to migrant groups - some fleeing from more powerful neighbours, some lured there by the spirit of adventure, others seeking quieter and more secluded lives than was possible in the activity-packed urbanised hinterland. The early settlers appear to have adopted fishing as their major means of livelihood, while they engaged in part-time subsistence farming and traded for food-stuffs with more efficient farming communities farther inland. When contact with European traders was established, the people quickly adopted trading as a major occupation and prospered as 'middlemen' in all aspects of trade between the people of the hinterland and European traders (at the coast) in the five centuries from 1450 to 1950. In that period, the landscape of Lagos was transformed from a mere array of lagoons, creeks and islands, swamps and dangerous surf beaches to the ordered stockade of a modern dredged sea terminal/port, an intensively developed Central Business District (C.B.D.), several square miles of reclaimed swamps, sand dunes and dorests, and an ever increasing or fast congesting pattern of built-up space.

Cultural Background to Land-Use Patterns in Lagos: We see from the foregoing examination that identifiable changes occurred in the way land was used during three significant periods of the area's evolution; viz. pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. Morgan (1959) has already shown how the European impact affected agricultural land use in a region of which this study area forms a part.

1.63 Sources: Field interviews 1972.
The Nigerian Ports Authority and The Nigerian Railways.
Hodder (1959) op.cit.
Ogundana. (1961) op.cit.

The pre-colonial period, for convenience, covers the period before European contact and includes all that time of trading, first in wares and later in slaves, until the establishment of British authority (colonialism). At first it seems the use made of the land and land resources was essentially for subsistence. Exchange of ideas, produce and personnel flowed freely throughout the West African lagoon system (in the cost of Guinea), stretching from the well-known 'Oil Rivers' in the east (Niger Delta) to the lagoons of modern Ivory Coast and Ghana. The study area is conveniently positioned in the middle of this system. European merchandise, when it arrived, was traded in these parts with local produce of spices, vegetable oils and other tropical forest products. (see Bosman's 'Coast of Guinea', 1705).

With the advent of the slave trade, the people of the lagoon became involved in the role of hunters (inland for slaves) agents (for the purchasers) and sometimes became themselves victims of the trade. Much of the economic activity involving exploitative use of land and land resources (e.g. farming and fishing) took secondary place to the ruthless exploitation of human resources. This was the case for about three hundred years. In that period, Lagos prospered as a port serving a vast hinterland yielding about 50,000 slaves (black gold) per annum until a few years after the abolition. It was in recognition of the importance of Lagos as a notorious 'slaving port' that the British Government, after the abolition, considered it essential to establish a base there as a deterrent to the obstinate dealers. (Palmerston's comments quoted in Ajayi's "The British Occupation of Lagos 1851-1961").

1.65 Textile goods; enamel ware; iron implements e.g. pots, ordinary iron bars and tools; liquor, perfume, guns and ammunition; beads and trinkets; assorted manufactured goods according to local demand e.g. iron beds.

1.66 Bosman, W. (1705): A New and Accurate description of the Coast of Guinea. English translation copy at Royal Anthropol. Inst. Library, London. Although the description related more to the coast of Ghana at that time, much of the accounts provide useful glimpses of life in similar coastal locations further east (to where our study relates).

1.67 Quoted by Crowder in "The Story of Nigeria" (1968), p.157:- "If Lagos, instead of being a nest for slave traders, were to become a port for lawful trade, it would become an important outlet for the commerce of a large range of country in the interior, and instead of being a den of barbarism, would become a diffusing centre of civilization" Written apparently at the eve of the British confrontation (1851) with Kosoho on Lagos.
The colonial period may be said to begin with the arrival of the missionaries at Badagri in 1841 and attained maturity with thecession of Lagos to the British throne by Dosunmu in 1861. Efforts were made to re-establish legitimate trade. This involved returning to rural exploitation of land and land resources through agriculture and trade in local produce, for imported goods from industrial Europe. The area then had more land placed under cash cropping but the increase in prosperity and the resultant local population growth also led to more intensive agriculture for food crops.

Europe needed large supplies of raw materials for its factories—vegetable oil, rubber, cocoa and coir fibre. Trade with the interior in fish, cola nuts, corals and other local and imported products was intensified following general pacification of the local people under common colonial rule. New methods of cultivation were introduced from Europe to increase farming activity (Morgan, op.cit.1958). The method involved extensive exploitation of land resources and in many cases the destruction of natural vegetation (e.g. in the establishment of plantations). In any case, more was produced per unit of land input through the application of new methods—such as the use of iron implements (matchets) and fertilizers, better soil management and permanent cultivation (with controlled rotation of crops where necessary, as against the previous practice of bush fallowing). Demonstration farms were set up early this century at Agege, Badagri (the missionary plantations at Topo) and Ikorodu. At the Agege farm, mixed farming was demonstrated and the station itself has formed the centre of training in animal husbandry (poultry, cattle and goat keeping) for most parts of the study area. By the close of the colonial era, much of the land-use pattern had become established as rural (with ordered cultivation), urban (with a sprinkling of industries), and undeveloped.

The post-colonial era came with Nigeria's independence in 1960. Developments in land-use patterns were 'follow-ups' from the systems established in the later days of the colonial period. Permanent agriculture was intensively encouraged through the extension service of the various Ministries of Agriculture. Industrial estates were built to provide room and

1.68 A single blade made of steel—about 18 inches to three feet long; very useful for clearing forests; also used locally as war weapons (e.g. in the last Nigerian Civil War) for inflicting deadly blows.
security of tenure to ever increasing industrial enterprises. More land had been taken up for residential, transportation and business development and more land is consumed annually for administrative purposes (government offices, residential quarters for officials, barracks, university and other agencies). The slums of the centuries have been cleared in what is now the Central Business District and a stage has been reached where stocktaking of use and misuse in the study area becomes necessary. It is currently a primary concern of the governments involved in the planning of Metropolitan Lagos, owing to the chaotic planning problems facing the authorities, in attempts to rationalise the use of land and land resources in the area.

Land tenure has undergone tremendous changes in the three periods discussed above. In the main, we have witnessed a movement from traditional (often regressive) Yoruba communal ownership, through the 'family lands' system, to the present practice of individual land ownership. In individual ownership⁶⁹, title deeds are more freely transferred and land purchase by developers presents fewer conveying problems than in previous local systems. However, it carries with it the risk of causing more fragmented units of tenure thereby creating new problems in development prospects, as shown later in this thesis. We have also witnessed new methods of land acquisition by decree, Compulsory Purchase Orders and similar means by public or government bodies, as need arises.

All these changes have created discernible impacts on the use now made of land in the study area and these are carefully analysed in the main body of the thesis.

**LAND USE IN LAGOS:** The traditional land-use pattern of Lagos was based on Yoruba culture (Amos, Tokyo 1968; Ojo, Ife 1966)⁷⁰ whereby a dual-settlement system⁷¹ (urban community and farmstead) enabled the natives to live in urban communities and cultivate their lands outside the urban settlement. Originally local slaves lived in the farmsteads and cultivated the lands of their urban-dwelling free born lords.

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1.⁶⁹ As distinct from communal or family ownership. The individual acquires his right through freehold purchase or lease. His title may be registered under the Registration of Titles Act, Cap. 181. This kind of land can be freely bought or sold.

The effect of western type urbanisation (Morgan 1958) on Lagos and its environs reversed that simple pattern. Homes were set up outside the urban core; a Central Business District (C.B.D.) was established, replacing the former combined residential and business areas (Mabogunje, 1962), so that movement from the outskirts to the centre for work, replaced a traditional pattern of "home to farmstead".

The motor car arrived on the scene just in time to assist the dispersal of people into former rural land (converting those areas to residential purposes in place of traditional farm lands). The setting up of industrial estates in selected areas between the C.B.D. and residential districts (sometimes even within the residential districts) increased the coalescent pattern of land use development in Lagos Metropolis. In the process, more land became built up. Space for movement (crisscross movements between home and work places) became congested, often tangled. A good deal of reclamation work has taken place in the past 25 years (post-world War II to post-civil war) to bring into urban and industrial use 'land' hitherto neglected as unsuitable for development.

The waters of Lagos were used for fishing and transportation purposes by the earliest known inhabitants of these parts. Today both uses have been intensified and from under the waters much building sand is extracted. The latter (sand extraction) has increased enormously with growth of the building industry. The continued use of the lagoon and other water surfaces of the region for sewage disposal (open sewers for all purposes) is unpleasant and injurious to the people's health; but the practice occurs in such a large scale that it cannot be ignored in this study. It is fully considered in this thesis under the section dealing with space for waste disposal, industrial effluent and water pollution in the study area.

(see pages 91 and 345-351.)

1.71 The dual settlement system involved maintaining a home or family seat in the 'town' and a farm settlement outside the town. In the days of slavery each nobleman kept many slaves who were resident on the farm and worked for him. He (the nobleman) lived in the town and visited his farm or farm workers regularly.

1.72 Map 4 shows major reclaimed swamps and floodprone terrain of the study area. See also Prof. Mabogunje's Ph.D. thesis on the Urban Geography of Lagos (op.cit) and subsequent publication in "Urbanisation in Nigeria" (London) 1968.
The changes observed in land use types and patterns, from the traditional to the present industrialized landscape, indicate the nature of impacts on land-use organisation generated by industrialization as an agent of change in Lagos.

**LAGOS INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE:** The majority of Lagos industries today are found concentrated in industrial estates established for that purpose. The first one was set up in 1957 as The Yaba Industrial Estate by the former Lagos Executive Development Board. The aim was to provide for the convenience of industrialists, a land area similar to old British type trading estates (e.g. Team valley) where land tenure problems encountered in undeveloped private lands of Lagos would not apply and where basic amenities would be made available. The amenities required were pipe-borne water, electricity, road/rail access; in addition to the much treasured 'security of tenure'.

Following the success of the Yaba Industrial Estate (a mere 30 acres) several industrial estates have been set up in many parts of the study area, some about 1,000 acres in area; and in each case government owned or controlled land formed the major acquisition. The land is available on long leases of up to 99 years and at rental rates revisable every twenty years. Amenities provided on the large modern industrial estates are roads, drains, electricity, water supply and telephones, although the frequency with which these amenities break down in any working day can be quite alarming and counter-productive. A few private 'trading estates' have also entered the scene. With the creation of Lagos State, even those estates initiated and owned by the former Western Region (now Western State) in what was the Colony Province now receive direct planning control (instructions) from Lagos rather than Ibadan as was originally the case. The full political effect of this lies concealed, difficult to investigate, perhaps as long as military rule lasts.

1.73 Land tenure problems encountered in Lagos, provided the original motive for setting up the Yaba Industrial Estate to provide rented factory accommodation entrepreneurs. For more detailed treatment see chapter 5 Land Tenure in Lagos, despite extensive changes and modernisation to which the region had been exposed before and since industrialization, remains complicated subject to unending litigation and encumbered conveyancing, particularly in the private sector. See also Appendices 23, 24 and 26.

1.74 See map 11 and Table 4 for location and other details of the industrial estates.
We see in the modern industrial geography of Lagos a grouping of industrial activities in well-defined sites, based not on the principles of labour or market orientation but on land availability. One gets the impression during field work that the present concentration of industries in 'estates' is comparable to the location of industries at coal-mining sites in the early days of British industrialisation, the dispersal of which followed the introduction of electric (mobilised) power supply. A similar dispersal may yet be witnessed in Lagos industries once land supply and basic amenities become less restricted to the 'estates'.

Unlike one finds in mature industrial regions, industries in Lagos are not structured on the basis of their products. We do not therefore talk of 'textile manufacturing area, region, belt or zone', 'paper and printing districts', 'light engineering', 'gun quarters', 'noxious industries', and similar descriptive or functional terms. For Lagos industries are for the most part 'pioneer' in character, reflecting the 'borrowed' nature of their technology. An 'industrial area' in Lagos can contain many unrelated industrial activities. This fact is clearly evidenced in the present industrial estates where no one estate is devoted to any one dominant form of production. Distinction can however be made between 'port oriented industries', and all other industries insofar as many of the former necessarily seek port location. Such is the case with the cold storage firms, importers of bulky raw materials, e.g. Flour Mills of Nigeria Ltd Gas Bottling Firms, Bulk Oil Dealers and other port-dependent activities.

Lagos industries may be described as 'light'. They are mostly concerned with providing substitute products to imported and the processing of local raw materials. To this end food and drink industries, tyre and tube making using local rubber, cosmetics, plastic products (mostly household wares and toys), footwear and clothing, mattresses and furniture were actively encouraged early in the period; but more sophisticated industries such as car assembly, metal works, making of building materials (e.g. cement blocks and other concrete products), glass and petrochemicals also received encouragement. The granting of Pioneer Status, 75 which carries with it government financial aid and tax relief, in the first ten years from 1955-1965 encouraged the fast development of industries in all categories.

1.75 Any undertaking satisfying the provisions of the 1953 "The Aid the Pioneer Industries Ordinance", may be declared a pioneer industry and granted a Pioneer Industry Certificate - which relieves such industry from paying income tax for some years (as specified). "The provisions" stipulate that the industry be favourable to Nigeria and that assistance to such an industry will be to Nigeria's interest. See Appendices 34a and b for the present situation. (The Nigerian Enterprises Promotions decree).
No one class (of the standard Industrial classification 3-16) appears solar to be either over-represented or neglected except steel manufacturing and shipbuilding, which are unrepresented for obvious reasons (inadequate technology and insufficient capital). It is remarkable that not even a 'prestige only' industry, so often lamented in books on industrialization of underdeveloped countries, features in the Lagos industrial landscape.

Industries declared pioneer in the ten years 1955-1965, cover a wide range. As many as 95% of these are concentrated in the study area. A list of those actually noted in the field as arising from this provision (Aid to Pioneer Industries Act and, later, the Industrial Development Income Tax Relief Act) are:- Vegetable oil seeds processing, rubber-soled shoe manufacturing, biscuits, textiles, brewing and soft drinks, food canning, paper products, tyres and tubes, cereals processing, sugar and confectionary, asbestos products, lead acid accumulators, matches, agricultural fertilisers, carbon dioxide, pharmaceuticals, natural and synthetic fibres for sacks and allied products, metal goods, bone crushing, salt, tea manufacturing, industrial and medical gases, reconstitution and processing of powdered milk, lather and leather goods, electrical apparatus and appliances (including radio and T.V. sets), dairying, wire and cable, hosiery, glassware, ceramics, iron and steel processing and manufacturing.

For the most part these industries are found in the industrial estates of Apapa, Iganmu, Ikeja, Ilupeju, Muchin and Yaba; but a handful of private manufacturing concerns pioneered much earlier on (e.g. Nigerian Textile Weaving Co. at Akoka village within the university campus) can be found scattered in the island and mainland old settlement areas of Lagos. They are mostly family concerns or small scale craft industries, taking place in the home or on the family land of the proprietors.

The industrial landscape therefore may be seen as a young, under-developed but fast growing phenomenon. Earlier traces of manufacturing are of cottage-style textile manufactures and raw material processing (e.g. palm oil). Then came the nuclei premises developed close to the ports and the experimental or demonstration model at Yaba Industrial Estate; and now the dominance of the large industrial estates as centres of industrial activity. To this picture is added the few localised industries which have emerged in the form, for instance, of the saw milling area of Ebute Metta. Local craft industries, such as mat making around Ojo Town and similar cottage activities, are also found sprinkled within the study area.
The location of industrial activity within the study area has so far followed a logical pattern in a region where land tenure and basic amenities restrict the entrepreneur's choice of location but where abundant labour and a ready market for finished products, close beneath the protecting wings of a Federal capital and served by the nation's largest seaport, form the major assets. For the future, it is safe to expect such changes as would reflect a relaxation of the present constraints and the possible political consequences of moving the Federal capital away from Lagos (see the author's prepared article for The Nigerian, vol. 1, No. 2, entitled 'Relocation of Nigeria's Federal Capital'). In any case the industrial estates are destined to play significant roles for a long time in the industrialization of Lagos; but many of the shortcomings (reflecting what planners forgot) at present apparent, such as provisions for waste disposal, transportation problems facing workers and other land users, and the provision of adequate water supply and electric power are producing ugly side-effects to what could have been 'neatly planned' industrial land use.

Land use categories in Lagos show a high degree of 'mixture' between residential and commercial. In the study area, the lands used for food growing appear to be only in transition - those awaiting development for other more profitable uses such as housing or factory sites and commercial centres. With the exception of the Government Agriculture Stations (e.g. Agege and Ikorodu) and some private plantations (notably Oke Afa Farms), farming does not feature as a strong competitor among land use categories at the present time. Recreational land use appears to be highly neglected and the attitude (no thought for recreational space by private developers) is likely to persist as long as land development remains largely in private hands. Only a very few land-owners or local people interviewed saw the point in 'leaving lands idle' as parks, pleasure gardens or playgrounds 'for the common good'. People are basically selfish and short-sighted here - an attitude which holds valuable clues to the poor development of public space, viz. streets, roads and neatly kept public open spaces. The study area is clearly in the area declared as 'subject to planning control'; but 'illegal' building, 'land grabbing' and incessant 'squatting' continues.

Appendix 24 contains a list of districts within the study area declared as subject to the Registration of Titles Act, Cap 61.

In chapter 5 we accord the land ownership problem a more detailed analysis.

Figure 14 presents the picture as at 1972 while map 15 depicts the pattern of land ownership types for that year.
(The situation is clearly reflected in the abnormally high land prices and fragmentation studied in the field). All these made for the haphazard, unsystematic pattern of land use observed in all parts of Lagos with the exception only of government controlled high-class residential areas (Ikoyi, Palm Grove, Ikeja G.R.A. and Apapa G.R.A., Surulere L.E.B.B. estates, and recently, Victoria Island).

It is difficult to see how the chaos can be reversed in those congested areas where it really matters, without more active government intervention. However, one can still discern a slow but clear emergence of the C.B.D., residential districts (with western-type social distinctiveness, observable in property values), industrial zones (the estates), market centres, administration or government property, educational institutions, port, transportation, market gardens, cemeteries and waste or swamp lands. Some specialisation in land use types is emerging, chiefly under the impact of the industrialization process and the resultant competition for land as a scarce resource in Lagos.

Industries as Land Consumers: Since the central theme of this thesis concerns the 'impact' of industrialization on land use in Lagos, it is useful to include in this introductory chapter a brief review of how industries use land and create impacts on other users, changing in the process the organised pattern of land use in a given location. While data on industrial land requirements proved very difficult to collect in the field, valid observations revealed industrial activity as a growing land-hungry monster with many tentacles, often ignored in previous studies. Estimates of how much land industries consume in any organised scheme vary widely but we may take a conservative estimate of 7% more land per annum in 'active regions' (Beaver 1962 and 1968) as a good working figure. It is also a fact that land zoned for or 'grabbed' by industry becomes withdrawn from primary production (in rural areas) or residential use (in urban areas). In Lagos, the planners of the industrial estates complicate the picture slightly by providing high class residential property within the estate (e.g. Ilupeju and Ikeja). A third fact about industrial space requirements in that the land demands of various industries change with technological innovations.

1.77 As evidenced in the land use maps 8, 9, 10 and 19.
Experience in mature industrial countries may lead us to expect such changes to mean a larger land area for heavy and petrochemical industries as they attempt to maximise their production capacity.

In this study an attempt was made to categorise industries according to their land consuming capacities purely as an exercise aimed at understanding the present and future land requirements of Lagos industries compared with the present state of land use competition in the study area. Industries feature as major space users mainly in the sense that any industry is a generator of 'allied' or ancillary land users. It was found that the study of industrial land use properly involves a study of five categories of 'space Users' associated with industrial activity or industrial presence. Primarily there is the 'site', varying in size according to the nature of works set up; space for 'transport facilities' to serve three essential movements, viz. input of raw materials, input of labour and personnel and output of finished or semi-finished products; 'utilities' - water, power and waste disposal (all three presently demand more land than has been provided for in the Lagos industrial estates).

Beyond these three categories of 'space users', forming the infrastructure of the industry, it is often necessary to consider two others, viz. land for residential purposes and land for primary production. The former presents a pressing problem in Lagos but the latter also claims attention in that it forms the basis of food supply for the labour force and raw materials for the factory.

Methodological problems were encountered during field investigation of the relationship between organised use of land and the role of industrialization. On the one hand, there was the need for a practical method of analysis which would show or indicate the degree of influence exerted by industrial presence on the organised pattern of land use (i.e. the land use mosaic). There was also the need to evaluate industrial activities by categorisation according to each industry's demand for land, fully conscious of the inelastic supply of this important economic resource.

As a solution, I have devised and applied in the body of the thesis, a method of 'impact analysis' and a new classification of industries according to land consuming capacities'. The methodological problems appear to have responded satisfactorily to my two devices, at least in my study area.
Impact Analysis simplifies the task of interpreting and understanding how the peculiar demands of industrial land use affect other uses. A simple grading system assigns a degree of 'impact' to any area under investigation. Thus, a combination of industrial influences or factors (viz. factory's physical presence or situation, related assets of the industrial land and, an estimated 'resistance' level of the activity against other competing land users) would produce a grading ranging from 0 - 5 in increasing order of 'impact magnitude':

- 0 Nil
- 1 Slight
- 2 Threshold
- 3 Balanced
- 4 Advanced
- 5 Full, complete or overloaded.

(Impact notation may be written as $F_0$ to $F_5$ - zero Force to Force 5).

A simple cartographic treatment translates the 'impact' into a visual pattern for even simpler analysis. (see map 18)

Field observation pointed to the fact that the land-consuming capacity of a given industrial activity significantly determines the impact potential of that industry on local land-use organisation. To take account of this local observation, a new classification of industrial activities was considered and devised. Consequently, the working classification set down in Appendix 28 of this thesis is proposed as supplementary to the generally accepted 'Industrial Classification Index' 1-16. The new classification simplifies the task of relating industrial activity to the economic realities of land use competition, particularly in the context of newly industrializing regions.

1.78 Presented cartographically in Map 18.

1.79 The industrial classification index prepared in Appendix 28 allows for flexibility in field notation where industrialization has not yet produced local geographical differentiation of one 'special' type of manufacture from another, e.g. gun quarters, textile districts, metal works and dye making zones.

1.80 The Lagos study area constitutes in every sense a newly industrializing region. Chapter 4 of this thesis draws attention to the nature and peculiarities of the industrialization process as observed in Lagos.
Theoretical Considerations and Lagos Field Observations:

(1) LAND USE COMPETITION IN LAGOS:

The nature of land-use competition in the study area does not appear to conform to the well-documented patterns in developed western countries (mature industrial regions) which hitherto provided the general background for most theories of land-use competition. 81 (von Thünen 1826, Whittlesey 1936, Alonso 1964, Chisholm 1968; Abler, Adams & Gould (ch. 9 and 10, 1972). Even when the study area is viewed from an urban perspective, peculiarities in land use competition persist, since the urban morphology theories of Burgess, Hoyt and Harris & Ullman which have served as illustrative models for western cities' do not suitably explain land-use competition in Lagos (e.g. Mabogunje 1962). 82

A primary feature of land use competition in Lagos is the change in a traditional land use system and land tenure. The traditional system appeared to work satisfactorily as long as there was surplus land to satisfy a simple community's needs. The impact of industrialization has reversed that economic circumstance.

Earlier on, the study area acquired special locational importance consequent upon the role of Lagos as an administrative capital, a port and a focus of industrial (non-agricultural) activity. Each of these roles generates forces to the benefit of one another. Industry, for instance, appears to have the general effect of promoting competition between various types of land use, relative to the location of that land over a period of time. 83 (see theory of land-use evolution below and Figure 1).

As a major indicator of interaction between land use and industrialization, the rise in land value (keen competition between uses and high land prices) in Lagos receives attention in the main body of this thesis. As a prelude to my detailed analysis, a sketch of the process (of changes in land value and growth of land-use competition since 1930) in Lagos indicates the

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1.81 See glossary

1.82 Mabogunje's thesis on Lagos was the first actual geographical examination of the urban structure of a Nigerian City and in particular drew attention to the emergence of Lagos C.B.D. in the context of established theoretical concepts of urban land use. His study pointed to the inadequacy of using models devised on western cities for satisfactorily explaining the urban structure of Lagos.

1.83 See Figure 1 and chapter 6. Industrial activity gives impetus to the development of specialised land uses, creating thereby greater demand for land for non-agricultural purposes. See also appendix referred to in note 1.3.
following steps: First, industry (in the form of work opportunity) attracted people into the area. This created a need for housing and transportation space. Second, a clear reversal of land uses set in - from the traditional Yoruba 'urban centre to outlying farmstead for work', to western type intra-urban movement between home and work. More rural land became drawn into the complex, mainly for residential purposes. Farming became pushed farther into the frontier zone of the budding Metropolis. A new type of agricultural land use sprang up in the form of rudimentary market gardens. 

Commuting problems increased. Rent for or market value of space in the centre increased enormously. The need for security of tenure in lands required to meet the needs of government administration, public housing, communication network and public utilities led to introduction of western type tenure, first by government buying up tracts of land on long lease or freehold from communities who held traditional rights in those lands. This opened the way to private land purchases based on a western sence of private ownership and transferability rights.

Corporations were also able to purchase land for housing, public utilities and business (e.g. L.E.D.B., Nigerian Railways, E.C.N., Nigerian Ports Authority).

A third step came with the creation of industrial estates. The estates provide, among other things, security of tenure - so that an industrialist escaped the dangerous pitfalls of local land-tenure problems, wasteful litigation and uncertainty of space costs. The estates also contain a basic 'infrastructure' for industrial activity.

More recently, the multiplier effects of industrial presence, housing needs, access to business centres (general movement) and land required to sustain the multiple administrative complex, have caused acute scarcity in land supply. Between 1957 and 1972 land prices rocketed to a mean increase

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1.84 See C.P. 20a & 20b, with caption and notes. The more successful ones grow exotic vegetables such as potatoes, lettuce, carrots and cabbages for quick sale to Europeans and the hotel industry.

1.85 See maps 16(a) and (b) and 17(a) and (b), Tables 16 and 21, and Appendix 22.

1.86 Appendices 7 and 14 present the figures and relevant details regarding Federal Government acquisitions in Lagos State, while Table 15 and Appendix 23 illustrate the Lagos State Government stand on the issue.

1.87 The public Lands Acquisition order (Chp.105) came into force to expedite that course. Appendix 23 represents the current procedure adopted and the legal battle which may be mounted to resist or defend compulsory acquisition of land in Lagos. Appendix 39 presents the Lagos State Government declared intentions on the issue.
Today there is an uninhibited scramble for land as individual land ownership now yields high profits and conveys very high social status. Much of the scramble, however, is for 'building land' — for houses or business premises — essentially because these yield fastest returns and represent conspicuous wealth. Field evidence pointed to the fact that the chaotic arrangement of land use resulting from this scramble was related to poor awareness of land use potential. It is perhaps the consequence of sudden cultural transition with its attendant teething troubles.

Accessibility is currently playing a key role in land values and land use decisions. Centrality played key roles in the development of the C.B.D. on Lagos Island; but the closer one moves from the periphery of the study area towards the centre, the adverse effect of centrality, viewed against a background of a poor transportation network and poor location of activities, becomes apparent. The city of Lagos, as the dominant influence throughout my study area, can be said to be strangling itself. While Lagos is obviously growing (spawling) in size and has been expanding the facilities for inter-communication essential for the new enterprises, things are hardly found to be properly located and movements among interacting elements are conspicuously difficult. (see Sada 1972).

Intrinsic site qualities do not yet feature as attributes in the competition. 'Available Space' featuring in the competition is therefore restricted to those tracts of land requiring the least effort for development — in housing terms or for business premises. It becomes apparent in this study that land use organisation in Lagos is about to enter a new phase as a matter of necessity, to rationalise land supply and the location of activities within the area.

A logical expectation in land use changes suggests the need for more reclamation of present wastelands (swamps, lagoons, sand-dunes and peripheral forests). Such a desirable task will however entail higher capital commitment. Many of the present residential properties, poorly located as they are, are likely to give way to transportation uses, (see Plate 35). Traditional land tenure is about to disappear altogether in the region.

1.88 Private ownership and transferability rights hold the undisputed virtue (relative to the rigid traditional impersonal tenure system) of less constrained development, rewards private initiative and confer commodity status (a currently most precious one in Lagos) on land as a very scarce resource of relatively inelastic supply within the study area.
Industries may yet respond to the world trend of locating themselves individually in those parts of the Metropolis to which their activities appear most suitable. Recreational land use is still to feature as a competitor against other uses.

This and similar studies arouse the need and hope for a time when land use in Lagos is ordered to the maximum benefit of man's requirements in the region.

(ii) A theory of LAND USE BEHAVIOUR (changes) in relation to impact (pressure) of industrial activity.

My investigations in Lagos seem to show that, at least for Lagos Area and in all probability for other similar tropical areas undergoing present day economic development, changes in the use of land are observed in phases. To illustrate and explain how this happens and possibly to predict behaviour patterns, a dynamic model of land use evolution is proposed. In this case the behaviour of the 'model' is considered in the context of 'impacts' of industrial activity as a main factor. The model explains the various phases of development observed in Lagos land-use studies today.

A given area of land is viewed as undergoing five phases of change. The phases depict how the land under consideration changed from original (natural) landscape, through growth and maturity to decay (blighting) and recovery under impact of industrial activity.

Phase I - Elementary (primitive or natural) Organisation of Land Use. Man is present but all human activities are tied to land. Agriculture, fishing or hunting and collecting predominate among human activities. Natural environment overwhelmingly controls man's use of the land. There is more

1.89 Infrastructure - defined as facilities for easy access by all means of transport, Public utilities (electricity, water supply and sewage) and telecommunication (post, telephones and telex). In effect this includes all modern aids necessary for the smooth running of an industrial society. At the time of study electricity, water, telephone and postal facilities were hopelessly inadequately supplied in all the industrial estates - as indeed for the whole of Lagos. This fact already hinders efficiency in production, personnel deployment, assembly of factors of production (particularly information and technology) and distribution of finished products.

1.90. In compiling data for Map 16b - Land Price Surfaces based on sample data stations and Appendix 22 (Land Price Index), information was bought for prices 20 years back. It was found that 1957 was a significant change in land prices generally throughout the former Lagos and Colony Province. People were becoming more aware of the cash value for land. The nation was preparing for Independence; Lagos became politically and economically very important; the industrial estates have proved successful and L.E.D.B. devs. at Surulere was encouraging property ownership. All the 40 sample districts registered land prices for 1957 were significantly higher than 1952 but the upward trend increased enormously in the years that followed.
land per head of population than is necessary. Contact with the outside world is minimal, leaving the human community completely or partially isolated. Physical resources (minerals, power sources and land potential) are either unknown or surplus to needs. Society is pre-industrial. Activity on the land is scattered but conforms to physical characteristics of the land.

Phase II - Dynamic Youth - Some industry (cottage, plantation, food processing or other small scale) is introduced into the 'region' (externally by culture contact or internally by chance invention). Man's activity becomes less tied to the land and natural environmental controls. Locational differences between areas of agricultural production and of industrial activity begin to emerge; but are only rudimentary at this stage. Area of exploited land increases or more food is brought in from outside. Land in total use is actively expanded. More industries (and often greater population influx) are attracted. Growth is rapid. Industrial concentration and agglomeration begin to dominate the scene.

Phase III - Sustained Growth and Maturity. Formerly fragmented and scattered land use patterns give way to consolidation. This may lead to a compact pattern of land use. Some planning measure is or may be introduced to arrest detrimental congestion and impose order on the land use pattern or rationalise competitive uses. Land prices rise. Competition is most keen between various land users. There is a delicate (possibly elusive) equilibrium in the way each activity appears to be functioning on the spot (at which) it was most economically able to secure itself. The entire organisation (of land use) at this phase is sensitive to intensity of industrialization and to technological change. Often the town or region enjoys a general high level of economic activity.

Phase IV - Waning and Decay (Blighting). One observes early signs of active relocation of industries, once the progress of the previous phase causes overloading. As industries move, so may population follow in the form of overspill at first. Depression gradually sets in. The entire land-use

1.91 'Building land' can be built upon without much preparatory labour, such as reclamation or drainage. Local people recognised such land from observing whether in the natural state (before development) there was a palm tree on the land. Palm trees, it seems, serve as their indication of "good building land". The margin of good building land has in recent years been pushed farther into the swamps, marshes and thick forests in response to the high land prices.

1.92 Ownership of a house - any house - (and similarly for big ears) in some strange way confers such social status to the owner in Lagos society. It is something for the owner to point at and boast about. The majority of houses built on individual plots are structurally very large (using cement blocks) even though the utilitarian merits is usually low. Foundations are ambitiously laid but even when it becomes impossible to continue the building the owner or his family out of shame would not part with it. This is a major reason for the several uncompleted (and sometimes derelict) buildings one finds all over the Lagos Study Area.
organisation appears to crack up, and general decay sets in. Physical
depopulation is observed. Land values fall. The physical extent of
active land use or development diminishes as compared with the area of
dormant land use. There are many 'idle lands'. Finally, if action to
encourage or bring about Phase V fails, the region may become a 'derelict
landscape'.

Phase V - Rejuvenation. A new industry, new crop or new planning technique
revives the area. Impetus may be economic, social, political or religious.
The planners endeavour to breathe 'new life' into the old area. The
region at this phase undergoes redevelopment.

Field Investigation - Eight definite items of information were sought
during field work in Lagos. These are:-
(a) Definitive framework of Lagos as variously used.
(b) Present pattern of Land Use in Lagos generally.
(c) Area/Places of industrial presence in Lagos, such as the distribution
   of factories and other industrial activity.
(d) Land ownership or holdings
(e) Land prices and land value trends.
(f) The nature of industrial land use, and its status among other
categories of land use in Lagos.
(g) Spatial impact on categories of land use by presence of industrial
   activity - determined by measurement.
(h) Identification of areas experiencing whichever phase(s) of land use
   organisation are consequent upon (g).

Method of Collecting Information - The procedure fell conviently into
three parts:-
Step 1 - A TRIAL RUN for a general land-use survey was conducted. This
essentially involved a visual observation of the area, aided by 1:50,000
topographical maps and air photo analysis. Map 4 shows eight sample areas
identified and used in the trial run.

1.93 In a local University Geography journal (The Geographer, vol. 4, 1972) Sada
recently contributed an article in which he assessed "the approximate impact
of traffic hold-ups in Lagos on the economy of the city and of Nigeria as a whole
and concluded that it is impossible to be precise in calculating the economic
implications .... "because these involve tangible losses in terms of money and
intangible losses in terms of driving energy, health and inconvenience". He
suggested as a solution to the present chaos, the reorientation of commercial and
governmental land-use from the Island of Lagos to Ikeja and Ikorodu mainland area
For the moment, the present author believes that such a move, apart from merely
"reorienting the chaos" is both impractical and unnecessary.
1.94 1972 field samples suggest the following methods for effecting various
reclamation types at lowest relative costs:-
a. Lagoon or beach sands for mangrove swamps.
b. Household refuse for local marskes set amidst residential districts -
   preferably low grade residential.
c. Ordinary Earth or soil from interior parts of the study area.
d. Coast protection works followed by sand pumping and stabilising asaeira trees
   (preferably ecosora) for reclaiming coastal sand dunes. continued.
Step 2 - FIELD STUDIES AND SAMPLING - Field Surveys were organised, based on designated data collection centres. (as in Maps 5, 6 and 7). From the results of the survey it became possible to conduct sampling, stratified with appropriate characteristics relevant to the problem under investigation (i.e. how introduction and continued application of industrial types of activity affect changes in Land-Use Organisation). Land use in the study area was systematically recorded on a 1:50,000 map in Km² units.

Step 3 - From the land use types investigated, appropriate CASE STUDIES were drawn up and accorded detailed treatment.

MAPS - Fourteen maps were prepared for this chapter effectively illustrating some of the points set out in it, and are referred to, as the occasion arises, in the main body of the thesis. The maps are:

1. Concepts of LAGOS - a cartographic representation of the sixteen definitions of Lagos.
2. Physiographic Setting of Lagos
3. Topographical Map of Lagos on 1:250,000
4. Lagos State - Political
5. Population Map of Lagos State with location of Economic Activities
6. Industrial Map of Lagos - shows presence of Factories by the dot method and indicates factory density per unit area.
7. General Land Use Map of Lagos at scale 1:50,000 based on field work. A reduction to 1:200,000 is also provided.
8. Industrial Land Use Map of Lagos and Ikeja Divisions.
9. The Industrial Estates of Metropolitan Lagos.
11. Land Ownership and Holdings, exploitation areas in Lagos (includes land tenure zones and all government acquired lands).
12. Land Values/Prices in Lagos State (calculated per unit area) upon which isolines of Rent per unit area are superimposed.
13. Impact Analysis - a sample map derived empirically to illustrate the influence of industrialization upon local land-use organisation.

1.95 In the final draft many of the maps became incorporated into better organised units, resulting in a renumbered, shortened but more efficient cartographic document.

1.94 continued. Cost per acre in 1972 averaged:
   a. N3,000
   b. N4,200
   c. N4,000 to N7,000
   d. N5,500 per acre
   according to location and distance from earth source - by lorry or canoe.
LAND-USE MAP OF LAGOS - Description & Analysis

The Setting: The study area is an integral part of a geographical region defined in the previous chapter. Intensity of use increases towards the centre of the study area and attains maximum use per hectare at Lagos Island, which is also the C.B.D. of Lagos Metropolis. The problem of presenting an orderly description of the observed land use in its regional perspective is solved by adopting a procedure which permits a progression from the general to the particular. This makes for a useful perception of the land-use system in terms of rural features and urban features.

The greater part of the geographical region is essentially rural i.e. 80% or 768,000 acres (land surfaces calculated as 1,200 sq. miles), even in this Yoruba cultural region, well-known for its long indigenous urban tradition. It comprises the low coastal islands, the forests, sand-dunes and swamps of the region.

Urban areas, with the consequent land-use system, are shown on Table 2. Only about 86 square miles of the region's 2,400 square miles come under urban land use. The study area alone, on which this thesis concentrates, accounts for about 70% of the area under that urban land-use system.

Rural Land Use: Land use in the rural zone appears to be devoted mostly to providing for man's basic needs, such as primary food production and raw materials needed in the industries of urban areas or for export. Those rural locations farthest away from an urban centre are either least subjected to human use or are devoted to those uses requiring large unit areas for relatively low returns. On this basis, we may distinguish ten categories of land use in the rural system of Lagos region. They range from those activities normally using land extensively farthest away from urban zones.

During the field survey for this thesis, the following ten categories were observed in regular transects from urban fringes to remotest or most distant locations of rural lands:-

(See Guide Sheet 'D' Form 72/AA/2/QF/Lag.)

A1 - MARKET GARDENING (Intensive: for urban needs)
A2 - EXTENSIVE COMMERCIAL FOOD-CROP FARMING: Some ten acres or more per holding.

2.1. See Mabogunje 1968 chapter 4 (Urbanisation in Nigeria). Clapperton (1829), The Lander brothers (1836), Collmer (1846), Townsend (1847), Hinderer (1855- Frobenius (1913), S.Johnson (Chapter 6) 1921 and Adams (1886-1800) 1923. This pre-industrial urbanism of 'non-western' origin impressed early explorers and later commentators despite the fact that Yoruba economy is based on farming (with yams and maize as their main food crops). However, it is also recognised that handicrafts and trade constitute a powerful binding force for that urban life.
A3 - LARGE-SCALE COMMERCIAL EXPORT CROP FARMING (Mostly plantations)
A4 - SUBSISTENCE (Cassava/Maize, vegetables, etc.) FARMING: Often mixed and at small scale (about \( \frac{1}{2} \) acre). Little or no surplus for sale.
A5 - PATCHY CLEARING AND FOREST CULTURE Type of Cultivation: Often away from compound land and far into the forest; may be shifting.
A6 - FISHING (All types).
A7 - HUNTING ZONES (for wild animals and birds; trapping, shooting, etc.)
A8 - POULTRY: Often consisting of reared chicken only. Mostly foreign breed, in battery or coops.
A9 - LIVE STOCK REARING AND BREEDING (Other than Dairying or Poultry). Includes grazing of beef cattle, goats, sheep, etc.
A10 - COLLECTING ZONE: (For Forest Products such as medicinal Herbs, Fuel/firewood, bush mango/apon; wild fruits, crogbo, stare). Excludes hunting activities.

A1 - Market Gardening or 'Truck Farming'
This is a relatively new feature of land use in the region's city fringes arising directly from urban needs and the introduction of such delicate crops as lettuce and 'salad vegetables'. Maize and potatoes (not sweet potatoes) are also found in the 'gardens'. Land use in plots devoted

2.2 Urban lands of the region outside the Lagos Study Area are: the Cotonu-Porto Novo Coastal fringe; Badagri Town (8,500), Epe Town (44,300) (33,000) (21,000) and Otta (8,000). (1963 population in brackets). See Table 2.

2.3 A first set of transects were based on the author's pre-survey field observations (the routes traversed during the early weeks of field work in Lagos State). A second set was purely a map exercise using the completed Land Use Map. No. 6.

For the first set a field note book was kept for observations taken along and close to the following routes: Agege to Otta; Ojo Market northwards to Iba; Ikoro Town Planning Office along the new road to Epe; Igam to Badagri (along the new road during construction); Maryland to Ikoro Town, Maroko to Aja; and Surulere/Lawanson to Ijesha. For the second set, checks were made in any chosen direction from Urban Centres to the periphery of neighbouring urban centres without necessarily keeping to the roads or footpaths used during field work. The mapwork findings agree with the earlier field observation confirming the regularity in arrangement of the ten categories of land use from the built up zone (of the City) or the village huts through the open fields to the outer frontiers of the next settlement.
to this activity is intensive; that is, more by quantity of crops is produced per unit area of land and natural fertility of the land is hardly a factor considered in decisions to use the land. For the most part (as is shown later in a sample study of this category of land use) the land used is in the 'transition stage' - awaiting development (e.g. Yaba Roundabout) or a subject of litigation. There are no permanent sites for this activity as capital equipment such as may be required in England (e.g. Glass Houses) is not required. An operator's main concern appears to be (a) the availability of the land (however temporary, and irrespective of illegality of tenure) and (b) a ready market for his crops. (Note also that most operators are among the thousands of rural people who have flocked into Lagos in search of urban work, with no appropriate skills. As hope dwindles, the resourceful ones turn urban 'idle lands' (plots, etc.) into quick cropping lands). Metropolitan Lagos has this type of land use dotted all along the fringes and in the many transitory lands within the Metropolis - particularly the new sprawling low income residential areas of Lagos Mainland. They look, at first sight, like English allotment gardens but they lack the legality of tenure, planning recognition, permanency or recreational motive.

This form of land use should not be mistaken for the usual cultivation on compound lands in Lagos geographical region - an indigenous Yoruba culture. Apart from the tenure system and permanency which differentiate the two, there is the economic feature: market gardening is essentially commercial, while cultivation on compound land (indigenous gardening) is essentially for subsistence purposes.

It is fast becoming a feature or urban identity, whereby the fringe areas or urban land awaiting development, undergo a phase of 'use' for market gardening. Outside Metropolitan Lagos and the study area but within Lagos natural region as herein defined, this new land use is found around and within the urban fields of Porto-Novo, Badagri and Epe.

A2 - Extensive Commercial Food Crop Farming: This category comprises all land, often not far from the urban fringe where farms of ten acres or more are set up primarily to take advantage of urban food requirements.

At the present time of study, all areas belonging to this category of land use are found in the study area or very close to it. The farms are clearly business enterprises involving a fair amount of capital and

2.4. See Colour Plates 20(a) and 20(b). Horticultural activity within the City of Lagos.

2.5 See Plates 13(a) and 13(b) - Gardening on temporary vacant plots.
organisation; but they differ from $A_3$ below essentially in that the latter concentrates on export crops and quite often operates in the manner of a plantation with much larger capital outlay.

Commercial food-crop farms are a growing feature of the predatory nature of urbanism on rural land-use organisation. It is notable that neither the labour applied nor the food produced may aid the economic life of the rural area in which this activity is located. Four such farms, with a total area of 1,483 acres (600 hectares) operate within the urban fringe of Lagos Metropolis. They have appeared within the past six years in direct response to the population influx into Lagos consequent upon the city's industrial promise. It is shown in a later chapter (Chapter 5) how the rush for land is increasing land values beyond the point where the potential land may no longer be economic for this category of use.

Besides, improved transportation and political peace make it increasingly possible to flood Lagos markets with cheaper food from the provinces to compete against the products of the nearby commercial food crop farms. The extensive commercial food-crop farmers are grappling with this dilemma of either moving farther into rural lands (possibly to take over zones $A_4$ and $A_5$) and there compete against food suppliers from the provinces, or abandoning this type of land use altogether for, say, a more lucrative occupation of land speculation! Either way, it appears that the rural land continues to serve urban interests, as economic development in the Metropolis strengthens her capacity for swallowing up more rural land.

$A_3$ - Large-Scale Commercial Export Crop Farming

(Plantations and others)

This category of land use, often in the form of plantations, is of more long standing than the previous two. The variety ranges from kolanut plantations of ancient times and the colonial export crop plantations to modern government sponsored farm estates. The plantations introduced three

2.6 Oke Afa farms at Isolo, already reputed for poultry farming, is about the only accessible operator among the new breed of commercial food producers in the Lagos Study area. The rest either refuse to provide reliable data, possibly because they operate on rented, borrowed, or 'illegitimate' property. By 1973 many operators of this class were channelling their capital and equipment into organising the production of or buying and transporting food stuff, (vegetables, yams, plantains and maize) from western, midwest, Kwara and the eastern States into Lagos.
new features into the region, (a) The land tenure system began to change from the traditional (often regressive) communal form to some degree of alienation of land and individual ownership. (b) Large land areas come into use and the unit of land holdings in this category of use became larger. (c) Arising from (a) and (b), higher organisation and capital investment in the use of land for crop production were introduced. These gradually affected later agricultural land use in the region. (Morgan, W.B. 1955, 1957 and 1959 op. cit.)

The kolanut plantations were of Yoruba origin and represent the efforts of private entrepreneurs who sought to cultivate the crop (kolanut) to gain larger yields than was possible previously when the nuts were collected from wild or scattered cola trees. Kolanut is essentially a cash crop. It formed a major item of trade between southern Yorubaland (where geographical conditions favour its growth) and Hausaland in the interior savanna zone (where the people knew it as a stimulant but geographical conditions do not favour its cultivation.)

The Lagos study area contains large tracts of land used at one time or other in the past 200 years for kolanut cultivation. The plantations correspond closely to the forested unoccupied land that became 'used' in the days before extensive reclamation projects were effected in the study area. Many of the lands into which Metropolitan Lagos expanded were kolanut plantations only a few years before.

2.7 Bunches of plantain are bought by the lorry load in the midwest state, transported by road direct mainly to Iddo and Surulere markets where the operators' agents sell either directly to customers or in bulk to market women. Yams, grains, poultry, animals, vegetables and assorted agricultural produce are similarly handled from all the states of the Federation. The high cost of land and the relative infertility of Lagos soils and the fast transport services operating between Lagos and the interior provinces are rendering local production efforts uneconomical.


2.9 See Figures 4a and 4b on land ownership trends as experienced in 80 districts of Lagos Study Area, show proportion of holding under each tenure system in each district.

2.10 The question of "incentive" appears to feature in this respect. It is observed that under communal land tenure, the user is engaged only in subsistence farming and is often inhibited through social norms (e.g. it is considered anti-social to strive towards making larger and better farms than one's neighbours) from more extensive cultivation. The new individual owner enjoys more freedom in using his land and will embark on cash crops or commercial food crop farming. As observed in 1972, poultry appears to be replacing plantation and large scale commercial farming in traditionally plantation districts such as Agege and Ikeja, See Appendix 1.
Ikeja and Agege districts were ideally located for the purpose; consequently they were the main centres of the 'plantation innovation'. In the process Agege became a market town (it still handles the largest share of the kolanut trade in the region). Ikeja received the initial preparation for the phenomenal growth it has been experiencing recently.

In the Lagos geographical region generally and in the Lagos Study Area in particular, kolanut cultivation dominated the scene in much the same way as cocoa has established supremacy in the interior of Yoruba country farther north. Kolanut plantations today are of less importance and have been undergoing fragmentation on account of housing and roads or replacement by other crops. Kolanut is losing space to other crops or land uses apparently because it does not command an international market (outside West Africa), unlike cocoa or palm produce which compete for the same space. The plantations are better seen as agricultural islands (growing cash crops and food crops for the fast growing urban centre) in a sea of forested undeveloped rural landscape.

Much of the credit for establishing these early plantations goes to 'elite farmers' in the period 1890-1950. This core of enterprising gentry were mainly early educated and fairly rich Nigerians. They were mostly absentee farmers living and pursuing their professions in the City of Lagos. Their motives vary: some were enthusiastic innovators in agriculture (Hopkins 1970); some sought 'weekend retreats in the country'; others were far sighted adventurers who would take advantage of Lagos urban area's potential needs and the prospects of acquiring wide areas of cheap land for future development. For our purpose, the point remains that through the efforts

2.11 The Lagos State Government 1970-74 Development Plan provides for a boost in agricultural production in the State. One of the measures is to encourage interested individual farmers to invest more money in agricultural enterprises. Another measure ensures a better organisation of formerly scattered farmers, e.g. into co-operatives. A publication recently issued (1973) by the LSG Min. of Agr. & R.V.Natural Resources, Trade and Industries, gives a resume of aims, objectives and development projects towards better agricultural land use.

2.12 See Russell, T.A. (1955) "The Kola of Nigeria and the Cameroon", Tropical Agriculture, Vol.32, 1955, pp.210-40. Kola is of purely West African origin by the Ashanti and Akan of modern Ghana. Agege district in the Study area and Skagaru district in the Western State (both within the S.W. zone of the coca belt) are major growing centres especially for the "ghanja" or "goro" type (Cola nitida). A rain forest condition (heavy rains and high regular temperature) with deep soil are ideal conditions.

2.13 See Fig. 13, chapter 3, p.26 of Ido, R.K. (1970): Geographical Records of Nigeria. The main kolanut area forms a belt overlapping onto both rubber and cocoa producing areas, with Agege in the Study area as a major centre.

2.14 The plantations were established mainly by town dwelling Lagosians of the late 19th century who grew the kolanuts as cash crops in the days before cocoa became really important. The holders of these plantations have long been known to commit their lands to the best contemporary uses, therefore they have proved adaptable. Housing and industrial estates are the current fashionable/profitable uses for land in these districts.
of these pioneers in large scale agriculture the unoccupied forested lands of our present Metropolitan Lagos experienced early development. For the Lagos Study Area at least, the 'elite farmers' (1890-1950) produced in this Nigerian landscape changes similar in many ways to those caused by the sheep farmers of the English Enclosure period on the commonlands of the 16th and 17th Century. 

In earlier generations, plantations have flourished in the study area and were geographically distributed as follows: Kolanuts in most of Ikeja division (particularly Agege district) stretching southwards into Igbobi and Yaba districts of Lagos division and eastwards across Ikorodu and Epe divisions; coconut plantations, many still surviving, in Badagri division; and, rubber in Epe division. In recent years plantations have declined to a point where the only real 'plantations' (see glossary) are run by the Lagos State government. The decline of the plantations - mostly connected with metropolitan expansion and industrial development (see Map 34) - left evidences in the field in the form of place names and sites of those plantations that have 'vanished' or became appropriated for other uses, such as colleges, hospitals, housing and industrial estates. The need to map the actual use of the land only at the period of survey (1972) resulted in the omission of many old private plantations on the completed Land Use Map (Map 8). Where plantations are current they have been mapped as Category A without distinction between crops but several small 'private plantations' were (if under 20 acres) mapped along with category A in urban areas. For our emphasis remains on appreciating the organised large scale 'enclosure' of unoccupied forest land - a process which produced massive changes in the cultural landscape.

Apart from the few coconut plantations at the Atlantic foreland west of the light house beach, there was a marked absence of privately owned plantations, at the time of this survey, left in the study area. Land owners in Lagos and Ikeja divisions have found it more profitable to use their land for residential purposes in recent years. This is normal considering that the process of urbanisation and industrial development experienced in the study area in the 1960s pushed up land prices away from crop production in favour of residential, industrial and commercial development - certainly too high for profitable operation of private plantations. Plantations would

2.15 Former common lands became enclosed for private economic uses. Much land was withdrawn from public use. A strong sense of private property was generated but only the strong and influential succeeded in grabbing as much as they needed. In many instances this new feature with the obvious economic benefit it conferred on the cash crop farmers, did a lot to stimulate local interest in private land ownership.

2.16 As for Footnote 2.8.
require large units of land and would compete for the same relatively well drained, easily worked terrain as are favoured by residential and industrial developers. Besides, such private individuals as had in previous generations (before industrialization) provide capital and entrepreneurship for running plantations, now channel their talent to the current lucrative pursuits in the form of property development for residence, industry, educational establishments or office blocks. The nearest in the field these days to the private plantations of the pre-industrial era is the poultry business (see Table 23) currently flourishing at Agege, Ikeja, Mushin and Isolo districts.

The government sponsored 'farms' (in the form of 'settlements', 'extensions', research 'stations', afforestation schemes, "reserves" and branches) now constitute a special brand of 'plantations' featuring in this category of land use. Within the study area, this feature started with the establishment in 1910 of the 50 acre government farm at Agege. It was designed for the purpose of demonstrating to local farmers the correct method of growing newly introduced crops; viz. cocoa, rubber, coffee and cotton. It was therefore an experimental or nursery farm. As Table 6 shows, the various succeeding governments appear to have taken keen interest in putting vast acreages of land into this type of use. In pursuit of that interest a total of 4,030 acres (9,953 hectares) of land are government 'farms' in Lagos State in 1972. Of this, 3,000 acres are in the study area. The sizes of these 'farms' vary from 1,400 acres at Ikorodu Farm Institute to 4 acre at the highly specialised former Western Region Pilot Market Garden at Agege (1960). This government action came just in time to replace the declining interest on the part of the region's 'elite farmers'. The produce from these government plantations include cash crops, poultry, dairy produce, beef, selected food crops, palm products, timber and some raw materials for Lagos factories. Each of the government farms also fulfils the basic functions of the Agege prototype and helps in the training of agricultural personnel. It is noteworthy that more actually grows kolanuts. (The kolanut business remains in private hands).

A further class of 'plantations' to be included in this category of land use is the large individual farm estate, highly organised and producing not just food crops but enough poultry and other produce to compete efficiently with government farms. Such is the vast estate known as Ashamu or Oke Afa farm. This estate features in a sample study treated in a later chapter of this thesis. (See Chapter 8).
Altogether these 'plantations' or 'farms' take up 9% i.e. 736,000 acres (297,855 hectares) of the rural land in Lagos State and about 7% of the study area. They constitute practical evidence of organised use of the rural landscape, transforming many square miles of forest, swamps, sand-dunes and remote tracts into centres of food and raw material production to meet the needs of the fast developing industrial region.

Lagos, first as a settlement and recently as a fast growing Metropolis, has generated the socio-economic environment which nourishes and appears to control the spatial distribution of this type of rural land use.

We see from the fate of the kolanut plantations and the efforts of the 'elite farmers' that this category of land use, under free competition, tends to lose space to urban uses, such as housing for industrial and allied workers at Agege and Ikeja; factories at Ikeja, Ilupeju and Omibongbo; and, government requirements for non-agricultural purposes (e.g. Government Residential Area, Transportation, Education and Defence).

It is still too early to evaluate the way in which this trend will affect the new class of plantation operators - the government and the very few daring individuals.

A4 Subsistence Farming:

Table 3 shows the distribution of land used for this purpose in the geographical region and, within that, the Lagos Study Area (for this thesis). This category represents the traditional rural land use of the region and appears to decrease in areal extent away from the advancing Metropolis of Lagos.

2.17 See Map 34. Until 1967 the growth had been more in terms of human population crowded into Politically restricted space. After the creation of Lagos State the area physically occupied by the budding Metropolis suddenly expanded dramatically as shown in Section (d) of Map 34. There is no clear agreement among planners, administrators, geographers and laymen as to the exact extent of the Metropolis as such. Each writer or worker continues to define and map out the spatial extent of his Metropolis until such time as a general agreement becomes established. However, it is generally agreed so far that Lagos has, in the past 10 years at least, acquired the character of a Metropolis, with its continuously built up space and a coalescence of former urban and rural settlements in response to the centrally stimulated dynamic growth of Lagos Island. The author's working definition of the term Metropolis is based on economic and social conditions and relates to the area within which there is a large daily movement of population to and from the centre for work, trade, amusement or other purposes. In practice this results in a physical land area more comprehensive and larger than those previously proposed by Audifferen, L.E.D., Koenigsberger, Sada and the Lagos State Government. See Encyclopaedia of The Social Sciences, Vol. 10, pp.396-401.
Lagos. A sample taken during field study in 1972 indicates that only 4.7 % of all land (12640 acres or 5114 hectares) in the study area is devoted to that purpose, as against 28 % outside the study area (rest of Lagos State).

In this type of land use, units of operation are small (about half an acre or less) and output or yield is even small per unit of land. The farmer cultivates a mixture of cassava/maize, vegetables, pulses, cocoyams and some yams. There is little or no surplus for sale. Many writers have described this practice as 'peasant farming'; but such a term presents a false impression of land tenure, permanency of cultivation and freedom of land management. Such a false impression creates confusion which may ruin efforts in land use research or similar socio-economic investigations in these parts. The European peasant generally owns his land and passes it on from one generation to the next. He has complete control of the parcel of land and is, on the other hand, restricted to the same piece of land for all time or near so. That is not so for the Yoruba subsistence farmer. It is true he (the Yoruba farmer) and his family use the land; but the land does not strictly belong to them.

Before 1955, it was fashionable for members of Lagos nobility and professionally successful people to establish plantations "in the countryside close to Lagos Island" for prestige, recreational and sometimes business purposes. Thus Coker, George, Animashuan, Cole and other families acquired land in what was regarded as 'remote lands' and there kept hired hands and poorer relations for the raising of cash crops, food crops and the trial of new imported agricultural techniques.

Today 'plantation making' except in the case of poultry farms in the same Agege and neighbouring districts, is considered wasteful, old fashioned and less rewarding in terms of the financial returns and social prestige proprietors might expect.

The requirements of modern plantations include higher capital, technological and organisational input than earlier plantations. Besides land is now very expensive per unit area. Returns on this form of enterprise as noted in 2.18 are slow and low; yet it is in plantation type of organised agriculture that many essential raw materials are raised for industry and a consolidated introduction of techniques etc. can be organised for better agricultural land use. The Government has the financial and political resources (e.g. in land acquisition) to undertake the venture and the few daring individuals are either foolhardy or dedicated.
They are restricted in the right of alienation and are subject to the
disadvantages and advantages of the communal land tenure system. Among the
very limited advantages, one may mention the fact that a farmer can
expect to get different lands at different farming seasons, e.g. in the
'bush fallow' system which still operates here, the farmer gets a different
plot almost always when villagers are assigned new plots.

Individual land tenure and the freehold system is found to a limited
degree in A4 land use areas. However, for this category of rural land
use (Subsistence Farming) private freehold lands feature as exceptions
rather than the rule. Many of the subsistence farmers (cultivators) are
not only too poor (less than 100 Naira per head per annum) to buy the land
they cultivate, they are usually simple country folk firmly rooted in the
social structure of Yoruba village life. The 'Bale' (father or master of
the land and, consequently, village head) is in duty bound to grant land for
a villager's use. In turn the villager must live by the rules of the society,
i.e. no alienation of land and title to the land is subject to society's
sanction. It is on the basis of these facts that the term 'peasant' may
not be considered appropriate for our purpose. The Yoruba word 'Agbe',
meaning simply a cultivator (of whatever land - his own or others) would be
more appropriate. This would be less liable to confusion; e.g. in comparisons
between a European peasant (poor class farmer) and his Yoruba counterpart on
such matters as the size of holdings, fragmentation, assets or permanency
of cultivation.

The numerous villages and hamlets scattered outside the urban centres
act as focal centres for subsistence farming activity. The map includes
lands recorded during the survey (March 1972) as 'bush fallow'. They have
the appearance of 'idle or derelict wasteland' (See Plate 5) but contain

2.20 It seems to the present writer that the difference between 'subsistence
farming' and 'peasant farming' is that the Nigerian or West African
cultivator in the former case grows just enough food to feed himself
(sometimes even less), often he does not "own" the land he cultivates;
while in the latter case the European peasant may grow more than
enough to feed himself and quite often owns (by purchase or inheritance)
the little plot he cultivates.

2.21 (See glossary for the Yoruba term Agbe). Compare Map 9 with Maps 14
and 15 and table 17. Land tenure operating in most of the territory
mapped under A4 land use belong to villages or communities where
communal land tenure remains in vogue. For lands owned either by
families or private individuals with rights to transfer property at
will, more of the cultivated land is devoted to cash cropping (for
cocoa, coconuts, palm, rubber, cashew or kolanuts).
vestiges of recent cultivation or harvests. With the recent introduction of fertilizers and, through the activities of local Ministry of Agriculture Extension work, the application of crop rotation techniques, bush fallow is less prevalent than would have been observed a decade or two ago. Most subsistence farming is becoming permanent and the farmer is able to raise some type of food-crop all the year round (at least some vegetables)²² (See Appendix II and Chapter 7).

A notable feature of the distribution shown on this map is its apparent correlation with the rural areas where communal land tenure system is prevalent. The lands are therefore 'village fields', although they serve and are operated by individual families for their own subsistence. For the most part, this area represents blissfully isolated backwoods, seemingly untouched by the tentacles of the advancing Lagos Metropolis or the growing urban centres of divisional headquarters such as Epe, Badagri and Ikorodu. Their extent continues to diminish as government, industries, private property developers and large-scale modern farmers acquire more land - often but not always close to the Metropolis - for more financially competitive types of land use.

One would expect subsistence farming to show some evidence of retreat into the undeveloped wild lands of the region rather than to diminish in its operation. Instead, one observes the latter. Subsistence farming readily loses ground without re-establishing itself in virgin lands, apparently for two reasons: (a) The practice is deeply rooted in the socio-economic structure of rural settlement (the village or hamlet). Even where the village moves (to make room for a water works for example), a change in the structure is usually so traumatic as to disrupt and threaten the continuation of the practice. Village youths are susceptible to the temptations of the city and would opt for life away from the arduous and materially less rewarding life on the land. They would seek the industrial and allied opportunities of Lagos Metropolis. In time only the old and the very young or infirm remain in the village. This situation was observed in a study of Neiran village²³ during the land use survey in February-May 1972 (see sample case study in Chapter 8, and Map 26). (b) The cost of opening

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²² As in Food Crop Notation Guide Sheet 'D' to Form 72/AA/2LG/F/Lag. Classes ii to vi, but in particular peppers, local spinach, okro, talinum, tomatoes and pumpkins are popularly planted among yams, cassava and maize. See plates 13 a and 13 b.
up new land for the practice of subsistence farming would be too high for operators in this category of land use to bear. The lands into which they could have moved are swamps and infertile sand-dunes which would need to be reclaimed by expensive methods before agriculture could be practised on them. Any of the reclamation efforts would cost valuable and probably unavailable capital and time - two things the subsistence farmers just cannot afford or spare. The net result is that land in this category of use continues to be lost to other more competitive uses without compensating recourse (for the subsistence farmer) to the 'empty' lands of the region. Perhaps more than any other category, land use A4 is more sensitive and possibly least resistant to the impact of industrialization originating from the Lagos Metropolitan 'pull'. (Table 3 shows percentage decline in A4 land use in Ikeja division for the period 1945-1970). Subsistence farmers cannot beat their better organised land use competitors, and have in fact little alternative but to join these new competitors (or surrender for instant absorption).

At best the displaced operators of subsistence farming move and take to A5 type of land use which apparently requires minimum or no capital and technology.

A5: Patchy Clearings & Forest Culture:

Owing to unavailability of data, it became necessary to restrict a map of this category of land use to Lagos State, even though the distribution may have come out more clearly had it covered the entire Lagos Geographical Region. All Category A5 indicated on Map 8 represent this form of agricultural use.

2.23 Male above 45 years of age and female above 40 years were regarded as old among Meiran villagers. (Similar response came from other villages investigated in the Study Area). Surprisingly enough persons up to and including 19 years of age are regarded as "children". Of the 220 persons (of all ages) inhabiting Meiran Village at the time of the Survey (April 1972), 70 persons were classified as old, 60 persons were "children" and 90 were acknowledged adults of whom 50 were females. The 50 females were actively engaged in farming and attending periodic markets of the neighbourhood, the males were engaged as lumberjacks, labourers at Agege, farm attendants or assistants at the nearby Government farms or were "awaiting employment from somewhere in Lagos". Everybody was involved in some form of cultivation: Kolanuts, cocoa and subsistence farming and "gardening". The old people engaged themselves in basket weaving, other local crafts or hunting.
The distribution of this land-use category is closely related to the less accessible forest areas of Lagos State - not including the many unreclaimed swamps where no farming activity is being practised. The patchy nature of this land use presents some mapping problems. First, some units are so small that they are not easily identified on the ground, and, at the scale of mapping (1:50,000), they could not be satisfactorily represented. Secondly, they are so scattered within the forest that representation of single unit areas is difficult. Third, the remote location of these clearings necessitates some degree of reliance on air-photograph analysis; but the quality of the air-photographs is not always good enough, for these parts, to facilitate identification (beneath tall trees, dense canopy and jumbled vegetation). What is presented on Map 8 is the best possible in these conditions and is designed to give a general picture of 'where' this form of land use is known to be practised at the time of survey. For the most part A5 land use tends to be located close to Category 10 generally and 10C in particular.

A5 type of land use occupies the frontier zones between the cultured and the wild landscapes in these parts. It takes place away from the compound lands, often far into the forest. Assorted food crops are grown (maize, cassava, yams, plantains, pulses and vegetables). The unit of operation is very small, owing mainly to the arduous labour involved in clearing the ground, the distance a cultivator has to travel from home, and, the constant weeding required. There is also the basic insecurity attached to such remotely located farms, (theft of crops, destruction by animals and birds and possible ethnic border hostilities).

Shifting cultivation or bush fallow features more prominently in

2.24 Shifting cultivation among the Yoruba involves a "shift" periodically from one field to another without physically moving the site of settlement or village community. Within the communal land tenure system, a tract of cultivated land is allowed to rest while a sufficiently 'recovered' tract belonging to the same village is cultivated. Normally the "bale" of each village or settlement decides which lands shall be cultivated and which ones allowed to rest (or lie fallow). Through the work of the government agricultural extension services, most villagers in the study area have been instructed in better crop rotation with use of cover crops (legumes) which shorten the necessary period and size of 'fallowed' land. Many individual land owners have also adopted the new shifting system in the form of 4 (yearly) crop rotation.
A5 category of land use. This does not appear to follow any organised manner, such as is observed in A4. The cultivator simply abandons a site (the clearing) when he no longer wishes to continue his activity. He may clear somewhere else for the same purpose until, in turn, he becomes frustrated and abandons it. Usually the soil under newly cleared forest is rich in plant nutrients; but subsequent or persistent cultivation, particularly of root crops, rapidly impoverish that 'patch'. Erosion may even set in and destroy the land.

Field interviews revealed that the motives for this type of land use go beyond mere need for additional food production. One less obvious motive is the need (by a village, an ethnic group, a family or an individual) to establish territorial claim. There were a few cases where the cultivators were found to be non-natives of the area who were hired hands for the protection or temporary exploitation of valuable timber or other forest products. Their 'clearings' provide them with some kind of subsistence and last only as long as their assignments. Weeds and wild vegetation quickly recolonise the 'patch', once the hirelings have left.

The patchy clearings and forest culture may appear to constitute a very inferior type of land use but its significance in land use evolution cannot be ignored. It is the earliest rudimentary beginning of reclaiming the wild forests by man (the taming of the forest). Properly examined, this form of apparently 'inferior' land use holds valuable clues to the way in which much of the forest lands of the Lagos Study Area came to be developed. Years of patchy clearings, constantly applied on a formerly remote impenetrable forest, eventually result in some form of domestication of the wild landscape. We know moreover that burning, which man uses here and in A4 often leaves permanent effects on the landscape (The Derived Savanna farther inland is a large scale example). Once opened, other developments tend to follow - a road may be built through it, e.g. the Lagos-Epe Road via Agbowa opened in May 1972; a city water works may be sited in it, e.g. the Iju Waterworks commissioned in 1915; a government farm, an educational institution or even a government residential quarters may be set up right into the hitherto inaccessible 'bush'. That is the beginning of reclamation and development. Change is introduced in the land use - actual

2.25 Respondents in that interview were Bales, cultivators questioned on the spot, local authority officials and agricultural extension workers. Effective occupation confers right of territorial ownership on the village community though not necessarily to individuals. See Survey Field Guide Sheet F (Land Users Questionnaire). Items 10, 11, and 12, and "Worksheet" Items 10, 11 and 12.
or potential.

Part of chapter 6 of this thesis shows how this category of land use fits into a scheme of the first phase of land use evolution under impact of industrialization.

A6: Fishing:

Lagos State has been described in a Ministry of Information brochure (1970) as a 'marine state'. This is justified on the grounds that the natural resources of this state bear the strong imprint of her lagoon environment. Waters of the creeks, rivers and lagoons take up an estimated 21% of the state. There is also the state's 112 mile long frontage on the Atlantic sea board. For such a central part of the study area as Lagos Municipality (see Maps 1 and 5) a more detailed estimate reveals that of the 66.56 sq. miles of territory, the lagoon and associated water surfaces take up 39 sq. miles. By recognising fishing as a legitimate category of land use here one takes account of this environmental peculiarity and the role fishing plays in the lives of the local people.

Fishing has been a traditional occupation in the coastal areas and riverine settlements of the region. Indeed this activity (fishing) is said to be responsible for the original foundation of settlement in Lagos Island, and possibly of the sister settlements in Badagri and Epe. Lagos at that early time acted as a market centre for the fish trade and a meeting place between inland farmers and the coastal fisher-folk. All the coastal settlements engage in part-time agriculture, devoting a large part of their time to fishing. In some only the women are engaged otherwise than in fishing (i.e. some A4 land use, domestic mat weaving industry, and trade in fish and foodstuffs). Ojo Town was chosen for the sample study in this land use category. It lies to the extreme south-west of the study area and is connected by lagoon waterway to Lagos island.

Fishing activity in Lagos is organised in three forms:

(a) The native fishermen who own the territory in which they fish. Subsistence fishing is mainly practised by this group.

(b) Communities of 'stranger fishermen'. These are temporary immigrants from traditional fishing communities outside the state who, having obtained permission from the local people, settle for a while to pursue their profession of fishing. They are collectively known by the Yoruba natives as 'Ilaje people', although some of them are Egun Yorubas from Dahomey.

2.26 It is now known that the earliest settlement was at Offin where the Olofin (ancestor of all the Idejo chiefs of Lagos today). It is more likely that he went there for refuge and that fishing merely ensured his family against hunger at the time, since their new land was not so fertile as lands north of the lagoon and creeks system. He was not a fisherman as such. When the Ashipa arrived with his retinue from Benin to settle at the present site of the Oba's Palace, it was not for fishing purposes but more as a military outpost for a distant suzerain.

(For Note 2.27 see Page 67)
One such fishing community was studied as a sample (see Chapter 7 and Plate 4a).

(c) Commercial Fishing Organisations - This comprises private business firms and some government sponsored bodies and even a religious sect (based at Aiyetoro in Ondo division). At the time of this study (1972) the Ibru Organisation (an indigenous Nigerian Company) features as the largest fishing firm (see Appendix 37c). The firm is now so big as to have almost a monopoly of local commercial fishing in Lagos. Their catch is exported all over Nigeria. It is a thriving industry with high capital outlay and efficient organisation. These three forms of the fishing organisation handle between them the entire fishing activities of the region. The distance covered by each type of 'fishermen' reflects the degree of organisation and specialisation of this activity within each group.

The 'Subsistence' native fishermen are small family units or individuals who restrict themselves to their village or ethnic territorial waters. This may be a river, a strip of the lagoon or lake(s). The mean distance covered is three miles between base (the village or town) and net, trap or pot 'settings'. The 'settings' are visited twice daily (evenings and mornings) or, in the case of 'net castings', some day(s) in the week may be devoted to the activity. In either case, the subsistence fisherman is able to make his living partly on the waters around him (fishing) and partly on land (farming). One appears to be observing in this area, the classic example of a part-fishing, part-farming way of life. For the purpose of this thesis, our interest is restricted to the exploitation or use of territory around the people.

Among subsistence fishermen, it is noted that some method of conservation (of stock) is practised. Long rooted taboos and fishing codes of conduct appear to prevent depletion of stock (at least as long as the 'Ilajes' are kept out): Fishing is banned on some days and in certain parts of the water at declared seasons; a method of constructing nets ensures that fish below a certain size may not be caught (on pain of a 'curse' or, at a more practical level, a fine by the village head).

The subsistence fisherman, e.g. at Ojo Town, catches fish, prawns and crabs. On occasions of surplus or when he/she wishes to raise money for school fees, or funeral or other cash expenses, the subsistence fisherfolk journey to the city (Lagos Island or mainland) by water or road to sell prize catches, through a trader or direct to the final consumer. He/she may smoke some of the catch for future sale if and when the need for ready cash arises. In general, the subsistence fisherman's catches are for family
consumption and supplement his diet of farm crops.

The 'Ilaje' fishermen differ from the subsistence (native) fishermen in three ways: (a) They are 'strangers' in the territory they fish; (b) Their activities are restricted entirely to the waters. Even their settlements on the coasts or river banks are temporary (either as long as stock lasts or as long as they are tolerated by the local people). They fish far and wide and literally move with the fish, i.e. as stock is depleted in one area, they move to new areas. (c) As much as 90% of their catch is sold for cash with which they procure all other necessities or meet family commitments in their home towns or villages.

The local people regard them with mixed feelings: as poachers and as strangers who should be accorded some hospitality in traditional Yoruba spirit of tolerance. As long as they (the Ilajes) keep away from local politics and 'mind their fishing', they appear to have attained some degree of symbiotic co-existence with the local people. This is particularly so among less fishing-minded people such as the Awori and less so or impossible among the Egun who are less inclined to take on or concentrate on farming.

During this study, arrangements were observed whereby the 'Ilaje' fishermen, possibly because of their greater efficiency or specialisation, use the water (fishing) and the local people concentrate on using the land (farming). The Ilaje fisherman 'pays his rent in fish' and exercises a sort of leasehold over the waters. The local farmers supply food (cassava, maize vegetables and oil) as well as household goods to the Ilajes. This is the case in the settlements studied at the northwest of Lagos Lagoon from Iwaya to Ogudu and the Ogun river delta. Sometimes a third party (an itinerant trader or petty fishmonger) appears on the scene to effect the exchange between the two communities. He/she is almost always a city dweller or maintains contact in the city's markets.

The Commercial fisherman is typified by the highly organised and successful Ibru (Sea Foods) Organisation based at Apapa in Industrial Lagos. Ibru fishes far and wide in all waters (creeks, lagoon and open sea) using modern equipment for catching, transporting and processing the fish. Although they appear to be leaving only their rejects to the subsistence and Ilaje fishermen, the economics of operating this large-scale industry provides

2.28 For variety of local fish see Appendix 37a.
2.27 The Ilaje's are a subgroup of the Yoruba. They originate from Okitipupa div. in the Makin Creek at the extreme south-east sector of Yorubaland; but somehow Yorubas in Lagos (either out of spite or sheer ignorance) have never acknowledged them as fellow-Yorubas. The Ilaje's themselves are not all fisherfolk in their home area, as they are in three groups divided according to local environment - The coastal and creek dwellers, the low forest dwellers and the high plain dwellers organise their livelihood as fisherfolk, farmers and traders respectively.
some safeguard whereby they are excluded from certain types of fishing activity such as fishing for crabs, prawns, crayfish, molluscs and 'fishes of local delicacy'[^29]. Here the subsistence and Ilaje types of fishing hold their ground. Map 22 illustrates the situation as observed during the period of study (January to May 1972) and indicates areas involved in each of the three groups of fishing, with the type of fish caught in each area. Figure 3 shows the quantity of fish (all types) caught by each class of the three fishermen and the distance covered by the operators. The data are derived from sample surveys within the fishing zone of Metropolitan Lagos.

Activities of the Federal Fisheries Department are restricted to providing advice for all fishermen who need it. In addition, the Department encourages research in conservation, improvement of catches and implements government policy, mostly in the less developed off-shore fishing. The Department has not involved itself in any degree comparable with that of the Agricultural Extension schemes operated by State governments on land. Most of the fishermen interviewed have no idea what the Federal Fisheries Service is about and how it relates to their fishing interests. However, it is likely that intensified and better organised (controlled) fishing at all levels will eventually be introduced through this service (possibly leading to a settled life for the Ilaje fishing group).

Sand Extraction: Probably peculiar to the study area but directly related to industrialization in this region[^30], is the extraction of sand[^31] (for concrete making and building industries) from the lagoon and river/creek beds. This recent feature in land use was studied from the Sand Dealers Association headquarters at Ebute Metta east and documents were made available from the Federal Ministry of Mines and Power, Lagos. Map 13 shows the places where this activity primarily occurs at the time of study. The activity is drawing many fishing personnel 'away from fish' and in some cases offers supplementary employment to subsistence fishermen. In chapters 4 and 8 we see how a sample study of this feature at Oworonshoki further reflects the relationship between land use (water use in this case) and human adaptation to industrially induced or stimulated changes in the Lagos study area.

[^29]: See Map 13 - An economic map of Lagos State. Noté main concentration of sand extraction at the lagoon and delta areas. See also chapter 4, p.133, third paragraph.
some safeguard whereby they are excluded from certain types of fishing activity such as fishing for crabs, prawns, crayfish, molluscs and 'fishes of local delicacy'. Here the subsistence and Ilaje types of fishing hold their ground.

Activities of the Federal Fisheries Department are restricted to providing advice for all fishermen who need it. In addition, the Department encourages research in conservation, improvement of catches and implements government policy, mostly in the less developed off-shore fishing. The Department has not involved itself in any degree comparable with that of the Agricultural Extension schemes operated by State governments on land. Most of the fishermen interviewed have no idea what the Federal Fisheries Service is about and how it relates to their fishing interests. However, it is likely that intensified and better organised (controlled) fishing at all levels will eventually be introduced through this service (possibly leading to a settled life for the Ilaje fishing group).

**Sand Extraction**: Probably peculiar to the study area but directly related to industrialization in this region, is the extraction of sand (for concrete making and building industries) from the lagoon and river/creek beds. This recent feature in land use was studied from the Sand Dealers Association headquarters at Ebute Metta east and documents were made available from the Federal Ministry of Mines and Power, Lagos. Map 13 shows the places where this activity primarily occurs at the time of study. The activity is drawing many fishing personnel 'away from fish' and in some cases offers supplementary employment to subsistence fishermen. In chapters 4 and 8 we see how a sample study of this feature at Oworonshoki further reflects the relationship between land use (water use in this case) and human adaptation to industrially induced or stimulated changes in the Lagos Study Area.

2.27 The Ilajes are a subgroup of the Yoruba. They originate from Okitipupa division in the Mahin Creek at the extreme south-east sector of Yorubaland; but somehow Yorubas in Lagos (either out of spite or sheer ignorance have never acknowledged them as fellow Yorubas. The Ilajes themselves are not all fisherfolk in their home area, as they are in three groups divided according to local environment: The coastal and creek dwellers, the low forest dwellers and the high plain dwellers. They organise their livelihood as fisherfolk, farmers and traders respectively.

2.29 See Appendix 37a for all fish marked with asterisks (*). Obokun (a white scaleless fish of the Chrysiothys family) has become the leading one among fish of local 'delicacy' and is highly priced but it commands low commercial status in an international or even inter-regional market. Atoko (Mullet) is a runner up in that league. It has scales and commands a wider market but has not quite achieved the popularity (or notoriety) of Obokun. The Crustacias are next, mainly in the form of Akan (crabs) and ede (shrimps). Lastly there are the various types of ison (molluscs, mussels and cockles) which are found in the quiet waters of the creeks. The low commercial viability of these 'local delicacies' outside the study area and their existence in poorly navigable waters effectively deter the large-scale enterprises.

2.30 See Map 13 - An economic map of Lagos State. Note main concentration of sand extraction at the lagoon and delta areas. See also chapter 4, p.133, third paragraph.
A7: **Hunting Zone:**

Hunting for wild animals and birds was the main source of meat in Yorubaland in the days before ranch keeping, poultry and dairy farming took over this role. Hunting activity became the main means of exploiting the thick wild forests of Lagos region. The forests themselves have been diminishing in extent with the growth of urbanisation in the region. Correspondingly, hunting activity is decreasing and is now restricted to a very few isolated wild forests where the much depleted herds of wild game have taken temporary refuge from the human onslaught. In a region so deficient in cattle (owing to adverse bioclimatic conditions) wild animals served as the major source of meat.

The present extent of the hunting zone is difficult to map but in general the activity takes place almost always in places shown in Map 8 under categories A0, A5 and A10. They comprise simply forests of the region, swamps and scrubs, where local hunters (usually part-time farmers and traders) go with their den guns, snares and other equipment for the purpose of procuring bush meat or wild fowls. The traditional Yoruba community normally includes professional hunters (Ode) but this is a declining profession in the face of industrialization in the region. The hunting zone itself is fast disappearing in the Lagos Study Area as more land is taken over for urban uses. Three factors are jointly responsible for the apparent decline in this form of land use:

1. Stock is depleted as a result of early use of firearms and uncontrolled hunting. Within the study area it is uncommon to find a wild beast within five miles of a settlement. In fact the few cases of actual hunting recorded in the area during field work (1972) occurred at such peripheral areas (of

2.31 A lorry load of sand in 1963 fetched only N7. - compared with the 1973 price of N21. (See Table 21c).

Building and construction constitute the fastest growth industry in Lagos. Even as early as 1959 it was employing first over 32% of Lagos industrial labour force (See Table 16). Although figures were not available during this study, there was ample evidence that that proportion has not increased (essentially on account of increased mechanisation and development of other industries); but the industry continues to dominate total industrial output and generate demand for local raw materials. In the absence of bricks, the industry relies almost wholly on concrete mixtures (sand and cement). Demand for sand (from the lagoon, creeks and local dunes) has risen considerably in the past ten years and the sand dealers have constituted themselves into a powerful organisation for supplying sand to the building and construction industry. A 300% increase in the price of sand was recorded in the field.
the study area) as Ogun Forest reserve, Gbogbo district of Ikorodu, western forests of Epe division, eastern banks of the river Illo and around Olute on the new Lagos-Badagri road.

(b) Human induced changes in the environment reduced available natural forest and drove wild game farther away from the region.

(c) Fewer recruits are available for the professional class of hunters.

Demand for the products of the hunting zone (bush meat and wild fowl) has not diminished in Lagos; rather, it is much higher now in the study area because of the higher population influx. However, the 'import' into the area of these products from vast hunting zones in other parts of Nigeria (e.g. bush meat from Benin and Ondo forests, guinea fowl and guinea-fowl eggs from Nigeria's northern savanna lands and cattle from Kano) adequately meets the demand; the people of Lagos do not appear to have noticed the vanishing hunting zones of the region. What is felt, mostly by enlightened regional planners, is the need to arrest the decline for the benefit of future recreational opportunities it may offer for sporting city elites who may yet emerge in a new industrial Lagos.

2.32 Trapping of birds and small animals (commonly known as "oran igbe" or bush meat) is the subsistence farmer's sideline. Hunters (Ode) are traditionally respected as brave men and powerful 'medicine' men. They do much of their hunting by night. Hunting with rifles, as a form of sport has not quite caught on here but there is a potentially rich ground in the swamps and forests of the area for the few who dare. Crocodiles, birds, antelopes, grass cutters and assorted rodents are available, but big game is scarce. The environment is of course more favourable to fisherfolk than hunters.

2.33 The origin of this term is obscure and so is the weapon itself. Some believe it was introduced in the form of a "musket" early in Yoruba contact with the Portuguese and that modifications since the introduction of modern rifles were the result of local initiative and ingenuity. There is evidence, however, that guns on the flint and powder principle had been used among southern Nigerian peoples very early in their history (e.g. the gun manufacturers of Awka) and that trade in the weapon was highly rated. In the matter of guns and liquor it seems sensible to suppose that pre-European Nigerians had their own but modified their brand with technology 'borrowed' from imported brands. The den gun consists of a single barrel tube of about 4ft to 6ft, a flint lock, wooden butt and a powder stocking needle. Ideally it uses gun powder and fires pellets of lead, iron or similar metal. It is relatively cheap to buy mostly from a local gunsmith and is effective at between 4 and 30yds range. Modern rifles and "double barrels", because of their convenience in loading and use, are replacing the traditional 'den guns' in the study area.
Poultry Keeping or Rearing:

The land using capacity of this activity is of increasing importance in the Lagos study area, perhaps even more than in all types of land use (Market Gardening). Three factors encouraged the growth of poultry here: (a) the market - there is a real demand for meat and eggs in the swelling metropolitan population of Lagos; (b) the high yield of poultry products per unit input (of land, labour and capital). Land required per unit product of poultry is considerably less than for other forms of food production. There is not the usual soil fertility problem or the arduous manual labour encountered in food cultivation; (c) there is no organisation such as the Egg Marketing Boards in developed countries (with the exception of late activities of the Ministry of Agriculture Extension Schemes). This means that poultry farming and marketing is a free for all enterprise which has attracted many operators in search of quick wealth. In the keen competition which ensues some really large enterprises like Mitchell Farms and Oke Afa Farms have grown into successful operators who have used poultry farming as a springboard to extensive land acquisitions and, by diversifying their business, are developing into substantial local industrial firms.

Poultry farming appears to be located in the rural lands and urban fringes because of the nuisance effect of this activity in residential areas. The activity uses land located midway between purely rural and purely urban areas, with the beneficial result that the operator has easy access to the market in the city and obtains feeding stuffs from the rural district. Rural land is also cheap and abundant. The state Ministry of Agriculture Extension work has been very successful in propagating the idea of poultry farming throughout Lagos State. Appendix 13 presents a list of twenty main (large) operators, their land holdings and stock capacity at the time of study. From that table an idea of the land consuming capacity of this activity is derived.

New techniques in poultry farming and the economies of scale accruing to the more successful giants in the business are likely to lead to concentration of poultry farming in smaller land areas operated more efficiently. The present

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2.34 As in Appendix 13 - Top dozen Poultry Dealers in Lagos. Poultry now attracts more profit motivated amateurs among Civil Servants, teachers, traders, lawyers and others who attend to the business part-time. With relatively small capital and little space outside the City, yield is instantaneous and profits are not long delayed.
scattered patterns expected to change with the winding up of less efficient poultry farms (the under-capitalized ones unable to acquire ideal land areas away from the sprawling residential districts). The surviving farms may be expected to continue committing more land to this activity as their stock grows to include such exotic varieties as turkeys, ducks, geese, rabbits and some fruit or vegetable growing within the vast acreage of land they have already acquired.

A9: Livestock Rearing and Breeding

This activity involves the raising of cattle, pigs, local goats and sheep. Lagos region is not a natural cattle rearing region as already noted. The Yorubas kept a few local goats, sheep and pigs but only as household domestic animals either feeding for themselves or reared 'in the family'.

The stock were resistant to local disease and were often much smaller in stature than their counterparts in more favourable regions.

With the introduction of beef cattle from outside the region and the spread of modern ideas of animal husbandry, parts of the landscape (often farms from which crops had been recently harvested and the few patches of seasonal grass shoots) were used for animal grazing. A substantial land area was not devoted to this activity until 1970 when the Lagos State Government created the first ranches in Badagri division in an effort to make economic use of all the state's land space. The Badagri' ranch is outside the Lagos Study Area but it is the model of how this type of activity is likely to use some of the apparently idle relatively infertile, lands of Lagos state. This is likely to increase in importance as A7 type of land use continues to decline. Besides, a likely increase in demand for fresh milk is likely to encourage the local rearing and breeding of dairy cattle. At present only the Agege experimental farm (established in 1915) is meeting what little

2.35 The domestic animals are almost always goats, sheep and chickens. Some shelter is provided in the compound or home for the animal kept. Usually women and children "look after" the family livestock. In some cases the livestock are gifts or endowments from a big city boss to rural clients or farm dwellers. The keepers account for these as part of the farm items in their charge.

The animals roam freely during the day but return for shelter at night or respond to feeding calls by their keepers. Even in the urban environment of Agege this type of livestock can still be seen sharing their keepers' living accommodation and sometimes the latters' raw foodstuffs!
demand for fresh milk is known in the study area.

Apart from those goats imported from Nigeria's northern states and on their way to Lagos markets, there is no known organised rearing or breeding of local goats or sheep. (There is, however, an efficiently organised union of Lagos Butchers whose strike in protest against a government order in May 1972 sent meat prices soaring in Lagos.)

Pig farming is an interesting activity in this context, for while it is never likely to use as much land as will be the case in the many ranches the government is now setting up, it is likely to use more land within the study area than cattle rearing can claim. Pig rearing is likely to thrive in private hands as it uses considerably less space per head of stock and the activity can even be practised in the back garden!

A9 type of land use has not made much impact on Lagos land use. Accordingly no sampled study, other than the Badagri ranch observation (see Note 36) was undertaken during field work in 1972. However, it is a category that is likely to take up more land in future, particularly if the Badagri Ranch experiment succeeds. At the moment there is a heavy movement of cattle up and down Lagos roads but they are direct 'imports' from Nigeria's northern states and are on their way to the abattoir to meet the growing demand for meat in the markets of Lagos metropolis.

A9: Gathering Zone

This is the main use for the lands (forests, woods and swamps) remotest from settlement centres (see Appendix 9: Products of the Gathering Zone). The land areas for this activity tend to correspond with A7 but the latter is restricted to wild forest areas naturally stocked with game.

The gathering zone is of great importance to the rural economy and involves the lives of both villager and towndweller. The urban dweller for example depends upon the zone for seasoning or flavouring his food, medicating himself and collecting some items he required for traditional and religious ceremonies. Among the bush products gathered in this zone are: medicinal ingredients (herbs, roots, leaves and tree barks), bush mango (apon), black

2.36 The ranch itself is outside the Study Area but represents a pilot project aimed at spreading livestock farming in many of the unused parts of the Lagos Study Area (particularly in Ojo and Iba districts). The present ranch contains a herd of 250 Ndama cattle being reared as a nucleus of 2000 head cattle ranch.

For dairy purposes the Agege government farm has recently supplemented existing stock by importing from the U.K. 52 Friesian cows.

No private attempt at this form of livestock rearing has so far been made anywhere in Lagos.
pepper, pepper fruit, bitter kola (orogbo), alligator pepper (atare) and a variety of wild fruits and vegetables not normally cultivated in farms or gardens. Land snails are also collected in this zone. These products find their way to such Lagos markets as Sand Grouse, Oyingbo, Jankara, Sabo, Ajegunle, Agege and Mushin.

For the Lagos Study Area, the supply of firewood is a major product of the gathering zone. An estimated 95% of the population living within the study area relies upon firewood or charcoal for fuel. No forest reserves were set aside for meeting the present demand (for firewood) in Lagos. Consequently, the drive (by private enterprise and individual initiative of rural people) to meet the shortage of firewood in the city has led to a rapid deforestation of some parts of Lagos.

The situation is being remedied by the recent introduction of kerosene stoves, electricity and bottled butane gas for those few housewives who can afford it. The adoption of this innovation is relatively slow, and is unlikely to offset the demand for firewood to any remarkable extent for the foreseeable future. The initial cost is too high for a majority of the population who must await substantial lowering in costs of equipment and the new fuel. (In 1972 the initial cost stood at ten Nigerian pounds or twenty Naira).

It appears reasonable therefore to expect large areas of the region to serve this purpose (for the gathering of 'bush' products). Some degree of encouragement by the government is also likely e.g. the Ogun River Forest Reserve could be earmarked for the supply of firewood to Lagos in the near future.

Appendix 6 is a comprehensive list of field crops found in the Lagos study area and throughout Lagos State. The crops were recorded in six groups during field work in January to May 1972. (See Guide Sheet 'D' - Field Crop Notation). The groups are: Tree crops; root crops; grain crops; vegetables and spices; fruits and miscellaneous. Most of the lands used in rural areas and urban fringes of Lagos are devoted to the cultivation, gathering or processing of these crops. The crops provide food for the increasing population in Lagos Metropolis and form raw materials for her growing industries.

2.37 Ikeja division supply much of the firewood used in the built up area of Lagos and Ikeja divisions but the saw mills district of Ebute Metta is increasing by supplementing that supply from its by-products. Charcoal, for which there is a high demand in the lower middle income residential district on account of its "cleaner fire", continues to come from farther afield in Western State and the forest zones of Epe. Firewood as a basic source of fuel becomes dramatically important in the low grade and mixed residential districts of Lagos; but no steps have been taken by the govt. to guarantee supply of this essential commodity to those who cannot afford an alternative. The traditional source is no longer adequate.
USES OF URBAN LAND IN LAGOS:

The structure of urban land use in Lagos is unique in its disorderliness. Land use categories here are interlaced in such a way that as little as half a square kilometre (less than 125 acres) of land can contain all known urban uses. For example the 120 acres between Omididun Street and Simpson Street with Sand Grouse market to the south and Okepopo/Olowu Streets to the north, (Surveyed and recorded in Sheet A Cards, 0_33, 0_34, N_33 and N_34) typifies the observed situation. As the metropolis develops from a coalescence of urban nuclei to a coherent city centred on the old Lagos Municipality, differentiation in land-use categories becomes noticeable. In Lagos island, for example, distinctions can now be made between land used exclusively for commercial activity and those used for government purposes.

Bearing in mind the apparent fluid state of space use here (i.e. category of use for a given space is not yet permanent), the use of Lagos urban lands is described in ten categories. Each category represents a dominant activity to which the urban land is committed. The ten categories are:-

1. Residential Accommodation
2. Production of food and manufactured goods
3. Business and Commerce
4. Transportation
5. Government or Administration
6. Security of the City and State
7. Recreational activities
8. Public Utilities
9. Institutional land use (Civic and Cultural Activities)
10. Open Spaces (representing cemeteries, derelict lands, unreclaimed swamps and forbidden grounds)

2.38 The ten categories of urban land use is based on basic needs for living accommodation (Residential), food or means of livelihood (Production of food or goods, services, trade or exchange of these), movement (from place to place of people and various factors of production), government (at all levels), security (all forms of defence, law and order), organised recreation (public and private), public utilities, and institutional (all cultural, health, educational and religious needs) purposes. The tenth category covers all forms of open spaces found within the urban environment. Where use is not apparent or cannot be easily ascertained, provision is made to record such unit under incomplete data. Similar basic needs are encountered in rural districts with the essential difference that agricultural form of land use, varying in level of organisation or intensity of production, tend to modify the system.
The overall analysis is based on Map 8 (scale 1:200,000) being a reduction from scale 1:50,000 on which field information was mapped. In constructing the map (on scale 1:50,000) a minimum score of 15% for a given activity (category of land use) was taken as the threshold at which a unit of land under investigation may be mapped in that category of use.

**Category 1 - Residential Accommodation.**

Six classes of residential districts are recognised; but for the purpose of general analysis the residential districts fall into two groups, viz. 'The High Class' residential districts and 'the general residential districts'. The two groups correspond in most cases to socio-economic distinctiveness in Lagos society. The former is made up of well laid-out streets with ample space for a house and large gardens. For convenience this may be termed the 'Ikoyi type' of residential district. Such is the district one finds at Ikoyi, Apapa G.R.A., Victoria Island, Palm Grove Estate and Ikeja G.R.A. (See plates 27a and 27b, Colour plates 29 and 30). The other group of residential districts ranges from respectable individual upper class houses set amidst squalid poorly planned surroundings, to highly congested poor-class tenements and pathetic shanty huts of extremely high density (100+ persons per acre). The residential areas grow profusely as new areas are opened and enterprising individuals hastily erect houses on any vacant space they can grab, even at the risk of imminent eviction. However, class of residence here appears to be less significant than the twin question: How long ago was the residential district founded and how permanent (in housing types) is it or does it seem to the land use surveyor?

We note from the map the surviving old (pre-1940) residential districts of Lagos island and the core areas of Agege, Ikeja and Igbobi which have retained their role as residential quarters. Next to these are the colonial sponsored 'new townships' of Lagos mainland - Ebute Meta and Yaba - which are now relatively old residential districts. The next residential districts were the direct results of slum clearance in Lagos Island in the early 1950s. They correspond with the newly conferred role of national Federal Capital (1954) on Lagos, the island and the Municipality.

The vast estates developed by the Lagos Executive Development Board (see Map 19) at Surulere, started with the sites collectively known as New Lagos. It was a controversial but fairly successful experiment in resettling displaced Lagos 'indigenes' during the slum clearance exercise which

2.39 See Chapter 8 for detailed field samples of residential land use and Appendix 3a.
swept away their homes, in the process of developing the present Lagos Central Business District. (Peter Earis, 1960). Starting with those 95 acres near the present national stadium, the L.E.D.B. created more residential areas in what was until 1955 unreclaimed scrub and forest. The L.E.D.B. estates catered for all classes of residential accommodation - from the subsidised low rent single storey terraced houses to purpose-built spacious duplex for upper middle class families. (See Plates 6a, b, c, d, 7a and 7b.) At the time of study (1972) this style of residential land use - the L.E.D.B. style - covers about 2 square miles (1,280 acres) fully functioning as residential districts. They are identifiable as Surulere, Obele, Iganmu and Ilupeju. (See Appendix 10 - L.E.D.B. Estates and Schemes). Just before the absorption of the L.E.D.B. into the newly formed (April 1972) Lagos State Property Development Corporation, the D.E.D.B. had almost completed the New Town of Amuwo in Badagri division at the south western end of this Lagos study area, for easing the congested residential districts of the city.

By far the largest group of residential districts, in population concentration and as part of urban sprawl, is the group created by a combination of private enterprise (the landlord - poor-tenant type) and low capital individual owner-builder efforts. Serious overcrowding, planlessness, shortage of basic amenities (water, electricity and sewage disposal), mixed activities (from tenements to shops and brothels) and general squalor are the main features of this group of residential districts. Many of the residents are newcomers to the city, jobless/unskilled citizens, low income workers in the city, self-employed petty traders, or hopeful havenots (talakes). Some are fairly well-to-do persons who have built their mansions amidst the squalor without noticing anything wrong as such! (See Plates 28 and 29). Mushin and Agegunle are two notorious members of this group; but Shomolu, parts of Surulere, Lawanson, Ikate, Itire, Apapa Road, Idi Oro, Agege and Oshodi are members of this pathetic group of Lagos residential districts which are going the same way.

In the Metropolis as defined, this type of residential district covers just over 11 square miles, (47.9% of all residential land in Ikeja and Lagos divisions) out of 23 sq. miles total residential districts and provides accommodation for about 70% of the population. (See Maps 10, 19, 20 and 21 for samples of Residential Land-use types in Lagos).

Category 2 - Production

Of the two types of production found in Lagos urban land, food production has already been discussed under rural and urban fringe land uses as A1, A2 and A8. (See plates 13a and 13b; Colour Plate 20a and 20b).
On this map (Map 8, 1:50,000 reduced to Map 9) those areas of land shown as used for food production were those observed during field-work (January to May 1972) as in active use for market gardens, 'illegal' temporary cultivation, poultry farms, pig keeping or basic food processing. Consequently, only Yaba Roundabout, Idi Araba, and the government owned market garden, Agege, could be represented in this sub-category.

Manufacturing is by far the more significant aspect of this category of land use. However, the importance of industrialization in this thesis has necessitated a separate treatment of industrial land use (centres of industrial activity) in Chapter 3. Meanwhile it suffices to note that all the industrial estates developed so far are within the present urban lands of Lagos and Ikeja divisions. Industrial estates stand out clearly in the map and are identified as follows: - Yaba, Ilupeju, Ikeja, Apapa and Iganmu. Altogether they cover 14.06 acres of land and more are projected (such as the Isolo complex and Ogun River Industrial Estate).

The sawmills district of Ebute Metta East deserves mention in this analysis. The activity has virtually monopolised all land (within 400 yards of the foreshore) between the lagoon ends of Freeman Street in the south and Lagos Street in the north. It is an important industry which not only supports the furniture and construction industries but also provides much needed firewood to the city.

Although many small industries (mostly textile, clothing, food and drink, jewellery and crafts) were seen dotted all over the Metropolis, none was large enough to achieve the 15% score threshold required for basic mapping entry at this scale.

Category 3 - Business and Commerce

This category of land use comprises three types of space:
(a) Office space (all buildings associated with business transactions, but not manufacturing industries); (b) Shops and commercial premises, including sheds and stalls used by traders but not those located in or already officially included in designated 'Markets'; (c) Markets - the exact extent or official space plus reasonable overspill into neighbouring space within 500 yards (1500ft).

In Map 28 (a) and (b) are taken together, essentially because they tend to use the same central location, compete on equal footing for space (they are usually the highest bidders for centrally located space), are less fixed in space than markets and, they are not easily distinguishable in the field. At Yakubu Gowon Street, for example (Lagos Island's central shopping and business street), a building or tall office block can serve as offices for a business firm and shops for leading merchants.
(c) The Market - is treated on its own as a sub-category of 3.

The map (Map 28) shows a concentration of business and commercial activities at Lagos Island. Scores of 70% and over per km$^2$ are recorded at the northwestern sector of Lagos Island: the sector comprises $\frac{1}{2}$ sq. mile of land between Nnamdi Azikiwe Road to Tinubu Square and the Marina by Lagos Harbour. What could have been a neat northwest based triangle comprising a business and commercial complex is interrupted by the Olowogbowo neighbourhood which has a higher residential/slum score. The shopping centre of this triangle may be identified as being within this imperfect triangle.

To the east of the 'triangle', business and commercial premises are hardly distinguishable from what may be described as 'multi-purpose land use' amidst a slummy residential structure. It is similar to the land use recorded in the Olowogbowo neighbourhood mentioned above.

The distribution of business and commercial land uses outside Lagos Island is related to the existence of Harris-Ullman type of multi-nuclei C.B.D. in the metropolis (see Mabogunje 1961). The shape of the land area so used is conditioned by the alignment of the Lagos urban route system or major street network. Outside Lagos Island also the intensity of category 3 land use is considerably less in terms of concentration of business and commercial premises per unit area (an average score of only 30%).

For Lagos Mainland, Category 3 land use stretches from Leventis stores at Ebute Metta south, astride the land between Herbert Macauley Street (east) and Denton Street/Clifford Street, to Montgomery Road (Yaba). Other category 3 land-use features are littered along the main roads in crowded residential areas. The activity consists primarily of petty retail trading, insurance, banking, petrol stations, shops with flats, entertainment/theatres, and commercial residential buildings (hotels and similar establishments). The longer established a main road is, the stronger appears to be its tendency to attract this land use category along both sides of the road (an average of 50ft. from the roadway with practically no allowance for pedestrian sidewalks; see Plate 9a and b). Prominent field examples are: Ojuelegba - Itire Road in Surulere; Agege Motor Road from the railway crossing through Idi Oro and Mushin and Oshodi; Ikorodu Road from Yaba Roundabout to Palm Grove; a part of Isolo Road in Mushin; and, the two main roads through Agegunle (Kirikiri and Ojo Roads). After Oshodi, the pattern repeats itself at Agege on the Agege-Abeokuta Road and the Ipaja Road. (See Map 8, observe on it category 3 land use along streets).
So confined and linear in form is the roadside business/commercial land use in these parts of Lagos that it has not been possible to represent the category distinctly on the map at this scale. However, this peculiar class of category 3 land use receives important mention in the study area for two reasons: (a) it often forms the most 'active centres' of the Metropolis; and (b) it supports a point established later in this thesis that the location of category 3 land use is a function of accessibility.

**Markets** constitute an important sub-category of the third type of urban land use in Lagos. Table 4 is a list of markets in Lagos Metropolis and their sizes in acres. They are old established 'contact centres' whose origin is deeply rooted in the Yoruba system of commodity exchanges and later overseas contacts which increased the range and quantity of commodities available for trade, (see Hoöder, Tidj. 1959 and Scot. Geog. Mag. 1965(a)). There are sixteen of these markets within the study area. Lagos island markets alone occupy a total area of about 23.50 acres (9.51 hectares), i.e. 3.6% of used land surface in the island, (computed as 275 hectares or 679.5525 acres).

At peak periods of market operation, each of these markets apparently overspills on to neighbouring lands (most of which are mapped as 'residential' 'transportation', or business/commercial). For analytical purposes a market's location is shown without necessarily attempting to represent the exact extent of land occupied by that sub-category. It can be seen that the markets have in most cases acted as the nuclei around which the now larger sub-categories (a) and (b) discussed above (Business and Commercial premises) have developed.

**Category 4 - Transportation**

The difficulty of calculating space occupied by this category of land use is aggravated by two factors: (a) the linear nature of space through which the movement takes place; (b) the varied and temporary nature of the movements. Effort was made in the field to obtain from Estates Officers of the major land consumers (Ports Authority, N.E.P.A., Ikeja Airport, Nigerian Railways and Lagos Transport Executive) in this category, some basic principles underlying their space requirements. It was found, as

2.40 They constitute business streets, instant business centres and trading posts. They may be in the form of street markets, repair shops or entertainment centres, sometimes in field surveys they may be found to have become so embedded in residential districts as to lose their identity the land use category they serve.

2.41 Based on interviews conducted in March 1972 with the Estate Officers of N.P.A., Nigerian Airways, Nigerian Railways, Lagos City Transport and N.E.P.A., "it is generally agreed that cheap land; large contiguous unit reasonable amount (of land) in a compatible zone surplus to needs; location of land at or close to topographically desirable sites for user's business; closeness to Public utilities (water and power) and security of tenure are important."
demonstrated later among case studies in this thesis (chapters 8 and 9) that land transport based on rail and roads has standard or statutory width of space devoted to that purpose. Power transmission lines (included here rather than in Category 8(b) ) also uses a 'way-leave' system which guarantees 30 yards of linear space. (See Colour Plate 16).

Whereas the railway-occupied space was easily ascertained, the roads were more difficult to handle because of their varied nature and the different authorities responsible for them. It was found suitable for the purpose of the thesis to calculate 'road use' of space in terms of a simple network analysis.

A density of 15% scores and over, above other land-use categories per unit area, is accepted for mapping an area into this category. The depots and vehicle parks are included in the analysis.

Water Transport is so localised that it presented no mapping problem. Only the port areas and space occupied by port-related activities (but not industrial estates, however related) are mapped in this category, subject to scale limitations. Similarly as in airline offices and offices of motor transport operators, those offices of shipping agencies not strictly located in port areas, are regarded as category 3 activities and mapped as such. However, all land acquired or held by Nigerian Ports Authority for port development is mapped as category 4b land use.

Air Transport is becoming a large land consumer. It covers all land held or recently acquired by the Nigerian Airways authority for operational airport development, but does not include ticket offices, recreation grounds or

2.42 Category 4a land use involve linear space but there is no statutory width requirement in the study area. It is more important for the road and rail authorities to procure land wide enough for immediate needs and allow for expansion. For roads ten feet appears to be a reasonable minimum; while in the modern expressways linking Badagry with Lagos and Ikorodu with Epe the Lagos State Govt. found it necessary to secure three hundred yards tract for each route. The Nigerian railway Corporation holds a 30ft tract wherever possible for a basic minimum requirement. In addition to linear space for the tracks 4a land use also need conventional space for allied uses. Legally, chapter 95 (The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos) Clause 20 - Contents of Town Planning Schemes - constitutes the only legal directive known to the author on road construction and related matters in Lagos.

2.43 2,500 acres recently acquired (Dec.1973). 1,705 acres acquired in June 1944. 102.09 acres, nucleus of Ikeja airport and the earliest acquisition on 14.10.1941. More land is required but the railway, the industrial estates and residential development confines potential land supply at the present site to west of the railway and road alignment.
residential quarters outside the contiguous airport lands.

Taken together, these three subgroups in category 4 constitute a fast growing land consumer. It becomes more so as the category becomes a major agent for opening up remote lands and aids dispersal of the city's activities into newly developed areas. It is demonstrated later in this thesis how poor organisation of this category can upset the efficient functioning of all other activities on the relatively inelastic land supply. Increased industrialization has generated more movement of workers (in residential areas), goods and services in a fast congesting space. The traffic chaos in Lagos street, roads and port constitutes a current problem observed in the field during this study. A report appears in Chapter 8 and demonstrates the competitive yet interrelated nature of all categories of land use, where precocious economic development on poorly planned undeveloped land produce undesirable side effects in Lagos's spatial organisation.

The study area is held together by the presence of all three groups of category 4 land use:- The port at the coast and lagoon sites, the airport in the central location eight miles north of Lagos island (at the only strip of land raised above the many swamps in these parts), the railway securely set between its Iddo Terminus and the fairly dry land between Iponri swamps and the Ebute Metta/Yaba raised mainland strip. Linking the airport, the sea-ports and the rail terminus/stations, is a network of roads which continue to grow as new bridges, a traffic complex and express-ways are added on to the fast changing cultural landscape. In spite of the apparent progress being made in the communications network of the Lagos study area, much still needs to be done to keep pace with fast development in other types of land use and to ease traffic congestion (there are at present perpetual traffic jams, not just two peaks). Work-residence space relationship results in locations so far apart that a major reorganisation of land use will be necessary to ease movement, especially within the inner city.

In mapping the space occupied by each group in category 4 land use as shown in Table 5 (land use Categories of Lagos), all land held by the Nigeria Airways at Ikeja but excluding booking offices already included among 3a are shown under Air Transport; Water Transport accounts, includes port installations, harbour and canoe beaches and other property of N.P.A; Rail Transport accounts covers all holdings by Nigerian Railways Corporation and like roads constitute 4a (land transport); While for roads all contiguous network, depots, parks and roadspace but excluding streets in residential areas were so classed and included in category 4 a or 4 land use.
Government land use is a special feature of the Lagos Study Area and is examined in more detail in Chapter 7. The multi-functional roles of Lagos - as a Federal capital, a state with a governed city and, arising from the first, as an international centre for diplomatic missions - account for government influence on land use in the study area.

In the survey, land held or occupied by the three types of government – local (State or City), national (Nigerian Federal Government) and foreign – were recorded in appropriate columns within category 5 land use. Government's role in making land available for other (more direct) users complicates any attempt at analysing government land use in Lagos. The Federal government for example acquired more land than any single agent in the period 1906 to 1972 (see Appendices 7 and 27, Tables 9 and 15). A total of 286 transactions were recorded. Of that number, 95 (or 33.2%) were for transportation uses alone; 56 (19.6%) were for educational use; 22 (7.7%) were for health purposes. In only 64 cases (22.4%) was government the direct user. That 22.4% recorded as 'direct government use' comprises:

1. 7% recorded for Residential purposes
2. 6.3% recorded for Service Quarters
3. 2.8% recorded for Administrative Purposes (government offices, departments, etc.)
4. 3.1% recorded for Judiciary and Peace Keeping
5. 1.7% recorded for Defence and Security
6. 6.6% recorded for Public purposes and miscellaneous government use.

Health, Education and Post and Telecommunications are not included in the 22.4% as each is often in voluntary agency or private hands, though supported by local Federal or foreign government. The exclusion simplifies an otherwise complex analysis. Besides, only the above six forms of government land use are easily seen, recognised and mapped as such in the field.

Unavailability of data from the field on cost, size or acreage of each acquisition, limits the scope of analysis applied in understanding government land use and ownership in Lagos. Map 15 and Fig 7 show the main concentration of government land use as defined above. The south-western and south-eastern sectors of Lagos island, Obalende, Ikoyi island, Victoria island, Apapa G.R.A., Ikeja G.R.A. and Police College, and the several Service Quarters (for Army, Navy Police and Air Force personnel) scattered all over Lagos and Ikeja divisions, and the increasingly large land area acquired by the Federal government in the past ten years for prisons and defence requirements in eastern Badagri division. We see from
the analysis that land under 'direct government use' (22.4%) in Lagos is considerably less significant than the total amount of land used (or made available for use) as a result of government action. This point is essential to an understanding of the pattern of land use today and those factors (beside industrialization) which explain land use changes in Lagos.

Category 6 - Security and Defence

For obvious reasons data on this category of land use are not readily available in the field. The major field work for this thesis was conducted during a period of military rule when it was absolutely necessary for a field worker to 'tread gently'. Throughout Lagos State, there were areas zoned thus 'MILITARY ZONE, KEEP OFF'; 'AIR FORCE GROUNDS, ENTRY STRICTLY FORBIDDEN'. Similar warnings prohibited investigation in certain areas to establish the exact extent of land under this category of use. The circumstances were understandable and orders were complied with.

In the circumstances only the most obvious and clearly 'non-classified' grounds in this category (e.g. Army depots, naval offices or docks, military encampments or police grounds) are shown on Map B. Those shown represent those parts of the study area with over 15% score in dominant use per unit area. Most land use under this category is included under government land use, and so not repeated here. A few were recorded in column 'X' (unknown) where field confirmation of use was not available.

A significant feature noted among land use for this category is its low priority in terms of centrality and in competition for good quality land against other types of use. Consequently, category 6 is not a keen competitor in land value terms. Many of the sites are or were swamps, relatively remote locations, infertile sand dunes and strategic nodes of the national defence system. However, the security value of land committed to this category of use acquires virtual monopoly against possible competitors for that space. A military depot, Police barracks or Air Force base would not readily move from its location to make room for other types of land use, such as residential, agricultural, business or recreational use. This is one category of land use which responds relatively slowly to the impact of industrialization in Lagos.

Category 7 - Recreation: (Tables 25 a & B. and Appendix 19 refers).

This category of land use is less developed than any other in the Lagos Study Area. It is not at present a powerful competitor for space as its capacity to pay for desirable space is limited by effective demand for organised recreation. Nevertheless, a number of private recreation grounds have been established in the high class residential districts and in Lagos Island. The Onikan district of Lagos Island contains the highest concentration of recreational land use (private and public) per unit of area.
Ikoyi Park, in a well-known high class residential area, is the largest park in the Lagos study area. Although it is less than one km² in area, Ikoyi Park is the nearest thing to a comprehensive public recreation ground comprising a golf course, a miniature lake and tended woodland. King George V Memorial Park in Lagos island is probably the oldest and most accessible public recreation ground in the study area. It is much smaller than Ikoyi Park but more popular in use. The Memorial Park comprises a swimming pool, the famous but hardly romantic 'Love Garden', and a football stadium. More important however, is the way King George V Park acts as a focal centre for the many private and public open spaces found in this south-eastern and eastern sector of Lagos island. The Racecourse is within 50 yards of this park and gives the appearance of 'flowing into' the Park; it is also possibly the most popular open space in Lagos and serves as a meeting place on national occasions (e.g. Independence celebrations), schools playground, car park, bus terminus and horse racing track. The Marina, with its breezy promenade and landscaped lagoon scenery, adds a touch of beauty to the entire setting and makes this south-eastern sector of Lagos island probably the most beautiful spot in the capital city. It is no wonder that many official residences,

2.44 The rapid growth of Nigeria's armed forces between 1966 and 1970 occasioned by the civil war and the facts of military rule, occurred at a time when land in the national capital was already scarce. The absence of a clear policy on land acquisition for the armed forces and the police left the Federal government in difficulties. Barracks for personnel could not be provided fast enough, hence many private homes and civilian housing schemes were 'commandeered' to meet the shortage; The Nigerian Air Force in particular suffered acute accommodation shortage for their personnel until the wasteground at the northern banks of Ajegunle canal was reclaimed for N.A.F. barracks; the Police Force is also known to be desperately short of land for new barracks. Besides, space for military installations, training grounds, allied space uses and office space are also in short supply as former unoccupied land (swamps, forests and waste grounds) disappear under the impact of industrialization and land ownership trends.

The Federal Military government is expected to take more resolute action to acquire land compulsorily to meet present shortage in Category 6 requirements. Such land will have to be withdrawn from open market conditions.

2.45 As presented in Table 25 the Park (over 19 acres) is a substantial part of the 65.55 acres of land preserved as open spaces. It is close to the 39 acre site known as Race Course and together with other private club grounds and public walks, it offers a quiet, aesthetically pleasant retreat away from the jumbled centre of Lagos or the eye-sores of residential Lagos mainland.
dominated by 'Lagos House' - the official residence of the Military Governor of Lagos State, are situated in this sector.46

The Bar Beach at Victoria Island is a public open recreation ground, mostly used in festival times (e.g. Easter and Christmas) for picnics, fairgrounds and general entertainments; but recently it is drawing larger crowds of spectators to the occasional public executions of armed robbers. The beach is an underdeveloped recreation resource, but the recent (June 1972) eviction of squatters (religious sects and unauthorised extortionist shade installers) is said by the Nigerian Ports Authority (in whom the beach is vested) to be a prelude for projected development of the beach as an organised open pleasure ground.47 Besides the sands and sun, there is also the Atlantic surf on which enthusiasts occasionally display daring boat and canoe acts.

The lagoon is increasingly acquiring some popularity, at least among expatriates, for waterskiing and boating. For this, some private boating clubs have been formed. Most successful among the boat clubs is the Apapa Boat Club which was studied as a sample in the field.48 Together with the Sea Craft School beyond Tin Can island, this boating club is establishing a pattern of water use which may eventually catch on in Lagos as a useful recreational activity. At the time of this study the boat clubs in general are highly exclusive (members are mostly expatriates, often Europeans).

On Lagos Island (See Map 10) there is the larger very picturesque yacht club of similar organisation beneath the Lagos Island end of Five Cowrie bridge.

2.46 Impression of Lagos harbour and Marina of the late 19th Century is preserved in Lord Lugard's diary entry of 31.3.1898, thus "... Lagos is 5 miles from the anchorage, and mail steamers cannot cross the bar. The entrance to the place is beautiful - a long street runs along the sea front and on it are the European houses and it is fringed by an avenue of dark trees, mangoes and various kinds of figs."

2.47 Victoria beach is one of several estates (mostly beach tracts) vested in the Nigerian Ports Authority by the Federal government. The proposed development is a joint venture between N.P.A. and the Lagos State government. Squatters have already been cleared from the site i.e. driven farther eastwards along the coast; the territory enclosed by fences and the development work is in progress. Protection works are included in this development scheme.
Lagos Mainland is not so well provided with recreational facilities. In the Yaba – Ebute Metta area, there is Rowe Park and the new Mobolaji Johnson Sports Centre (ten acres approx.) In Surulere, the National Stadium (57 acres) opened late in 1972 (15.12.72) in time for the All Africa Games, is a prestige recreation ground of the finest order; but it is not an 'open' public ground as tickets are needed for taking part or watching activities staged in this stadium.

There is a number of private recreation grounds which catered for this important activity over the years and have somehow inhibited public demand for open spaces and public recreation grounds. These private recreation grounds fall into three categories:

(a) Corporation or Company Sports grounds, e.g. U.A.C., Shell Club and the Nigerian Railway Corporation sports ground. The U.A.C. sports ground, just opposite the National Stadium at Surulere, is a pioneer recreation ground of a far-sighted trading house. (See Map 19).

(b) Tennis Clubs - These are based on tribal, professional or associational initiatives, e.g. Yoruba Tennis Club, Civil Service Tennis Club, Boy Scouts Association.

(c) Institutional Recreation and Training grounds, e.g. Military, Police, Air Force and Naval barracks; Prisons; schools and colleges, university.

Only (a) type recreation grounds were found to be large and contiguous enough to show up in the mapping (1:50,000), (b) and (c) were often too small and too scattered all over the study area (with the exception of the Onikan concentration mentioned earlier) that they could not be shown at all or were simply included in other (or their 'parent') land use categories, e.g. Education or Service Quarters to which they relate.

In all, the computed space actively used for recreational purposes in Lagos Island alone amounted to only 60.56 acres out of a total area of just over 1081 acres (i.e. 5.6%). The percentage for the entire Lagos Study area is considerably smaller on account of underdevelopment and lagging demand.

Category 8 - Public Utilities:

The development of Public Utilities in Lagos is surprisingly slow in comparison with urban growth in the area. One is left with the impression that the inadequate water supply, electricity supply and sewerage in Lagos reveal the underlying haste, poor planning and inadequate physical resource base on which Lagos development appears to be based, e.g. building land, water and power resources. Thus in metropolitan Lagos - a tropical region with a population of 1.4 million, industrial presence of 700 factories, and water consuming capacity of 40 gallons per person per day, 49 available public utilities are given as follows:-
Water Supply - 24 million gallons per day (see appendix IV, 1968/69 LS.G. figures)

Electricity - about 200 kwh per head per year (cf. Britain's 4000 kwh. & U.S.A. 8000 kwh. per head per year. Less than 5% of U.K. average).

Sewerage is almost non-existent except at Ikoyi, Apapa government residential area and the new Victoria island.

From the general land use survey map scale at 1:50,000, it is easy to identify areas used for public utilities only as reservoirs, and for water production and mass distribution (pumps) centres, power stations and very few locations of the sewerage network mentioned above. Iju Water Works is the largest single land area devoted to this category of use and is just within the Metropolis, though 25 miles north of Lagos island. Originally, commissioned in 1915, Iju Water Works occupied 1,100 acres of Iju river valley and supplied six million gallons per day at the time. By 1972, it had been expanded to include Ogun river intakes and plans are afoot to increase water supply to 40 million gallons per day. The total acreage of land now used by the Iju Water Works is about 2000 acres. Many large establishments, e.g. Lagos University, have storage facilities on site, thereby reducing to an absolute minimum the amount of space that would be needed for local reservoirs. During the survey, no reservoir outside the works was found large enough to feature on the scale of mapping (1:50,000). Instead only some centres of mass water distribution (e.g. Agege central water selling station), are shown by dots where clearly identifiable in the field.

2.48 Apapa boat club provides recreational activity for its members and in some cases provide tuition and expert advice to young club and boat enthusiasts. Membership is highly restricted but no longer exclusive to Europeans. Only boat owners may apply for membership but the waiting list was running at 4 years delay in 1972. All club facilities (drinks, food, amusements and informal discussions) are provided at the club's house at Marine Road, Apapa. The club's main problem is inability to expand fast enough or cut down on length of waiting time for potential members. Arising from this, some of the club's organisers (based on personal interview with the author) are worried that the local government may take over the club. The author does not know of any government proposal to justify that fear; but unless something is done to encourage more Nigerian membership, the question may arise as to the desirability of tolerating an apparently exclusive white club in Nigeria's national capital.

2.48 As in Map 27, Fig. 16 and Table 26.
For electricity, the Ijorah power station occupied large enough space to be identified on the map. The power authorities maintain 'way leave' rights over their power transmission paths and this practice is involving increasingly large rural tracts of the study area; but the linear and overhead suspension used for this type of land use made it convenient to exclude all except the generating and large supply centres of electricity in the Metropolis. Much of the power used in Lagos Metropolis is generated outside Lagos state anyway. The space occupied by local substations (60 square feet) was so small and often part of other land use (such as transportation or open space) as to be ignored in the mapping. (See colour plate 34).

Sewerage remains the least significant space consumer at the time of study; but the consequences (in terms of bad sanitation, pollution from factory and domestic affluents, health hazards and sheer inconvenience) of ignoring this facility are so obvious that attention is likely soon to be focussed on the need for a properly organised sewerage system which may radically change the pattern of land use competition in the study area. Meanwhile the system is significantly developed only in the new high class residential zone of Victoria island, at a cost (£50 million per km² served) obviously too high to be contemplated in those poor residential districts where it is most urgently needed. Refuse disposal is poorly organised; consequently, no significant refuse tips identifiable in the field could be mapped. The few constructively channelled refuse tipping schemes are being used to reclaim local swamps (Ije village was built on such a refuse dump) or fill up flooded ditches in the wet season. Fuel dumps (mostly oil) occupy substantial land areas and could clearly be identified on the map, but because of their close association with industries, much of the Ijora and Apapa depots appear only as generalised symbols amidst clearly mapped 'industrial land use'. There are many petrol distribution centres but those large enough to be shown on the map are already included under commercial premises (Category 3).

Firewood depots constitute a unique domestic fuel source popular among the majority of people in the metropolis. However, the large centres are dotted all over the metropolis (in market places, at the saw mills of Ebute Metta east and on the road sides); so that nowhere did this subunit of Category 8 attain the 15% score necessary for mapping.

On the whole Category 8 uses only an estimated 3% of land in the Lagos Study area (9,480 acres, 3,836 hectares), but much development is expected to take place in this category as Lagos becomes increasingly industrialized.
Category 9 - INSTITUTIONAL LAND USE: (CIVIC & CULTURAL)

Map 10 shows in reasonable detail the structure of Lagos main Civic Centre in Lagos Island. Some degree of overlapping on other categories of land use, particularly for categories 5 and 7, is noted. The uniqueness of space use here strongly emphasises the role of Lagos as the national capital of Nigeria. The nation's administrative machinery (houses of Parliament, State House, Judiciary, Police, Secretariat and other government offices) the museum, hospitals, Missionary Headquarters, national assembly grounds and the national symbol of unity (the flaming torch) are located within the 135 acres of Lagos Island's south-eastern sector.

Outside this central area, category 9 land use becomes highly dispersed in the study area and may be identified as tiny nuclei of educational, hospital, detention and religious centres often lacking a coherent relationship with local land uses, except in the case of primary schools which tend to thrive in residential districts.

A common feature of lands used for category 9 purposes appears to lie in their public ownership and accessibility (to members of the public). The items of use represented reflect the socio-cultural background and possibly political organisation of the study area. During field-work, land units recorded under this category of use were premises scoring 15% or over for such uses as hospitals, schools, prisons, places of worship, public meeting grounds and those public buildings and grounds either included in categories 5 and 7 land uses or recorded simply as 'public places'.

For this category 9 land use, the pattern observed in the entire study area may be summarised as follows:-

(a) There is the concentrated central location at the south-eastern sector of Lagos island, an area of about 350 acres.

(b) There are the educational enclaves dominated by Lagos University's main campus at Akoka (1,000 acres zoned out at the north-east of Yaba estate and fronting the lagoon). The medical flank at Idi Amin, campus 200 acres and the Yaba College of Technology set between both campuses complete the zonation. Pockets of educational land use are dotted all over the study area in the form of college or school grounds. Prominent examples are King's College in the heart of the city, Ifako Teacher's College at the northern edge of the Metropolis (Ikeja division), Agbowa Grammar School to the east and Awori Ajeromi Grammar School at Agboju on Ojo Road (west side of the study area).
There are no contiguously large land areas, with the exception of that occupied by Ikeja general hospital, the Igbobi Royal Orthopaedic hospital and the Yaba Medical Centre complex (embodies a Research Institute, a Leper Sanatorium and a Mental Home) standing out for this category at the scale of mapping used (1:50,000 reduced to 1:200,000). Many health centres, clinics and small hospitals e.g. Massey Street Children's hospital, were out-pointed by other land use categories e.g. Residential, and became lost as such.

Prisons and places of worship do not feature as large space users. Of the prisons, only Kirikiri maximum security prison 576.5 acres (purchased 9.7.55) really shows up. Ikoyi and Lagos Island prisons though important, appear to have suffered the same fate as the Massey Street children's hospital example quoted above (they were overshadowed by other space users).

Category 9 land use constitutes an important part of the identity of Lagos as a centre of civic and cultural activities of Nigeria. Further growth of Lagos, either in the process of accelerated industrialization of the region or as a consequence of her being Nigeria's Federal Capital, has the general effect of increasing the amount of space devoted to this category of land use. As we have seen the south-eastern sector of Lagos Island has already been consolidated for this purpose. Other complementary centres such as the National Stadium in Surulere and civic centres in divisional headquarters of Ikeja and Ikorodu are expected to increase space capacity for civic and cultural land use in the Lagos study area.

Category 10 - OPEN SPACES:

This category is clearly distinguished from recreational grounds (category 7) or areas of unknown uses (category X). Cemeteries, tracts of derelict unreclaimed lands and sacred groves come under this category. Thus Ikoyi, Apena and Atan cemeteries are the main public burial grounds (there are no churchyard burials).

2.50 The Independence Building (Plate 37), Race Course, Kings College, National Museum, Police, Clubs and government ministries, are located here.

2.51 The Yorubas did not bury their dead in graveyards or cemeteries, but in their houses. (Rev. S. Johnson "History of the Yorubas", p.137 - Funerals).
Derelict lands recorded during field work fall into two types: (a) derelict urban lands: the several pockets of disused or blighted slum property and junk yards. Disused brickfield and earth extraction works e.g. Oko briki and Ikorodu Road also feature here. (b) Derelict rural fringe lands made up of deserted villages, farms, quarries and roads or paths, mainly in Ikeja division.

Large tracts of land remain unreclaimed and form the main component recorded in this category (open spaces). They are the swamps or low-lying lands of Iganmu (about to disappear under impact of Iganmu industrial estate), Maroko, Shomolu - Bariga, Agboyi creek, all the low-lying islands between the Atlantic ocean and Porto-Novo creek/Tin Can island, as well as the numerous rafia-palm vegetated swamps in the eastern borderlands of Badagri division. The swamp lands of the middle and lower valleys of river Illo and the remaining Surulere swamps are also included.

These unreclaimed lands are the main reserves of Lagos future land supply. The speed at which similar land forms at Ijorah and Victoria Island have been reclaimed are useful indicators of the ultimate fate of these currently 'neglected lands'. Already, some active reclamations are planned by the State Government and private enterprise for Tin Can Island, Kuramo, Maroko, Iwaya, Akoka, Takoko and Light House beach. Eventually, this category of land use will disappear into other categories as Lagos continues to develop into a modern metropolis. This represents man's active role in changing his environment in the study area.

A few sacred groves which were found in many parts of the study area have been disappearing fast. At the time of this study (January to May 1972) sacred groves at Abebe village in modern Surulere, Iganmu and Isolo road have been reclaimed in the process of land development for industry, residential use and roads. As residential property, roads and factories replace these sacred groves, new groves appear to be springing up at Osnodi, Ikorodu and Ikeja areas but occupying only very minor land areas (none was found to be larger than three acres). Pockets of land used for this purpose, where not already accounted for in religious space, are too few and scattered to merit clear representation at the scale of mapping used during this study. It is doubtful whether any sacred groves will survive for long the land grabbing fever now sweeping this study area.

2.52 Many of these were recorded during the survey at Ologogbowo - Offin district, Isale-Eko, Ebute Elefun, Simpson Street (mortend), Clown Street, the low grade residential district between Apapa Industrial Estate and Randle Road, Marine quarters at Apapa, Ajegunle, Along Western Avenue, Mushin and Agege. Tinsmiths and blacksmiths raid the junk yards occasionally. Several mechanics and associated trades use the area as "workshops". They constitute eyesores on Lagos cultural landscape.
On the whole, category 10 appears as open unoccupied, unreclaimed or obviously "unused" otherwise actively apportioned land use detail of the Lagos study area.

**Category X:**

An eleventh category (the 'unknown' uses) represents those parts of Lagos from where no data were readily available and where inferences could not be reliably drawn. This type of data recording was kept to a minimum but the category was retained to facilitate computational procedure and pinpoint for later investigation those parcels of land on which information was not readily available during the exercise. As far as could be ascertained during field work, this category was not confused with category 6 (Security, defence and Military) in the final analysis.

In this chapter the lands of Lagos have been accounted for through a category by category analysis of man's use of space in the study area as seen and mapped during field work in the region (January to May 1972). The next chapter focused attention on the industrial centres (estates) of Lagos and considers (a) the factors governing the observed patterns of land use, and (b) problems of land use study in Lagos.

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2.53 In a post survey visit (1973) to these districts it was observed that these former deserted villages and farms are being invaded as a result of the scramble for land. It is now virtually impossible to find a tiny "deserted village or farm" in Ikeja division. The search for new lands and the opening up of new roads by the state government have drawn these former 'idle' lands into very active development - mainly for housing purposes but quite a few for public purposes.

2.54 Tin Can Island is a Federal Government acquisition now being reclaimed. Kuramo and Maroko is part of the Lagos State Compulsory Acquisition area, currently disputed by several owners. A private firm had planned a $622 million development of Kuramo - as Kuramo City - a luxury holiday centre. Akoka reclamation works are for the University of Lagos. Iwaya is heavily invaded by private developers and the Anglican church holds an economically strategic tract for sale to richest developer. Light House Beach is part of N.P.A. planned development but already has a few high class residential (retreat) development, plus an American owned seaside resort.
Chapter Three

Descriptive Analysis of Lagos Land Use continued.

INDUSTRIAL CENTRES OF LAGOS:— Lagos Metropolis has the highest concentration of industrial premises per unit area compared with any other part of Nigeria. As has already been noted in the preceding chapter of this thesis (p. 42), the presence of industrial activity introduced such important changes in Lagos land use that much of this chapter is devoted to analysing the nature of industrial land use in Lagos.

The industrial centres of Lagos are mostly organised in 'Industrial Estates'. There are six such estates in the study area, with a sawmills district at Ebute Metta and the private industrial estate of Chief T. A. Doherty at Oregun. In all, they take up an estimated 46.875 km². These industrial estates were examined as part of the field study for this thesis (January to May 1972). Answers were sought to twelve items, with a view to establishing the nature and roles of Lagos Industrial Estates in the land use structure of the Lagos Study Area. The items are:

1. Name and location
2. Date of foundation/commission
3. Size in acres and expected capacity in floor space
4. Controlling body

3.1 Mabogunje (1968) I.B.G. Special Publication, chapter 14, p. 213. Udo (1970) p. 8, Akinola (1968) Lagos Notes and Records, p. 27. See also Map 11 in relation with distribution of industrial centres and non-industrial space; and Map 13 for manufacturing activities of Ikeja and Lagos divisions. Although it is generally agreed that there were 600 factories in Lagos Metropolis contained mostly within industrial estates, information on industrial premises in the rest of Nigeria is scarce and poorly documented. It is easier to find financial figures or factor cost values for manufacturing activity generally, as far back as 1958. Not even the Fed. Min. of Industries nor the F.I.I.R. had the appropriate data on establishments as such. According to Mabogunje (1968), using 1964 figures, industrial land use in Nigeria became important only in a few of the major cities: Lagos, Port Harcourt, Abeokuta, Calabar, Ibadan, Sapele, Benin, Onitsha, Aba, Enugu, Jos, Kaduna, Zaria and Kano; which together accounted for over 75% of industrial establishments and 85% of the industrial labour force. In the 1972 field work, it was observed that industrial establishments have doubled between 1964 and 1972 throughout Nigeria and with new centres (despite the civil war). The proportion has even risen slightly perhaps about 80% of the industrial establishments are now within the older industrial centres. Of these establishments a reasonable estimate of over two thirds (53%+) appear to be located within the Lagos area also.

3.2 Not all items were necessarily used in the final analysis; but considering the distance between field (in Lagos) and base (at Leicester), it was considered safer to collect maximum available information, rather than too little.
5. Capital committed to land and site development.
6. Range of industrial activities on site (categories represented)
7. Average rent per square foot of floor space
8. Labour force employed in the estate
9. Revenue (rent, etc.) collected per annum by controlling body.
10. Expenditure on site per annum for maintenance by controlling body
11. % of site allocated to residential and non-industrial purposes
12. % of fully developed part of estate against undeveloped part

The need to make land available for the special requirements of industrial activity was felt early on in the history of industrialization in Lagos (1946 onwards). In response to that need a pilot scheme was set up as the YABA INDUSTRIAL ESTATE ....... 'to provide modern factory accommodation which can be rented, thus providing assistance to industry indirectly from government funds without the risk of loss involved in direct loans to entrepreneurs'. The need arose from a general shortage of factory space for lease in Lagos. An official explanation for the Yaba pilot scheme states:

'It is the intention that medium scale enterprises should be accommodated on this site (Yaba) at an economic rent, so that they may not have to make prematurely large capital outlay on industrial buildings. Engineering facilities and technical advisory service are available to tenants. The scheme which was endorsed by the International Bank Mission, is to enable the craftsman rise with minimum risk, to the level of a manufacturer on his own account'.

Basic Facts About the Industrial Estates:

The success of the Yaba experiment opened the way for more industrial estates. In 1956, the Apapa Industrial Estate, adjacent to the port, was established by the L.E.D.B.

Map 11 shows all the industrial estates (established and projected) in the Lagos Study Area. Seven main sites are identified, covering an area of 18.036 square miles (46.875 km²; 11,543.040 acres or 4,671.404 ha) all located within Lagos and Ikeja divisions. Table 6 shows the sizes (varying from ¾ km² to 15 km²), date of founding and activities in each 'estate'. The map also shows which estates or parts thereof are developed or yet to be developed. The three largest estates are also the main areas of projected development.

YABA INDUSTRIAL ESTATE is sited on about 74 acres adjacent to and east of Sabo market at Yaba. It is close to major road and rail transport and to

3.3 See Table 4 for basic information (at a glance) of the industrial estates and industrial centres of Metropolitan Lagos. Also Map 11 for geographical location of the estates.
local markets for the estate’s products; yet care was taken to seal off noise, unpleasant factory odours and waste matter from neighbouring residential districts. Electricity, piped water and ready-built factory accommodation was made available there for entrepreneurs setting up light industries. It is controlled by the Federal government and was the first of its kind in Nigeria. The industrial establishments in business at this estate, in March 1972, (covering acres of overall factory factory space) were engaged in printing, food, confectionery and light manufacturing. All were Nigerian owned and all those interviewed expressed satisfaction at their location. None had immediate plans to move. Unlike any of the other estates, Yaba industrial estate is fully developed and has no provision for residential purposes.

Distinguishing features of the industries in this estate are:

(i) The industrial undertakings were of a light and ‘pioneer’ nature;

(ii) Nearly 55% of the industries belong to the food and drink category. (See Appendix 1, IP3 of Field Guide Sheet (E)).

(iii) Printing dominates the small capital outlay enterprises set up by locally trained tradesmen.

Biscuits, soft drinks, confectionery, local food processing/ packaging e.g. Lisabi Mills products, and some clothing constitute the main products of this estate. In comparison with the other estates, Yaba has a substantial share of the drugs and pharmaceutical industries. Some paper, printing and sign writing also feature in the estate. The estate has a labour force of over 500 workers of all grades, of whom an estimated 60% live within two miles of the estate. Products are distributed to all markets of Lagos and Ikeja divisions, while a substantial part of products from, say, Lisabi Mills find markets all over the country and sometimes overseas. Printing, often at small scale, continues to feature as a major industry at this estate.

The site still suffers from problems of inefficient telecommunications links, traffic congestion (in view of its location within a busy spine of the metropolis), frequent power cuts and waste disposal. As the surrounding dumping grounds at Oko Bori (brickfield) fall under active reclamation for residential and transportation purposes, the latter problem (of effluent and other waste disposal) becomes more pronounced.

In considering the industrial impact on Lagos land use (Appendix 20) this estate is seen as a source of innovation (a cultural hearth) and an

3.4 The larger size and more obvious location of Apapa Industrial Estate probably account for the erroneous idea among commentators on Nigerian industrialization that it predates Yaba Industrial estate. Yaba was in fact the forerunner of all the industrial estates (as planned industrial centres) even though the Port at Apapa may have earlier generated some industrial activity, before proper establishment of the estates.
experimental station which yielded useful experiences for setting up the new large industrial estates of Lagos Metropolis. The success of this estate has considerably altered the land use pattern of the Lagos Study Area.

APAPA INDUSTRIAL ESTATE: Established in 1956, this estate covers 180 ha. (444.78 acres) or $1\frac{1}{2}$ km$^2$ and is located adjacent to the seaport of Lagos. The uniqueness of this estate rests on the complexity of industrial types represented and the influence of the port in attracting port related industries. There is a fair mixture of manufacturing and service industries, with some commercial firms mingling in the estate. More of the establishments here than in any other of the Lagos industrial estates originated from foreign investors with parent bodies overseas (mostly Western Europe and North America). Products manufactured in this estate still border on the light variety. Map 21 shows details of the estate - layout, local land use and communication links. Table 16 shows Lagos industrial labour force which has, from early days of its foundation, dominated those for other industrial centres.

The Apapa industrial Estate is a great improvement on the Yaba prototype but it suffers common hardship in such services as inefficient telephones, unreliable postal services, frequent power cuts and unreliable water supply. However, many of the industrial establishments have standby power plants (small diesel generators) and water storage tanks. Traffic difficulties used to constitute a major problem for this estate (movement of workers, finished products and contact with other parts of the metropolis during business hours) but comprehensive intra-urban route developments in the past two years have considerably eased the problem. The express routeways to Lagos island via Eko bridge and to Ikeja Airport via Western Avenue and the projected Ajegunle-Ikeja road are eliminating the disadvantages of relative isolation in the first thirteen years of its existence.

3.5 Since 1969 a dramatic effort has been made in road development by the Federal government (Eko Bridge, Apapa Expressway and Western Avenue) and the Lagos State government (Iganmu-Badagri expressway, Ikorodu-Epe road and recent efforts at the reorganisation of traffic in central Lagos). The development of other industrial centres, e.g. Ilupeju and Gbagada, is also expected to redirect some of the labour movement northwards; but as shown in Table 16, Apapa still accounts for a large proportion of the journey to work. The traffic flow shown in Map 36 as morning traffic going out of Lagos island, particularly to Eko Bridge, a significant proportion was going to Apapa.
existence. Labour can now move freely from most parts of the metropolis to this busy estate, in addition to the large pool of unskilled labour (low level manpower) found at Ajegunle within walking or bicycle distance of the estate.

Land availability and tenure peculiarities in Apapa account for the existence in such proximity of this estate and the high class residential Apapa G.R.A. (originally zoned as a 'European reservation'). The same government owns the land from which both uses were zoned. The estate is ideally located at the nation's largest seaport, with well planned road and rail links to the interior, and within the edge of a fast developing industrial region of Metropolitan Lagos. Unlike other estates farther inland, the problem of effluence and waste disposal is less serious here. Moreover, the estate assumes such a location as to blend rather than conflict with neighbouring land uses (shipping, railhead and roads terminal); thus competition with other land uses (e.g. education, housing, government or open space) does not feature as a problem here.

The two industrial estates discussed so far were not only pioneers in Nigeria's industrial land use; they were until the creation of Lagos state in 1967, also together with Iganmu, the only ones politically within Federal government control, in Lagos Federal Territory. They have not suffered politically from changes in local administration or policy reorganisation. THE IGANMU INDUSTRIAL ESTATE: (165.6 acres). This estate stretches from the oil tanks of Total, Esso and Shell, on the south to the north, along the Apapa Road to Western Avenue; and encloses the reclaimed parts of Iganmu swamps to the west. An appendage to the south-east of this estate is formed by the Ijorah Causeway industrial sites. The whole complex may be referred to as the Iganmu-Ijorah Industrial Complex. It is twice the size of Apapa industrial estate (3 km²) and at the time of study, the estate had attained full development in the sense that all allocated industrial space has been taken up.

Although many industries within category IP3 and general light industries are located in this estate, a single industry (the brewery business) exercises dominant influence here - particularly in the Iganmu sector of the estate. The brewery occupies more land area and employs more industrial labour force than all other industries of the area put together and generates most of the traffic connected with the estate. So dominant was the presence of this

3.6 Apapa Port handles 70% of Nigeria's export and import flow, with a hinterland radiating into the interior beyond Nigeria into the landlocked state of Niger and Chad. It is a rail, road and sea terminal and the only ferry on the lagoon plies between this port and Lagos island. An expressway is under construction to link Apapa Port with Ikeja Airport.
industry that it constitutes one of the samples studied in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

The swamp site on which Iganmu Industrial Estate has developed is shown in Plate 3a; while Plate 25 is a present day picture of the wide streets and industrial buildings in the estate. In Map 8 this estate stands out and the neighbouring land use and transport links with the rest of the metropolis can be clearly traced.

In terms of land-use competition, industry is the most successful competitor for land here, in view of the high cost of reclamation work involved and the need for government initiative in making the land available. Moreover, the next prominent land user in the area is road transportation, which is both complementary to industrial land use and undesirable (at that scale) for lucrative residential property development. There are, however, clear indications, as shown in Chapter 6 and Map 18 - Impact Analysis - that the presence of this industrial estate has actively altered neighbouring land use in the districts of Iganmu, Ijorah, Iponrin, Apapa Road (Ejute Metta West) and Surulere.

IKEJA INDUSTRIAL ESTATE: Plate 10 shows the layout, the extent of fully developed against as yet undeveloped parts, and details of constituent industries in the estate. When fully developed, the estate (which includes Maryland and Onigbongbo, spanning a crescent from Ikeja railway station, along Oba Akran Avenue and Oregun road, to Ojota and Onigbongbo villages on the Ikorodu Road), covers 15 km². Even in the area developed so far, more space has been provided for manufacturing industries than in any of the previous three described in Lagos division.

The political factor in industrial location policy earlier on in

3.7 The Brewery is the early bird of Iganmu Industrial estate. It is ideally located at road and rail junctions. It has the highest land holding at Iganmu, adequate for its plants, high class housing for senior staff and a comfortable surplus which increases in value as the swamps diminish. Water is also available on site from the company's pioneered bore holes.

3.8 A 95% impact score was recorded for Iganmu district - in the order of 10, 60, 20, 0 and 5 component scores. Land prices have jumped between 1963 and 1973 from a mere £800 per acre to £40,000 per acre. The swamp depicted in Plate 9 has been reclaimed and the site is now in a busy routeway. Land ownership type here (along with Iponri) is 35% type 7, 40% type 9, 20% type 8 and there is no disputed or unoccupied land in the district now.
Nigeria's industrialization is clearly expressed in the Ikeja industrial estate and its sister establishment - the Ifupeju industrial estate. Ikeja estate was established by the now defunct Western Nigeria Development Corporation (WNDC) in 1960, as part of a political strategy to contain or check the possible expansion of the then Federal territory of Lagos (See Map 11) and to take maximum advantage of labour reserves in the Federal capital. The creation of Lagos state in 1967 appeared to have upset the WNDC hopes. All the estates in the Lagos Study Area are now under Lagos State Government control. More classes of manufacturing industry are represented at the Ikeja Industrial Estate than at any other of the Lagos estates. Viewed from the air (See Plate 10) the core area of this estate (closest to the airport) has a clearly unmistakable identity as an industrial zone, with roofed factory buildings, marshalling yards and transport service areas. A part of the main street running through this estate is shown in Plate 22.

The problems of power supply, water supply and waste disposal remain acute in this conglomerated estate. Factories are shut down and workers sent home occasionally as a result of power failure or shortage of water supply. These echo the inadequacy of essential public utilities already discussed in Chapter 2, p. 89. Effluents from the factories, e.g. dye making ones, are carelessly discharged into neighbouring streams. Shafts and filings from metal works are dumped and strewn carelessly along roadsides, e.g. Abeokuta road between Agege and Otta. The main advantages at this estate are: cheaper land prices operated initially than was the case in Lagos division; good transport facilities by road and rail were readily available; abundant low level labour force from Agege, Mushin, Oshodi and Shomolu; and, a ready market within the metropolis.

Since 1952 (See Appendix 17, 1951/52) opinion in the present western state has been against "alienation" of Lagos from the rest of Yorubaland. One one hand the westerners feel that their wealthiest town was being taken away from them and that any extension of Lagos territory would be at their expense. On the other hand non-Yoruba Nigerians argue that Lagos should be made into a man's territory and that extension thirty miles inland from the island should be declared Federal territory to guarantee more land for the capital. A third front who made their feelings known during the Minorities Commission of Inquiry are the indigenous Lagosians whose interest would be jeopardised either way. This third front have found satisfaction only after the abolition of the Federal territory and the creation of Lagos state which while reuniting the entire former colony province safeguards them from either subjugation to the rest of Yorubaland or deprivation of a home base by other Nigerians in a multi-ethnic society. The Action Group led Western region, against the warnings of a notable geographer, went ahead with the creation of Housing and Industrial Estates through the Western Nigeria Development Corporation. Although the political aim has failed with the creation of Lagos State, there is no doubt that the scheme is economically successful located strategically to tap labour and market sources of the Metropolis. The housing estate now comes in handy for Ikeja's role as a divisional headquarters. The rest of Nigeria appears contented with the situation as long as W. Nigeria did not have their way and as long as Lagos City remains the Fed. Cap.
The Ikeja estate, like its Ilupeju counterpart, incorporates a unique feature in that parts of the estate are allotted to residential purposes. About 30% of the designated estate make up 'housing estate' within the complex. Custom built houses mostly for the emergent middle class of Lagos, are offered to private purchasers or tenants. Residents in such houses take advantage of the security of tenure and laid-on services made readily available to them in these estates.

ILUPEJU INDUSTRIAL ESTATE: When completed, this promises to be a giant industrial complex stretching from Ilasamaja and Isolo in the southwest through Mushin and Oshodi, and across the busy Ikorodu Road to Gbagada beyond Shomolu in the east. It will be about the same size as the Ikeja complex and will be run (as now) roughly on the same lines.

Maps 22 and 23 contain details of the site, extent and constituent industrial and residential allocations. It will cover 15 km². Of this about 75% will be given to manufacturing industry alone; So far, only about 30% of the projected estate has been fully developed. That developed part comprises the Ilupeju and Mushin sectors (between Agege motor road, across the railway to the west side of Ikorodu road). The whole complex is still being organised. At the time of this study, its major merit is that it promises ample space for new industries or overspill ones from the older established estates. Within the developed parts of this estate a large housing estate has been provided in the manner described above.

This industrial estate is expected to make considerable impact on land use right in the middle of Metropolitan Lagos. Already, land values have risen sharply in the past ten years in areas within one mile of the projected estates (from £800 per acre in 1962 to £8,000 and £10,000 per acre in 1972). At this price, residential property appears to be winning in the private sector. The major factor appears to be the accessibility brought about by the projected roads connecting Apapa via Ajegunle with this estate, Ikorodu Road and the lagoon at Bariga.

3.10 The Lagos State Property Development Corporation has, since 1.4.72, inherited most of the estates but the interest of Western Nigeria Development Corporation is safely guaranteed at Ikeja and Moba by a mutual agreement between the Western State and Lagos State Government. W.N.D.C. estates are regarded as assets of the Western State Government in Lagos State but there is talk of eventual full take over by Lagos State after the payment of an agreed compensation. Some private estates established so far are: The O'Kupe Estate at Maryland and Doherty's estate at Ogun (same Ikeja division); while Odutola is active constituting one within Ikorodu division.
The estate is expected to benefit from cumulative experiences of older industrial estates in the metropolis and act as an integrating force between the two centres of development: at Lagos municipality and at Ikeja growth centre. It may well alter the pattern of journeys to work within the metropolis.

The ammunition industry (Nigerian Explosives & Plastics Co.Ltd.) at the Isolo end of the projected estate is one of the early occupants. It covers an area of 15 km² in a part of the city relatively distant from built-up districts; but changes may be expected as the estate develops. The lack of clear policy in the siting of 'Special' (noxious) industries (see Gordon Logie 1952) is demonstrated here as a major weakness in the present organisation of industrial centres in Lagos.

THE Ogun River ESTATE (designated): This 12 km² of undeveloped land forms one of two industrial sectors of the 7,300 acres acquired by Lagos State Government for various development purposes. Everything here, including site preparation, is still at the planning stage. All one sees of the proposed estate are clearings along the Ogun river close to the Ogun river forest reserve. Map 47 illustrates the main features of the designated estate. The development strategy appears to be to complete development of the Ikeja complex before any overspill is directed to the projected Ogun river estate. Judging from recent views expressed in official circles against the continued encouragement of industrial concentration in Lagos, this projected estate may take a longer time to develop than had been the case in the development of its predecessors. Among the retarding factors are the evident overload of essential services (power, water and communication network) in the metropolis and the fear of rural depopulation in other parts of Nigeria.


3.12 The original Ilupeju site contains, as a major advantage a ready building land - no swamp to reclaim and the terrain is suitable for housing, industrial, institutional or government purposes, but until 1959 it was a derelict Kolanut plantation which served as a frontier 'bush' "remote" from both Lagos City and its administrative capital at Ibadan. Land prices in 1960 stood at £N1,000 per acre but has risen £N30,000+ per acre by 1972, by which time all plots have become fully allocated. However there is still room for industrial firms willing to rent factory space from either the management tycoons such as Henry Stephens Associates (chief Fajemirako firm). See maps 17(a) & (b).
Recently (March 1973) the anticipated policy of slowing down industrial concentration in Lagos was confirmed when the Federal Government Commissioner for Industries, Dr. J.E. Adetoro, stated publicly that "the federal government has decided to halt the concentration of industries in Lagos. Nine out of every ten newly approved industries would be located outside Lagos under the government's industrial dispersal policy. The concentration of industries in Lagos, the source commented, had aggravated the problem of population drift from the rural areas.16 

There is indication, however, that this official slowing down of industrial concentration in the metropolis may lead to a scrapping of this estate or its reallocation to other uses. It is treated in this study as land zoned for industrial purposes.

**Non-Estate Industries.**

**Ebute-Metta Sawmills:** See Map 11, and plates 11 (a) and (b). Set outside the industrial estates, the Ebute Metta sawmills district (by the lagoon) stands in a class of its own. The sole industry here (sawmilling) occupies about 0.125 km$^2$ (12.5 ha. or 30.8 acres). The factories are small-scale business establishments each engaged in sawing up lumber into planks and assorted timber as required by various customers (mainly carpenters, builders and firewood dealers). Factory organisation here is more a case of one man or a few enterprising individuals and a powered saw. Over 200 of such enterprising units were counted in February 1972. They occupy a tiny strip of allotments on the Ebute Metta east coast, stretching from Oloto Street in the south to Lagos street in the north.17

3.13 Two growth centres have emerged and may be distinguished as the government offices sector and the industrial estate sector. West of the railway line activity is almost completely associated within the airport but most tracts in that sector are cultivated with Cassava, maize and vegetables quite often by illegal farmers. Ikeja town and the railway station and containing the Law Courts, retains the character of a small unimportant stop railway village of the colonial period.

Growth in the industrial estate and rapid physical development (new houses, roads and institutions) by both Lagos State government and the police are the main causes of urban expansion at Ikeja. Some ribbon development is taking place along Isheri road mainly for industrial purposes, new private houses spring up daily along the Airport Road (Ikeja to Maryland) and farther inland on either side of that road in what would be known as "bush" as late at 1970.

3.14 Causing nuisance or harm to neighbouring land users.

See glossary.


Loxie, "Industry in Towns" Chpts. 8 and 9 on "Industrial Nuisance" and "special industries" (1952)
The industry sprang up here not by any deliberate creation as in the case of the 'estates', but simply from a traditional landing ground for floated logs and lumber at this part of the coast for firewood dealers. Eventually, enterprising individuals brought in powered saws to replace the axes and hand-drawn pit saws. They processed the logs at the point of landing and supplied not only firewood but timber requirements of the building and carpentry trades. As the first enterprising group prospered, more people went into the trade until the better organised entrepreneurs among them established themselves firmly in the pattern one sees today (Plate 11). Almost all logs floated down into Lagos Lagoon for local consumption are processed and sold in this district.

The sawmilling industry at Ebute Metta east is proving to be a nuisance but none the less a necessary industry. Its impact is expressed more in the way it is forcing out other land users (e.g. good class residential and recreational purposes) as it spreads a few yards inland from the coast. However, the nature of the industry ties it to the raw-material source (the landing point for the logs). It is therefore a difficult industrial centre to resite in the short run. The question planners may have to answer soon is how long Lagosians can afford to pay the 'opportunity cost' of devoting what could be a beautiful stretch of the lagoon to an industrial activity of such high potential nuisance as the sawmilling district represents.

Other Non-Estate Industrial Centres: The few that matter outside the estates but within the study area may be seen in three groups (a) The Apapa Port district (all the dockland and fringe areas occupied by industries not located strictly in the confines of the 'Apapa Industrial Estate' - e.g. Broslett (Nig) Ltd., Omo Soap Factory, Asco, Mobil Oil (Nig) Ltd. and Boadpak (all located in the land area between Apapa Road / Wharf Road and Lagos Lagoon. Not far from the vicinity, one finds the rather large premises of the West African Bottling Company at the old Federal boundary with Ajegunle. It constitutes a leading member of the thirst quenching mineral waters business in a thirsty environment.

3.16 This is a normal phenomenon following urbanisation. The problem is not so much that of drawing away agricultural labour from the rural areas; for the majority of immigrants are young school leavers who reject farm labour any way and could be attracted to any other industrial centre that might be established outside Lagos. The overload on urban amenities and housing in Lagos are the main side effects of the unchecked concentrations. Dispersal would be in the National interest.
(b) New but fairly large industrial organisation sited in virgin lands to take advantage of cheap land and local government encouragement. The Toilet Paper factory at Ojo (the western edge of this Lagos Study Area) is the leading one in this class.

(c) Relatively old established private enterprises at Ikorodu, mainly engaged in textiles (e.g. Ikorodu Trading Company - manufacturers of cotton underwear - singlets and trunks) and, in a unique class, the Nigerian Concrete Industry at Mushin (peripheral to Ilupeju industrial estate). The Cadbury factory at new Isheri road in Ikeja division is also included in this group. They had each acquired cheap land in their respective locations earlier on.

There are a few pockets within Lagos municipality. They feature as premises belonging to small-scale industrialists or artisans engaged in printing, motor repairs/mechanics, tailoring, bakery, blacksmiths and goldsmiths, furniture makers and cobbler. Their premises are found even within the slums and residential districts of Lagos island, particularly in a thin east to west zone (of Okepopo district) roughly between Okesuna Police barracks and Jankara market. Traditional cloth-weavers (ASO Oke artisans) for example, were found in many compound houses of this crowded zone. About forty weavers sit in rows within one such great compound house weaving away undisturbed. Carpenters are found in greater numbers all over the metropolis, particularly in areas of high population concentration, e.g. Anikantamo Street in Lagos island, at the southern edge of Agege Market, at

3.17 The eastern terminals of the following street (averaging 100 yards from the east) are in the sawmills district: Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan East, Ondo East Jebba east, Kano, Coates, Kadara and Market Streets. Although the district is becoming blighted by this activity there are no plans for relocating the mills.

3.18 The saw mills constitute a nuisance in relation to the eye-saw into which the district is degenerating. The strongest argument presented by officials in the local planning office is that Saw milling is a "necessary activity" (to receive logs floated down from the forest of Epe, Ikorodu and Ogun river basin) and avoiding high relocation cost which would be borne by the small mill owners in the business. This author is of the opinion that unless a plan is evolved soon to relocate this essential activity (possibly before the proposed third bridge is finally built), the potentially beautiful lagoon coast might degenerate further and space for the saw milling activity would become seriously cramped.

3.19 Chisholm, H. (1966): Geography & Economics, p.39. also ...." the opportunities that are foregone in using any site for one purpose rather than another determines the power each use has to compete for the site in question". See Glossary.
Ajegunle, Mushin, Shomolu and beside Tejuosho market in Surulere. Some enterprising Indians were found operating a well-organised small scale clothing industry in fairly small backstreet premises at Ebute Metta east and similar pockets, hardly noticeable, were reported seen by field assistants in residential districts. Nigeria's oldest indigenous weaving industry stubbornly remains as a cottage industry inside Lagos University's main campus at Akoka.

On the whole, these industrial pockets are too small and scattered to provide meaningful data in the land use map constructed for this study (at 1:50,000 scale). They may be disregarded in such aspects as the consideration of competition between industry and other categories of land use. However, their presence may constitute useful elements in our understanding of peculiarities of Lagos land use. This study of Lagos occurs at a time when the region is undergoing a process of adjustment and change to industrially inspired or influenced land use organisation. The little pockets, catering as they do for traditional crafts and employing non-factory orientated methods and labour will certainly linger on upon the cultural landscape of Lagos, perhaps until such time as all the slums are cleared and all the factories produce a full range of manufactured goods at satisfactory prices for all income groups.

Observation: Among the non-estate industries, one is surprised to note from general field response that they prefer to remain outside the estates, even when they have the opportunity to acquire accommodation in the estate.

3.20 An adviser to the Nigerian Distillers Association has estimated consumption of alcoholic beverages by Nigerians as worth N70m. per annum. As shown in Table 31 (Lagos Climatic Data) the environment is hot and humidity ranges from 98% at 6 a.m. to 73% at noon, facts which underly the thirsty condition of the people. Beer, stout and minerals are by far the most popular drinks at all times. Most breweries in the country have headquarters in Lagos and tend to be subsidiaries of N.B.L. and Guinness.

3.21 The factory was started by a private printer whose main interest was in printing coupons for the flourishing football pools business. He later took on production of tissue and toilet papers as a sideline on realising the high cost of imported "Kleenex" tissues. This was a pioneer industry at Ojo Town long before the town became well known to Lagos inhabitants. The entrepreneur sought to take advantage of cheap land which was then running at £N300 per acre (compared with £N5,000 in 1973). Labour was drawn from Ajegunle, Aiyetoro, Jeremi and Ojo. The local stream served as his source of water supply for the industry. For electrical power he installed and operated a small diesel engine.

3.22 N.C.I. as it is now popularly known originated as Nigeria Block Co. Ltd., at Iatori for the production of cement blocks for the building industry. By 1972 it has grown into a full-scale concrete manufacturing industry, using cement, sand and pebbles for the production of building blocks, fencing pillars (which are becoming popular for demarcating property boundaries), culverts and "wet concrete mix" for all forms of civil engineering works.
The general attitude appears to be: except in those cases where a particular industry gains by 'industrial linkage' in the estate, need for the estates would disappear or at least dwindle, if (a) land tenure problems did not exist; (b) the provision of basic amenities (power, water, electricity, efficient transport network and communication services - telephone and posts) attained the generally expected standards found in mature industrial countries; (c) the estates may eventually serve mainly as breeding grounds for small craftsmen and medium-size industries until they are fully prepared to stand on their own feet, possibly relocating themselves in other parts of the country, away from the crowded metropolis.

**Recent Geographical Comments on the Lagos Problem:**

Independent studies in 1968 by two pioneer Nigerian geographers present a general background to the problems of industrial development in Nigeria, with useful comments on associated land tenure problems and the basic weakness of the infrastructure for such development. Each was writing generally on Nigeria rather than Lagos; but their points hold particular relevance to Lagos - the most industrialized part of the country.

I.B. Abogunje (I.B.G. 1968) listed as the major problem of industrial land use in Nigeria '... the absence of organised system of piped services, notably water supply, sewerage and electricity supply'. He comments on the dual nature of urban tradition in Nigeria with particular reference to the influence of British industrial background on land-use changes in Lagos; the land ownership system; the weakness of the institutional framework (viz. the effect of multiplicity of Lagos political control on inefficient land-use organisation); and, the effect of Lagos's rapid industrialization on housing problems of Lagos. These provide valuable keynotes (as he saw them then) on the

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3.23 This little known Indian clothing factory is tucked away amidst residential property at Yaba east. It occupies two standard plots in that district and manufactures garments (mostly industrial apparels) on contract for business firms, institutions and commercial houses. As a result of the indigenisation decree, the management plans to sell out.

3.24 Space in the industrial estates at present is surplus to demand, partly because new manufacturing firms are not being launched in large enough number (at this stage of the indigenisation decree) and partly because despite the security of tenure, piped services and closeness to other firms which the estates offer, a significant number of industrialists still prefer to locate at sites acquired by themselves and to which they feel some kind of local attachment. All proprietors of non-estate industries, questioned were unanimous in not feeling very enthusiastic about the estates. Perhaps it is really because they already had a piece of land (plot, estate or house) at which to begin and do not rate the missing amenities high enough to opt for an estate location. It is also observed that 80% of the non-estate industries belong to local Nigerians, i.e. not expatriate companies and they are still small firms.

3.25 Professor Abogunje is head of the Geography Department at Ibadan University. Professor Akinola is head of the Geography Department at Lagos University.
inter-relationships linking all the problems that become apparent as Lagos land use undergoes a process of adjustment to the impacts of industrialization.

Akinola (Lagos 1968) reviewed specifically some of the major problems Nigeria encountered in the process of industrialization within the period 1952-1966. He considered such obstacles as the shortage of capital, inadequate skilled personnel, paucity of industrial statistics, political interference, wrong location of industry and hasty decisions. Of much relevance to the present study are his observations that (a) the early indigenous administrations plunged into industrial ventures without thorough preparation, and (b) power and communications services are very poor. At the time of his study, electricity was supplied at expensive rates; it was most irregular and inefficient, thus creating serious operating problems for industries. He wrote .... 'Nearly all the industrial plants are seriously affected by the state of near breakdown of electricity .... Low voltage increases operating costs of some plants .... expansion programme of many industries has been postponed because of the persistent power interruptions.' He hoped that expectation of improved conditions on completion of the Kainji Dam might help reduce some of the ill-effects of the shortage. On telephone and postal services he wrote:

'The telephone services are very poor and it is also a continual problem to industry. Trunk calls are very unsatisfactory and this is a great obstacle to long-distance business transactions. The local service is not at all satisfactory either. The delivery of internal mail and telegrams are generally poor. Since business depends on efficient communications, it is hoped that the government will look into these' (Lagos Notes & Records, Dec. 1968, p.26)

In relation to problems of industrial land use in Lagos, the present study (1972 field work) confirms that the grim observations made by these two eminent predecessors remain true. In many cases (electricity, water supply, postal communication and generally ill-organised land use resulting from inefficient planning) the situation has steadily deteriorated. Moreover, no attention appears to have been paid by planning authorities and industrialists to those aspects of their recommendations aimed at reorganising efficiently the spatial management and servicing of industrial centres in Lagos Metropolis. The situation on the paucity of industrial statistics has not improved either.

3.28 Akinola, op. cit. p.25 under "Power and communication"
As was noted earlier (p. 97) the creation of industrial estates started as government's determined efforts to improve the local situation likely to deter industrial development; but there is ample evidence in the present study to suggest that the essential services which the authorities hoped would be provided on such sites have not materialised. The basic weakness in official thinking appears to rest on seeing the needs of industrial establishments as if they were in isolation from the rest of total land use organisation.

The present study establishes the point that the organisation of space viewed as a whole determines the efficiency of its parts. Industrial land use being only part of a whole is most likely to remain an inefficient and poorly integrated alien part of total Lagos metropolitan land-use organisation, until a comprehensive plan is designed and implemented which would improve existing public utilities 'and (put) everything in its place'.

The Context of Development in Lagos:

From Map 8, based on the 1972 field-work, it is easy to identify the 'developed' parts of the Lagos Study Area. In theory all districts of the area shown on Map 18 as experiencing F2 or more impact levels may be considered as developed.

The point was made in Chapter 1 (p. 1) that economic development in Lagos State is unevenly distributed. (See Map 13 - Economic Map of Lagos State and Map 18 on Industrial impacts in the study area. This thesis concentrates attention on that part of Lagos which has received the greatest impact of industrialization. Thus the concept of the Lagos Study Area also corresponds with the economically most developed region of Lagos State.

3.29 This includes all the urban sites and rural towns as distinct from the 'unoccupied' or unreclaimed 'bush' or swamps. On the land use map (Maps 8 and 9) these are easily identifiable. A significant mark of development is the high proportion of built up land compared with the case in an 'undeveloped' part. Of course levels of development vary even within the developed parts. It varies from the fully developed Yaba islands of Victoria, Ikoyi and Lagos. Where all modern amenities and well laid out buildings line the street to the haphazard overcrowded slummy districts of Mushin, Ajegunle and Shomolu. Compare C.P. 1, 19, 15, 30 and 37.

3.30 Map 3 and 13 refer. The 'economically most developed' hardly corresponds with the Study Area. Outside the Victoria, Lagos and Ikoyi islands, for the most part, it refers only to the central dry land along the main roads and railway. Development beyond one mile inland from these roads and into hitherto unreclaimed forests and swamps are new, hardly every predating Nigerian Independence. The period of intensive development started in 1970, three years after the creation of Lagos State; yet the rate is still slow and many acres of land (about 80% of the entire Study Area) lie idle, while the small dorsal strip chokes with overcrowded and poorly planned development. 'Economically most developed' as used here, is not intended to imply "correctly, suitably or even financially most reasonable" development.
In thirty years the study area has developed from a 'bush' region surrounding the little island township of Lagos (See p. 7 ) to a teeming emergent metropolis in which the wild countryside, the hundreds of hamlets and villages which make up the 'bush region', numerous swamps and forested farmlands, have become engulfed.

Map 34 shows changes in the development of this study area over the past thirty years from 1942-1972. The development changes are seen in two classes only, viz. 'bush' (for undeveloped) and 'opened up' (for developed or developing). The four maps are derived in the following manner:-

1942 - old maps, government land acquisition records, field enquiries from established land users in the study area, and historical records. Original scales varied according to sources.

1952 - Topographical maps by the Nigerian Federal Surveys; Western Nigeria Surveys and D.O.S. sources, together with texts and historical notes on the area. Original scales also varied.

1962 - Topographical maps of Nigerian Federal Surveys (especially of the 1:30,000 series) and W.N.D.C. reports together with assorted documents collected and made available during field work in 1965 and 1972.

1972 - Full land use survey of the study area at scale of 1:50,000. This is supplemented by published reports and assorted documents.

Development in the first ten years consists mainly of reclaimed swamps within the present Lagos division during the period. Most of the lands at Lagos and Ikoyi islands became fully allocated. The slums of Lagos had once again accumulated fast enough to cause concern at this period. Their clearance depended upon finding suitable building land on the mainland (at Surulere) to where the slum dwellers might be moved. However, the political boundaries of Lagos still restricted development efforts.

In the period 1953-1962 Lagos Federal territory was created (Lagos became the capital of Federal Nigeria in 1954). The L.E.D.B. (which had been in business for about 30 years) effected its slum clearance scheme and rehoused

3.31 Appendix 14 and 15. More than 85% of the settlements studied by the author in 1965 (June to September) have lost their identity, having become absorbed into "Lagos City" as districts, neighbourhood housing estates, industrial estates, military grounds or even busy highway.

3.32 Appendix 17 contains major historical events of the period, each contributing in its own way to the changing role of Lagos and its landscape. The main theme is the rapid political evolution which these events created and which eventually ensured the future of Lagos as the National Capital of a Nigerian nation, at least in her formative years. The period (war years and after) also corresponds with the introduction and nurturing of Nigerian industrialization whose impacts has transformed the natural landscape this far.
affected families at Surulere (within the Federal Territory). Development was very rapid as all land within the Federal territory had become allocated to various owners and users by the end of the period. Population within the area rose tremendously\textsuperscript{33}. More land was required for housing, for institutional purposes and for all other land uses within categories 1 to 9. Urban encroachment on rural land became really noticeable in this period. Many 'bush' lands (i.e. undeveloped rural land) were compulsorily acquired for roads (e.g. Western Avenue), University (e.g. Akoka campus); industrial and housing estates (e.g. Ikeja and Apapa); and, prisons (e.g. Kirikiri).

The last period under consideration (1963 to 1972) was a period of dramatic 'opening up'\textsuperscript{34} in the whole of the study area. With the creation of Lagos State in 1967, as much as 98\% of the study area has come under a single political unit (the Lagos State government) of which it forms a major part. By 1972 two planning bodies (rivals until 1967), the L.E.D.B. and I.T.P.A., that played vital roles in the 'opening up' of land in the study area became merged into what is now the Lagos State Property Development Corporation, possibly in long awaited answer to the recommendations earlier in this period by Koenigsberger et al.\textsuperscript{35} Many small villages and outlying settlements have disappeared as the study area entered a phase of integrated development, with emphasis on providing work (industrial), housing (residential) and transportation (roads, airport and seaport) within the available inelastic space.

\textsuperscript{33} See Figures 3 and 9 with Tables 19, 24, 28 and 30. As Lagos evolves into a true metropolis we have seen how according to official Lagos City Council figures the Greater Lagos estimated as "6\% square miles has a population of 1.5 million and grew in the last intercensus decade (1952-62) by 200\% i.e. by 145\% in the City and 670\% in the rest of the urban area" - 70\% of that population are said to be residing in less than half of the 27 squares that constitutes the City of Lagos ...."which grew in population from 126,000 in 1931 to 272,000 in 1952, and then to 665,000 in 1962". Density pattern is 15,000 per square mile in Greater Lagos, 25,000 p.s.m. for Lagos City and 7,000 p.s.m. for the rest of the urban area. In 1960 immigration accounted for 10\% of Greater Lagos population growth and between 1952-1962 immigration involved 320,000 persons, resulting in a 3:1 ratio between in-migration and natural increase.

(Source: Lagos: Nigeria's Premier City, from Lagos State Governor's Office.)
Factors in Lagos Land-Use Pattern: The observed pattern of land use in Lagos is the product of: (a) Changes produced by western influence on Lagos urbanisation (colonial influence, street plans, mechanical transport, port development, housing types and land rights; (b) Effects of political changes and the status of Lagos; (c) The impact of industrialization on Lagos.

Whereas studies have appeared on the first two factors, hardly any direct work exists on the third factor; yet this question of the industrial impact, viewed in conjunction with the way Lagos land is used, may provide a valuable guide for understanding the problems of Lagos as a developing tropical region fast strangling itself from poor organization of available space. This further confirms the necessity and value to geographical knowledge of the lines of enquiry adopted in this study.

Brief Review of Relevant Problems and Methods: The study so far has depended for its progress on some measure of willingness to deviate occasionally from traditional land use terminologies, to tackle problems peculiar to the field area (Lagos) and devise methods to suit those field circumstances and methodological problems peculiar to Lagos. Of these the problem of land use 'taxonomy' deserves special mention as the reader's comprehension may be affected in those sections of the thesis where, for example the categories of land use adopted are appearing in texts of this nature for the first time.

No satisfactory guidance was found in available literature when, for example, categories 9 and 10 of the Lagos urban land-use survey had to be devised to classify the appropriate land use encountered, without departing too much from internationally known classifications. (See Appendix 1).

3.34 There was active land acquisition in this period as more people became aware of the implications of Registration of Titles Act, Cap. 181 which between 1936 and 1968 declared several districts as Compulsory registration districts and thus minimised problems in land transactions. The role of Lagos as a Federal Capital and the cumulative impact of industrialization, together with the huge immigration into Lagos during and after the war years created the need for more space for housing and other land uses. The creation of Lagos State also resulted in greater land acquisition for public purposes and more effective local planning commitment which brought about the 'opening up' of hitherto neglected peripheral zones between former western region and the Federal Territory of Lagos. Badagri, Ikorodu, Epe and parts of Ikeja division received attention for the first time. A more co-ordinated effort replaced the rivalry and wasteful duplication experienced in a decade from 1954 and 1965. Private and public development cashed in on the high land values; but poor information has led to disparate and incongruous development in some places. The next phase should involve a reappraisal of errors and omissions committed during this period of hurried and unresearched development.
The variation adopted in the Lagos study was decided upon in full appreciation of the fact that cultural and linguistic differences sometimes create different or unique land uses which cannot usefully be forced into a universal classification, such as one could do with plants, animals or rocks. This problem (of the need for different land use categories to suit specific places) has been met in such organisations as the World Land Use Mapping Committee originated by Stamp, but since only very little land use

3.35 This is believed to be the long awaited response to the Koenigsberger team's investigation ten years previously. In their report presented and published in 1964 had recommended the setting up of a Metropolitan Development Agency to attend to the urgent housing needs of the growing population of Lagos, reorganise transportation and evolve a better land use plan. Some of the functions, e.g. Planning control, originally handled by L...D.B. and I.T.P.A. have been transferred to Lagos State Ministry of Works and Transport. Delay in setting up this kind of body arose from the contrasting views of the Western Region and the Federal Government on size, extension and future role of Lagos Federal Territory. See Note 3.9.


In a wider world context, much interest was generated within urban geography and sociology on this theme, during the 1960s (of European influences on likes in developing countries), and culminated (in Britain and the U.S.A.) in the concept of western and non-western cities. By September, 1965 interest on urbanisation had become so intense that scientific American devoted its Vol.213, No.3 issue to "The Urbanisation of the Human Population". In all it becomes obvious that whatever may be the peculiarities of non-western (or for that matter purely Nigerian) urbanisation, these cities now aspire to modern amenities and properly organised use of limited resources - particularly land. In the process, western influences have tended to shape these cities towards the same urban morphology and land use now common to all world cities for their efficient functioning as residential, industrial, commercial, civic, business, administrative and transport centres.

3.37 Early students of land use were involved with agricultural use of the land and operated in non-tropical and cultural different environment at a time when urbanisation and industrialization had not grabbed such a large share of land resources to merit attention. Consequently, a tradition in land use studies has developed whereby methods, terminologies and mapping procedure so far evolved seem to be concerned with rural use of the land. Thus, Von Thunen's Isolated State (P. Hall, 1966), Michael Chisolm's Rural Settlement and Land Use (1969); Stamp's First Land Use Survey of Great Britain and Best's Major land uses of Britain have adhered to that tradition. Encounter with land use in tropical environments (outside the traditional areas) had occurred from the time the late Prof. Stamp proposed the World Land Use Survey at Scale 1:1m. Later workers such as C. Board (1968) and A. Young (1968, Geography Vol.53), charted the direction (in the U.K.) of adapting land use studies to tropical and non-European environments, while Beaver's observation (1968) that "data on industrial land use are either non-existent or poorly
work has actually been done in tropical Africa's developing regions, it had received relatively scanty serious consideration. The problem is likely to attract more attention as more studies from these regions become available (especially when undertaken by native geographers). The categories of land use derived for this study tried to cover the range found in the Lagos region and are based on the simple logic which would guide man's attempts at satisfying his needs from a given environment.

Man in Lagos needs a home, place of work, security, recreation, transportation between places, place of worship, civic institutions, public utilities, and a place to bury his dead. The adopted categories show how he has apportioned a given space for all his requirements, bearing in mind that his wants are many but have to be satisfied from land resources that are inelastic in supply. The raw information collected may be expected to hold the clue to such questions as: has Lagos man made rational use of his land resources in the light of his needs, possibilities and limitations? In the particular context of this study, one may achieve the objective of understanding how the impact of industrial activity in Lagos affects the way man uses land there.

3.37 continued. organised" provoked later workers into re-examining the content, methods and terminologies employed in modern land use surveys, bearing in mind the need for standardisation, total representation of uses and data management using modern techniques such as the computer. This author was determined not to be limited by these inadequacies in land use terminology and survey practice; rather to deploy all available resources and local knowledge, backed by experience in both environments (underdeveloped tropical and advanced European) towards evolving classifications, field methods and data treatment procedure appropriate to the time and place of this study. Details of how it was done is continued in Amos, A. "Land-Use Survey in Lagos Region, Nigeria: Problems Procedure and computerised Data" Unpublished M.S.S. Presented at the I.B.G. Conference, January 1974.


Stamp, L. D. (1956); The World Land Use Survey in relation to Tropical Africa" I.C.U. P.70.


Founded at the I.G.U. Lisbon Conference in 1949 when Professor Van Valkenburg successfully advanced his proposals, for a commission on World Inventory Land Use With UNESCO Support. The project became a reality. The late Prof. Stamp, who was co-chairman of the Section on Human Geography and later Vice Chairman of I.G.U. at that Lisbon Conference, became chairman of the Commission later and advanced the aims of W.L.U.S. considerably during his life time, almost as much as he did for the Land Utilisation Survey of Great Britain. W.L.U.S. office was set up in London in 1950. By 1956 Geographical Publications (specially set up for that service) began publication of the memoirs and occasional papers of the survey in 1956.

The Unit soldiers under the I.G.U., despite the loss of its great leader; but present organisers under the editorship of Prof. Hans Boesch of Zurich, seem equal to the task and have kept up publications.

The task of mapping the entire land surface of the earth on a scale of 1:1m is a formidable one and the end is nowhere in sight. Generally progress appears to be slow but steady.
Chapter Four

The Nature of Industrialization in Lagos

A survey of 100 industrial establishments\(^1\) (about 90% of all manufacturing undertakings by volume of production) revealed that most industries are either import substituting\(^2\) or export valorising\(^3\) ones; the firms congregate within designated areas (e.g. industrial estates, trunk roads such as Upper Ikorodu Road, ports and rail termini) where land has been made available to suit industrial needs. The same survey indicated the peculiar requirements of Lagos industries:

(a) An uncomplicated land tenure system with predictable rental value.
(b) Site cost kept to a minimum (about 10% of capital investment?)
(c) Location within easy access or transportation media e.g. category 4 A and B land use attract 2 B land use in complement; possibly a measure for minimising transport costs.
(d) Availability of public utilities: water, power, sewerage.

In this chapter these field observations are placed in their context through a review of the following aspects:

Origin and growth of Lagos industries - whereby we may examine their impact on development of the physical resource base of the region to support the innovation (e.g. water, building materials, power, ground location and waste disposal);

Labour responses (through multiplier effects) to the new source of livelihood;

4.1 Appendix 32 and glossary on "Industrial establishment". Each of the establishments is engaged in the production of goods but allied services such as transportation, advertising and publishing are also included as industries.

4.2 As part of Nigerian government policy on industrialization...." to promote the growth of industry, both to increase the wealth of the country and also to provide new sources of employment" Fed. Government Development Programme 1962. The excessive dependence of Nigeria on "import" for manufactured goods needed to be drastically reduced through local industrialization, consequently those local industries which produced import substitutes received early encouragement. Among such industries were cigarettes, textiles, soap, food and drink, furniture, matches, and metal products. See Table 32 for Classes of Nigeria's industry 1963. For example Beer, stout, etc. drinks which was running at £3,921,000 p.a. before the policy dropped in 1962 to £2,826,000 (year when policy became effective), import of cigarettes had ceased or become insignificant; cotton piece goods dropped from £26,435,000 p.a. to £21,655,000 and rayon piece goods from £7,360 p.a. to £3,840,000. Although official figures for the 1970s were not available, the proportion is believed to have dropped still further and more import items have declined or disappeared.
and the total effect of industrialization on allied land use (the linkage of industrial activity to all human uses or land examined.)

The conceptual basis of the study is defined within a development context in accordance with modern trends in the geographical study of manufacturing in tropical Africa (Mabogunje 1973). Under that concept, manufacturing is treated as a vital process of spatial transformation in the Lagos Study Area. For in Lagos a close relationship exists between the level of economic development and land-use organisation (as treated in detail in Chapters 6 and 9).

**Origin & Growth of Lagos Industries:**

Lagos industrialization owes its origin to colonial policies; but post-colonial policies, together with the existing colonial link, continue to influence the pattern and composition of industrial development in the study area. The following facts confirm the claim that modern manufacturing is a recent innovation in Lagos:

(a) None of the active manufacturing establishments in the area was established before 1945.

(b) The leading industries (out of a representative list of 100) were introduced into Lagos from parent bodies in advanced industrial nations, often British or European.

(c) Over 65% of industries operating in 1972 were established between 1955 and 1970.

In consequence, the industries have relied heavily upon borrowed technology and political influence. As branches or subsidiaries of large, well established and prosperous overseas enterprises, these industries have quickly established themselves. In so doing they appear to have stultified, if not removed, the prospects of local craft industries ever evolving into large-scale modern industries on their own account. Lagos industrialization may therefore be said to differ from the European process in the way it (industrial activity) is being 'grafted' on to a traditionally agricultural

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4.3 In spite of these possibilities however, the sceptical views of Hirschman, in C. T. Nisbet. New York, 1969, p.255, represent the grim experiences developing African countries have been encountering in pursuit of industrialization for import substitution purposes. The semi-processing agricultural produce before export yields higher revenue to the exporting country. Some 50% of industrial production in 1958 was of the export valorization type - Fed. Nigeria: "2nd National Development Plan", Lagos 1970. (p.137). This policy encouraged the establishment of graneries, cotton, palm oil and similar mills, sawmills and canning factories.

environment for long preserved as a captive market and raw material source for the products of European factories.

The geographical position of Lagos - as a sea-port with a hinterland rich in raw materials, and major entry point for imported manufactured goods from developed countries, provided the basic conditions which encouraged the setting up of local industries. Three periods in the industrialization of Lagos may so far be discerned:

First, the colonial period up to 1945, when Lagos city and the rest of the study area served mainly as an import market, ground and assembly point for raw materials ready for export. During this period manufacturing was organised in crafts of a very local nature. Pottery making, weaving (of cloths, mats and straw hats), smelting of local iron, repair of farm and household tools by blacksmiths, glass blowing and some ceramics, constituted the craft industries of the Lagos study area. The rest of the economy being subordinated to the economy of Britain operated, logically, as raw material source for European industries.

The second period dawned when in the late 1940s the colonial government encouraged the semi-processing of produce likely to result in export valorization. Thus by 1958 there was a 50-50 share of Nigeria's industrial production between the export valorization type and the import substituting type. For Lagos it was the import substituting type that became more important as the former type occurred more in the interior (where tanneries, ginneries, oil-seed crushing and palm oil improvement were pioneered by the U.A.C.) arriving at Lagos port ready for exit to overseas markets.

By 1954, the political status of Lagos as Nigeria's Federal Capital further marked it out as a favourable spot for the manufacture of those products aimed at decreasing the country's heavy reliance upon imported consumer goods. The population of Lagos was rising dramatically, Nigeria

4.5 Industrial estates were developed during this period and the cumulative effect of political and economic development in the Lagos region. See Appendix 17.

4.6 The creation of a government department of Commerce and Industry in 1948 was instigated by the need to encourage semi-processing of primary produce before export. The department eventually became a guardian institution for the wave of industrialization efforts which followed. It is also responsible for ensuring that all the industries were not totally concentrated in Lagos (the Capital City) as is notably the case at Bathurst, Monrovia, Bangui, Librarrille and Bukava - Sister African Capital cities receiving industrialization later.

4.7 See Tables 24 and 28. Appendix 24, and observe the steep rise for the period in the population graph, Fig. 9. Lagos became a strong 'pull' for job hunting young school leavers from all over Nigeria.
was incurring an adverse balance of trade (from £4 million in 1955, £18m. in 1956 and £25m. in 1957 to £60m. in 1960). Mabogunje (1968) has already made the point that because Lagos constituted a higher percentage of Nigeria's population 'involved in the money-exchange economy (and) represents the greatest single concentration of purchasing power in the country', that region constituted a significant market for the imported consumer goods, viz, cotton goods, private cars, petroleum, fish, corrugated iron sheets and cement which account for the adverse balance noted above. On the face of it, it would appear that such an adverse situation could be arrested by banning imports; but when one realises that the commercial life of Lagos is based on these imports, it becomes necessary to seek alternative solutions. The economic environment in Lagos at the time was the presence of a market (rising demand for consumer goods) and a source of a potential labour force. It was logical to remove the imbalance by substituting local manufactured goods for the imported ones. Such was the background against which the policy became established in Lagos. Thus, the presence of a ready market, a port for easy importation of machinery and raw materials, relatively good infrastructural facilities, a reservoir of labour supply (semi-skilled and unskilled) and public transport facilities, all contributed to the establishment of most of the industries in Lagos.

Industrial development of Lagos proceeded from about 15 major establishments (mostly public utilities) before 1951 when a soap factory, brewery, cold storage installation, metal container factory and a newspaper printing press, with a generous sprinkling of small workshops and cornmills featured as the industries of Lagos. The reclamation work at Apapa (1,000 acres) and subsequent creation of the industrial estate (230 acres) signalled the growth of several industrial enterprises. Foreign owned large-scale industries were attracted to Apapa, while at Yaba, the low cost workshop accommodation enabled Nigerian enterprises to grow as noted earlier in this thesis (Chapter 2, pp.127-130). The Ikeja industrial estate established in 1958 by the Western

4.8 See glossary. For Lagos the provision of roads, industrial estates, public utilities and even housing estates could be said to represent those essential facilities on which industrialization has progressed in the region. The inadequacies of these facilities, or rather the rate at which they become inadequate, further emphasize their key role. It is generally agreed that capital cities have been most successful in attracting industrial and commercial firms because those cities also developed the best infrastructural facilities in the country.

4.9 See glossary. For this study, public utilities refer strictly to organised supply of water, electricity, sewerage and miscellaneous fuel. All space committed to these uses come under Category 8 land use.
Nigerian government created more room for industrial development. By 1972 (at the time of this survey), five major centres in the study area shared 6,000 industrial units in varying proportions.¹⁰

The products of early industrial activity (1948 to 1964)¹¹ consisted of:-

- Food and drink (mostly beer and soft drinks); meat processing;
- Sugar refining; textiles; footwear; light engineering
  (including a vehicle assembly plant); processing of local raw materials for either the home market or (as in the case of tin, rubber and oil-seed crushing) for export.

Foam rubber, cement and textiles relied upon local raw materials, but for more sophisticated products such as plastics, fabricated steel, enamel ware and gramophone records, the raw materials were based on imported goods.

So fast was the rate of industrialization in Lagos that by 1959 the following twenty-four activities were listed under local industry:-

- Pottery (ceramics) manufacture
- Soap and detergents manufacture
- Screwing
- Metal drums,
- Mineral waters,
- Steel fabrication,
- Cotton spinning and weaving
- Furniture manufacturing
- Stationery
- Ship repairing
- Singlet manufacture
- Tyre retreading
- Wrought iron works
- Metal doors and windows
- Tarpaulins
- Interior spring mattress manufacture
- Carbon dioxide
- Oxygen
- Acetylene
- Toilet preparation
- Saw milling
- Cement products
- Terrazzo tiles


What appears from the above account to be a phenomenal leap into industrialization by the Lagos region should not blur the delicate balance created as a result of originally basing Lagos industrialization on a strategy of import substitution. It is in this respect that Hirschman's observation (quoted in Nabogunje, Econ. Geog. 1973) commands the attention of anyone analysing the nature of industrialization in Lagos. We have seen the backward

4.10 A 1959 industrial survey of Lagos from Ebute Metta southwards gave the figure of 2,400 industrial units employing 40,000 persons. Another industrial survey was conducted for the whole of Nigeria in 1963 but as is apparent in Table 32 that survey is grossly inaccurate, considering that it was based only 649 establishments.

4.11 Table 32 refers.
working process in action here. From 'the final touches' stage, many Lagos industries appear to be launching successfully into the intermediate materials but the stage for entry into basic industries, such as iron and steel and chemical complexes is yet to be attained. There is evidence however, to sustain the belief that the volume of final and intermediate industries (which would normally form the basis of user industries to a future basic industry) is fast accumulating to the threshold requirements. However, since Lagos, in the Nigerian planning context, must be viewed as part of the wider national scheme a decision to locate such a basic industry as an iron and steel works, invariably avoids Lagos, especially as the growth pole concept favoured by planners in a Federation like Nigeria logically points to a 'sharing out' of those industries most likely to stimulate growth in the provinces.

There is no doubt that the "linkage" idea is operative in Lagos and possibly as a result of government action undesirable effects of the adopted strategy were being kept at a minimum. It is against this background that the current Nigerian Four Year Development Plan (1970-74) volunteered the following comments:

The new burst of activity in the manufacturing industries has become a driving force in the development process .... manufacturing activity grew at over 16% during 1958-69 At the same time the contribution from the semi-processing of primary raw materials to the manufacturing sector has fallen from 50% to under 25%. This has resulted from the build up of manufacture in such products as cement, building construction materials, metal products, textiles, shoes, beer, soft drinks, soap and detergents.... The present plan is designed to put right the weakness which became apparent in the First development plan. Some of the schemes envisaged in that plan ..... did not come off the ground. Some that did have turned out to be white elephants and a programme of

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4.13 The pattern of interdependence among industries. It can be argued that at the early stage of Lagos industrialization this factor was not really essential to the survival of industrial establishments. As more manufacturing industries come into the scene (particularly in Engineering and related classes) the linkage idea becomes increasingly important. Without the 'estates', it may be further argued, industries likely to benefit from interdependence with related industry would locate near one another (like industries in the same district), giving rise to the locational differentiation (by types of industries) which is not yet the case in Lagos industrial landscape.
rationalisation is now required for these. The disturbing trends were that manufacturing industries became increasingly dependent on imports and that Nigerian indigenous businessmen did not play a particularly prominent part in industry's development .... In the past a number of industries have acted merely as local assemblers of imported semi-manufactures ... In the future encouragement will be given to companies who boost the value added in Nigeria either by establishing more integrated processes or, by filling some of the gaps by producing semi-manufactures..... The Federal government is expected to become involved through direction share holding in a number of the larger projects (among which are listed a petrochemical complex, sugar, salt, fertiliser, car assembly plant and a whole range of basic industries).


While the statement refers to Nigeria as a whole, it is most relevant for the Lagos area which accounts for about 50% of the industries already established. It is also expected that the new indigenisation decree\(^{14}\) and a properly directed government action will remove permanently the tendency for Lagos industries to suffer from an "enclave economy" syndrome\(^{15}\).

The one hundred manufacturing industries which constituted the field samples studied during the 1972 field work (see Appendix 32) are mainly concentrated within Lagos and Ikeja division. These 100 establishments yield much information on the nature, structure and problems of the industrialization process taking place in the Lagos study area. As many varieties of manufactures as possible are represented. The presence of each of these establishments was taken into account in constructing Map 16 on industrial Impact Analysis. (See Appendix 20).

Six items of information were sought for each of the 100 sample industries. These aimed at establishing the origin, location (in or out of estate), date of establishment, working classification, scale of operation and locational factors. Thus, for

(A) Origin\(^{16}\), industries are classified as Nigerian, Foreign (with parent body abroad), or government sponsored (nationalised or otherwise).

\(^{14}\) Appendices 33 and 34. A large part of the 2nd Development Plan is geared to making full use of lessons arising from the first development plan, building on the achievements of that plan and diversifying as well as Nigerianising the economy.

\(^{15}\) A concept in the study of industrialization of underdeveloped countries suitably describing the foreign nature of major industrial firms in a young country. The firms have their parent body in a developed country.
(B) Location - This provides information on whether a particular industry exists within or outside the industrial estates. Those outside the estates are found in one of five other areas, viz. port, C.B.D., residential districts, rural areas or other.

(C) Date of establishment of the undertaking before 1945 or in one of six subsequent five year periods: pre-1945; 1945-1949; 1950-1954; 1955-1959; 1960-1964; 1965-1969; 1970-1974. This gives a general picture of the intensity of industrialization over time in Lagos.

(D) Working classification: Twelve terminologies applied for describing or analysing industries are matched against each of the 100 manufacturing firms as an aid to analytic treatment in appropriate contexts: The twelve classifications used are:17


(E) Scale of the enterprise is viewed from four different but related aspects, each of which receives a rating of: Large (3); medium (2) or small (1). The aspects are: Space, Size or labour force, capital, and output.

(F) Location Factors were examined for each of the 100 firms as a means of understanding and projecting the spatial pattern of these firms in the Lagos Study Area. The seven factors were:

1. Marked local concentration
2. Labour
4. Linkages
5. Services used in bulk: electricity; water; telephone.
6. Waste disposal: solid; liquid; gas or dust.
7. Space consumption/needs: Large units; small units; flexible.

4.16 The field work for this thesis was being planned in the eve of the indigenisation or Nigerian Enterprises Promotions decree which has since matured. Moreover the location, organisation, land problems, products, and prospects are known to vary with this factor of "where the firm originated". For these reasons this item was considered important enough to be included in the field questionnaire.

4.17 In this set of "classification", all significant economic terms for identifying the structure, level of organisation, locational characteristics are provided. A combination of two or more is possible and maximum information is thus economically obtained.
The pattern which emerged from this sample study (100 industries in Lagos, Appendix 32) confirms that most of them (70%) are foreign firms with parent bodies in mature industrial countries. Nigerian government participation in ownership or initiation of manufacturing industrial establishments dates only from 1964 and is still less than 5% of the total.

Only 20% of these firms are located outside the industrial estates. The 20% is scattered in five other parts of the study area: The C.B.D., the port, residential areas, rural areas and other or unspecified. There is yet no basic manufacture as such; rather about 60% can be classified as final stage manufacture. Over 70% of the firms are engaged in manufacture of import substituting products - a trend which was particularly strong in those firms established between 1955 and 1964. The export valorization industries in this sample amount to less than the national average, being only 10% as against 50% official national average.

Whereas many industries were granted pioneer status and benefited thereby from tax concessions even though they were foreign firms, very little enthusiasm was shown for infant industry or protection policy by the Nigerian authorities. None in the sample appears to fit that classification. There is an even distribution between labour intensive and capital intensive industries; but there is evidence to show that as many as 80% of industries established before 1964 were of the labour intensive type. Perhaps a more realistic

4.18 The unsatisfactory nature of industrial classification terminologies based on current British Department of Employment and Productivity appears to be introducing confusion in the practice of industrial geography. In the present context the author wishes only to distinguish the more sophisticated, heavy, primary and more linkage generating industrial production (e.g. iron and steel, petrochemicals and ship building) from the intermediate manufactures (e.g. textiles and metal products) and final manufactures (Food, clothes and furniture). Wherever possible in this study the terms Primary, secondary and Tertiary have been retained as a convenient classification of industrial activity. The writings of Kilby (1969), Hirschman, (1969) and Mabogunje (1973) tend to support the view that the present relative absence of basic or Primary manufacturing industries in the study area is related to the import substituting strategy on which industrialization in the region was based at the early phase of the process.

4.19 This again, is often blamed on the "enclave economy" syndrome which in the early days of local industrialization, was not tuned to Nigeria's national needs. It is also possible that the reason lies in a more bureaucratic but rational decision to discourage non-starters and support likely winners.

4.20 Capital and enterprise was supplied from abroad and so constituted costly inputs. Local labour was cheap and its use reduced unemployment as well as creating effective cash backed demand or market for the finished product. The impact of "borrowed technology" (Dodder, 1968, p.171) and active involvement of native capital investment became significant in the early 1960s, by the first Development Plan.
interpretation is that the firms have been committing more capital recently as they expand their business and have had to comply with recent government regulations which restrict the repatriation of profits to the parent firm. In the latter case a considerable ploughing back of profit results in increased capital commitment without necessarily reducing the labour force. Each of the 100 firms records some growth or evidence of expansion.  

It is difficult to evaluate the extent to which Lagos industries can be said to be "market orientated". For the market, obvious a fact as its presence suggests, is a cumulative effect of other factors (e.g. labour supply, tertiary services to industry, government employment and urban concentration) which, while serving as a market for the products of these firms, would not far outweigh other factors either way. Nevertheless, about 20%, mostly of the food, printing/publishing, transport equipment and inter-industry products groups, can safely be classed here as market orientated. The raw material orientated types fall into two categories, viz. Those firms using imported raw materials (e.g. Walls Ice Cream, Van Leer Containers (Nigeria) Ltd., Liptons and Nigerian Breweries Ltd.); and those using local raw materials. It is for the former that Lagos could claim a locational advantage for those industries involved. For the latter type, it is debatable whether other parts of Nigeria would not offer a preferable location to Lagos, since most of the "local" raw materials used by "agou industries come from outside the study area though within Nigeria; e.g. Cadbury's cocoa comes from the western state, cotton for Nigerian Textile Mills comes from the northern states; Nigerian Electricity Production Authority (N.E.P.A.) derives its power generating materials from outside Lagos state as far afield as Enugu coal fields and Kainji Dam.

The "enclave" tendency of firms is a useful guide to understanding the structural defects of those Lagos industries that find it difficult to "fuse" completely into local growth. They are heavily reliant on imported raw materials, capital and personnel. Recent government efforts are directed towards changing such industries or safeguarding the economy against their adverse effects. Whereas many of the earlier industries in Lagos were known to score highly in this "enclave" tendency during the early days of Lagos's industrialization (Nabogunje, 1973) the present survey would appear to support

4.21 Every member of the 100 sample firms indicated (on questionnaire) an increasing productivity, higher capital commitment, wider tributary market for their products inland, new or larger site occupation within five years of establishment and an expanded labour force. There were cases of diversification of business in some firms, e.g. Ibru started with fishing but has since expanded interest to include chemicals and transport.

4.22 See Note 2.15.
a view that fewer industries today are involved and that with the current
government drive towards rationalization of the industrialization process
there, the enclave economy tendency of most firms will either disappear or
become insignificantly harmless to the economy as a whole.

The relative absence of basic industries in Lagos may account for a higher
percentage of mobile or foot-loose industries there. This means that the
25% possible in the sample are able to move into industrial premises or relocate
their factories without much difficulty. However, only small-scale industries
are involved and this is not likely to remain the case as the industries grow
larger and more settled. The provision of industrial estates also appears to
facilitate mobility for more industries as some of the smaller ones need not
provide their own plants or sink funds into expensive site development and
building projects. Immobility is well marked in such establishments as
Nigerian Breweries at Iganmu, Daily Times in Lagos C.B.D. and the Nigerian
Railways at Oke Ira, Yaba and Iddo. Each of these three firms is both large
in scale and heavily committed to its present sites. The port-oriented
industries are also rendered less mobile by their attachment to the port,
e.g. Niger Food Supply Cold Storage; as are such land extensive committed and
possibly non-urban compatible undertakings as Ashamu Farms and Nigerian
Explosives and Plastics Co. Ltd., at Isolo.

The lack of uniformity among writers in the method of classifying
industries constituted a problem during field work for the materials used in
this chapter. The United Nations Industrial Classification (as used by
Mabogunje, 1973) was good in grouping industries into Basic, Intermediate
and Final; but proved unsuitable for detailed analysis at ground level, e.g.
in field mapping procedure in a Lagos context, where industries have not
attained a structural locational differentiation. The British Standard

4.23 The issue of industrial certificates is about to be applied in favour of
firms (new or old) ready to locate their activity outside the crammed
capital territory. Implementation of the 1970-74 (2nd) Economic
Plan aims at redressing imbalance at its most obvious points. Despite
these efforts, labour and market for the products of industry continue
to respond to the magnetic lure of the Lagos industrial region. A more
drastic and long term measure would be required to achieve the desired
changes.

4.24 Those industries which find themselves too committed to move. Among the
many factors which may be responsible are: site commitments (of plants,
equipments and long lease), emotional attachments or the nature of the
firm's business, e.g. The Nigerian Railway Corporation at Oke Ira is a
typical example. A few port industries are also in similar circumstances.

4.25 Whereas industries in mature industrial regions of Europe & N.America
can usually be studied in their spatial distribution according to type of
goods produced, the industries of Lagos are yet organised in estates, with
all kinds of manufacturing activity - related or not - coexisting therein.
Only saw milling is excepted.
Industrial Classification Index, when slightly modified to suit Lagos conditions, was found to be more appropriate for mapping purposes, although it was less adaptable to relating linkages, growth and spatial transformation problems. To gain the benefit of both worlds (i.e. map the industries within a scheme of general land use records for Lagos, and apply the relationships inherent in the Lagos industrialization process within the dynamics of Lagos economic development) a modified form of the British S.I.C. Index for manufacturing industries (notation 3 to 16) was used for the mapping. From both the U.N.S.I.C. and the British S.I.C. index, a dovetailed classification (or blended version) was compiled and the analysis and interpretation benefited immensely from contextual application of all three. (Appendix 1 Field Guide (E) - land use group 3 notation 3 - 16, Appendix 28, and Tables 5 and 6).

It has been shown from the earlier part of this chapter that by the time of this survey (1972) industrialization in Lagos, at least for the final and intermediate classes of manufacture, have become well established, although most of these firms were merely off-shoots of non-Nigerian parent firms mostly from Britain and America. Industrialization is clearly an innovation in the Lagos study area judged from its alien nature, borrowed technology, first generation industrial personnel and incompleteness; but it is a most welcome means of diversifying the local economy and deploying local human and natural resources of the area. In the process of establishing themselves in Lagos, the industries have jointly brought about great economic changes in the human and physical environment of Lagos. The very presence of these industries in Lagos today continues to generate economic effects which permeate the economic fabric of the young developing region. The effects may be perceived as impacts on the physical resource base of the Lagos study area and beyond.

Industrialization brought about the development of the physical resource base of the local and adjacent environment to promote and sustain the innovation (industrial activity). The progress, success and failure attendant on that development for the physical resource base, reveal themselves in a study of five local items:

(a) Water supply
(b) Building material - sand, gravel and cement or bricks.
(c) Power supply (electricity and oil)
(d) Land supply (strong competition from other users)
(e) Waste disposal and sewerage facilities.

Water supply for the study area (pipe-borne) is provided for the entire metropolis by the Iju waterworks with a capacity of 24 million gallons per day.
The nearest industry to the works is about 5 miles away at Ikeja, while the farthest (at Apapa) is about 18 miles away. Supply is known to be grossly inadequate even for the domestic needs of the growing metropolis, and projected expansion schemes, at the least for the next five years, still will not be adequate for industrial and domestic use. (See Chapter 8 for more detailed treatment of this topic and allied public utilities). It has already been noted in the previous chapter that factories at Ikeja are frequently hit by the water shortage and have to close down for the day. Besides, the water pressure is too low for the operation of certain machinery - a fact which is responsible for the low apparent demand for washing machines in Nigeria or even for the setting up of laundry works.

To reduce the adverse effect of unreliable water supply, large establishments (industrial firms, university and railways) have developed some safeguards which range from direct "hoarding" of water (e.g. in giant capacity tanks as at Lagos university) to searching for alternative water sources (e.g. underground bores such as Nigerian Breweries has developed at Iganmu). Obviously these methods are not to the overall advantage of the pipe-borne water supply in the study area. What is required is a pooling of efforts to solve the water shortage problem. Meanwhile the "hoarding" (super-tank storage) reduces further water available for ordinary users; and, the independent approach by sinking wells, etc. results in duplication of wasteful effort.

During 1970-73 however, the state government (Lagos state) has taken active steps to improve the situation. Regularity in the supply of the 24 million gallons a day has been maintained and wastage (through careless domestic users and burst pipes) is being checked. Plans exist in the current state budget to increase water supply at Iju water-works to 30 million gallons per day, new pipes have been laid and a regular supply is expected at industrial estates. Nevertheless, more needs to be done to meet the water requirements of this fast developing region and it is essential to co-ordinate all the Public Utilities (e.g. electricity supply which would reduce loss of water yield during the frequent N.E.P.A. power cuts and a sewage which would increase demand on the supply system). This calls for greater administrative

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4.26 See Table 26 and Map 27. In particular compare figures for domestic water uses and supply in a developed region (USA). For details of Water Shortage problems in the Nigeria, see Prof. A. Awojobi's articles in the Nigerian Daily Times, 26th and 27th April, 1972 (p.7).

4.27 See Table 27, Lagos Water Supply Situation. Note amounts voted or projected for spending on the water problem in the period 1974-80.
efficiency which may be achieved through the creation of a Lagos Water Board or Corporation specifically charged with the responsibility of attending to Lagos water supply requirements. The absence of that efficient administrative system and the apparent low rating of water supply by Lagos residents as a vital resource, create a good example of a "marine environment" as thirsty as a desert.

The lagoon, the Atlantic ocean and numerous creeks and rivers are here; but supplies of water fit for human needs (drinking and industry) are scarce. Perhaps it is advisable for the authorities in Lagos to tackle this problem by allocating more money to development of water resources. (The current estimate is 1% of annual budget spent on water as compared with the U.S. spending 10% of her G.N.P. on similar needs.

The importance of water supply as an index of economic development in Lagos becomes apparent when one considers the following basic facts:
(a) Increased economic prosperity in Lagos has imposed heavier demands for a wholesome water supply.
(b) Standard of hygiene in the city deteriorates with increased shortage of water, with attendant results on health hazards, epidemics and sewage disposal problems.
(c) Unreliable water supply slows down industrial productivity and restricts the range of manufacture e.g. papermills, delaying further the introduction of basic industries.28

On the whole it may be observed that the rate and efficiency with which industries have developed in Lagos depends, more than is often acknowledged, on the development of efficient water supply in the study area. Each additional industrial establishment or "allied land use"29 in Lagos quite often increases the load on available water supply. It is regrettable that planners have not been taking this fact seriously into account when planning or approving industrial location in the study area.

4.28 L.W.S.S. Plans for water in the study area relies heavily on population projections up to 1985, almost to the total neglect of other factors such as "what share industries would demand from the system. It is regrettable that no counterpart of N.E.P.A's projection for power needs by industries has been produced on water supply by Lagos Water Supply Authority. It is time some method of measuring and planning water consumption by industries are taken into account. We know that in the U.S.A. industrial supply takes in 40%; irrigation uses 40%; rural supply takes 1%; while public supply used only 7%. If the same proportions hold for an industrial Lagos, then even allowing for savings on unnecessary irrigation, the plans need serious revision.
Building Materials

In the Lagos environment devoid of stone (the nearest quarry is at Abeokuta sixty miles away) but rich in marine sand supply, the impact of concrete as a building material has been remarkable. One needs only observe the structure of the new Eko Bridge and count in any given street developed since 1940 the number of houses built of concrete, to appreciate the dominance of concrete on Lagos built-up areas.

The earliest building materials were simple local grass/leaves, sticks and wattle (raw mud). In the riverine areas bamboo huts on stilts such as can still be seen in the Badagri and Porto-Novo creeks of the study area, were in vogue. With increased European contact, the use of baked clay bricks came to be adopted, and these can still be seen in the very old houses. Roofing material made of corrugated iron sheets were also introduced. The houses so built became more durable structures.

Next came the introduction of Portland cement (imported mainly from England) and the making of cement blocks. Houses could now be built more quickly and reliance upon local materials, except in the case of marine sands, was reduced considerably. The "concrete revolution" has been a key factor in the building up of Lagos (houses, bridges, factories, reservoirs, schools, hospitals, airport runways and cemeteries) in more durable form since the second World War. The local manufacture of cement at Ewekoro and other places relatively close to the study area, increased the trend in the use of cement for building purposes. The earliest use of cement was for plastering or coating houses built with baked clay bricks, e.g. Bethel Cathedral on Yakubu Gowon Street, built in 1905. Later, blocks of concrete (mixture of sand and cement) was used. Bricks are hardly used for modern building in Lagos these days, but the secretariat at Marina remains the finest example of brick-built houses in Lagos. (See Colour Plate 3a).

4.29 All land using activities which although not strictly producing goods, supply ancillary service or facility to real manufacturing industries, Public Utilities leading or connected to industrial premises. Category 4 land use through which the firm move in personnel and raw materials and evacuate finished products, is another obvious example of an "allied industrial land use".

4.30 Local and imported: All stones used are brought in from outside the study area; there is no organised supply of bricks as this appears to be replaced (regrettably) by cement blocks; cement, in ever increasing demand, comes from local raw material (from the lagoon, beaches, rivers and forests) but price has increased enormously - see Table 21c; wood supplied through the sawmills district at Ebute Metta; roofing materials - corrugated iron sheets almost wholly imported from overseas; and asbestos locally manufactured; electrical, toilet, plumbing and flooring materials constitute high import items for the building and construction industry; iron rods, steel beams and wires - some locally fabricated but mostly imported.
In recent years the use of reinforced concrete and prefabricated concrete sections (industrial building methods) has made it possible to build the many sky-scrapers of Lagos island (e.g. Western House and Independence Building near the Race Course - see Plate 37 and C.P. 38 and 41). The steady decline in volume of imported cement from 1960 to 1970 is accounted for by the increased local manufacture of cement in Nigeria. Plate 12 shows a section of the Eko Bridge which typifies the use of pre-stressed concrete in Lagos construction works.

Several industries have developed in direct response to the boom in the use of concrete. The Nigerian Concrete industries at Ilupeju (Mushin area) is a leading firm which owes its rise to this situation. The industry produces building blocks, culverts for civil engineering works, slabs for precast buildings and can supply almost any concrete structure to order. Other small scale cement block making undertakings are growing up all over the study area wherever the small entrepreneur finds space (often temporary transitional land).

A major development in the use of local resources for building material studied during the 1972 field survey is marine sand extraction. Sand being a vital commodity in the making of concrete, has created a whole new activity similar in nature to mining and quarrying. The Sand Dealers Association, with headquarters at Ebute Metta south-east, were very co-operative in supplying information and maps of their areas of activity up to 1972. The Association's activities come under the control of the Federal Ministry of Mines and Power. Map 13 shows some of the areas of sand extraction activities within the study area. The sand "fished" out comes from river beds, lagoon beds, low lying swamps and the Atlantic beach. In places like Cworonshoki, sand extraction has replaced traditional fishing as personnel divert their labour to the former, more lucrative, activity.

For roofing, the development of asbestos, glass and corrugated iron sheets has increased the range of durability for residential, factory and other buildings in the study area. Thatch is fast disappearing.

**Power Supply:** The National Electricity Production Authority (N.E.P.A.) and successor to E.C.N. currently enjoys a monopoly of supplying electricity to the entire region. In very few institutions, small generating plants are maintained in the form of diesel engines and specially imported mobile generators. The bulk of locally consumed electricity (N.E.P.A. supplies) amounts to about

4.31. See Figure 8 and Table 29.
280 million kwh.\textsuperscript{32} for the year 1.4.71 to 31.3.72.

The importance of this item of public utility in any investigation of land use and industrialization in Lagos rests on the fundamental principles that industry itself is a significant consumer of land and that without electric power modern industrialization is inconceivable or would become stranded. The Lagos scene at the time of survey (1972) is a landscape variously littered above ground and on the ground by a network of transmission lines, power stations and sub-stations. Street lighting is thinly spread and occasionally clustered in Lagos, I\textsubscript{k}oyi and Victoria islands, with isolated spots at the residential districts of the study area. The whole region is subject to frequent blackout by night, power cuts by day and voltage too low for certain industrial uses. One large thermal power station stands at Ijorah. Many supergrid transmission lines brought through the rural lands of the study area from far away places in the rest of Nigeria seem to converge at various points in the central zone of Lagos.

To understand this complex picture, the way it relates to observed activities of the power supplying body (N.E.P.A.) in its efforts to cope with rising demand yet failing in that duty, and, the vast amount of land consumed for transmission and generating plants, it became necessary in this study to examine closely the facts which have dictated electric power supply in the area.

Electricity, like most of other things associated with modern industrialization came into this region as a 'borrowed technology'. As power demands and the distance of consumers from the power stations increased, alternating current is now employed because of its greater efficiency through the use of transformers to increase transmission efficiency when much of the power has to come from outside the study area.

Demand for electricity increased by leaps and bounds apparently in five distinct stages:

1st. Domestic lighting was introduced and remained the main use in the early years. At first people were slow to adopt this form of lighting purely because of many scare stories of electrocution. Indeed quite a few people died from electric shock. As population increased and prejudices against electricity died out, the demand for it increased.

2nd. Street lighting became fashionable and would have the direct effect of doubling demand, with a more reliable revenue for the supplying Authority. In the process of 'opening up' more residential districts and expanding the metropolis, demand for this item naturally increased.

\textsuperscript{32} Figure of 280m. Kwh. for Lagos. Source: Interview with N.E.P.A. Lagos Area Manager, Ijorah, Lagos, during field work.
3rd. Offices and business premises have been growing in number. They make heavy day-time demands on the supply system.

4th. Electricity (other than direct lighting) is jointly consumed by individuals, government offices and business firms for various purposes such as operating power tools, vacuum cleaners, heating, pumping equipment in waterworks and industrial sites and for cooling purposes.

5th. The universal application of electrical energy to automated units in factories, shops, offices, homes and farms. Refrigeration (air conditioning) also brought about the great transformation of the electric power innovation. A whole temperate environment can now be created at will inside tropical Lagos thanks to electricity.

Each stage has greatly widened the range of demand. Moreover the various stages followed in such quick succession that the authorities supplying electricity may justifiably plead that 'demand in Lagos far exceeded all expectations within too short a time for adequate planning'. Demand will continue to increase as the population increases, more factories open, more street lighting becomes installed, more labour saving machines are introduced into homes and offices, the standard of hygiene increases and the general standard of life rises. The need for a linkage of all public utilities (water, power and waste disposal) by local authorities in the study area for more efficient operation is being felt. It is hoped for example that a better co-ordinated power supply would maintain steady pumping and refining of water supply from Iju waterworks and eventually for a reliable waste disposal system.

With the present frequent failures of electricity supply, industries, hospitals and schools or other public institutions would be expected to make arrangements for generating their own power. However, generation of power by industrial firms for their own use was found to be on a negligible scale. For example, none of the 100 firms in the sample was even nearly dependent on power other than the N.E.P.A. supply.


4.34 Appendix 32
Electricity supply in Lagos has followed a pattern of variation responding to the stage of industrial development of the region from the time electricity was being introduced, the distribution of the population, the form of government policy, the general level of prosperity and the energy resources available for power production. Electricity reached Lagos at a time when industrialization had not been established. Figure 8 based on E.C.N. annual reports shows the rates of power production and sales in the study area from 1950 to 1972. Note the steep rise in electricity consumption from 1955 to 1972. It corresponds with the period of active industrialization. The land held by E.C.N./N.E.P.A. in the study area for the period is also plotted on the graph to reflect the steady consumption of land resources by this single utility. The earliest supply in the form of domestic lighting was generated locally at the Ijorah thermal station using Emugu coal and was used for the thickly populated Lagos island and the European quarters at Ikoyi-Iddo was privileged to receive early attention on account of the railway terminus there and its proximity to Ijorah power station. Supply spread subsequently to the mainland and to Apapa. Next came the core centres of population in the former Colony Province, viz. Ikeja, Agege, Mushin, Ikorodu, Igbobi and, of late, Surulere. It is noteworthy that an indigenous energy source of any type was considered lacking in the study area. Much of the land used for this purpose is therefore mainly for transmission and distribution and the quantity of such land has been increasing in recent years. (Plate 5 and C.P. 12).

Post second World War development in the construction of hydro-electric power stations and in extra-high voltage transmission benefited Lagos directly as development of N.E.P. resources remote from the load centre of the study area became feasible. On such a basis N.E.P.A. has developed a fairly extensive network of transmission lines through and into the Lagos Study Area. For by using interconnected system of distribution network, Lagos received power from the web of transmission lines fed simultaneously from Kainji power station, Lagos oil powered station and Ughelli gas powered station.

4.35 Figure 8 and Table 29 refer. Earlier introduction of electricity was for domestic purposes only, so very little was consumed. Record for industrial power consumption started only in 1966. Before then commerce and industry were recorded together.

4.36 Electricity was first introduced into Lagos in 1913 mainly as complimentary service to the railway and served only a portion of the then built up parts of Lagos island, the railway compound at Iddo and Ebute Metta and the European quarters at Ikoyi. Later the service was extended to Apapa, Yaba, Ikeja and very recently, Surulere. Even today in the study area it is estimated that only 25% of homes, institutions and settlements have electricity. Until 1961 several educational institutions, churches, towns of over 10,000 persons and immigrant communities around Lagos had no electricity.
The role and changing organisation of Ijorah power station illustrate the major development in electricity supply to the study area. The Ijorah power complex now occupying 17 acres and entirely hemmed in by category 4a land use (namely the Eko bridge and its associated complex) has developed from a small coal burning generating station to a highly modernised and efficient coal and oil burning station capable of handling at the time of this survey (March 1972) a monthly output of 23 million kwh (i.e. half of the total monthly consumption in Lagos area). Until 1950 the plant was considered reasonably remote from population centres and hardly competed in the land market against other types of land use; but today the plant is very much in the heart of Lagos. Its output is heavily supplemented by a vast network of power supplies from outside the study area (mainly H.E.P. sources) as stated in the previous paragraph.

Industrial development is of primary importance in accelerating demand for electricity supply and consequently has caused the tremendous development of energy supply in the study area more than anywhere else in Nigeria. Thus the estimated 20% annual growth recorded by the electricity industry in Nigeria since 1955 (E.C.N. annual report 1971) originates mainly from demand in the Lagos study area. There is clearly a direct relationship between the increased pace of industrialization and the heavier demand on electricity supply in the area. One of Lagos's assets in attracting more industries is the relatively greater availability of electric power supply here than elsewhere in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the frequent power cuts and failures, low voltage and delayed installation abundantly reflect the inadequacy of the electric power suppliers (N.E.P.A.) to cope with rising demand brought about by the multiplier effect of rapid industrialization. Here lies a major limiting factor on industrial development in Lagos when considering the expected progress of industrialization into the level of basic manufacturing (i.e. the heavier, more energy consuming industries).37

While business firms and offices may justifiably complain of power failure and poor service, they may consider themselves luckier than domestic users. For in Lagos island alone a field count in sample streets indicated that less than 20% of the households use electric light in any one night. Hurricane
lanterns, candles, paraffin burners and palm oil lamps are frequently used. Outside Lagos island (in the rest of the study area, but within the urban clusters) the figure can be as low as 5%. In poor residential districts such as Lawanson, Mushin, S_0molu and Ajegunle, it is considered normal by residents to experience power cuts or blackouts for an average of eight hours a night (or day) for three months concurrently. The large institutions are also affected. In the University of Lagos main campus, for example, lectures (particularly where large audiences are involved and microphones used) are subject to frequent cancellation following the usual intractable electric power failures. The alarming number of hospital operations that become fatal as a result of electric power cuts constitutes yet another evidence of an overloaded system lagging far behind current demands. Industrialists in the 'estates' have had to get used to sending workers home on days when the factories are hit by power cuts and in many cases expensive machinery is ruined by running on low or even irregular voltage.

The recent reorganization of the electricity supplying authority in Lagos (1972) was aimed at equipping the new body with all it would require (in personnel, funds and scope) to operate more efficiently in meeting the ever-growing needs of the Lagos study area for more and regular electricity supply. N.E.P.A. which is a fusion of the old Electricity Corporation of Nigeria and the Niger Dams Authority, now has what may be considered adequate personnel, capital, wider energy generating fields and the experience to produce results; but it is still too early to assess its performance. It is certain however that more land within the study area will be committed to this aspect of public utilities if a network large enough to cope with the present level of economic development in Lagos is to be achieved and the present trend of industrialization maintained.

Oil Resources: No production occurs within the study area yet. However, there is enough supply to meet automobile needs at very cheap rates (35 to 40 kobo per gallon), industrial operations, basic fuel and domestic applications (including paraffin) is much better today in Lagos than every before because the study area is relatively close to Nigeria's oil fields and relies less on foreign imports than it did fifteen years ago. Part of Lagos is also used for oil (petroleum) storage by all the leading oil companies operating in Nigeria. Much of the space held by oil firms is used for storage and

4.38 11.00 = 100 Kobo = ten Nigerian shillings.

12.00 = 200 Kobo = £1 = £1.45 British sterling.
The motorist has two main grades of petrol to choose from: "Ordinary" or "Regular" (equivalent to British Economy or 3 star) and "Super" (equivalent to British 4 to 5 star).
distribution of oil products. Apapa and Iganmu districts contain extensive tank farms owned by Shell, Mobil and others. They constitute fire hazards and are best treated in the same way as noxious industries. The tank farms were originally sited in remote swamps but the fast growth of Lagos city daily brings those sites nearer other forms of land use. The Eko bridge complex for example is almost 'boxing in' the tank farms.

Distribution centres in the form of petrol stations are fairly well spread throughout the study area to cater for automobile and domestic needs. They take up very little land and became included, during the land use survey (1972) among business and commercial premises. A sample study of this apparently ubiquitous phenomenon on the land use survey was conducted using the network of Shell (Nigeria) Ltd., the largest operator of petrol pumps in the study area. On the basis of that sample, the separate categorisation of this ubiquitous but really small urban land consumer is considered unnecessary.

Other Fuel: Firewood is the traditional fuel of Lagos region and continues to serve the basic needs (for cooking, heating and smithing) of the greater number of people in the study area as already shown in pp.95-96 (Chapter 2) of this thesis whilst considering category AO land use. There is a heavy import of this fuel in the form of logs, mangrove stakes, assorted bundles and charcoal bags from the rural to the urban sectors of the study area.

One effect of industrialization in Lagos has been to increase demand for firewood beyond the possible supply within the study area. Therefore, despite the modernising influence of the expanding city, more of this traditional fuel is required as more people of rural origin and low income background pour into the area. That population, residing mainly in the poor residential districts of Apapa - Ajegunle, Shomolu - Bariga, Mushin, Itire, parts of Surulere, Iwaya, Oshodi, Ibeja and Agege, rely almost entirely on firewood.

The search for firewood has already resulted in deforestation in all parts of the study area. At the time of this survey firewood already features as a commodity of local trade, important enough to be transported (by lorries, 4.39 Interview with the Public relations officer and Estates officer, Shell (Nigeria) Ltd., Marina, Lagos on space for distribution of oil in Lagos. Agents provide premises for distribution centres but must comply with company design and safety measures. The agent owns or holds lease of the land, often equivalent to a standard building plot (5,000 sq.ft) or more - enough room for a pump or two, Service shed/hut and parking space. Shell's actual land interests in the study area are not on "petrol stations" but in the oil dump grounds or tank farm at Apapa, port facilities, garages for heavy tankers and sites for office blocks in the service of the company.
mammy-waggon, canoes, giant hand-carts, mules and head porterage) to markets from as far afield as the W stern and Mel western states of Nigeria. Apart from those derived primarily from A0 land-use areas, the sources of supply are not fixed as operators also poach wood from any and every possible place for quick cash in Lagos city. The modern system of land ownership restricts the normal rights associated with commonland (e.g. right to collect firewood from commonly owned land) in the traditional land tenure system. Lagoon ports like Oworonshoki, Ibesi, Ebute Ikorodu, Ikosi, Ojo and Ogogoro handle several canoe loads of firewood (mainly freshly cut mangrove stakes, dry branches of other woods and processed charcoal) daily.

The situation calls for some official government policy to provide more reliable sources of firewood supply through establishing forest reserves exclusively for the purpose as was already done in Ghana back in colonial days. However, no such policy exists in the study area now. This is yet another evidence of poorly organised land use which ignores the actual needs of people in the area. Assumptions that the modernising influence of industrialization (making electricity, gas and oil available to the area) renders traditional fuel sources obsolete are easily invalidated in the Lagos context. More firewood is needed in the area essentially to meet the low-cost

4.40 Apart from a substantial supply from the Sawmills district, there is a constant flow in lorry loads from more remote parts of Ikeja, Ikorodu and Epe divisions; canoe loads from Epe and Badagri divisions (mostly fresh mangrove wood) and bundle loads borne on the heads of Villagers who collect their own supplies from A0 land-use zones. Firewood unlike food supply has a relatively short travel range which lengthens with urban encroachment on the countryside. Charcoal (manufactured wood fuel) is transported from farther inland in the western state - and destined for markets in lower middle income residential districts, e.g. Surulere and Lagos island, as far as Obalende. The rapid deterioration of houses (especially police and similar service blocks) may be attributed to the smoke and dirt emitted by this form of fuel where chimney stacks do not usually feature in the local architecture. See Plate 30 (firewood materials in front of a multi-residential building).

4.41 A whole firewood plantation pioneered by the Colonial authorities at Accra, Ghana, now serves the wood requirements of Accra City. Ogun River Forest Reserve currently managed by the Lagos State Min. of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Trade and Industry, and fully within the study area could be used for a start and some central management of wood based fuel could be organised with a view to controlling environmental pollution and relieving hardship associated with this primitive fuel for the poor classes.
fuel requirements of Lagos immigrants. So far there are no designated firewood plantations that could be mapped in the present study but the impact of this form of fuel on the human use of the local environment, despite industrialization, can hardly be ignored in a region devoid of gas mains and scantily provided with mains electricity. Perhaps at a later phase of the industrialization process and with better planning policies fuel supply to the area may become better organised.

Throughout this examination, it becomes clear that the fuel and power requirements of the study area far exceed supply, apparently on account of inadequate or poor organisation of those land-use aspects associated with fuel and power supply of the region. Planners have to be made more aware of the interdependence between fuel and power supply and all other human wants that have to be satisfied from a given space of land. Power provides the inanimate energy essential to modern industrialization, while fuel supports all that is necessary for cooking, lighting and heating encountered in the everyday life of the people in the area.

iv. Land Supply: Proximity to a 'developed' or 'opened' area and the geomorphological features are two leading physical factors determining the value of available land for industrial development in the Lagos study area. This section of our analysis is confined to those lands connected with industry either by the manner of their use or by the rendering of the land suitable for other aspects of land use through industrially based technology. However, since the history of land development in Lagos is the history of reclaiming hitherto inaccessible swamps, wild forests or lagoons from the encroaching sea, the analysis necessarily touches on such wider issues as reclamation costs and land prices, which are treated in more detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The principle of least effort (often meaning least cost) appears to have conditioned the behaviour of developers in the Lagos area. For this reason 'Flat land' suitable for building with minimum site preparation costs is strongly competed for by residential and other uses against industrial use. (cf. Amos A. "INDUSTRIAL LAND USE", (1973). Generally, land (of all types)

4.42 An unoccupied territory which may be a forest, a swamp or other remote land is "opened up" and subsequently attracts other development (humanisation of the landscape or utilising the land for urban, industrial or other organised human needs). The provision of infra-structure (roads, power supply and telecommunications) and the reclaiming of swamps or clearing of forest constitute preliminary attempts to "open up" or develop the natural or wild environment. Such attempts have been stepped up for the entire study area since the Lagos State Government was created.
for locating industrial activity competes unevenly with various other categories of land use e.g. 2b land use would outbid ld - low income housing - or 7b - private recreation ground - in the open land market. Fig. 7 demonstrates the relative cost situation in the bid for a twenty acre estate at Iwaya offered for sale by the Anglican Church Mission (Lagos Diocese) in April 1972. The church hastened to get the highest possible bid for their valuable property.

Before an adequate number of industrial estates became established in the Lagos study area, entrepreneurs placed a high premium on accessibility when seeking sites on which to locate their business. Thus the major roads, especially Ikorodu Road from Igbobi through Maryland and Onigbongbo to Ikaran, close by the bridge on Agboyi creek, attracted many industries and commercial firms. This close association between 4a and 2b/3a land-use categories reflects an established process in a traditional environment undergoing a change in land tenure and land use. The government had acquired lands for the road and in this process have altered the communal land tenure system, thereby enabling individuals or firms to negotiate for secure tenure (by freehold or long lease) of land for any activity of the purchaser's choice.

A similar situation is observed on the Lagos-Abeokuta Road, especially between Mushin and Oshodi. The exception here is that government land holdings for other categories of land use e.g. airport, railroad, television and radio stations, military establishments, agricultural stations and educational establishments interrupt the pattern so much that the Ikorodu ribbon type of industrial land use (pattern) could not be repeated on the Lagos/Abeokuta road. Besides, the Ikorodu road is a much busier road (also described by U.N. experts as the second most dangerous road in the world) as it forms the main link between Lagos and the rest of Nigeria - Benin and the East, Ibadan and the Northern states.

4.43 A field example is provided in the case of the Anglican church mission land at Iwaya. The land (about 19 acres in all and occupying a vantage scenery on the lagoon coast) is regarded as the mission's golden goose by the church officials interviewed (including the archbishop himself). It is being offered to the highest bidder and for that a private industrial firm is preferred. They expected in 1972, lease terms guaranteeing the church £6,000 net rent per acre per annum, which they knew was clearly beyond the reach of housing estate developers. The intervention of Lagos State Government decree against sale of land to aliens (see Appendix 39) has so far disturbed the market forces.
Industrial and commercial firms have taken up a hundred yards or more on either side of the arterial roads (in built-up districts) thus turning these roads into large business streets. This feature is particularly noticeable along Ikorodu Road from Yaba Roundabout to Onigbongbo and Abeokuta Road from Idioro to the northern edge of Agege town. Ojuelegba (Surulere's busiest street) is already well known. See Plates 9a,b,c.

Some of these firms had acquired the land or established themselves on the spot before the creation of the various industrial estates into which they have become grouped, as at Iganmu/Ijorah Causeway. All along the more northerly parts of Ikorodu and Abeokuta roads and within the study area, shrewd entrepreneurs have acquired all available parcels of land within five hundred yards of the roads, expecting to develop these at the earliest opportunity or purely for speculative purposes. Similar patterns of behaviour are observed along the Lagos-Badagry Road; Apapa-Ilupeju-Ikeja road; Ilesanmaja-Isolo-Mushin-Ilupeju-Beriga Road; Ikeja-Isherri road; and Agege-Ipaja road (Map 51 refers). The Lagos-Badagri road is likely to deviate from this pattern on account of a recent government (Lagos State) decree which declared all land along this road within substantial limits to be taken over by the Government. In general, therefore, categories 4a land use development in the study area encourages or attracts categories 2b and 3a land use which tend to complement rather than compete with 4a land use. (The competitive power of 4a land use against all other uses is of course inflated to a superior level by the government backing it normally carries. Note the dominance of this form of use in all government land acquisitions from 1906 to 1972, Appendix 7 and Table 15).

The distribution of industrial activity within the Lagos study area leads one to conclude that morphological features of the land used in that area are not sufficiently strong to form constraints on land acquisition for industrial purposes. The fact is further confirmed by replies to supplementary questionnaire Sheet F from land consuming industries and firms. The rush to acquire land reached an all-time high during the period of this survey (January to May 1972). Firms, individuals and the Lagos State government were competing vigorously for every acre of land available for sale, irrespective of what the morphology of the site might be. (Linton, 1951; Dury, 1960). Relatively flat (moderate slope), easily built on and accessible land naturally commanded higher prices; but no competitor for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features. By May 1972 there was no competition for the purchase of any land within the study area would give up an opportunity to acquire one solely on grounds of unsatisfactory morphological features.
'empty' or 'unoccupied' land to be found anywhere within the study area (or anywhere else in Lagos state). Every acre or plot was owned and, if offered for sale, the asking price could easily be obtained.46

It is against such a background that the wisdom of creating the industrial estates through compulsory zoning methods makes sound planning sense. Success of the zoning method is encouraging the state government to apply similar zoning for other categories of land use, especially such economically weak competitors as recreation/open spaces, forest reserves and low income housing. In new development areas the layout plans make provisions for different specified uses in advance. See Maps 19, and 23.

Waste Disposal: The underdevelopment and inadequacy of services connected with waste disposal have been mentioned on p.118 (Chapter 2) of this thesis. It is the least considerable land user catered for today, but the need is obviously growing with increasing industrialization. The available facilities for waste disposal are clearly obsolete and unrelated to the modern needs of Lagos. For not only the sources but the volume of daily waste accumulation have increased enormously since the 1950s. Industrialization and accelerated urbanisation are the two major factors responsible for the increase.

For the study area, five sources of waste accumulation were identified during the survey:-

Domestic refuse - consisting of clothing material and discarded artifacts, remnants from food preparation, waste from used fuel, and home cleaning.

Industrial waste products - comprising dust and ashes, liquid effluents, scraps (metal) and scrapings/filings (metal and wooden), and other impurities from raw materials.

Human waste - Excreta, urine, bath water

Slum clearance - debris, discarded artifacts and miscellaneous rubbish.

General waste of vegetable origin - rubbish cleared from gardens and lawns, and other vegetable matter. Quite abundant in rural parts of the study area.

Burning and the use of a liquid medium of disposal would take care of the majority of these waste products; but inadequate water supply and the areas

4.46. See Maps 16 and 17 for Lagos land price/value in 1973. Disputed lands certainly existed but not "unoccupied" so their values were not unknown. See Map 15 in which the distribution of disputed lands in the study area is shown among general pattern of land ownership.
undeveloped sewerage system greatly hinder efforts in this direction. The methods of collecting and disposing of refuse remain at a relatively primitive level. For example outside the high class residential districts (SR 1 land use type) the bulk of human excrement (estimated at about 450 tons per day) is collected in buckets by "night-soil men" who convey the buckets on their heads to some central containers attached to vehicles provided by Lagos City Council's Cleansing Department. In turn the vehicles make their way at dawn to Carter Bridge where the obnoxious contents are discharged into the lagoon, further contaminating the already highly polluted waters of Lagos. 47 This is one of the most disgraceful aspects of land abuse in the study area, considering also that the decision to dump such raw human waste in blatant disregard for the residents of Isale-Eko was taken by medical officers over ten years ago and continues to receive the approval of present-day medical officers! Poor awareness of land-use organisation and the interrelationship of land use categories appear to underly such irresponsible decisions.

The volume of this form of waste is likely to increase with increasing population in the study area. It is therefore of urgent necessity that better means of disposal become available in the area both to stop pollution and contain the nuisance caused so far. Nothing short of a complete sewer system (similar to the one successfully constructed for Victoria island) and co-ordinating the major public utilities of water and power supplies would remedy the situation satisfactorily. Unless the step is taken soon, the very pace of industrialization or its expected benefits will soon suffer a retardation, precipitating thereby a premature phase iv (blighting) type of land-use organisation. A conscious effort on the part of the Planning Authorities to create a good sewerage system and provide better waste disposal methods should lead to better land-use planning in the study area.

4.47 The Eleja Church at Isale Eko Marina has to no avail waged a long battle against the authorities responsible for this disgraceful nuisance. Thrice within the author's knowledge they have lost court actions against the L.C.C. Health authorities/stop the nuisance. Many local residents who have endured the obnoxious smell for decades have lost all sense of smell and have reconciled themselves to the daily nuisance. No cogent reasons are offered by the local authorities whose Medical Officers of Health are contented to follow the bureaucratic procedure of "continuing the tradition"! The poor awareness factor refers to the carelessness which made it possible for planning authorities to ignore the fact that many Lagosians depend on the lagoon for washing, bathing, fishing, drinking and sometimes transport.

4.48 The "blighting" effect refers to the neglect, decay and subsequent breakdown in organisation of land use which set in at some stage of neighbourhood developments. It starts with breakdown in services as the well to do move to brighter surroundings and less affluent citizens or immigrants take over or are left behind. Housing conditions deteriorate, communal amenities fall into disrepair and the environment becomes unattractive to those who can afford to move.
At the time of this survey, the state of waste disposal facilities in the study area is particularly appalling and is expected to be worse in the rainy season. Outside Ikoyi, Palm Grove estate, Victoria island, Apapa G.R.A. and Ikeja G.R.A., unsightly open drains (gutters) form the main sewerage system. They are found in close association with 4a land use (roads) and 1b-f land use (streets, lanes, alleys and courtyards). Conditions are better in the rural parts of the study area whereby basic space management (at phase 1 of land use organisation) enables settlements to prefer the better drained or higher grounds and land is sufficient (without fragmented ownership) for rubbish to be correctly disposed of. In those rural areas, wastelands and unreclaimed forests are used for all forms of waste disposal. Pits are dug in the bush for disposal of human waste, although some risk of pollution of well water may be involved; some refuse is burnt openly, while some is used for minor reclamation of nearby marshes or as manure.

Organised collection of refuse is a major responsibility of the local government authorities (L.C.C., Ikeja Divisional Council and Ikorodu D.C.); but the poor basic structure available to them for urban services renders inefficient the efforts made so far by these authorities. The result is that obnoxious smelling heaps of household rubbish (garbage and assorted refuse) are to be seen at odd corners of almost every street in the residential districts. Sometimes these heaps formhumps on main roads. Any waste ground or empty plot in the city quickly becomes a rubbish dump or tipping ground for the neighbourhood. (See Plates 28 and 34, and C.P. 24 and note rubbish heaps).

Industrial waste is already accumulating at a rate high enough to worry other land users. Local streams are polluted by the waste material from dye factories; filings from aluminium factories are strewn along the road-sides of the Abeokuta-Agege Motor Road and other roads; dust from the asbestos factory at Ikeja settles on washings and the roofs of high-class residential property at Ikeja G.R.A.; rubbish from institutions such as schools, hospitals and catering sections of public buildings is carelessly handled. The few incinerators provided by the authorities are hopelessly outdated and inadequate for an area that has trebled its population (through immigration) and has received the majority of the nation's industrial establishments in a relatively short period of fifteen years.

One unfortunate effect of developing a modern urban centre (such as Lagos Metropolis) prior to the development of sewerage systems and modern waste collection/disposal facilities is that once the available space has been assigned among other land-use categories, a pattern of land use and ownership becomes established which makes it even more difficult and expensive to allocate
land for these basic amenities. It is particularly unfortunate in the case of most parts of the Lagos study area, where poor drainage and the tropical heat (aiding the breeding of mosquitoes and other insects) pose urgent sanitation problems. A current dilemma in Lagos centres around whether housing and other land use developments should await the laying of sewers and provision of waste disposal facilities or face the high cost and inconvenience of 'superimposing' these amenities upon established and complicated land ownership and land use patterns after other categories have taken up available space. In any case, the stench and general health hazards (arising from avoidable insanitary conditions) currently experienced in the Lagos situation, leave one in no doubt as to the consequences of neglecting this vital aspect of land-use planning in the development of a modern metropolis capable of achieving a balanced land use organisation.

Influx of Labour Force: Industrial concentration in Lagos brought about an unusually large inflow of people who eventually made up the labour force of Lagos. The inflow began in 1898 with the commencement of the Nigerian Railway from Lagos inland to the interior. The railway workshop at Ebute Metta was the nucleus of a large scale labour employing industry in the area, ranging from local unskilled labour (for general manual work) to semi-skilled and skilled labour supplied by expatriates (Sierra Leoneans, West Indians and Europeans). The scale of labour inflow at this initial scale was so small as to produce only a minor impact on land use in Lagos. There was still surplus land for cheap residential buildings to house the newcomers without embarking upon expensive reclamation projects or worrying about commuting problems. The ease with which the railway authorities acquired 1,100 acres (valued in 1972 prices at £55 million, i.e. excluding buildings and structures, at £50,000 per acre at that location) and the generous use of space for senior workers' residential buildings (Ikoyi type of detached colonial houses), confirm the relative absence of pressure on land resulting from this early inflow of labour force in response to industrial presence. The very idea of modern

4.49 The need for government to acquire land for public purposes official residential quarters, administrative offices, institutions, roads and railways, led to the early intervention of the colonial authorities in the local land tenure. The railway development commenced in Lagos in 1898 involved vigorous moves on part of the early Colonial officers (notably Carter, Denton and Egerton) to acquire freehold or 999 year lease for tracts of land required for the new land uses. In this way Oke Ira at Ebute Metta became one of the oldest acquisitions by a public corporation in the study area. The Yaba acquisition was for housing development. The principles of outright acquisition at market value, even when land is required for public purposes, and with proper registration procedure were established at this period and became gradually spread throughout Lagos Colony. See Appendix 24.
land tenure and the principle of government acquisition with market value compensation originated from experiences and practice of the Nigerian railway authorities.

The next upsurge in labour inflow to the Lagos area came with the development of Apapa port in 1925 onwards (growth of Lagos in the interwar years). Many people came to Lagos in the hope of securing employment as dockhands. Their background was basically rural and they were, for the most part, in a strange ethnic territory from their own. They were therefore unskilled immigrants ready to do manual labour at the factories of the new industrial estate or to act as servants to established people in Lagos. Young school leavers and many semi-skilled workers were among them. The commercial complex generated by the presence of the port and the general ancillary services consequent thereto brought a greater mixture in the types of labour flowing into Lagos. White collar workers, business executives, foreign merchants, school teachers and skilled workers (e.g. drivers, mechanics and machine operators) were among the new labour force flowing into Lagos. The significant fact here is that increasing variety of immigrant labour force also implies greater variety in land-use requirements expressed in the form of residential areas, modes of transportation and greater pressure on both available space and public utilities. The marine quarters (Apapa) east of Malu road, was established to cater for some of the dock workers and their families. The Apapa C.R.A. was established to provide high grade residential accommodation for expatriate key workers. Ancillary land uses such as schools, markets, churches, mosques, fire stations and police barracks were brought into the available space. All came in response to the influx of a large potential labour force.

Invariably not all workers could be accommodated at walking distance from the port. Hence rail and road transport (both big land consumers) were organised to move workers from their residential districts to where their labour was required, at the port. A ferry system run by the Nigerian Ports Authority has since added to the means of transporting vast numbers of workers (of all types) between Apapa and Lagos island. The port continues to grow and to attract more of the ever increasing labour force flowing into the Lagos area.

1950 onwards: A third upsurge of immigrant labour force influx into Lagos is identifiable with the creation of Apapa industrial estate. The estate brought a greater variety of industrial activity, for in its 230 acres are found the most heavily capitalised and modern industries comprising food and drinks, textiles and clothing, wood and leather, building and construction, metal, engineering, petro-chemicals and transport. The estate also enjoys the
advantage of being situated close to both the port industries and, recently, the Iganmu industrial complex.

In a survey by the Nigerian Institute of Industrial Research (quoted in Mabogunje 1969) on industrial labour force, the Apapa industrial estate was shown to have attracted 75% of workers in food and drinks, 60% in building and construction and 50% in transport industries.

At this stage, Lagos has come to be viewed by people outside Lagos as a centre of instant employment for all sorts of labour. The earlier immigrant labourers, through their visits home on festive and other occasions, have spread the impression and news of 'affluence' available in the new industrial nucleus of Nigeria. Nigerians and non-Nigerians have been attracted to this hub of instant opportunity. In the process, the vast immigrant labour force (mostly from rural parts of Nigeria and lacking in urban skills or experience) has helped in creating the need for more industrial activity, has provided effective local markets for factories' products and has brought about the need for organised amenities and services such as public utilities and public transport which rely on high threshold numbers for initial operation.

The increasing number of people in Lagos in response to industrialization in the area is a significant factor for understanding the various effects of the latter on the use of land in Lagos. Even the products of Apapa factories (food and drinks, vehicle assembly, building and construction, engineering and metal industries) reflect the needs generated by the population congregating into the Lagos area.

Since Apapa industrial estate was set up in 1950 (a development set upon the 230 acre site of reclaimed swamp), other industrial estates (often larger and more complex) have appeared. (Map 11 of Industrial Estates of Metropolitan Lagos refers). Each additional estate added to the attraction for an ever increasing influx of labour force from less fortunate (unindustrialized)

4.50 See Plates 2(viii) and 21. The Port is made up of Apapa Quays and Lagos Harbour. The Port is the largest in the country. It is connected to the open sea by a dredged channel with a draught of about 28ft. Apapa Quay on the mainland is the country's main outlet for export. It is well served by rail and a massive road development has since given it the physical form of a busy and well served port. 18 deep water berths, heavy floating cranes, modern warehouses and a dry dock are provided. Container cargo is now catered for as well. Morgan & Pugh: West Africa, Chapter 12 pp.581-584 for details of evolution of the Port from 1890 to 1966. In Tijd. Vol. 50, 1959, Prof. Hodder has examined the growth of trade at this port. Although now dated, Ogundana article "Lagos - Nigeria's premier port" (Nigerian Geol. Vol. 4, 1961, No.2 pp.20-40) represents, perhaps a fine example of a local geographer's view of the impact of this port on Nigeria's development and in relation to other Nigerian Ports.
parts of Nigeria. Whereas a 1959 estimate gave Apapa almost 36% of the Lagos industrial labour force, the rise of other industrial estates outside the municipal boundaries has greatly reduced the percentage held by the Apapa nucleus without reducing the absolute numbers of workers. The needs of the aggregate population (of immigrants and natives) of the study area express themselves very strongly in residential space requirements and space for essential ancillary purposes.

A major feature of the 'influx' is the great surplus of potential labour exceeding available demand from all employers. This causes serious unemployment problems, worsened by the essentially rural background of the immigrants from regions devoid of an industrial tradition. Earlier, such labour force as became surplus to the industrial employment market would be drafted into menial service (gardeners, night watchmen, stewards, cooks, office messengers and cleaners) but the scale of influx of this type is now so large that a net surplus of unemployables (no skills, no education, no funds for training expenses and sometimes even physically infirm) has been accumulating at an alarming rate. The field work for this thesis was conducted at a time (1972) when the unemployment problem appeared to have attained its peak. Young school leavers, university graduates and young girls from all over Nigeria (particularly from the war affected areas) appear to have invaded Lagos in search of employment and the fulfilment of never materialising dreams of affluence. The sudden boom in prostitution, depicted in the unusually high percentage of brothels (euphemistically known as 'hotels') found in the lower medium and low grade residential districts of Greater Lagos (e.g. Lawanson, Surulere, Yaba, Mushin, Ijebu-Ode, Ajah, and Shomolu) resulted jointly from the immigrants' business acumen and the overwhelming surplus of female immigrant unemployables. See Plates 31 and 32.

Tables 24 and 26 based on census estimates show the effect of industrialization on the rising population of Lagos. As more people flocked to Lagos in search of better employment opportunities and the modern amenities associated with industrialization in Lagos, changes have been produced in the pattern and structure of residential, transport and local rural land uses. These

4.51 Table 16 - Actual percentage calculated as 35.6% for Apapa out of 8 Centres. Figures from Federal Min. of Commerce and Industries, Lagos. Later figures were not available in similar form on account of the changed practice in statistical recording of labour in the Lagos area. Frequent changes like this and the lack of permanence as to which Ministry or body records what ruins continuity and frustrates comparisons.

4.52 Pipe borne water, electricity, telephone (though hopelessly inefficient), modern sewage disposal, regular postal service, organised recreation, transport service and closeness to potential employment and educational opportunities are among the amenities Lagos provides, however efficiently. They are the things that make living easier and contrast so markedly between the rural district depicted in Colour Plate 19.
changes have had the general effect of drawing more land into the residential and transport categories of land use. At the same time hitherto physically undesirable lands (marshes, swamps, forests, sand-dunes and flood-prone lands)\(^{53}\) have been reclaimed and used up for residential, industrial, institutional and transport purposes. This has led in a very short period (ten years) to an unprecedented metropolitan explosion in this part of West Africa. Fig. 9 depicts the rise of population in Lagos and potential growth up to 1985. In response to this growth it became necessary to draw more acreage of land within the study area to meet the increased urban and industrial needs of Lagos. The growth of built-up space has been dramatic. See Map 34.

Development of allied categories of land use: Space required for activities of needs associated with industrialization may be examined (analysed) in four classes:-

1. **Industrial sites** (actual locational space for factories or works)

   For our purpose, this comprises the complete extent of the industrial estates measured either in floor space\(^ {54}\) or acres. They have grown from a mere 20 acres experiment at Yaba, through the 230 acres at Apapa to the present total of 1,700 acres within the Lagos study area (see L.R.U.S. map and the map of industrial estates of Metropolitan Lagos, Map 10). Some of the sites, such as Ilupeju and Ikeja complex, have still to be fully developed and indeed incorporate some residential allocations. The industrial estates themselves have been discussed fully in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

   Outside the industrial estates and the 'railway compound', only the saw mills district at Ebute Metta East occupies a large continuous site (about 80 acres). However, there are smaller non-estate industrial premises dotted all over Lagos island, Ebute Metta and Yaba. They are engaged in textile manufacture, printing, metal fabrication and assorted craft industries. Each premises is small and covers between 40-200 square feet of floor space. The labour force is small and only a rudimentary form of amenities (in power supply, water supply, transport facilities and telecommunications) are provided. As noted earlier the Indian-owned clothing factory at Ebute-Metta East is an exceptional case of a small-scale well organised and satisfactorily sited firm outside the officially zoned industrial centres. Farther away from the centre, outside the business or office premises only and hardly outside Central Lagos.

\(^{53}\) See Map 4. Note the position and number of reclaimed swamps.

\(^{54}\) Information on industrial space use in whatever unit is difficult to obtain in the field and is totally neglected by the Government departments (even F.I.R.) responsible for providing statistical records on industries. This is a clear example of poor information organisation in Nigeria. The best source is only available from Estate Agents such as Knight, Frank and Rutley but often for business or office premises only and hardly outside Central Lagos.
to the far western part of the study area, the toilet paper and pools printing firm at Ojo town is a typical example of a pioneer industry locating its factory away from the congested, developed zone of the metropolis.

There are adequate signs that more space will be acquired for industrial sites as the industrialization features within the study area become more complex and complete. For the moment the real large scale land consuming industries, viz. the basic industries of iron and steel, petrochemicals, paper mills and vehicle manufacture, have not come into the scene. Clearly none of the present industrial estates has room for them. It is therefore expected that when these basic (heavy) industries come to be introduced, sites for them will be found in the remaining unreclaimed swamps and in further incursions into existing rural lands of the study area.

It was observed during the land use survey that many large buildings outside the C.B.D. and commercial districts are being converted or adapted to industrial or commercial uses. It is all in the effort to provide more 'floor space' for the ever-increasing number of industries which either have failed to secure places in the industrial estates or desire simply to site their activities in specific parts of the metropolis for whatever reason.

ii. Transportation network: This essential item of the infrastructure for industrial development has been developed with unbelievable intensity since 1950 and more roads are planned. Appendix 7 and Tables 14 and 15 confirm the official claim that a substantial part of the land acquired in the study area by the Federal government between 1906 and 1972 was for road development. Whereas only the arterial road connecting Lagos island with Agege (and Abeokuta) was built prior to 1926, the period of modern development (industrialization) between 1950 and 1972 has seen tremendous activity in developing a network of all types of category 4 land use. There is the Lagos-Ikorodu Road, which now also forms part of the Lagos to Epe and the Lagos to Ibadan roads. The port at Apapa is connected by road and rail to Lagos mainland and beyond into the more northerly part of the Lagos study area.

A Road Development map based on the Lagos State Ministry of Works and Planning information on road works affecting the study area had to be withdrawn on account of irreconcilable data supplied from the Ministry at Ikeja and the lateness. However, enough information was derived from the Land Use Survey and interview with the State Chief Highway Engineer to adduce the following information: More miles of roads are being added to the network as major projects such as the Lagos-Badagri road and the Ilupeju industrial estate road from Isolo via Ilupeju to Shomolu and Gbagada, near completion. It has already been demonstrated in previous studies of these parts that the history of
development is in fact tied up with the history of road development. As the roads open up new lands, former remote locations such as Ojo district and parts of Ikorodu and Epe divisions acquire new land values and attract new property developers.

Most significant of these road developments is the Eko Bridge complex which has consumed more land and money than any single road project in the study area so far. Eko Bridge and its associated complex development provides rapid transit and communication between Apapa, Lagos island and mainland Lagos (see Plate 12). It is integrated with such modern through-roads as the Western Ave and Apapa Road, and features an ingenious interchange with the Lagos-Badagri Road. It is also planned to continue a section of this complex over the projected expressway between Lagos and Ibadan. Progress on the project was temporarily delayed by the problem of clearing squatters and some residential property from the projected path. However, early in 1973 stern measures had to be adopted by the authorities to deal with the resistance offered by occupants of those squalid residential parts of Iporin, Iganmu, Idi-ori and Mushalasi. Bulldozers have levelled up the 'homes' and the dual carriageway construction has proceeded as scheduled.

More exciting road networks are planned to link the industrial centres with residential districts; thus aiding movement of the labour force between home and work place. In all these, however, traffic problems in Lagos remains among the worst in the world. An average worker travelling by car or bus spends up to five hours each day between home and work. Roads are so congested and dangerous that a casual observer would hardly believe anything has been done to aid free intr-urban circulation of people and goods in Lagos. This problem is discussed more fully in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

4.55 The length of time each district of the study area has experienced impact of the development process tends to correspond with the date of road, rail, port or similar communication development in the area. Earliest development of housing, shopping centres or industrial firms are found along roadways. Development later moves inland to fill in space between parallel routeways. Ijora Causeway, Lagos - Abeokuta Road, Lagos-Ikorodu Road, Apapa-Ajequule-Kirikiri Roads, Agege-Apaja Road, Ikorodu-Agbowa Road, Ojuelegba Road at Surulere and now Lagos-Badagri Road provide good examples.

4.56 See Fig. 6, C.P. 33 and Plate 12. This is the latest addition to Lagos Cultural landscape and major contribution to easing the traffic problems of Lagos city, although many cynically minded dismiss its importance by acknowledging only that the bridge and its complex associated expressways bring you faster to the traffic jam! Nevertheless it currently handles an estimated 40% of the traffic (vehicular and pedestrian) entering or leaving Lagos Island. Much of Federal government land purchases in 1963 to 1972 was connected with the development of this bridge, the Apapa extension and Western Avenue developments.
For the moment it suffices to note that the impact of industrialization in the study area has had the effect of producing over-crowding in certain residential districts and concentrating work placed in geographically distant areas, with the result that commuting from such districts as Surulere, Yaba and Shomolu to work places in the island, Apapa and Ebute Metta tend to acquire a one-way flow pattern at both peak travel times (to work at 6-9 a.m. and from work at 3-7 p.m.). Inefficiency in the use of available roads and streets has already been observed during an earlier survey by Koenigsberger's U.N. team. The situation has not improved despite the many miles of additional roads and wider streets. Poor administration and inefficient management are to blame for the chaos rather than industrialization as such.

There is a marked neglect of water transport which would strike any geographer looking at a map of the study area (See Map 8 and Fig. 6). Lagos Lagoon stands as a central waterway but it is hardly used in the essential mass movement of people and goods within the study area. Rather, what one sees is an overwhelming concentration of development on an axis running from Lagos island, through Iddo and Mushin, to Oshodi, Ikeja and Agege. This was excusable on the grounds of the constricting nature of earlier political boundaries of Lagos. Now that the whole study area has come virtually under one political entity (a planning body and state government), it is hoped that this imbalance in development will be noticed and redressed to the overall advantage of internal circulation of people and goods within the Lagos study area.

iii. Land for Primary Production: This category of use has proved a poor competitor for land in the study area. It is constantly being displaced and pushed farther into the periphery of the study area, as space formerly put to such use becomes taken over for industrial, residential, transport or government (often military and institutional) purposes. Despite the

4.57 Koenigsberger op. cit. ...."It is disorder, not lack of space, which causes Lagos roads to become insufficient" - quoted in Mabogunje, I.B.G. Special Publication, Nov. 1968, p.213.

4.58 The type of immigrants residing at Ikeja differ significantly from those found at Agege, Mushin, Itire and Shomolu essentially because the former are usually in full-time employment (as "workers") and rent their accommodation in comparatively new private housing districts. Quite often there are many empty plots in the district. The latter are for the most part applicants living in crowded conditions and are generally in no position to pay the high rent charged for rooms or flatlets available in the new districts. Ikeja is also spared the overcrowding condition on account of its relative distance from the city centre.
apparent low status of land used for agriculture in Lagos, this use represents the first phase of development most lands here undergo shortly after reclamation from forest, swamps or dunes. Land in transition (i.e. between uses) is also frequently used for temporary 'market gardens'.

Some low grade residential districts (e.g. Shomolu, Sogunle and Oshodi) have become popular on account of their nearness to lands available for cultivation. Enterprising immigrants do not miss any opportunity for deploying the only skill they have (gardening). In one area of immigrant residence\(^5\) at Ikeja (between the Airport Road and Isheri Road) close to the Ikeja Industrial estate (west side) four in seven occupied houses visited had well stocked large size 'gardens' operated by residents (See Plate 13a). It was also established in sampled interviews that the majority of residents, whether already in employment or awaiting employment in industry or commerce, engage themselves in part-time cultivation of short-lease farm plots varying in size from \(\frac{1}{4}\) acre to ten acres. They grow cassava, maize, vegetables and other quick-yielding food crops but definitely not cash crops. In every case the land they cultivate is really awaiting development for more lucrative use such as residential, industrial or institutional purposes. The produce from these 'gardens' hardly reaches the market but they form an essential relief to the immigrant family's food budget problems and curtail dangerous idleness during the long wait for formal employment in the city.

Official estimate for the agricultural population here remains below 5% (against 70% for the national average) and as little as 3% in the municipality itself.\(^5\) This represents a major decline from the time (prior to industrialization) when farming for food crops and cash crops represented the mainstay of people in this region - the great indigenous plantations described in Chapter 2 above - to the present phase of industrial development when labour and land are increasingly becoming geared to the service of the industrialization process. Those lands mapped (see I.U. Map 8) as under categories 2 a and A1 to A5 of the survey are the main areas of activity in this respect.

The extremely low internal production of food (as measured by space effectively deployed for that purpose) in the study area relates to the fact

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5.59 Hardly surprising, as Lagos has for centuries been orientated towards trade and business and away from agriculture. Even at the time of its foundation, it is believed that fishing rather than agriculture provided basic livelihood. Lagosians farmed on the mainland but by using slave or hired labour who lived on the farms, land shortage and differential aspiration are also responsible for the small percentage. Horticultural activity has recently appeared on the scene. See C.F. 20(a) and (b).
that large quantities of food for feeding the 1½ million people here are brought in from outside the region. Ironically, the food has come from the homelands of the immigrants who poured into Lagos from all the states of the Nigerian Republic in search of better employment opportunities promised by industrialization in Lagos. The vast inflow of food into the metropolis has greatly widened the sphere of Lagos's economic influence. From this industrial centre, cash and manufactured goods flow into the interior food producing areas of Nigeria. Reliable supplies of food from the interior have also reduced the necessity for allocating substantial land in the study area to food production. Competition for land between agricultural and non-agricultural uses in the Lagos study area appears really keen at Ikeja division where land for food production is interchangeable and other lands are either unsuitable for agriculture as in the south-western sector of the study area, or fairly remote as at the eastern sector. Food supply from the rest of Nigeria are as follows: The southern states supply the main root crops, vegetables and forest-derived condiments. The northern states supply grains, edible oils and meat on-the hoof.

Exotic and foreign foodstuffs are imported on a fairly large scale both for the non-Nigerian population connected with industry, commerce, foreign missions and tourism (the hotel industry), and in response to the acquired taste of the many Nigerians trained abroad in the past twenty years. There is a marked reduction in the imported food supply as local factories produce the main finished canned foods and as fresh vegetables in that category (lettuce, carrots, cucumbers, turnips, artichokes and cabbages) become fashionable in the market gardens of the study area. (Omolade, 1971). The various markets in the study area (see Table 7 and Appendix 12 a and(b)) constitute active distribution centres for all the food (Nigerian and foreign) brought into, manufactured and consumed within the Lagos Metropolis.

Raw material derivation: The situation observed in food production from the study area is similar to that observed for the area as a producer of raw materials for local factories. More raw materials (agricultural produce - both vegetable and animal - timber, petroleum, ores and scrap metals) originate from outside the study area. However, a number of plantations (for oil palm, cocoa, teak and orchards) are operated by government agencies
A relatively insignificant space is devoted exclusively to this purpose as the raw materials are more efficiently procured from the various geographical regions of the Nigerian interior. The role of Lagos as a port also enables large quantities of those raw materials more conveniently imported from overseas to be readily available. Industrialization has therefore not

4.60 A new pattern of food imports is emerging in Lagos mainly to meet increased demand for foreign food and exotic dishes by the hotel industry, foreign residents in the Capital, the "acquired taste" of Nigerians who studied or lived abroad long enough to adhere to such tastes, and a handful of elitist Nigerians who purchase such food for its snob value. It is difficult to say to what extent such foods are supplanting indigenous foodstuff; but certainly they constitute substantial drain on the nation's foreign exchange. Not even the avowed import substituting policy in local industrialization has done much to halt this trend. Perhaps the rise of supermarkets or department stores in Lagos are also responsible for this trend. Up to 1962 the main food imports consisted of stockfish, sugar, flour and salt in the proportion 7:3:3:2. In 1972-73, despite the exchange control system, the demand for imported food has not only increased, it has become more diversified, covering the whole range of canned foods (known locally as "provisions"): milk, salmon, sardines, tomato, spaghetti, baked beans, fruits such as peaches and plums, carrots, creamed rice and corned beef; baby foods: Heinz strained, junior and toddlers tinned foods, powdered milk and other feeds; breakfast cereals: cornflakes, rice crisps, sugar puffs, porridge oats and wheatabix; pre-fluffed or easy cook rice; fruit juices and squash: lemon, orange, grapefruit ribena and pineapple; beverages: tea and coffee; condiments: foreign spices, herbs and seasonings; Dairy products: sterilised milk from Holland and other areas, butter, cheese and preserves; confectionery: sweets, biscuits, jam, marmalade and assorted "spreads"; Fresh fruits and vegetables: oranges, grapes, carrots, asparagus, peas, apples and pears (mostly for the catering and hotel industry); Meat and Fish, Mutton, Stockfish, Salmon, Sole and trout among other non-tropical fish. Local production of baby food at Apapa and some dairy products from the government farm at Agege represent the existing but faint efforts at meeting this evergrowing demand from home products. Nevertheless the trend is likely to remain long with the present generation of Nigerians as they internationalise their tastes and snub home grown foods for social and physiological reasons.
produced that expected form of impact which might have encouraged the use of more land in the study area for raising raw materials. This situation will hold good as long as the movement of raw materials from other parts of Nigeria or overseas is not restricted.

Quarrying and mining, which could have represented substantial land use, are not operating within the study area as such; except in the case of 'sand extraction' mostly from river and lagoon beds. This peculiar raw material source (see p.28) has become increasingly important as industrialization progresses in the area. (Map 13 contains major operation grounds in Lagos of the "Sand Dealers' Association" as approved by the Fed. Min. of Mines and Power, 1972). Since cement originates from outside the area, sand is a major local raw material base for the concrete industry on which the fast growing building and construction industry depends.

iv. Development of Residential Districts: That part of residential land use which is easily identifiable as directly originating from industrial

4.61 See glossary. Within the study area itself Category A3 land use are few and may be ready observed on the Abokuta road, north east of Agege. This study recognises under the general term of "plantation", the several estates (mostly run by the Lagos state Ministry of Agriculture - op. cit. - for the raising of tree crops in the study area, notably coconuts close to the coastal areas and particularly in Badagri division; oil palm (for which L.S.C. Controls 1,600 acres throughout the State); Citrus - mainly at Ikeja division; and, cocoa which does not really do well in the study area except in the northern part of the state marked "good agricultural land" in Map 13 but much effort is being made at promoting this crop.

Cassava growing to which the government has committed 1,200 acres by 1972, and rice cultivation for which the government had by 1972 deployed 230 acres of swamp are also organised like plantations; while maize is bred for distribution for farmers. The forest reserves are recorded among plantations. Apart from these plantations and similarly organised farming Lagos State also runs Farm institutes notably the Ikorodu Farm Institute where young school leavers may be trained and from whence the seeds of modern large scale farming is expected to come.

The few native plantations are for Kolanuts (now considered an inefficient land user). As a rule the plantation proper yields cash crop and the raw materials for industry. The intensive capital, expensive organisation and management necessitated state ownership.
development in Lagos, may be found in one of three forms:

(a) Predominantly immigrant workers' residential district, unattached to firms or employers, e.g. Agege, Mushin and Shomolu. Accommodation is cheap; space is crammed; buildings are shabby, ranging from shanty huts to shaky one or two storey buildings. (See Plates 28, 29 and 33).

(b) Employee quarters provided by and attached to firms e.g. Oke Ira for Nigerian Railways Corporation (Ebute Metta). The buildings are well planned on the firms private estate; only the senior or intermediate staff are accommodated; density is low. The estate is visible in Plate 2(vi).

(c) New residential districts for displaced land holders, victims of slum clearance e.g. Surulere (new Lagos) and Ebute Metta, or victims of new development, e.g. Iju village, resited in order to expand Iju waterworks.

While a definite increase is reported in the amount of land taken up by each of these types of residential district, the first type - predominantly immigrant (first stop) workers' residential districts unattached to a specific firm - is by far the fastest growing and the least endowed in planning, urban amenities or basic service (often no water, toilet, electricity or postal facilities). The other two types (employer sponsored and resettled victims) are better endowed with amenities and generally result in low density housing.

These three classes of industry-born residential districts are complemented by a fourth and ubiquitous type providing living accommodation for all classes of people in Lagos - industrial and non-industrial workers alike. It constitutes about 50% of all residential houses in the study area, depends entirely on private enterprise and competes vigorously against other categories of land use by virtue of its quick monetary returns for private landlords. At the time of this survey (1972), so vigorous was competition from this sector for all available land in the study area, that the value of any piece of land became virtually tied to expediency of converting such land into a residential tenanted house, for as many families as can be crowded therein. Here also the influx of people into Lagos in search of better employment opportunities made possible by industrialization is a primary link between this feature of residential land use development and the industrialization process in Lagos. Thus new residential districts falling within this category have sprouted within the space of ten years at Surulere, Isawanson, Itire, Ojo Road, Kirikiri, Moba, Akoka, Iwaya, Onike, Bariga, Ikorodu Road, Aguda, Mushin, Ikeja, Maryland, Anthony village, Agege, Ifeju, and Soganle. Available building land in these areas has been parcelled out in plots as small as 50 ft by 60 ft. On such a little space
many a would-be landlord hastily squeezes in two houses instead of one and makes provision for as many storeys as possible! (See Plate 8 multi-storey building at the left).

We have already noted that almost always these houses precede any thought by landlords, tenants and planning authorities for essential services such as sewerage, streets, water and electricity supplies. A more detailed analysis of residential land use under impact of industrialization in Lagos, is provided in Chapter 5 of this thesis. For the present it suffices to establish the point that land use for residential purposes in the study area is adopting a discernible pattern closely associated with the general impact of industrialization in the area.

The evidences examined in this chapter point to the fact that in Lagos industrialization generates changes in land-use development mainly because industrial activity in Lagos is linked to all human uses of the land. However, certain categories of land use become more directly involved or even acquire greater power of competition for space as a result of industrialization. Such is the case with categories 1, 2b, 3 and 4 land-use types in Lagos. Each continues to claim more space and displace or push to the periphery of the study area, such less competitive land-use types as 2a and A2 to A0. The pattern which emerges may be seen as constituting a given phase in the evolution of land-use organisation under impact of industrialization, to which the theoretical proposition in Chapters 1 and 6 refers (see pp. 48-50, 235 and Fig. 1). Industrialization has caused greater specialisation in space use (distinct industrial centres, residential districts, commercial areas and transport network), greater rate of urbanisation and greater volume of daily internal circulation of people and goods between places in the study area.

In the next chapter, we examine the features of land ownership, land value and land prices arising from and responsible for the spatial responses to industrial activity in Lagos, all based on the 1972 land-use survey.

4.62 Mabogunje (1968) op. cit. (p. 211) has already made the point that there is a general weakness in the application of zoning and similar planning regulations. It may be added that although building regulations, etc, exist, these officials are useless unless they are willing to enforce them or co-operate in dealing effectively against official corruption which frequently allow illegal property developments.
Chapter Five

LAND ACQUISITION IN LAGOS

This chapter is organised in eight aspects aimed at understanding the salient features of land availability within the study area for the various categories of use. It also examines the likely factor which may influence the supply and demand for space against the background of industrial growth at Lagos. The eight aspects are: ethnic land details, major land holders, government acquisitions, legal aspects of land acquisition, ownership units in the study area, communal/village lands, theoretical concepts, land use competition/land values, and land price trends in Lagos.

Ethnic Territories: Group ownership of land prior to the introduction of industrialization and the western land tenure system,\(^1\) is significantly in Nigeria as a whole and has influenced (indeed continues to influence) the basic questions of who may own land where and what type of tenure or use would apply to which land (Amos, Chicago 1973 - Nigerian ethnic groups survey). This acquires more significance when viewed against the background

5.1 Western land tenure system as applied to Lagos is in fact based on the subject of land tenure applicable to England in the victorian era. The short-coming of that system has been pointed out by Chisolm (Geography & Economics (1968), pp.119-121) mainly on the grounds that "imperfections in the land market arise from the multiplicity of forms of tenure and of usufruct rights in land and its attachments". The earliest 'English type' land transactions were not on 'freehold' terms but on 'long leases'. The current view is that the "imported land tenure" system differs significantly from traditional Yoruba land tenure in that the former confers title of ownership and transferability to an individual depending of course on which of 3 terms he obtains use of the land: Freehold confers absolute right and security of tenure, leasehold limits the duration and regulates use of the land while another holds transferability rights, and finally there is the short term permission (letting) for use of landed property on consideration of 'rent' at given intervals - weekly, monthly or annually - but least secure in terms of guaranteed duration of security of tenure for the tenant or land user. Traditional Yoruba land tenure makes no provision for complete freedom on part of person to whom it was originally granted, to transfer such right to anyone else or transform the estate into physical hereditament. This traditional form is gradually giving way under the impact of industrialization, historical association and legal instruments to the less cumbersome system which facilitates the selling, buying and use of land. Freehold or "rights in perpetuity" and "fee simple" interests are now preferred in Lagos; but the old system lingers on as shown in Fig. 4 a and b. - Landownership types.
of 'immigrant' versus 'native' land users in the study area. The whole question of security of tenures, for instance, resulted in the earlier motives behind the colonial creation of the Yaba industrial estate (See P. 97) and subsequent estates, whereby non-natives of the area are assured of title to space for their activities through open market forces, measured in economic rent rather than ethnological affiliations.

The study area embraces territorial claims by the three Yoruba sub-ethnic groups of Lagos State: viz. Egun, Awori and Ijebu, each being in some measure indigenous to the area. Ikorodu and Epe divisions are Ijebu territory; Ikeja division is Awori territory; Lagos division itself is jointly claimed by Egun and Awori (West and East of Clifford Street respectively); while Badagri division is fully claimed by the Egun but strongly contested by Awori migrants.

Background to Land-ownership in Lagos Study area: Traditional claims to land here were vested in a group or people (the tribe). The study area is a part of the Yoruba ethnic territory (Map 12 and a closer examination shows that those three Yoruba 'tribes' or clans mentioned above have vied against one another for control of lands within this study area. Ijebu land appears to have always stopped east of Majidun creek and the northern coast of Lagos lagoon. Aworiland lies to the west of this, extending as far westward as the far western borders of Ikeja division (physically defined by the Illo river valley before Obadore swamps). Egunland lay to the west and south of Aworiland (stretching over the border into Dahomey as far as Cotonou).

According to the testimony of Oba Akran of Badagri, the eastern boundary of Egunland is traditionally the present thoroughfare known as Clifford Street from its junction with Ikorodu Road and Agege Motor Road (at Yaba Roundabout) throughout its alignment and through Carter bridge to Lagos island. Lagos island itself has always been shared between Awori and Egun since its occupation but people from other parts of Yorubaland have become

5.2 Amos (1973): "Nigeria's 250 Ethnic Groups; Assumption and Realities", published in Proceedings of the 10th I.C.A.E.S., Chicago, 1973. (Footnote 1) and Amos (1968): "Modern Yorubas: A Study in Cultural Transition", Tokyo, 1968. 'Ethnic group' as used by the author in this and other writings is not equivalent to the popular term of "tribe" which is rightly considered as meaningless derogatory overloaded unscientific social reference. Based on the work "ethnos" or "people", the "ethnic group" represents a geneologically derived population unit identified as the ultimate (social watershed) group whose members acknowledge the same territory, cultural and historical identity, among other things. Yorubaland is the largest, most contiguous ethnic territory in Nigeria and 'overflows', as it were, into Dahomey where the western boundary corresponds (south to north) with the Popo, Fon and Borgu ethnic territories. Until recently Political partition between British and French tended to obscure the true extent of Yorubaland.
mixed or lost in the Lagos cauldron as Lagos became more a commercial kingdom where title to available land had very early passed into the hands of powerful families, the king and his lieutenants or (as in the case of the original Olofin of Lagos district, whose descendants became the Idejo chiefs) the earliest leader to establish his claim.

An historical analysis is appropriate for understanding the evolution of land tenure operating in the study area. For this purpose, answers collected during field-work to the questions in items 11 and 12 of the worksheet\(^3\) in Appendix 1 and other documents made available to the researcher during interviews were used along with intensive enquiries in compiling the following account of the land tenure system in Lagos over a time span of just over 150 years (1820-1972). The account is then related to events in the land-use development of the study area to identify significant changes.

Earlier at an indeterminate date and prior to 1700 (earliest date of Ashipa's connection with Benin\(^4\)) a shrewd leader had taken personal possession of all land within the then Lagos territory. The land so 'occupied' would of necessity lie outside effective control of the three

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5.3 Appendix 1 Form 72/AA/2/QF/Lag. The groups mentioned are, with the exception of "non-Yoruba", subjections of the Yoruba ethnic group, who in rival pursuit of territorital claims among themselves would arouse mutual hostility; but traditionally would jointly defend the entire territory against any non-Yoruba invaders or intruders.

5.4 Ashipa is said to be an Awori Warrior from Isheeri who was originally appointed to convey the body of a Benin general (who had died in action probably assisting Awori allies of the Benin King against some unknown enemy) to Benin. In gratitude, the Benin monarch decorated him (Ashipa), gave him a token sword and acknowledged him ruler of the strategic lagoon island of Lagos. Benin administrators and courtiers were even sent along to assist him in his new Kingdom. The name of this Awori warrior is lost in antiquity - only his army rank of "Ashipa" remains. It is now known that before this settlement at the present site of the Oba's Palace the Olofin's settlement at Ofin (ancestral home of all Idejo families) had existed centuries earlier and continue independent of the Ashipa's settlement. Physically the two were separated by swampy Alekoro island possibly until 1750 when the slave trade had become important in Lagos external relations. The Benin connection which started with Ashipa's reign was severed for the first time by Kosoko who rightly refuses to remain a mere vassal of the Benin monarch. From Kosoko's reign in 1846 the Vassalage ceased; so that when Akitore regained the throne in 1852 he reigned as "King of Lagos independent of the Benin King."

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Yoruba tribes. Here it is important to note the problems of distance and geographical isolation which separated Lagos island from each of the three. In organisation, each had two unequal centres or nuclei - a political centre and a commercial or port satellite. Ijebuland had its nuclei at Ijebu Ode and Epe respectively; Aworiland had Iseri (on Ogun river) and Otta; while Egunland had Porto-Novo (Ajase) and Badagri respectively for the purposes aforementioned. Each of these pairs is located outside the present study area, and has always maintained strong links with Lagos over difficult physical communications barriers such as water, thick forest or swamp. Such obstacle would guarantee the Olofin an ideal shelter from what could have attracted the interfering whims of the communally organised traditional land tenure system. Here in Lagos island the Olofin was able to lay unchallenged claim to the land (probably when none of his contemporaries realised the personal advantages likely to accrue to such a move). In further consolidation of this foresighted scheme, the Olofin shared all the land among his sixteen children.

5.5 Although Otta is now the best known of Awori towns, Iseri town (now reduced in population to a village but distinguished by the presence of an Oba) was the original ancestral home of the Awori. They are said to have migrated to Iseri from Ife by journeying down the Ogun river. They decided to make Iseri their new home after a symbolic acceptance of the sacrifice they had presented (on a plate) to the lagoon goddess. The plate (complete with offerings) sank, symbolising the acceptance of the sacrifice. The people received the good news from their priest by shouting "Awori" - the plate sank. Iseri is today a border settlement politically located in the western state but agitating to be included into Lagos State to which it claims natural affinity.

5.6 Literally the owner or Lord of Ofin. This is the only name tradition offers as the ancestor of all Iedejo chiefs and earliest founder of Lagos. Ofin therefore becomes the oldest inhabited spot in Lagos island. Today it constitutes the worst slam on the island but remains a strong bastion of Lagos natives resistant to and self insulated from impacts or urban changes with which Lagos island has been involved all these years.

5.7 In summing up his report on "The House of Docemo" Ward-Price, the Commissioner (1933) had noted as one of the examples of peculiarities of Lagos history "contrary to the general rule in the Yoruba Country"... that "...the Iedejo class of chiefs has always been recognised as "Land owners" in Lagos and its neighbourhood." He further established that the original Iedejo chiefs were said to be the sixteen sons of Olofin "who was head of the district (Ofin and environs - now Lagos) before Ashipa. Proceedings of An Inquiry: "The House of Docemo" (1933), p.116 - published by "Akede Eko" (compiled by the Editor - I.B.Thomas).
period of renewed interest in land sales. They (the Idejo families) are by far the most experienced landlords in the study area. An estimated 1,000 acres of valuable centrally located land can be said to remain firmly today in Idejo chiefs' possession despite the numerous 'freehold' transactions in recent years.

We see therefore that throughout the 140 year interval from 1820-1960 and the post independence period, this class of land owners (Idejo families) has featured all along. The variations we observe are that their land holdings have been shrinking in those respects where freehold deeds have been adopted or applied; and, the widening of Lagos perimeter has substantially increased the supply of land to check what could have been 'spiralling land prices' in central Lagos. Until recently only very few lands were actually sold - the majority (about 95%) were made as grants to various 'beggars', rented out to temporary users, bequeathed to trusted slaves or servants, granted for professional services rendered, forfeited in battle or mortgage, or actually misappropriated by tenants and prospective purchasers.

1820-1839: In 1820 all assigned lands in Lagos appear to have been borrowed, leased or 'begged' from the 'Idejos'. (See Appendix 25 and 26). None was given out as freehold. Outside the Idejo zone or territory, i.e. beyond the area later known as Lagos Federal Territory or Municipality, land used were obtained either as assigned plots (on usufruct rights only) by the tribal heads (through the Bales) on communal land tenure system or borrowed from such authority by strangers to the ethnic territory. In any case the system met the needs of a farming economy. The sites held and used in this way (whether within 'Idejo territory' or in the territory of any of

5.9 Cash value of the earliest land prices are difficult to trace but an indication is given in the amount of authorised government compensation for land acquired for public purposes. A mean average of £50 per acre based on compensation recorded as paid by government for land so acquired between 1890 and 1919. In the current Iloko land dispute involving the Lagos State Government compulsory acquisition orders, the governor has offered a compensation of £800 per acre which has been rejected by the contestants. In the private sector, land prices has increased within the ten years 1962 to 1972 between 600% and 1500%. See 1973 price index and Maps 15, 16 a and b and 17a and b. Land as a commodity is perhaps the best anti-inflationary item for any shrewd investor in Lagos today.

5.10 Plate 16a shows a substantial part of the area involved. The earliest official record of the districts covered appears in the form of Note No.6 of Ward-Price Report (1933) op. cit. p.100. It states ..."Idejo class of chiefs... who own the lands in the several districts around Lagos; on Ido Island, Lagos Island, the Curamo Island, and the mainland around the Island of Lagos...."
The Idejo chiefs7 (the second of four sets of chiefs in Lagos) are the traditional owners of all land 'in the several districts around Lagos, on Iddo island, Lagos island, the Curamo island and on the mainland around the island of Lagos, the title to which lands is based upon a communal usufructuary occupation which has never been disturbed in Law, either during the reign of the vassals of the king of Benin before the cession of Lagos, or after the cession to the British crown in 1861'. Thus the Ward-Price Commission of Inquiry into the House of Docemo (1933) summed up their findings regarding this traditional land owning class of 'White Cap Chiefs'.

The report continued:

"... These sixteen chiefs of the 'Idejo' class were never appointed by any of the Rulers of Lagos but by Olume'bon, an Idejo White Cap Chief who is the head of that class...."

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons in the year 1862, announced the British policy with regard to the acquisition by the British Government of the sovereignty of King Docemo, and frankly stated that the real possessors of the land in Lagos were acknowledged to be, not the Benin rulers, but the Idejo (white cap) chiefs'.

Taken from Note 6, p.100 of the House of Docemo, being the Ward-Price Commission of Inquiry (Gazette Notice No. 384 Extraordinary, Lagos May-July, 1933), this is an acknowledged authentic document which establishes the earliest known organised land ownership rights in a significant part (the core) of the Lagos Study Area, prior to the influence of modern or western land tenure concepts (individual Freehold and Leasehold rights).

It is likely that the Olofin's descendants managed the system so efficiently that neither during the 150 years period of Ashipa's successors' vassalage to Benin, nor during the period between the cession (of Lagos to the British Crown on 30th July 1861) and Nigerian Independence (1960), were the privileges of the Idejo chiefs in land matters withheld. Only such extreme agents of change as government acquisitions, active freehold purchases and increased interest in individual land ownership with today's fantastic prices,9 appear to have really eroded the former large Idejo land interests. Nevertheless, the Idejo families still have substantial land interests in Lagos, especially as much of the earlier land transactions were conducted as leasehold (usually 99 years) many expiring during the current

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5,68 The Idejo chiefs are the white cap chiefs. Other white cap chiefs are the Ogalade and Akarigbore who are acknowledged as original strangers from Benin. They (those Binis) were given the caps later on to betoken their authority. See the Ward-Price report (1953) op. cit. p.100 and p.116. The cap itself is also known as "the KEREVESI".
the three competing clans) were often used for settlements (siting a hamlet or village) and as base for farming, fishing, hunting or other rural activities. For the most part, the natural landscape was not disturbed enough to change the environment to any remarkable degree. Marshes were left alone, forests were not reclaimed, stream courses were left intact and geographically isolated parts remained unintegrated by a network of 'built' roads with the rest of urban Lagos. Lagos island itself was a swamp cell of three or four isolated nuclei.

Appendix 14 is a complete list of settlements noted during field work in 1965 in territory predominantly within the influence of the 'Idejo' chiefs. The settlements had sprung up all over the territory between 1830 and 1960, with four main waves, viz. due to instability in the interior (Yoruba fratricidal wars, 1840-1900); the rumoured or actual abolition of the slave trade in Lagos, 1851; general effects of the second World War (its civilising force) 1945; and, the cumulative effects of rapid urbanisation, industrialization and post independence developments 1954-64. See Appendix 17 for historical events through the centuries. Each of the settlements12 (Appendix 14) was there at the mercy or consent of the landowner, (See Appendix 26). The dispersed pattern of the settlements is the result of lack of uniformity in motive behind their origin or foundation. About seven various motives (raisons d'etre) were identified in the field in 1965, just before many (80%) became swallowed up by the sprawling metropolis. Analysis of the questionnaire used during that field work (see Appendix 15) showed that a village or hamlet often sprang up anew frequently

5.11. See Figures 4a and 4b, Tables 17 and 18, and Appendix 26 - law suit arising from infringement of tenure agreements enforced by Chief Ajasa Oluwa. The land ownership tables and histograms show that different types of ownership tend to predominate in certain areas but that taken as a whole the 1972 situation indicates a steady decline in land held under traditional tenure and an increase in government land acquisitions. All land however acquired have, since the introduction of registration of titles, become legalised in leasehold or freehold interest (see simple) expressed in monetary value. The attitude of land owners became "Pay for title or Pay rent for right of use". As Oba Akran of Badagris put it during interview with the author 1.4.72 - "no paper title these days, no right, and, no cash payment, no paper title." He let it be known that all previous verbal consents or agreements from him have to be renegotiated and in most cases (even for land originally granted to church or government) he would insist on fair (market value) payment or else, no right.

5.12 Village, Hamlet, Farmstead, fishing community or camp.
away from existing or parent settlements, on account of:

(a) Feuding and quarrels with kinsmen

(b) Search for freedom and expression of individuality, away from the communal way of life and social norms.

(c) Religious quests (Magico-religious reasons) as typified by the many 'prayer' (Aladura) communities dotted along the bar beach.

(d) Displacement by superior cultures or authority and resistance of ancient traditions to absorption.

(e) Search for economic subsistence - new and cheap lands, fishing grounds, medicinal herb cultivation and gardening. Some form rural/seasonal labour camps for 'city gents' or aristocratic classes. A form of clientage system is observed.

(f) Keeping away from inquiring government agents, in which case the settlement originates as a smuggling station and centre for illicit trades, e.g. gin distilling.

(g) Exiles and slave settlers (a remnant of the slave trading days).

It was mainly during the period before 1840 that what the West African Lands Committee (1916) later described as 'pure native tenure' could be said to have been practised commonly in the study area, even when the Idejos appear to have monopolized the function of 'letting' the land to users.

The traditional view generally held in these parts was that the land is not simply the property of the living; it belongs also to the ancestors and to future generations. As a Nigerian chief has put it, "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family of whom many are dead, few are living and countless members are still unborn" (Meek, 1949). To this cause no land is considered unowned in the way that Europeans might view as unowned any vacant, unoccupied or waste lands. This concept, also tied up with the individual's identification with a corporate group viz. the tribe or ethnic group, guarantees the native a share in the use of land for his essential needs.

5.13 The West African Land Committee of 1916 was set up by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and entrusted with the task of enquiring into the nature of ruling tenures and of advising upon the legislation necessary to arm Government with the proper powers of control and guidance. The committee was overtaken by the 1914-1918 war and its findings for the short duration were never published. However, it was out of that Committee's work that the Ordinance which now governs land administration in the Northern region grew. It was not applied to any part of the study area where the only land held at the Governor's disposal is that acquired as crown land. (See Tables 9 to 16).

By this date more people have drifted into the territory for reasons stated in comments on Appendix 14 above. The land tenure system remained very much similar to that of the preceding 20 years. People's interest in this region of not more than 20,000 people was still concentrated on the slave trade (either as dealers or as potential victims); but this was also the early days or returnee slaves from Brazil and Sierra Leone. More than 250 of the Sierra-Leone immigrants arrived in Lagos between 1839-31 and about 60 Brazilian families had returned to Lagos. They stayed at the island and concentrated their efforts on commerce and the provision of rudimentary urban needs through their services as artisans, e.g. carpentry, tin and gold smithing, bakery and a limited practice of plantation agriculture.

This early batch of 'returnees' did not make any appreciable change in the existing land tenure system (still under the Idejos); rather, they fitted in with the system. The Idejo chiefs willingly granted them land for residential purposes on payment of nominal fees. The Brazilian quarters were beginning to be built on land available between the old town core (southeast of Idumagbo lagoon) and the Okesuma swamp. What lands were obtained from the Idejos outside Lagos island was mostly used for farming purposes. The foreign slave dealers themselves did not show interest in land matters and even their transit camps for the slaves (barracoons) were sited (seaward at Marina and Victoria islands) on land that was neither rented nor bought. They just put up the barracoons at a convenient site without consulting any landlord. The latter were of course equally deeply involved in that trade.

Britain and Lagos Affairs: Significant changes occurred as a result of British involvements in Lagos affairs (Obas and British representatives). Until 1851 it is fair to state that European traders in Lagos showed no interest in land matters. They kept to a long standing arrangement whereby Lagosians acted as middlemen (as was common throughout the West African coast) between white man and the interior natives. By 1851, however, the clash between Kosoko and Akitoje (fighting over the throne of Lagos) had exposed the tip of the iceberg which brought Britain deep into the scene.

5.15 Appendix 16 gives a list of the dynastic heads of Lagos; while Appendix 18 presents a chronological list of British consuls, administrators and Governors of Lagos, with major events of the time placed alongside the appropriate names.
A complex dynastic dispute had existed since 1811 when the Oba of Lagos died and his second son, Adele, succeeded him instead of his eldest son, Esilogun. The latter subsequently expelled the former (1821) who in 1825 turned to the British at Badagri for naval support. Failing in that instance, Adele still became King in 1833 with the help of the King of Benin but he died after only one year on the throne. Adele's son, Oluwole, ruled until 1841 when he died without an heir. This led to rival claims between Oluwole's cousin, Kosoko and his uncle Akitoye. Akitoye was crowned King of Lagos by the Oba of Benin, only to be supplanted by Kosoko in 1845. In a passionate letter to the British government Akitoye appealed directly for help to regain 'his' kingdom undertaking, as a special inducement, to abolish the slave trade in which historians agree he was as deeply involved as Kosoko his opponent.

Portuitously, events in England had built up the right atmosphere to bring about the direct involvement of the British government in Lagos Affairs. A strong anti-imperialist sentiment had been stirred up at that moment by enthusiastic missionaries like Townsend in EgbaLand whose peace at Abeokuta was seemingly disturbed by what the missionaries and their Egba friends alleged was interference from the Lagos government. 'Free trade' was Liverpool traders' battle cry as they sought to maximise their interest in the new 'legitimate' (oil) trade; above all, Palmerston - a great architect of British Diplomatic doctrine - was Foreign Secretary and was getting incensed at the local conflicts (in Lagos) which were disturbing 'lawful' British trade in that region. According to his writing, Palmerston would rather see Lagos as '... a port for lawful trade ... an important outlet for a large range of produce from the interior .... a diffusing centre of civilization' ... rather than '... a nest for slave traders and a den of

5.16 Crowder, M. (1966) The Story of Nigeria. Chapter 10, p.156, give the date as 1811 but Niven gives 1820 which seems more accurate. Niven, C.R. (1955): Short History of Nigeria. Chapter 13, p.148. Ologun Kutere the deceased Oba was himself known to have favoured his younger son Adele I.

5.17 See note 5.4

5.18 The letter was tendered many years later (1933) to the Ward Price commission of Inquiry on The House of Docemo op. cit. pp.98-99. The letter addressed originally to Consul Beecroft and was in turn forwarded on by Beecroft on 24.2.1851 to Viscount Palmerston.

5.19 Palmerston's famous dictum: "We (the British) have no permanent friends, no permanent enemies; only permanent interests....", is still regarded as the spirit behind British foreign policy based on adaptability.
of barbarism'. The industrialization process in England was also being felt in a tropical region like Lagos whence raw materials for British factories came and where vast markets for manufactured goods could be cultivated.

The Lagos scene was therefore that of a theatre subjected to change (in notions of land rights and use) under impact of a new pattern of economic relationship between Africa and Europe. The changes primarily involved a reversal of the former European disinterest on land and land ownership to a conviction during 1850-65 on the part of Britain's representatives on the Lagos coast that '... if the interior were to be opened up to legitimate trade with Britain, then British authority would have to be paramount'. (Michael Crowder, 1966 p.172). To bring about that authority, the events and subsequent changes which followed found expression in Lagos land tenure - a traditional Yoruba system diluted with Lagos historical association with notions of English land law, yet tempered by British foreign policy in West Africa (the 'dual mandate'). We see the pattern unfold in subsequent periods under review (1860-1959).

For the twenty year period (1840-1859), under consideration, no significant actual change in land tenure occurred to upset drastically the Idejo chiefs' land rights nor the purely communal system prevalent in the territory of the three Yoruba neighbouring clans farther behind the 'Idejo' controlled Lagos territory. However, the stage was set during this period for the new "English law tinted" tenure notions and the negotiations for land acquisitions which occurred along with the politico-economic changes Lagos was to experience in the 1860-79 period and beyond.


5.21 Originally expounded by Lugard to describe a policy of indirect rule which enables British rule and native (local Nigerian) administration to function side by side. Although it was formulated on the basis of experience from Northern Nigeria rather than British rule in Lagos and had totally different effects on land tenure for Lagos, its principles seems to have conditioned the level of interference by Britain in local affairs. Sensitive issues such as land tenure were allowed to adapt itself to changing times. For an exposition of dual mandate or indirect rule as such see quotation in Niven op. cit. p.221; also Cind. 468, London, 1920 on Nigeria: Report by Sir F. D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of N. & S. Nigeria and Administration, 1912-1919.
1860-1879: **Lagos**, the colonial toehold of a hesitant Britain: Despite severe opposition from the British home government (the days of the so-called 'climax of anti-imperialism) British territorial interest was expanded in the Lagos region for three main reasons: (a) internal instability in Lagos consequent upon power struggles among the ruling houses; (b) the intertribal warfare in Yorubaland which in 1865 brought the first intervention of the British from Lagos (Governor Glover's clash against the Egba at Ikorodu); (c) Britain's paramount interest in trade. The first two were detrimental to the successful prosecution of the last and needed to be tackled if Britain's trading interest was to be assured. A fourth factor for this period is the presence on the spot of zealous and forceful characters, such as Commander Glover, on the British side, at a time when British official policy would frustrate territorial expansion in such regions.

In 1861, with the cession of Lagos to the British crown, Lagos became a colony and subsequently British interest became firmly established there. For Britain this action meant gaining a foothold on the Nigerian coast, primarily to secure her trade. The official attitude in Britain, however, was that the decision to annex Lagos was a reluctant one (as might be expected from anti-imperialist public opinion at the time).

In Lagos itself, the annexation or transfer of territory, complete and absolute as it was, initially, provoked a great deal of opposition and fear. For by that date the population of Lagos which was estimated at nearly 20,000 (from 5,000 in 1800) in 1850 included new groups of people who had come since the British bombardment of Lagos and the installation of Akitoye in 1851.

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5.22 The anti-imperialists, who were very active in Britain at the time.

5.23 Crowder (1966) op. cit. p.172.

5.24 Lagos became an attractive refuge for escaping slaves from the interior returnee freed slaves from Sierra Leone, merchants anxious to cash-in on the promised legitimate trade. The native population actually diminished in the first year on account of the many followers of Kosoko who withdrew from the town and accompanied their leader to Badore, 20 miles east on the lagoon coast, sojournng for a while also at Epe. According to Jones as many as 5,000 inhabitants returned in 1852.
There were European merchants; fresh Brazilian immigrants after 1851 (estimated at 3,000 in 1862 and nearly 6,000 in 1873, many of whom were artisans); missionaries who either relocated their headquarters consequent upon the new advantage of Lagos or were members of new missions (e.g. Roman Catholics, notably in 1852, 1862, 1865 and 1867); Sierra Leone immigrants; refugees from the interior Yoruba wars (1865); a constabulary (Glover's Hausa regiment of 100 freed slaves in 1862); and, a steady trickle of officials for the young colony. Lagos had become known in the interior as a free colony in which many escaping slaves found freedom and acquired artisan skills, leading to instant prosperity. The point about this new mixed population is that it naturally contained elements who were conditioned by their background to question any changes which might deprive them of their property or status quo. As a historian has noted

".... There was a great deal of opposition to the new arrangement in Lagos, most of which was based on ignorance of what annexation meant. It was thought by many that there would be important changes in Lagos and that they might even lose their property. When they found that in practice the only difference to individuals under the new administration was that protection of property was very much more effective than it had been, they changed their opinion and agreed with the annexation .... The treaty only referred to Lagos (island) and its immediate neighbourhood. In course of time Badagri, Palma, Lekki and other places were gradually added to the colony of Lagos until it reached its present shape".

(C. R. Niven; "A Short History of Nigeria", 6th edn. 1955, pp.154-5)

For our purpose this early influx of non-indigenous groups of people (i.e. people from outside the traditional Lagos kingdom) into the young colony brought new concepts in property ownership and made new demands on land requirements to satisfy needs other than for agriculture and market places. However, it is remarkable that references (in official documents, etc.) to property did not specifically include "real estate". The alien population needed residential space; space had to be acquired for barracks to be built for the new constabulary; warehouses were to be set up near the new port (handling over £2 million worth of goods by 1870) for export and import commodities. The missionaries required space on which to build churches and schools. The new administration (colonial government

5.25 Five were known to arrive as merchants in 1852. By 1866 there were 42 Europeans in Lagos but it was only after the departure of the French firms in 1869 that British merchants jointed the number; so that by 1900 about 250 Europeans were in Lagos.

and its associated paraphernalia) would requisition space for Administrative buildings, government quarters and communications network (roads) of the later period.

A slight modification on land transaction procedure, consequent upon the new administration, was that Dosunmu, the King, could henceforth "affix his stamp in order to give native sanction to land deeds". Most significant of all, the white-capped chiefs (the Idejos) were assured that the cession did not abrogate their land tenure rights.

An outstanding personality in this period and to whom credit may be given for pioneering the changes occurring in Lagos at this period is one John Hawley Glover. His role in Nigerian history as a colonial authority in Lagos and "man of the front rank among the makers of Nigeria" was recently assessed by McIntyre (1963) in his article "Commander Glover and the Colony of Lagos, 1861-1873". He (McIntyre) pointed out that Glover's misfortune was "to govern Lagos in the days of the so-called 'climax of anti-imperialism' in England". Glover has been described by historians (Crowder, Obot, Aderibigbe, etc.) as the most able and aggressive administrator of Lagos in the 1860s. The impact of British interest on Lagos attained dramatic proportions under him (Glover). But despite Glover's far reaching intervention in Lagos and Yoruba affairs to preserve British interest as necessary (trade, anti-slavery and possibly Christian civilization), no drastic changes in local land tenure were introduced.

Cession or annexation had brought about the establishment of British style law and order; a census system (1866 and 1871), a definition of the boundaries of Lagos (Ord & Glover, 1864) and military-cum-commercial facilities were established; but probably on account of the hesitant mood of the British government at that time in dealing with the new colony, land matters were left largely as was known before the cession. This is understandable in the light of British home politics of those days which "favoured a policy of non-intervention unless...".

During subsequent years, however, the stage was set for modifications in Lagos land tenure system which, while leaving the right of the Idejo chiefs intact, also ensured validity and security of tenure in all land transactions in the area. This statement does not of course invalidate the unfortunate fact that land transactions in Lagos today remain most complex and riddled with irregularities in conveyancing, often blamed on confused personal and family titles to land in this region.

The principles of leasehold and freehold purchase, but no alienation to Europeans, as distinct from land grants or borrowing, could now be introduced. The lands, as we shall see later (p. 178) remained inIdejo hands; but the method of making land available for would-be users and registering it,es, became gradually modified in those aspects where traditional land dealers considered or accepted certain modifications as expedient without forfeiting their traditional rights. (See Table 9 - Land Transactions in Lagos 1850 to 1900).

By the close of the period (1879), some land acquisition had been effected as follows: The colonial government acquired some for European residences, for roads and port development, for offices, for residential quarters (barracks) for the new constabulary and for general residential layout (the Clover layout). The acquisitions were within the confines of the colony, mostly in the island of Lagos (of which only about a third was occupied at the time), but with outliers in what became Ebute Metta on the mainland. 27 Four of Commander Clover's routes into Yorubaland (See McIntyre p.63) originated within the present Lagos study area. (Igbessa - Ilaro; Ebute Metta - Otta - Abeokuta; Ogun River - Isheri - Abeokuta; and Ikorodu - Ibadan). The routes were maintained as strategic links by the Lagos government. People (particularly the enlightened immigrant elements) were encouraged to take up lands along these routes, ostensibly for agricultural purposes. Thus farms and plantations came to be established in what is today Lagos mainland, for cash crops and food crops. Hunting and foraging rights were also maintained as far as Agege; but large tracts of land a mile or more from the routeways remained as unoccupied jungles, even at Ebute Metta, Yaba, Victoria island and Ikoyi. Only a few swamps in Lagos island (west side of Marina and Idumagbo area) were reclaimed. The pattern of land ownership at the close of the period may then be summarised as follows: (a) Lands acquired for government purposes and for improvement of the township, e.g. McCoskry's Marina and Broad Street in 1861, for the benefit of the immigrants, natives, the merchants and colonial administrators.

5.27 Ebute Metta as the nucleus of Lagos Mainland was first used as military outpost by Glover in his confrontation with the Egba. After the 1867 expulsion of Christians from Abeokuta (the Ifole affair) the acquired site at Ebute Metta was laid out, the Clover layout (still surviving in the squarish grid iron plans east of Clifford Street and southwards from Carter street down to the lagoon) and used for resettling the Egba Christian refugees. Eventually all who desired Glover's or Lagos Government's protection fled there from the interior troubled Yorubaland. It was not until the 1930s that another layout (the rectangular grid iron Yaba Garden City) on a freshly acquired 700 acre site was built to the north of this; thus extending Lagos Mainland beyond Ebute Metta.
(b) Lands acquired by private persons for residential and farming purposes.
(c) Lands held by the traditional land owners (the Idejo families), the royal household and a few nobles who had been granted land by previous rulers of Lagos, e.g. the large compounds enclosing lands granted by Kosoko on return to his lieutenants (such as Oshodi Tapa) at Epetedo and Okeopo in 1862. 28
(d) Some squatters who might later have claimed ownership rights by virtue of long occupation. (The status of unoccupied land in the Lagos study area is discussed later in this chapter).

This last category of land holders were relatively few during the period under review (1860-1879) on account of the general insecurity to which residents outside the compact township settlement were exposed. They ran the risk of being raided by marauding outlawed slaves and brigands who roamed these parts. The few who survived in such isolated areas were the forerunners of the many isolated hamlets and rural settlements which sprang up all over Lagos almost a century later in the 1950-65 period as discussed in a previous section of this chapter (See Appendix 14).

A significant feature in land matters of this period is that nothing was done by the colonial government that could be construed as provocative interference in the land rights of the natives. Laws such as Public Lands Acquisition Acts were to come later and at less sensitive dates. 29 Delicately maintained as the balance might be (between notions of traditional Lagos land rights and western European land rights), this period clearly represents a watershed from where local land acquisition and ownership rights progressively became fashioned after new concepts and modified.

5.28 Rabogunje (1968) op. cit. p.304. Kosoko expelled in 1851 during the bombardment, returned to Lagos in 1862 after the cession, with his retinue from Epe. His Lieutenant, Oshodi Tapa, was granted the district later known as Epetedo. He in turn divided this into blocks among his men, after whom the rectangular blocks or courts of this district are named e.g. Inasa, Ookoko and Tagbokun.

5.29 Currently used by the Lagos State Government, the Act is cited as Public Land Acquisition Law Chapter 105. The act was originally introduced under Governor Egerton in 1904. By that date the colonial government had consolidated its hold on the territory and the type of feet dragging or indecision noted 50 years earlier no longer existed. The native population has adjusted itself to the colonial situation. For a complete account of the official land tenure and registration see Nigeria Hand Book 1953 Chapter XI, pp.102-107.
During the previous period, the status of Lagos as a colony had become acceptable to the people, the new colony's affairs had been administered from without - first at Freetown (1866), then at Accra (1874); the young colony had also survived two destructive fires.

In the present period (1880-1899) no dramatic change in land transactions occurred until Lagos became finally established as a colony in 1886 under its own administration. It became necessary in the new set-up (ruling Lagos from Lagos) for sites to be acquired for government administrative buildings. Building commenced on the chosen site in 1896. In the same period, substantial land was acquired from the chiefs for the projected railway, the construction of which commenced in 1898.

At this early period, it is significant that the colonial government, despite the strong wording of Article I of the 1861 Treaty of Cession, was careful enough to establish a precedent in land acquisition whereby a fair or market price was paid by government for lands it acquires. However, the reclamation of swamps as a source of land supply was also quickly recognised by the colonial administrators of the time and every effort was made during this period to 'win' as much land from the swamps as possible. Coincident with Governor MacGregor's arrival on the scene, such reclamation was, by the close of the century, becoming actively encouraged as a matter of policy in the war against malaria.

Reclaimed lands (from swamps) were leased out to users in bids to recoup costs. The Railway Compound at Oke Ira is one such reclaimed swamp. As the policy of development (vehemently advocated by Chamberlain in England for the colonies during this period) became applied in Lagos, more land was needed; yet no compulsory purchase orders or direct interference with the local land tenure was necessary until the introduction of the Public Lands Acquisition Act in 1904 under Egerton. 30

The Sanitary District of Lagos: The creation of this statutory district on 16th September 1899 (Health Ordinance) marked a significant beginning in the spatial administration of Lagos town and later became the basis of Lagos expansion on to neighbouring lands.

Lagos was lucky in having a succession of practical-minded governors during this period and it is probably to the credit of their resourcefulness

5.30 Egerton was generally known as one of the railway enthusiasts. It was necessary at this period to acquire more land for public uses, particularly road and railway development. The price of land was also beginning to rise beyond economic level for government purposes. See Nicolson, I.F. (1969): Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960, op. cit., for further comments.
and industry that so much land was won for the bridges, roads, waterways, drains and housing layouts to replace those destroyed earlier on by fire. Besides, through gentle persuasions and discussion, Governors like MacGregor got the chiefs to make land available for such public purposes as cemeteries, sites for health centres, some market places, and even to grant land to missionaries. It would appear however, that with the firm commitment by the British government to stay in Lagos and develop the territory in the vision of Chamberlain and his disciples; the stage was now reached whereby a more reliable procedure for acquiring land for public purposes had to be evolved. The administrators did not have much difficulty in modelling that system after British land law, at least for the "Colony" area. By adapting themselves to the new system (of leasing, selling, letting and granting registrable titles to land in agreed procedure, i.e. English-style conveyancing) the Idejo chiefs and traditional land owners of Lagos have not quite lost their role and status in Lagos land transactions.

1900-1919: The years of consolidation and involvements: Regulations stating the exact procedure for acquiring, selling or inheriting land in Lagos became fully established in this period and have become built into the land law system of the region. It is a modified version of English law of land transfer and acquisition procedure, which takes some account both of the traditional Yoruba concepts of "family property" and preserves the ancient rights of the land owning class in Lagos.

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5.31 Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914). His period as Colonial Secretary (1895 - 1900) is generally regarded as a turning point in the relations between the British Colonies and the mother country. On taking office he undertook the propaganda of self conscious imperialism which suited the spirit of the age, though conflicting with his prime minister's (Lord Salisbury). Through his superior art of brinkmanship, he secured in Nigeria among other colonial gains, against France and Germany, British interest without recourse to arms. In this spirit of consolidating British hold on the colonies peacefully but determinedly, representatives of British Authority in Lagos, as in the rest of Nigeria felt free. (than Glover did) to take decisions in British interest and receive home government backing. He is also credited with the creation of the W.A.F.F. as military force to back up Lugard. For Lagos the new British answers to the questions of "how far and for what purposes the native might be exploited by the new Comer, what were to be his rights either of retaining or of parting with tribal land and tribal custom", became decisive. In these Chamberlain ..."was often in the position of umpire between missionaries, settlers, Chiefs and tribesmen," (Trevelyan).

The situation is still far from satisfactory, creating as it does many loopholes for malpractices in land transaction. A land registry was established in this period and all land titles became registrable at the time of each transaction; but the inconsistency in recording details and the poor organisation of what is now the Federal Land Office, confounded with poor depository facilities for records, rendered the exercise hopelessly inadequate.

The physical extent of Lagos lands increased during this period (from the 1899 base) as more land in the surrounding districts became added by government proclamations (1900, 1910 and 1917) to the sanitary district. Iddo Island and part of the mainland of Ebute Metta was added on 29th December 1900; more land to the west and Victoria Beach was added on the 28th July, 1910; and in 1917 when Lagos was declared "First Class Township", a small addition was made to the sanitary district to the west and to the southwest of Lighthouse Beach. Total land area of Lagos by 1919 had therefore increased from 5 sq. miles in 1899 to about 11 sq. miles.32

A full record of government land purchases for the period (from 1906 onwards) is available and was found quite useful during field work, once the initial red-tape was overcome.33 (See Appendix 7). The government has, over the years, acted as the main purchaser of land for schools, roadworks, public utilities, hospitals, government offices or public buildings and recreation grounds, in addition to airports, seaport and harbours and

5.32 Tables 24 and 26 refer. The units of land making of Lagos by 1919 were Lagos Island (which included Ikoyi) Victoria Island, Light House Beach, Iddo Island and Clover's Ebute Metta estate. A discrepancy in figures for the area may be noted, where the 11 sq. miles for 1919 based on the City Engineer (Lagos) information dated 1967 contrasts with the 1901 and 1911 census returns which gave the Lagos district area as 2.40 sq. miles in 1901 and 18 sq. miles for 1911. The author considers 18 sq. miles a more acceptable figure as this would cover the known occupied districts by 1919, viz. the above mentioned units plus the port area and Ebute Metta West.

5.33 The Lands Division of the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Lagos, is charged with responsibility for recording all land transaction (acquisitions) involving the Federal Government. The Principal Lands Officer duly permitted the author upon a written application to call for and use the official records. The volume and inconsistency of recording posed serious difficulties eventually overcome. Records for the Lagos State government were extremely difficult to obtain purely as a result of more complicated and sensitive beaurocratic machinery. Eventually the list (presented here in Table 15 and Appendix 27) were obtained very late in 1973. As each source released only the barest details the authors former plan to construct a complete map of government lands in the study area had to be dropped in favour of Map 15.
military or defence establishments. Land transactions with non-government bodies (e.g. private individuals, churches, commercial firms and similar establishments) are more difficult to trace, sometimes even impossible. Large tracts of land bought during this period (1900-1919) by affluent individuals of the day for plantations and speculative purposes, become broken up into very small holdings once the big man dies and family members struggle for fragmented shares, in turn to be further fragmented as the latter die. (See case study on Alhaji Tijani's land, p. 199 and Map 31).

Two leading land acquisitions in this period within the study area were the Iju waterworks and Agege Model Farm (1910 and 1915 respectively). All were negotiated, bought and paid for by the government "... for public purposes absolutely". Numerous other purchases were made (more leasehold of 99 or 999 years occurring in the island and Ebute Metta) by government for schools and colleges, prison, police, hospitals34 and government residential quarters. Things were quite different from what they were in MacGregor's blissful and less mercenary days35 but more land was needed for larger scale development projects and reclamation of swamps no longer sufficed.

The end of the period coincided with the end of the first World War during which period no land purchases in the Lagos area by the colonial government for public or commercial purposes appear to have taken place (i.e. no trace in Registry). The break in government land transactions between April 1913 and December 191836 was followed by fairly substantial

5.34 Hospitals and schools (although members of category 9 land use - institutional) depended on the government to acquire and supply them with land. By 1972 only institutions actually subject to government control could expect such assistance.

5.35 Sir W. MacGregor's period as governor is generally regarded as most beneficial in the development of Lagos. A sense of communal involvement was generated through the personal initiative of the governor. His professional background as a medical doctor was put to great use. The establishment of the sanitary area, the drive to create a healthy physical environment and efforts to organise the population (e.g. through setting up the women's league) for communal development are among the achievements the governor and his wife bequeath to Lagos and which endeared them to the memory of Lagosians. See Nicolson, (1969) op. cit.

5.36 The Federal Lands registry could not provide any explanation but it is possibly on account of the government's diverted attention to the World War I effort.
acquisitions for railway purposes, clay pit, road improvement, a new cemetery at Yaba and the whole of Iddo island for "government reserve". In all this amounted to 493 acres and represents expansion on to the mainland for siting additional land-use elements consequent upon the growth of "Lagos" (cemetery, government reserve, brickfield and railway).

This period may be said to be the "kick-off" point for what became rapidly climbing land prices as land became a fashionable commodity to be bought and sold in the open market. By the time of the field survey for this thesis (1972), land speculation had become a most lucrative pastime nearly monopolised by millionaires! Within the study area today, it is virtually impossible to find an acre of land that had never been sold at least once before.

1920-1939: Land Transactions overshadowed by Political Uncertainties

This was a period of rapid changes in leadership at both the local and colonial levels. Four British colonial governors (Clifford, Thomson, Cameron and Baudillon) each representing different outlooks and reactions to the development of Lagos, have come and gone. At the local level of political leadership, a similar number of kings have moved in and out of the Lagos throne (Eshugbeyi Eleko - once deposed and later reinstated - Ibikunle Akitoye, Sanusi Olusi and Falolu). See "Genealogical Table of Lagos Kings" "British Representative in Lagos" thesis in Appendices 17 and 18).

On the colonial part however, the rapid succession of governors did not affect the land tenure policy and interest in European type of land acquisition as was established in the previous period. Rather, the impact of World War I experience on colonial overseas territories generally, appeared to have affected Lagos in two ways:

(a) Britain became less reluctant to get involved with establishing full administrative paraphernalia in Lagos - necessarily involving the establishment of more uses for land by the local Colonial Administration.

(b) Nigerian soldiers, who had been drawn into the war (as British subjects) and later demobilised in Lagos, increased the demand for land. They had the

5.37 See Appendix 18 for each governor's dates and events.
5.38 Europeans realised that their Colonial territories were useful for military purposes, determined their bargaining strength to significant extent and represented (in the spirit of the period) a symbol of imperial strength. The Colonial subjects who participated in the war took home with them new ideas and a new attitude to life. For many of them life in urban environment became fashionable and Lagos became the receiving ground for them and the changes which followed.
It is in this context that one recounts the major legal instruments affecting Lagos lands for the period.

1923: The Yaba Acquisition Area was created as government territory at the northern edge of an already crowded Lagos township. (Laws of Nigeria, 1923, vol. 111 p.368). When in the same year the Nigerian Legislative Council (with jurisdiction over Lagos and the Southern Provinces) became established, it was even suggested in official circles to make Yaba capital of Southern Nigeria. 40

1924: L.T.C. 41 requested the inclusion of Yaba Acquisition to Lagos Township. The request was granted by the Administrator of the colony of Lagos in September 1926.

1926: L.T.C. once more requested the Administrator of Lagos to declare areas within half a mile adjacent to the township as urban area, empowering them (L.T.C.) at the same time to apply the building byelaws to such area.

1927: The Lagos Township area was constituted into what became known as the Urban District which included the Yaba Acquisition. With the governor's agreement and subsequent declaration (Supplement to the Laws of Nigeria, 1933, p.739 etc.) and boundary of "Lagos" was defined very much in the shape of its modern political counterpart of "Lagos Division with Lagos State" after the Apapa section was added in 1938.

1938: In April, Indirect Rule System became established in parts of the colony outside Lagos, thereby arousing some anxiety as to the future of the Lagos Urban District. For our purpose the "indirect rule system" was an apparent limitation on the application of English type land tenure already successfully established inside Lagos territory. However, as events showed in later years all land in what later became the colony province, and not an integral part of Lagos State, became eventually affected by the tenure

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5.41 Lagos Town Council became the newly constituted local government body for Lagos consequent upon Lagos achieving a "Township" status.

5.42 See Page 8 of this thesis. One of the basis for creating a Lagos State in its present form has been the association of Badagri, Ikeja, Ikorodu, and Epe divisions as the Colony Province, a point considered as strong as the common and complementary geography of its various units.

5.43 See notes 5.29. As far back as Glover's time titles to landed property in Lagos were subject to registration. Up to 1967 actual registration of titles was above 40% only in the Federal Territory of Lagos (now Lagos Division or City). Despite the existence of regulations for compulsory registration as in Appendix 24, several titles remained unregistered for various reasons. The situation worsens as one moves farther into the study area, away from Lagos City.
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system, land acquisition methods and land use organisation originating from the Lagos City system.  

The inclusion of the Apapa section on 29th April, 1938 as part of the township, was the final instrument which very nearly completed the essential limits of Lagos city and closed this period of 'impersonal' territorial expansion for Lagos land supplies, just prior to the outbreak of World War II, (Order No. 6 of 1938).  

From all these sources, we observe that at the close of this period (1939), land areas legally constituted for the City of Lagos had risen from 11 square miles in 1919 to about 22 square miles, rising finally in the next period to 27.26 square miles.  

Records of actual purchases during this period were poorly kept, particularly in the private sector; but it is clear from the sketchy land Registry Records that when all inconsistencies in recording and similar factors have been carefully considered, the government fared as the largest land acquiring body (just over 1,000 acres for the period) both in the open market and by physical reclamation of swamps. Commercial houses, e.g. Leventis, came second. The private individual who acquired or sold land in the period dealt with fairly large parcels of land amounting to 5 acres or more and lying on the periphery of the Urban District area. These individuals paid for the land either in cash or in return for professional services rendered (mostly legal matters). The private land buyers or lessees held their land for farming, setting up rented accommodation for the steady stream of immigrants attracted to the city; and, quite a few held large tracts of land (20 to 200 acres or more) outside the city boundaries for purely speculative purposes.  

5.44 The earlier delimitations of "Lagos" took in districts mainly to secure the health standards of Lagos Township on purely bureaucratic lines. For example it was reported in 1947 that the 1938 boundary ran through Ajegunle and Araromi. About two-thirds of the built-up areas of each village lay in the Awori area of Badagri Division, and the other one-third within the Lagos Township area. Indigenous boundaries, villages, streets and social units were often disregarded.  

5.45 In preparation for establishing indirect rule in the parts of the Colony outside Lagos as from 1.4.1938 and in order to apply Lagos Building Byelaws more effectively, a more definite demarcation (with latest additions) became established in 1938; so that the Urban boundaries, safe for later slight modification affecting Idi Oro and Ajegunle, was similar to the present Lagos Division boundaries. See Order in Council No. 6 of 1938. 29.4.38 and compare with Order No. 9, 1927, as well as the boundaries shown in Map 5 of this study.
1940 - 1959: The Threshold of Metropolitan Development:

Lagos Township was fast developing into a modern city and had become established during this period as the ad hoc Federal Capital of Nigeria. The territory's relationship with the neighbouring territory of Western Region became more administratively defined in the strict interest of Lagos as a port, a seat of central government and a historically coherent entity. Land tenure system and practice in the area followed the pattern established in the previous period.

Four notable government orders, three of which were applied for the finer definition of the Federal Territory boundary of Lagos, were created during this period. They had the general effect of establishing a framework within which property rights and land ownership ideas became apparently uniform - at least all lands within the new "municipal" or "Federal Territory" boundaries became subject to one purchase procedure, conveyancing, registration, development planning and taxation laws. The

5.46 They were probably the first generation of Nigerian land or property speculators in modern times. Their names survive as appellations to the district or many vestigial settlements found in the Lagos Study Area, many already coalesced into the Metropolis. Many can be identified in Appendix 14. Sadly enough poor land records and the rapid speed of development frustrate any efforts at reconstructing or tracing the activities and land interest of these pioneers of the Lagos Land market.

5.47 It is important to remember that the Federal Capital status on Lagos was meant to be temporary..." Until after independence". Independence came but the politicians devoted their energy to other .."more urgent issues"... and inter party rivalry which culminated in the present military rule. The question of a proper Federal capital is still to be resolved.

In the author's contribution to "The Nigerian" Vol. 2 No.1 to be published in 1974 examines the issues and alternatives sites for the capital suggesting Abuja (400 square miles) in the old Niger province as a most likely site based on health, centrality, economic, political and strategic grounds.
Orders were: A 1941 order arising from the recommendations of the Acting Director of Medical Services who contemplated "danger of people aboard ship contacting malaria and yellow fever because of mosquitoes from the numerous fishing villages near Apapa port". He recommended the removal of all village settlements from an area bounded to the north by Badagri creek, to the south by Light House creek; to the east by the harbour and to the west by the Federal government boundary with the Western region (see map 25a with Plate 2(viii)).

A second order, effective from April 1948 arose from complaints in 1947 from those villagers (notably of Araromi and Ajegunle) at the western boundary who were affected by what they considered "harsh alignment of the original boundary" which cut across their houses or property. The order resulted in adjustment in the boundary, transferring to the western region the built-up areas of Ajegunle and Araromi. The rest of the disputed area became included in Lagos, corresponding 'more satisfactorily' in the final framework to the area recommended by the Acting Director of Lagos Medical Services earlier.

By another order (No. 9 of 1949, Govt. Gazette 15/12/49) some minor adjustments were made to the northern boundary between L.T.C. and Ikeja Town Planning Authority. This resulted in giving the "small portion of land at Idi-Cro to Ikeja and a fairly large area north-east of the Yaba Estate to L.T.C." With this final adjustment the "Municipal boundaries" of Lagos and the present day "Lagos Division" of Lagos State became firmly established politically and administratively for the past 23 years.

We see therefore that the Lagos Town Council Area, later to be known as the Municipality (1949), the Federal Territory of Lagos (1954), and the Lagos Division of Lagos State (since May 1967), attained its maximum areal extent of 27.26 sq. miles by 1949. Within that framework the seeds of land hunger, competition between land uses, slum conditions and metropolitan expansion were sown through the cumulative impacts of the second World War (1949-45) and the accelerated importance of Lagos leading to the influx of population from the vast hinterland of Lagos. For the 1940-59 period, Table 28, together with Table 24 1950 figures) demonstrates in figures the population pressure upon available land, while Table 12 demonstrates the rate of government land acquisition for public purpose. Finally Map 34 places in

perspective the urban and industrial growth of Lagos (in the form of continuous "built up" space).

Economically and politically Lagos was emerging significantly as a prosperously busy seaport (Hodder 1959), an attractive urban centre (Mabogunje 1963) and the capital of a vast Federation fast approaching independence. Population growth (mainly by in-migration) has been dramatic; and by the end of the period it had gathered adequate momentum for the actual "explosion" which came in the 1960 - 73 period. From under 100,000 in 1921 and just over 126,000 in 1931, the population of Lagos reached 230,000 in 1950. Overcrowding and congestion in residential areas and the streets of Lagos (Koenigsberger 1964) were resulting in intolerable squalor for a city which owed its status and prestige earlier in the century to the health and sanitary amenities it provided and had expanded its territory in efforts to make health and building regulations in the neighbouring areas more effective.

Within the territory itself, much of the government land acquisitions had been consolidated and very little land indeed was available for sale. The war period had given Lagos a taste of industrialization when many hitherto imported goods from Britain became conveniently established in Lagos, market orientated as it were. Unoccupied land or reclaimed swamps in the area have fast disappeared or became earmarked for specific land uses, such as housing estates, roads, public utilities, industrial estates, etc.

5.49 Tables 14 and 28 refer.

5.50 Some modern factories set up in Lagos during the war were in the form of temporary outposts of British parent companies siting 'in the market' to minimise war hazards suffered by merchant shipping plying the West African Coast. At the end of the war, attempts were made by the parent companies to close them down fearing the loss in trade they might suffer by encouraging local manufacture. This attitude is thought to be responsible for the slow implementation of preparatory schemes for industrial development in Lagos in the immediate post-war years. The author is grateful to Dr. G. C. Olusanya of the Department of History, Lagos University for this information. In Mabogunje (1966) op. cit. p. 255 on account of the setting up of the Department of Commerce and Industries in 1948 and the industrialization efforts which followed is presented. By 1951 soap, beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic, some frozen foods and ice cream, cigarettes, bakery products (bread, biscuits, cakes and other confectionery) and metal containers were manufactured locally.
hospitals, university and other development projects. Residential land use proved a most sensitive category responding to the mounting population of Lagos. While conditions gathered force within L.T.C. territory, ready for explosion onto the urban fringe, the political boundary between Lagos and the Western Region became a most significant constraint and a sensitive issue between the Western Region which considered Lagos part of her natural territory and the other regions of the Federation who wished for a physical expansion of Lagos Federal Territory at further expense of the Western Region. The political constraint greatly influenced the pattern of land acquisition, land use and land prices in the study area, particularly during the 1950s and well into the years before 1967. 51

In response to the pressing conditions of this period and the need to cater for a diversified or wider range of land use emanating from the young choking city, the following planning measures were adopted by the then colonial government and later both local and central government authorities responsible for various parts of the study area: The L.E.D.B. 52 was created in 1928. It was charged with the duty of exercising planning control within the Municipality and with responsibility for clearing the slums in Central Lagos; acquiring property within and outside the L.T.C. areas for resettling people made homeless by the slum clearance schemes; provision of certain amenities essential for the urban development of Lagos; planning the development of Lagos Municipality and liaising with other corporations, government departments as well as the neighbouring Planning Authority of Ikeja for all planning activity of general interest to Lagos Municipality.

5.51 The creation of Lagos State in 1967 as noted earlier removed many of the physical and political constraints which were stifling the growth of Lagos. Observe the subsequent huge land acquisitions by Lagos State Government for public purposes in Table 15 and the official posture as declared by the State Governor in Appendix 39.

5.52 Lagos Executive Development Board which ceased to exist as such on 1.4.1972 after the Ikeja and Lagos Planning bodies became merged. See Chapter 1, pp.18-19.
Land for Public Purposes: The government took active steps to acquire more land for such public purposes as schools, roads, hospitals and public utilities. Through special powers, the government acquired lands and made these available for users who would otherwise fail to meet their land requirements in the open land market of a peculiar tenure and complicated purchase system in the local environment.

Not less than 112 entries were recorded for 1940-59 (the period under review) as acquired (bought and paid for) by the Central government in the Lagos Study Area. Table 12 is a complete list of transactions for the period, as reported by the Federal Lands Officer in Lagos. While the Table provides figures on the quantities of land involved it also indicates that the size of land available for acquisition decreased in five significant sub-periods of 1940-59, during which a total of about 6,100 acres of land was acquired in that manner, the war not withstanding. Land was sought all over the Lagos Study Area, to cope with increasing demand for all categories of land use. Early in the period (1940-46) it was possible to acquire very large single units (up to 1705 acres) and those early years accounted for over 2,800 acres. For the 1946-51 season the largest single unit was just over 870 acres and the trend (in size per unit) had begun to decline steadily; so much that by the close of 1959 the largest single unit found and acquired amounted to only 11.4 acres. Land price was climbing steadily thenceforth. In the private sector many of the purchases were for private housing (mostly for letting out to tenants and as investments) and were acquired in plots of varying sizes. Corporations and commercial houses were also showing active interest in acquiring land for business purposes (the Nigerian Railway Corporation featuring as the pioneer land holder in this class). The "Industrial Estates" were beginning to emerge. Still no "real estate" market was established; but events were looking sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of such leading property dealers as Knight, Frant and Rutley and later, the Henry Stevens and the Harriman Groups who, in subsequent years, were to play active parts in the developing of Lagos property market.

5.53 q.v. notes 5.29 and 5.30.

5.54 Plots varied in size according to the district in which they are located. At Palm Grove estate and similar districts for example, a plot covers as much as 1/2 acre (see Plate 27 and C.F.29 and 30) whereas in parts of Lagos Island (residential districts) and other crowded residential districts there could be 16 plots to the acre. The average size of residential building plot is given as 4844 sq.ft. or 450m² which corresponds with 8 houses to the acre; but local experts (notably Mabogunje) on the housing problem have advocated 16 smaller single family houses to the acre (2422 sq.ft per building plot) as a more rational standard to save space.
Besides these two major moves at rational allocation of the scarce Lagos land supply under impact of surging land-use competition, five less dramatic but convenient administrative measures were applied: (a) Statutory Corporations were empowered in certain circumstances to acquire land by themselves, e.g. N.P.A. and E.C.N. (now NEPA), (Electricity Corporation Ordinance 1950, section 17(3) re "Land Acquisition"), in similar fashion as the Federal government powers.  

(b) Registration of title to land became a legal requirement both to regulate the intractable litigations to which most Lagos private land transactions are prone, and to protect government land interests. Furthermore, the registration system was expected to provide a sound basis for monitoring land transactions in the study area. Table 24 presents the stages by which the core area of Lagos became declared under Registration of Titles Act CAP. 181 from 1936 to 1968. The Land Registry in Lagos has become a highly organised government department, complete with Lands Court and technical staff. It currently experiences some handicaps.  

(c) Following the success of the Lagos Slum Clearance rehousing scheme when victims of the exercise were persuaded by money or force to quite the land they had for long occupied, government became less hesitant in evicting or resettling occupants of lands required for public purposes. In fairness, however, the number of illegal occupations, sometimes of land long purchased for government purposes, increased with the influx of population into the Lagos Study Area in the 1950s and early 1960s. Mass evictions, sometimes with the offer of resettlement, often yielded effective results,

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5.55 This is different from the Lands Division of the Federal Ministry of Works and deals with all land transactions (private and public). The author records his gratitude to the Registrar and his staff who provided valuable assistance in tracing records. See C.F.35 for location of the Registry. Map room, library, search rooms and Lands Court are within the building.

5.56 Two slum clearance operations have taken place in Lagos Island first in 1929 (affecting Isole Eko area) and latterly in 1956 (affecting the present central Business District, notably Taiwo Street and north of Tinubu Square). The 1956 scheme involved an extensive rehousing scheme and led to the development of Surulere. Plates 6 and 7 refer. See also Map 19 and Plate 3c. Despite the traumatic changes experienced by the transplanted Lagosians in New Lagos e.g. as reported by Peter Maris (1962), the scheme is an acclaimed success and provides useful experience for future slum clearance exercise.
e.g. Ije villages, Akoka villages, Victoria Island squatters and Taiwo street inhabitants. Wherever possible, the paying of token compensation was replacing lengthy and expensive negotiations.

It would appear that a significant feature at this period is that the hope of self government and independence gave the government of the day a freer hand in dealing with such sensitive issues as land appropriation when, after all, it is for the public good of a people well on the road to self rule and independence from colonial rule. Prior to this period, sensitive land matters of this nature were circumvented by negotiated cash purchase of the desired land, e.g. The Nigerian Railway land at Ebute Metta in 1895 as Governor Denton preferred to treat the transaction. 58

(d) The need to cater for the land requirements of factories was realised in this period under review and the pioneer Yaba Industrial Estate - a small portion of the vast Yaba Estate - was designated for that purpose. Its success, as already noted in pp. 97-98 of this study, led to the setting up of other industrial estates in Lagos Municipality and eventually to the Western Region owned estates at Ibeja and Ilupeju. As development nuclei, the estates proved most effective. The Apapa estate had succeeded and the fashion was ready to spread in the next period (1960 onwards). With regrettable consequences, the neighbouring Western Region even used the establishment of such estates 59 as a weapon "to check the possible physical expansion of Lagos Federal Territory".

(e) Studies were commissioned to provide guide lines for efficient planning which would abate the imminent congestion and chaos resulting from the rapid development of Lagos as a "primate city" and from several years of uncoordinated planning in the seemingly "caged up" emergent Metropolis. Of these studies, the one by Peter Harris (really a sociological post-mortem on the effects of slum clearance in the centre of Lagos and resettlement of affected families at Surulere) belonged properly to this period. However, a more appropriate and pre-mortem study sponsored by the U.N. and led by Dr. Otto Koenigsberger, arose from concern for the impending doom of Lagos as perceived by the authorities towards the end of this period under review (the eve of independence). Other reports (mainly dealing with transportation and housing) have since followed, each foreseeing and often

55 This is regarded as the basis for government "market price land purchases. It became rich investment for Nigerian Railways Corporation as that land is now very valuable. The introduction of the Compulsory Acquisition by Egerton in 1904 modified the procedure for other government, though leaving the Public corporations to follow the N.R.C. pattern.
analysing the same doom; but never thorough enough to provide a cure far reaching enough for all the inter-related problems arising from poorly perceived and unplanned land use.

Finally, more active reclamation was mounted to win more land for public purposes and as far as possible the government has endeavoured to consolidate what land it has acquired so far.

In concluding a review of this period (1940-59) it can be said with considerable justification that the first signs of large scale economic development were manifested in the form of the Metropolitan explosion which launched the entire Lagos study area into the 1960s - a fairly chaotic period of mixed blessings. It is probably that the seeming chaos observed at the latter part of this period, and throughout the next, is a healthy sign of development in what may be considered the "normal crisis of growth" in the evolution of Lagos land-use organisation as treated later in chapter 9 of this thesis.

5.57 It was noted during the 1972 field work that many of these occupants were innocent victims of shoddy land purchases, swindled by fake land dealers who had 'sold' the property to them several years earlier. They were ignorant of the proper procedure for purchasing land or checking the genuineness of their titles. Some of these residents at Iponri and Mushin only realised their predicaments when pathetic structures that were their homes were bulldozed for the long delayed roadworks. See Plate 35. Some residents have lived on the property for 25 years and have either paid lease money regularly to the fake "owner" or have made elaborate plans for developing the property they "had bought freehold from someone they could no longer trace."

5.59 q.v. note 3.9, page 102.

5.60 Many of the reclamation effort began to mature in the next period of our review. Victoria island was reclaimed in 1961. The vast Igunnu swamp (Plate 3a) has recently been reclaimed and constitute a vital unit of Category 4a and 2b land uses occurring in complementary association. The University of Lagos has only recently started reclaiming some of the swamps within her 1,000 acre allocation, starting with the Akoka village swamp near St. Finbar's for the College of Education. Other swamps at Surulere, Yaba, Bariga and creek islands are being reclaimed too.
1960 - 1973: Metropolitan Lands Development Under Impacts of Political Independence and Economic Pressure:

The principle of land acquisition by the government for public purposes, as established in earlier periods, became effectively applied now for meeting the "land requirements" of the new political and economic roles of Lagos Metropolis. Lagos had become established, despite raging controversies, as the Federal Capital of Nigeria. This, together with its acknowledged role as the premier port of Nigeria, further strengthened her magnetic effect in attracting to herself more people, resources and activities than anywhere else in Nigeria. The net effect of all these became expressed in a vastly increased demand for space to accommodate the people, their activities and general public needs (for all forms of accommodation, food production, work places, transportation, public institutions, recreation, public utilities and cemeteries).

The congestion pointed out in the U.N. study by Otto Koenigsberger et al (1964) revealed to the government authorities a situation which had become apparent to local casual observers, but it also provided a strong case for the physical expansion of Lagos to release the area from the political constraints which limited planning for the single unit to an artificial 27. sq. miles of Federal Territory. The creation of states provided a timely opportunity for solving the problem: Lagos State was created and subsequently (in 1972) two hitherto rival planning authorities (IMEB & IAPA) were merged into the L.S.P.D.C. with a state Ministry of Works and Housing exercising overall planning control in the entire study area.

Early in the 1960s, new lands for the growing metropolis were won through opening up surrounding lands at Surulere. The influence of road development was properly recognised as a major means of opening up new lands. For that purpose several government land acquisitions (mainly by Nigerian Independence on 1.10.1960 also meant that land development policies were now totally local responsibility; also impact of the political, economic and social development in the post colonial period affected the use of space in Lagos - more land for increased housing demand, industry, transportation, institutional and government uses.

5.61 The then Western Regional government were the main opponents in the issue. They objected to Lagos being constituted as a Federal Territory, maintaining that Lagos should be an integral part of the Western Region. Those in favour of creating the Federal Capital Territory in Lagos believed that the harbour facilities of Lagos and the developments which have taken place since British influence was established there made the place an ideal choice for Nigeria's Capital See note 5.47.
the Federal government in 1966-67) were for road works, and in particular for the new Eko Bridge complex. Apart from the Federal government, the Lagos State Government became even more zealous in compulsory land acquisition for public works. For example, during the 1960-73 period, the Federal Government acquired within the study area alone, a total of 2,237,50 acres of land (mainly for educational institutions, military establishments, road works, Health centers, airport, public utilities and general government needs); while Lagos State government whose activity in this respect came in the last three years of the period, compulsorily acquired and inherited about 86,730 acres of land within the same study area. (See Appendix 27 and Table 15).

Apart from the size of land involved, there are other significant differences between F.M.G. and L.S.G. land acquisition modes: F.M.G. acquired land for immediate use and acted as official agent for those aspects of publicly financed activities less able to compete in the open land market for their land requirements, e.g. Health services, educational institutions, public highways (other than state roads) and public utilities. L.S.G. on the other hand has pursued a direct policy of accumulating a substantial supply of what is generally recognised as the most scarce economic resource in the state - land surface. L.S.G. has therefore been acquiring all available lands 64, in the form of 'stock piling' for future use, drawing such land away from private ownership. It would appear that ample opportunity for implementing such a policy occurred during 1970 to 1973 when the state government undertook an extensive development programme throughout her territory, particularly as regards essential intrastate road works in long neglected areas prior to the states creation of rehousing and construction of new towns.

Map 15 depicts the emergent pattern of land ownership within the Lagos study area by May 1973, under impact of the Lagos State government compulsory acquisitions. The policy continues to threaten many private holdings but it is expected to have the beneficial effect of bringing order into the abnormally high land prices 67 currently experienced in Lagos and so curb

5.63 Ogundana (1961) op. cit.
Hodder (1959) op. cit.
Nabogunje (1968) op. cit.

5.64 q.v. Map 15 - Land under Lagos State Government Ownership. Also Table 15 (complete list) and Appendix 39 - on Government Policy on Land acquisitions for Public purposes. Appendix 23 indicate the problems and obstacles facing the government's acquisition bids.
the activities of private land speculators. For the short run, however, the few "safe lands", i.e. parcels of land not located within nor threatened by government compulsory acquisition orders, are fetching very high prices indeed, particularly for the 1970-73 period when L.S.G. activity in land acquisition attained peak performance.

One positive result from implementing L.S.G. acquisition powers is that "unoccupied lands" in the study area are entering the stockpile of publicly owned lands. Moreover, through active reclamation of neglected swamps or remote locations more land is being added to the available land supply for all sectors of land holdings (private and public). For example, in the process of constructing roads to link hitherto isolated divisional headquarters such as Badagri and Epe, the government has become involved in reclaiming vast swamps across which the new Lagos-Badagri expressway in the west, and the Ikorodu-Epe expressway in the east now run.

Private land-seekers, many having been pressured out of the government acquired lands, have shown remarkable initiative in reclaiming outlying swamps, e.g. the speculative land owners at Onike District of Yaba.65

5.65 State creation gave the neglected or remote towns in Badagri and Epe divisions new life. Formerly they were mere frontier zones remote from Lagos, their administrative centres, and physically isolated from Lagos. Amenities hardly reached them. The new Lagos-Badagri road transformed Badagri overnight into a holiday resort; the towns are now under 30 minutes drive from central Lagos instead of the whole day's journey via Otta and Ado Odo. Lagos-Epe Road via the Ikorodu-Epe expressway cuts off the unnecessarily lengthy journey via Ijebu Ode. The author conducted his 1972 fieldwork before these roads were available and can attest to the hardships endured, in attempts to cover these areas in those grim days. The new roads are important civil engineering achievements as for the most part they traversed huge swamps through which no one tried building roads under earlier governments. See Map 4 for the topography of the study area.

5.66 See also figures 4(a) and 4(b).

5.67 q.v. Maps 16 and 17.

5.68 Oyadiran estate at Onike Yaba measuring 23.95 acres, originated as a derelict land after the war (about 1942) Mr. S. A. Oyadiran acquired what was until 1965 a swampy wasteground. The swamp had been excluded from the original 700 acre Yaba Acquisition (developed in 1933 as the garden city of mainland Lagos) on account of its poor drainage; but brick making remained there until its decline after World War following the wide-spread adoption of cement blocks for building houses in Lagos. Mr. Oyadiran, who is believed to have paid only £90 for 23.95 acres of 'wasteground', made several slow and unsuccessful attempts to reclaim the swamp and generally restore the site to 'building land' quality. /continued
Outside the swamps and dunes, thick palm forests (currently rated among local land-seekers as first class building land) are being cleared in all the formerly scattered villages of Ikeja division, notably Anthony village, Bariga, Pedro, Bashua, Onigbongbo, Oshodi, Shogunle, Isolo, Itire, Ipaja, Ishoeri and Ikeja. These private developers are in their own way increasing the supply of land mainly for residential development. Consequently the resultant land ownership pattern emerging in such districts is of highly fragmented 'plot-holdings' which may prove obstructive in future to other categories of land use that may become necessary for public purposes. (See p.202). The individual scrambles or development efforts have themselves proved most lucrative considering that an outlay of a mere £50 per acre in 1960 was yielding the incredible sum of £30,000 per acre by 1973 and the spiralling price continues!

For the entire study area, land acquired in the private and public sectors during the 1960-73 period may be seen as a direct expression of cumulative events in the history of Lagos land distribution. The economic forces which brought about increased demand for land (more people and more space-using activities) and the technological facilities for winning 'new lands' within the study area, made adequate impact on private land investors. They felt such maximum incentive for owning land that by the time of the 1972 field survey for this thesis a real scramble for land had become established.

5.68 /continued. The creation of Yaba Industrial estate (q.v.) - close to the site and the sitting of schools nearby (City College Yaba and Queen's College Onike) encouraged him to continue his reclamation efforts. The sudden scramble for land in the district from 1965 gave Oyadiran's land a new value. The entire estate was hastily laid out in standard plots, taking advantage of the public utilities and access roads meant to serve the industrial estate and educational establishments nearby and was subsequently retailed, plot by plot most profitably in the 1966-72 period. Thus an entirely new residential district, mainly providing modern flats for white-collar workers and 'been-tos', has become established there, providing also a good observation ground for the development of the "la" type of land ownership. The plots were retailing at £4,000 each in Jan. 1972 and £5,500 by May 1973. The Estate therefore, without houses and still poorly drained, was worth at least £1.05 million at 1973 land prices.

5.69 The Oyadiran estate in note 5.68 provides one example of the lucrative transaction in land. In more central areas the rise of property firms such as city properties and Hope Harriman in the 1960s and early 1970s indicates the trend and state of the property market in Lagos.
The political constraint which imposed an artificial ceiling on land supply for Lagos was removed when the Lagos State government came into being in May 1967. That government, by her local nature, has successfully reorganised its planning, development and administrative machinery to a level where attempts at decentralisation of urban activities industries, residential districts, transportation, etc. - became possible. Efforts continue to be directed towards controlling land-ownership and ensuring an adequate supply of land for public sponsored activities such as education, health services and road-works.

Registration: The Registration of Titles Act (see Appendix 24 and note 5.29) has become a widely accepted principle and titles to land became readily verifiable, thereby lending better security of tenure than was available in earlier periods. The quiet revolution in the idea of land ownership - from communal and family land holding or land rights system, to "personal" or individual ownership of landed property - became established. By 1972 the idea was already producing negative side effects in those cases where the new landowners had become over zealous and greedy in artificially inflating land prices to fantastic heights 70.

Direct government involvement in land ownership has become an accepted principle. The Lagos State Government, because of the advantage she enjoys (as local administrator) as against earlier colonial and Federal government authorities, has proved herself better placed and less reluctant to acquire land for public purposes, and even in stockpiling a substantial part of this essential resource. Where strong opposition has been encountered, e.g. in the Maroko - Ilado case 71, the L.S.G. finds herself more adequately equipped legally, politically and, some have hinted, morally too, to press her claim against the litigants, than early colonial authorities or the Federal Government would dare to do. However, the principle of compensation for compulsorily acquired private property remains valid and the law courts as well as special land courts attached to the Land Registry in Lagos serve as arbitrators in disputed claims.

5.70 See Appendix 31 - The Rent Edict, and Fig. 7 on Rent Trends in a residential district.

5.71 q.v. Appendices 23 and 39.
Corporations, industrial and commercial firms may be regarded as a third class of landowners in the period under consideration. The main benefits accruing to this class for the period are: All land holdings which they previously held became very valuable assets (e.g. the Railway property at Oke Ira, N.P.A. and N.E.P.A. property rights in Lagos division); the new tenure system (individual property rights as distinct from communal ownership) made it easier for them to acquire suitable land for their activities, either directly by themselves or through the government; and, the stage is set for the emergence of a "real estate market" where the various organisations can freely or legitimately sell and buy land for their activities anywhere in the Lagos study area.

Finally there is the multitude of small land holders and tenants (8.3% of all land ownerships) who constitute a significant proportion in residential districts and farmlands (land-use categories I and A4). The net effect of the revolution in the land ownership and tenure system has by the period under review (1960-73) considerably reduced or nearly abolished the incessant litigation and insecurity of tenure this class of land holders suffered in the past. As previously noted, the adoption of individual title to property rights solved the problem of ethnic affiliations as a condition for obtaining land for a private individual's basic needs (residence and food production). This explains the many observations recorded during the 1972 field survey that many non-Lagosians (immigrants from other ethnic territories) with no previous family ties and sometimes physically resident outside the jurisdiction of Lagos State, now own freehold property - ranging from a small plot in dense residential districts, through commercial blocks of flats in central Lagos, to several acres of plantation land and speculatively held tracts within the Lagos Study Area.

The traditional land owners (in the form of indigenous families and chiefs) are fast disappearing as their 'fiefs' become broken up, first among rival members of the large land owning families72 (there is no

5.72 One of the obvious effects of cultural change, may be observed in the apparent breakdown of traditional Yoruba family norms and organisations. The new concept of property and individualism (contrary to traditional expectations of extended family ties) has weakened the forms of sanction that in the past had made such rivalry unnecessary or curbed any natural tendency in that direction. It is possible that the present series of litigations arising from family property will eventually bring about a new phase in the adoption of western concept individual property ownership and transferability rights. Through court judgements and registration of titles the number of family lands available is diminishing and the trend would continue but for certain inhibitive social attitudes e.g. regarding will making and poly-

primogeniture rule) or sold to pay for such services as children's education litigation and medical care; later government acquisition orders suddenly swallow the lot (e.g. the Oniru family lands and Itire lands). During the 1972 field work for this thesis, Alhaji Tijani's large but swampy estate in Bariga district of Ikeja division was used as a case study of how the process of land ownership evolved in that part of the Lagos Study Area. (Map 31 refers). The circumstances surrounding that estate throughout the ownership revolution have been traced as follows:

The hereditament (farmland) described in legal parlance as "an estate of inheritance in fee simple absolute, in possession free from all incumbrances", situate at Ifako Bariga, Ikeja District was first recorded as owned "by one Alhaji Ashafa Bokini Tijani, the chief Imam (of Lagos)". At the time of his death the land was "seized" in fee simple absolute under and by virtue of a Deed of Conveyance dated the 11th day of November, 1954 and registered as No. 15 at page 15 in volume 24 of the Land Registry in the office in Lagos". The chief Imam died intestate (as usual among that generation) in Lagos on 9th. September, 1965. He was survived by two children, viz. Alhaji Musiliu Adelu Tijani and Madam C. A. Tijani, who are also the beneficiaries of his estate. The estate was divided between the brother and sister as a result of a High Court action at Ikeja (suit No. IK/12/67) on a 50-50 basis. Thus, of the 266.60 acre estate, Alhaji Musiliu Adelu Tijani, the son, was allotted a portion measuring 133.3 acres and, to Madam C. A. Tijani, the remaining half was allotted.

In 1970, Alhaji Tijani Jr. sold and conveyed 60.67 acres of the said land to one A. A. Adbul Mojeed Summola, another Lagosian (as per entry in Lagos Land Registry No. 55, p.55 in volume 1349). In 1972, Madam C. A. Tijani's land became part of the Lagos State Government Acquisition at Oworonshoki-Bariga (the proposed Holiday Resort Development etc.) and thereby disappeared from the realm of privately owned lands.

5.73 A related issue with Note 5.72. The dying property owner is particularly anxious not to "divide the family" or create grounds based on favouritism, for rivalry among his heirs. Ironically he or she thus succeeds in bringing about the very problems he was trying to avoid! More rational explanation is that it is customary to among the Yoruba to consider the deceased's estate (in landed or moveable property) as left to his extended family (brothers, sisters and children, often excluding wives) to be shared among them as the head of "the family" (see glossary for traditional concepts of Yoruba family) who becomes Custodian of everything left by the family, might direct. The author followed up, in addition to the Tijani's case resolved earlier in court, a more recent case of Alhaji Chief Bello whom the author had interviewed during field work in
Alhaji Summola, at the time of the study, was in process of selling his holding for reclamation and general development. He would sell privately in acres or fragmented plots to the highest bidder (for a price estimated at about 1,000% of his original outlay in 1970). By 1973 he was in the privileged position of holding one of the very few legally safe private lands in the area for sale but at a price as high as £1,000 (≈$2000) per plot of his remote mangrove swamp.

Contemporary Land Owners in Lagos, 1972/73: Collection of data on land ownership in the Lagos Study Area is a formidable problem. The matter had to be handled delicately as questions on land were at a most sensitive level in 1972. Even government deals were shrouded in secrecy and red tape was rigorously applied to make any researcher's task really difficult in those areas. The big land owners were understandably 'cagy' and are known to conceal such vital information from even their closest blood relations. Fears of the inland revenue men, possible 'government snoopers', petty jealousy among friends or members of the same traditional family, incessant legal disputes and competition against fellow land owners, pervaded the atmosphere and featured in interviewees' answers. Even where plans were made available, many were found to be grossly inaccurate in measurement and sometimes even in geographical location. One got used to reading through seemingly genuine conveyances bearing inaccurate acreage, e.g. a land owner's original document describes and registers a piece of

5.73 continued. March 1972 but who died later that year. A series of land disputes and family rifts have followed on his death without making a will. He had several land interests at Oworonshoki and Lagos Island all of which are now contested between his brother (the acknowledged custodian) and three of his children from different mothers. The matter is yet to be resolved. Among powerful social development encouraging will making these days, is the increasing number of Lagos inhabitants who adopt the nuclei family system. In particular slight pressure from lawyers, insurance agents and their own personal experiences (possibly victims of the evils of intested bereavements) encourage wives and children (in a nuclei family) is considered better protected in the new form.

5.74 The term "Big landowners" here refers to persons or institutions holding ten acres or more in the study area. Effort at constructing a complete list of such land owners or holders was frustrated by the paucity of data and poor recording of information at the Land Registry or other sources. Those presented in Table 18 are the ones for which some basic information could be found; while Appendix 25 contains a general list. Information becomes more difficult in the private sector, where many of the alleged land owners interviewed prove very cagey and sensitive. In several cases the author was told ..... "my relations would kill me to get at my wealth if they were to know exactly how much I have. I dare not register the land for fear of prying relatives and tax agents. To obtain the barest data it was often necessary to guarantee informants maximum confidentiality which sometimes defeat the purpose of an investigation.
land as 80 acres in 1960; the owner sells and duly conveys 70 acres of the same land to 'B', but instead of having 10 acres left, 'A' has a new 'accurate' survey which shows his remaining land as 82 acres!

This state of affairs, one understands from the fast growing land registry, will disappear as regulations regarding land registration become actively enforced to cover the entire study area and as dealers in land become actively enforced to cover the entire study area and as dealers in land become more aware of the rudiments of map reading and estate management. (There is also a shortage of qualified surveyors)\(^1\). Conversation with the more enlightened landowners, however, indicated that corruption in survey and legal handling of private land purchases frequently led to collusion in concealing the original true size of land transactions. Substantial amounts in registration fees are said to be saved in this way.

Map 15 shows the present pattern of land ownership in the Lagos Study Area; while Table 18 lists, by name, the major land owners or holders of the area. They constitute "a middle class" lying somewhere between the government, Corporations and Firms on one hand and on the other hand the small landlords who own only single plots, a small farm outside the city or have invested in a leasehold property in the city area. Although this "middle class" of land owners are relatively few in number, yet they are becoming increasingly powerful in the way they influence land supply in Lagos. Besides they control a substantial proportion of the land resources available in the private sector. The more land they hold, the less land becomes available for both the public sector and the small private land user. Such hoarding is partly responsible for land scarcity which in turn produces high land prices (the big land owners are in a privileged position of dictating land prices here in what is currently a sellers' market.) In some cases, they (the big land owners) have proved

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5.75. Surveyors are relatively very few in Nigeria generally and currently in great demand within the Lagos study area. They recently (1972) constituted themselves into a high powered professional body. They are employed as Estate Agents in each of the corporations and Banks, as Civil Engineers and Field Surveyors in government service, (e.g. at the Lagos State Ministry of Works), as top civil servants in Federal Surveys, as officials in foreign and local Estate Agencies and as private practitioners setting up their own agency services. The volume of business is such that there is hardly a qualified surveyor (other than perhaps the top civil servants) who does not undertake private work outside office hours. Their number is supplemented by a large number of 'architects and draughtsmen' who also act as "Surveyors" but often depending upon qualified surveyors to sign their plans or maps (often without proper field checking) and in most cases adding to the mass of wrong survey documents tendered in land transactions. Fees are often exhorbitant. The new profession organisation of Nigerian Surveys and Estate Agents promises to remove
a formidable obstacle against government acquisition programmes, as in the Moba-Ilado and Itire land disputes.\textsuperscript{76}

The small plot buyer is probably in a more vulnerable position than all other classes of land holders. The market is most imperfect\textsuperscript{77} (there being no agreed land price index to guide him). He is, moreover, competing most keenly against fellow "small people" seeking a plot (relatively small unit of ready building land measuring variously between 2,500 sq. ft. and 10,000 sq.ft.) to buy with what could be a life's savings or borrowed money. Sometimes he ends up buying the same plot thrice or loses his money altogether\textsuperscript{78}. Investigation of title and protection of the property are known to be more difficult and relatively more expensive with small plots than with acres of a single well defined parcel of land. Information retrieval from this class of petty landlords is rendered difficult by their sheer numbers - too many, too scattered in spatial distribution, too fragmented and consequently too poorly organised to yield a reliably fruitful enquiry for the researcher.

\textsuperscript{5.75} continued. all irregularities, discipline members, deal with usurpers of their profession and establish code of conduct as well as fair rates for job done. Much depends on them in bringing some order into the confused state of land ownership records and information in the Lagos Study area.

\textsuperscript{5.76} q.v. Appendix 23.

\textsuperscript{5.77} Information is more difficult for him to get on where and at what price the land he needs may be purchased. It is also difficult and expensive for him to check the validity titles to the property he is buying despite the existence of the land registry. What with greedy lawyer complicated titles, unavailable knowledge of government and government property locations, confusing records where any exists, red tape and the general atmosphere of corrupt practices. He does not have adequate funds to handle the transaction properly. If he succeeds in securing a title however uncertain, he quite often becomes the harsh type of landlord."

\textsuperscript{5.78} Buyer pays 'A' only to discover that 'A' is part of a family who own the land but that 'A' has no absolute title as an individual. Buyer subsequently cannot trace 'A' or recover his money; so he must pay B, C and D, who also have rights. Later E appears who had sold the same land to Z some years earlier, so Z must be paid if he agrees to surrender his bonafide title. The situation could become even more complicated. A building by someone else taking advantage of the dispute could go up on the land without the knowledge of the buyers and sellers. Illegal squatting is rampant and involves crops or homes, as in Plate 13b, C.P.20 and the recently evicted squatters of Iponri Village at Western Avenue or at Mushin.
To get round these problems, enquiries were kept at only a fairly general level, thereby sacrificing details for basic information on:
(a) what types of land ownership are found in the study area; (b) what distribution pattern the land ownership types display for the study area; and (c) basic relationship between land supply, land ownership, land prices and development projects and land ownership and land-use patterns.

As a practical means of gathering usable information, those districts from which reliable information on land ownership were available during the 1972 field work are used here as bases or information districts. Eighty such districts were used\(^7\). (See Worksheet 72/AA/2QP items 10, 12 and 16) and Survey Field Guide Sheet F.

Types of ownership were defined as follows:

1a - Private Tenements or Premises, i.e. landlords owning single plots.

1b - Private Tenements or Premises, comprising large or multiple plots.

2 - Private property under 20 acres.

3 - " 21 to 100 acres.

4 - " over 100 acres.

5 - Family lands and/or traditional chiefs, e.g. Chief in an Idejo family.

6 - Communal Ownership (village, two or more or ethnic associations).

7 - Firms, Corporations, Religious Organisations, Foreign governments/missions, etc.

8 - L.S.G. (Lagos State Government, plus inheritance from preceding authorities).


X - Unknown, unoccupied or disputed lands.

This information is provided in Table 17 analysed and presented by computer graphic Figs. 4a and b, while Map 14 shows the location of the 80 districts. An examination of both the graphics and the map shows the present stage of development in land tenure and land allocations for the Lagos Study Area, 1972. It becomes obvious that changes in land tenure in the area have occurred at different rates and towards different emphasis for each sample area; but that a general trend has emerged whereby some land ownership types notably 8, 9 and 7 are becoming dominant at the expense of more traditional types such as 5 and 6.

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\(^7\) q.v. Map 14 and 43.
It becomes apparent from the assembled information that three zones of landownership types are distinguishable in the study area:

(a) The Core (Metropolitan Centre, viz. Lagos Island, Ikoyi, Victoria, Apapa and Ebute Metta) where land registration has occurred longest and development is most intense. Here the ownership and use of almost every acre of land is known or can be easily traced at the land registry. There is no significant percentage of the land area that would conveniently be classed as type 'X' (unknown, unoccupied or disputed), even though it was recognised during field work that intra-family disputes frequently occur over the premises of a deceased landlord (when, as often, he dies intestate). Ownership tends to correspond closely to use. For Lagos island, small tenement premises of the la type (about 50% of the island, on account of high population pressure upon available space and the relatively long history of human settlement here) predominated in the poor residential overcrowded districts of Oshin, Iwadambo, Isale-Eko, Okesuna, Ilubirin, Epetedo and Bamebo-Iscehere. The large tenement premises (type 1b), accounting for only 5% of ownership types, was rather insignificant and upon further investigation were found to be occupied by top government officials (mainly along S.W. & S.E. parts of the island).

The Federal Government is a major land holder in this central core, having inherited most of the early acquisitions made during the colonial period and being de facto holder of title to lands presently occupied or used by schools, public institutions and roads which form significant land consumers in the city. Firms and public corporations (type 7) feature as major land owners of the crowded city (15%) mainly at the C.B.D.; while the new Lagos State government is becoming increasingly dominant (type 8) as she acquires more land through slum clearance schemes, administrative 'takeovers' of some public institutions and acquisition of private lands for public purposes.

A conspicuous absence of types 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and X types is observed in this central zone. Within the same central zone, the modern districts of Ikoyi, Victoria and Apapa display interesting features varying in important detail from Lagos island. The three districts have developed with strong imprints of the colonial period and heritage. For Ikoyi, only the Galende low income residential area, minor patches at Falomo and Keffi area, contain la landholding type (no more than 10%). Type 1b and government ownership types predominate - a feature reminiscent of the relative affluence of these areas and of the origin of Ikoyi as a district originally zoned exclusively as a European or colonial residential
area. It is fast becoming an exclusive area for the very rich, foreign diplomats and similar personnel. An exception, however, is the so-called Legico flats which is occupied by a fairly humble class of government employees; but ownership of the land remains in types 9 and 6. The high proportion (20%) recorded for type 7 at Victoria Island highlights the increasing concentration of foreign missions and residences for top officials of firms and corporations. The pattern at Apapa is similar to that of Victoria Island, with the significant exception that Apapa is notably an industrial centre cum port, where land ownership is understandably in the hands of government and business firms (accounting for 75%) with a small but high class residential district (the G.R.A.)

Ido, Ijorah and Otto Districts, lying at the periphery of the central zone, constitute an interesting minor or 'linking' variation, arising from government acquisitions for transportation and industrial developments. Superimposed upon these is the presence of type 5 (family lands) at Ijorah and Otto. This represents significant pockets of indigenous landowning families, who, having lost most of their land as government acquisition for public works and industrial development progressed, have been hemmed into smaller land areas.

Maroko, Moba and Ilado districts come within the orbit of the central zone; but so much of that area falls under type X (disputed ownership) with a strong presence of type 5 (family) and 8 (I.S.C.) that a clear case of transition from traditional family ownership for private purposes to modern government ownership for public purposes, may be recognised. Full government ownership of land in those districts is said to be essential for the government's programme of establishing more housing estates as a means of decongesting the centre and for locating activities that would absorb necessary population overspill from the crowded districts of Lagos generally. The number of claimants of title to land in the area, as published in 1973 proved interesting for our purpose as it typifies the fragmentary ownership of lands in the study area, previous to imposition of government acquisition orders.

5.80 These were blocks of 'luxury flats' built at the eve of Nigerian Independence to accommodate members of the Legislative Council or Members of Parliament while attending to their duties in Lagos. Shortly after the military take over in 1966, the blocks were vacated and subsequently became makeshift housing accommodation for soldiers, junior civil servants and assorted government personnel, during the war it was also used for housing certain refugees. The building now stands as a monument typifying the apathetic attitude of Nigerians to government or public property. Lacking any form of lift, desperately short of toilet and waste disposal facilities totally neglected by the government Building attendants and crammed with all classes of desperate people, all the blocks have by 1972 degenerated into eye sores and are almost ripe for redevelopment.
(b) The Lagos Mainland Zone: This zone comprises the northern part of Lagos Division and the core area of Ikeja Division which developed as a coalescence of settlements in what may be described as the "dorsal strip" 82 of Mainland Lagos. Information on land ownership was necessarily drawn from as many as 28 district stations (the highest concentration of land-ownership information bases). This properly reflects the diversity in land ownership practices on account of the different historical development of the zone, compared with Lagos island and environs. Unlike in the Lagos central core, registration of titles in this second zone lacks uniformity and is very recent (sometimes as late as 1967). Evolution from types 5 and 6 ownership to predominantly types 1a, 1b, 7, 8 and 9, has proceeded rapidly under impact of the growth of heavy immigration in Lagos. Many of the registered titles here, particularly for the 1a type, are for non-indigenous persons (i.e. immigrants from outside the local ethnic territory and non-Lagosians). The provision of residential accommodation, public institutions and transport, industry and commerce, generated the forces which moulded the pattern of land ownership types currently establishing themselves in this second zone.

With the successful colonisation of Ebute Metta and later the Yaba Estate Acquisition in earlier colonial days, the land resources of neighbouring lands at Surulere, Igbobi, Ibi-Cro, Mushin, Itire, Ikeja and Agege became realised by both the planning authorities and the private developers of later years. The latter bought up lands for subsequent fragmentation into residential plots in this zone. By 1972 the most advanced districts of the zone, viz. Ebute Metta, Yaba and Surulere, showed a strong tendency in ownership for type 1a (25%), 1b (15%), 7 (20%), 8 (20%) and 9 (15%) with none represented from types 3, 4, 5, 6 and X (features associated with traditional and rural ownership types). These

5.82 See Maps 4 and 17a. This spurlike feature running from Iddo via Ebute Metta, Yaba and Mushin to Ikeja and Agege and sloping away westward to Iganmu/Surulere swamps and eastwards into Bariga swamps and the lagoon, is part of the north western raised topography of the study area. Containing the most easily accessible "easy" land surfaces (i.e. no expensive reclamation project required), the earliest roads and the railway were aligned along it, Kolamut plantations thrived on its northward base, early settlements were sited there on and later developments became concentrated within that space. In turn the relative location of older developments, a nearly uniform extension of land value zones and problems of congestion (in all forms of land use) tend to show up this "dorsal feature".
latter types, still without a significant representation of type X, occurred only in remoter parts of this zone. Thus Bariga, Iwaya, Onike and Isolo are still in the transition stage and represent significant features of mixed ownership. Within the zone also the increasing dominance of government land acquisitions for industries and public works (including airport development) is significant.

(c) Outer Metropolitan Zone of Traditional and Informal Land Ownership: This extensive zone of predominantly forest, swamps and farms, accommodates all the other 43 districts from which reliable field information was provided in the 1972 survey. Their common features are: the districts of this zone are located a considerable distance from the city centre, sometimes away from the roads, rivers and lagoon system which could have provided an essential link with the city centre. While such a problem of accessibility persists, lands in those districts remain relatively in low demand and often outside the physical awareness of effective land seekers of the study area. Holdings are still either in large units as in types 2, 3 and 4 (but of low cost per unit) and there is a strong representation of the 5, 6 and X types of ownership. Finally, all the districts involved in this outer zone were for a long time politically isolated from the central core area of Lagos. They in fact lay at the extreme frontier zone of both the former Western Region territory and even of their divisional headquarters. In the circumstances they received only little or no attention by way of development projects and as for the legal registration of titles to land, they were long kept out of the declared zones of both Western Region and Lagos.

In this outer peripheral zone constituting the third and final zone of land ownership types recognised in the study area, the main features observed are: relative geographical distance (remoteness) from the core of the Metropolis, low assessment of land values in the districts of this zone, and, the relative novelty of associating this zone with the Lagos political entity. Land registration in the entire zone is new or inoperative in these peripheral districts at the time of the 1972 survey; the opening up effect of roads has still to be felt here and many remote forests and swamps still await reclamation within the zone. A conspicuous absence of 1a and 1b types of ownership is observed here; while a very high score (x = 25%) is recorded in the X type (unknown, unoccupied or disputed) in the zone. Besides, vast areas of the zone yielded no data at all for our purpose, in contrast with the high concentration of readily available data stations in the districts of the second or intermediate zone discussed
above. Such seemingly empty areas of the zone (c) stand out clearly in Map 60 (shaded). It is safe to regard these "empty areas", which for the most part correspond with remotely "unsettled parts" of the Lagos Study Area, as simply unknown types. In practice, they often turned out upon further field enquiry from neighbouring villagers, to belong properly to types 4, 5 and 6 types of land ownership. However, the absence of documentary evidence on their ownership, corroborative evidence from reliable local people (in districts far removed from settlements) were responsible for the researcher's decision to treat such districts as "No DATA" areas; but their significance in actual land use as part of the category A0 (Gathering Zone) is noted in later analysis (see chapter 8).

On the whole, the pattern of land ownership which the present study reveals is of a central, oldest evolving core area (comprising Lagos Island and immediate environs) - a broad rectangle of about 20,460 acres; (over 32 sq. miles); a mainland active intermediate zone (comprising the dorsal strip of mainland Lagos and penetrating far into Ikeja division) - a north-south aligned rectangle of about 27,520 acres (over 43 sq. miles) of contiguous territory; and a third peripheral or Outer Metropolitan zone of relatively remote districts, forming a vast horeshoe, enclosing the other two inner zones, of over 256,000 acres (about 400 sq. miles). In zone (a) ownership of the land has passed, over the years, from family and private ownership to predominantly government owned (for public institutions, works and services), closely followed by type 7 ownership (firms, corporations and other business organisations) resulting from the transformation of the core area into the C.B.D. of the budding Metropolis. Within that core area too, the history or origin of Lagos as an indigenous Yoruba town has left vestiges of private small family tenements in the form of crowded courts, high density slum property and all-purpose homes (residential, commercial and craft industries) as may be noted all along Bamgboye Street (See C.P. 26). Many of these tenements are in the process of transformation to types 7 and 8 ownerships as the local authority's slum clearance scheme progresses and as major road construction or widening programmes are implemented. The old Taiwo Street whose land holders of the la type have been resettled, amid

5.84 A large concentration of such dereliction was recorded during the 1972 land use survey between Nnamdi Azikiwe Street and Martin's Street and is represented in Map 10 as surrounded by 3a land use. Other areas are along lower end of Azikiwe St. and the northern edge of Tinubu Square. Although the slums were cleared almost 18 years ago, the authorities (known to be short of land) continue to neglect this site which has become a sleeping place for vagabonds, clothes drying, hawking and wheel barrow street traders. It is suggested that these valuable spaces could be developed as multi-storey car parks to ease one of Lagos Urban problems.
protests, in the 1950s at Surulere by the former L.R.D.B. is typical of that form of transformation. Unfortunately, it seems to the writer that the time lapse between the clearance of a slum and the eventual redevelopment of the cleared site is, for some unexplained reason, just long enough for the site to degenerate into worse eyesores as idle land for unregulated use.\(^5\)

Outside Lagos island but within the same zone (a) (particularly at Ikoyi, Victoria and Apapa) where indigenous urban organisation has not developed to constitute an obstacle to transformation from the traditional to the modern, neither slum clearance nor resettlement programmes have been necessary. Ownership is fully known and planned beforehand for specific types.

For the whole of this central zone, therefore, it can be justifiably claimed that it (zone 1 on the map) has attained a HIGH ORDER in the evolution of land ownership types of the Lagos study area.

The two subsequent zones can then be seen as intermediate and low order zones respectively in this analysis. The intermediate order zone takes in all the very "active part" of Ibeja Division and the northern sector of Lagos Division. Registration of titles here is recent (1955 at the earliest).

There is active transformation of the ownership pattern from traditional to modern types, as evidenced by the marked decline or absence of ownerships under types 3, 4, 5, 6 and X. Ownership by governments and firms (types 9, 8 and 7) registered strongly in association with those parts of the zone essentially devoted to industries, rehousing schemes, institutional and educational uses, security and public works. The lifting of former political constraints against Lagos by the creation of Lagos State in 1967 and the merging of rival planning authorities for the area in 1972, has provided good bases for more orderly development of the land ownership pattern in this zone than was possible before 1967. The high incidence of small land owners (mainly for purposes of rented accommodation and shops) is a major distinguishing feature of this zone.

The low order zone or outer periphery (over 400 sq. miles) constitutes the largest area for which we may generalise about ownership patterns in the study area. Remoteness from the metropolitan centre, isolated uses (mostly subsistence agriculture) and poorly organised record of ownership are common to the districts of this zone. The creation

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5.63 For accounting purposes during data processing such areas are recorded under type X. Comments in P. 210 relate to areas of this type outside Lagos and Ibeja divisions.
of Lagos State since 1967 and the subsequent introduction of development plans involving these formerly remote districts (through road developments and other government projects) have, only recently, aroused two types of awareness. On one hand the people in these remote districts are beginning to feel as part of the new metropolis and are gradually adopting modern landownership types. On the other hand, the people and governments in Lagos City have suddenly perceived the existence and potential of these outlying districts. As a new road opens up hitherto inaccessible swamps, forests, remote settlements and beaches, so firms and individuals have sought to acquire land in the "new lands" for extending their urban purposes - residence, food production (mainly poultry and commercial farming), industries and recreation.

While the entire area may be termed a "low order zone" in this discussion of development in land ownership types of the Lagos Study Area, one must emphasize the point that, with the conquest of accessibility problems, these districts are changing faster in ten years than they ever did in a hundred years previously. Many land speculators are actively hoarding many acres of land here; there is a higher percentage of disputed land here in recent years than was observed in the two previous zones; the state government (liberally applying acquisition orders) is actively acquiring as much land in this zone as it is possible to wrest from communal, private or uncertain ownership; and, the relative cheapness of land in the zone offers apparently unlimited attraction to private developers.

The term "low order" is therefore used here in relation to the relatively late development of land ownership systems in the zone. It does not imply a lack of change or permanent association with past ownership types. The zone is best seen as a potential "land supply bank" for the ultimatematurity of Lagos Metropolis, as more land becomes effectively drawn into the human activities and requirements of that Metropolis.

Perhaps the final product of this analysis is in perceiving that land ownership of the study area today represents the length of time over which each Lagos district has adopted modern land ownership types (seen as conducive to modern economic development) as against traditional land ownership (seen as regressive and obstructive to modern economic development). Our zone 1 is therefore that part which experienced early adoption of modern land ownership types. Zone 2 is of comparatively recent date and largely in active transition. Lastly there is a zone 3
where the districts are seen as late or slow in adopting the modern land ownership types.

Variations in Size of Ownership Units: The size of land ownership tends to offer a useful explanation for some problems of development encountered in the study area. Large units are easier, one assumes, to plan or adapt to various uses. Smaller units and intensively fragmented units are more difficult to organise for comprehensive development or to adapt to new uses. In the extremely fragmented cases conflicting interests result in chaotic arrangement of uses, with schools, shops, low income residential tenement holdings and small industrial premises occurring within a two acre plot, e.g. in Offin, Epetedo and Mushin districts, the street (Plate 28) is within such an area and so is the district for C.P.28 a and b.

The spatial expression of this aspect of land ownership (variations in size of holdings), based on data from the 80 districts in Fig. 4 reveals some relationship between ownership and type or level of development. For the large units (100 acres or more) the government land holdings at Akoka, Surulere and Yaba, forest reserves at Ogun river, a few military establishments and the holdings of Nigerian Ports Authority and the Nigerian Railways Corporation, stand out in Lagos Division. Ikeja Division contains the large government holdings for Police, the airport, water works, military establishments at Oshodi and the industrial estates treated as single units. Many large private farms, such as Mr. Ashamu's Oke Afa estates at Isolo also feature in this division. Badagri division, on account of its recent road development projects and relative proximity to Lagos, contains many government holdings for road works, new town development, prisons, training establishments, military grounds and a few large private holdings such as Dr. Maja's Creek Island estates centred at Tomaro. The new Lagos-Badagri road incited massive government acquisitions and also precipitated a new scramble for land in the private sector. A common characteristic of land in large units of ownership is a general initial undesirability inherent in their topographical origins as swamps, thick forests or dunes requiring expensive reclamation works.

5.25 Confusion over the exact extent of Lagos State Government property in this district is currently checking the excessive zeal of would be land buyers. Much of it comes within the 120,50 square miles (77,120 acres) along the new road as published in Lagos State Government Gazette No. 24 Vol. 5 of 16.11.72 but demarcation of which is still poor or uncertain. In spite of the risks many speculators would not pay ₦3,000 per acre in 1971 but are now scrambling for land in the district at ₦8,000 per acre. of swamp or sand-dune in 1973. (Based on information from the Oba-elect of Ojo, Chief E. O. Idowu).
For the two remoter divisions (Ikorodu and Epe in that order) the only large units are in effect the recent government acquisitions for agricultural development at Ikorodu, road works (e.g. the new Ikorodu-Epe Road) and other projected developments by the Lagos state government. The Epe divisional part of the study area, possibly on account of the persistent problem of poor accessibility, did not have a significantly large unit that would properly belong to this class of ownership. It is probable that this situation will last only until more people are persuaded to regard the main body of Lagos Lagoon, no longer as a barrier between central Lagos and this frontier zone, but as a link between the crowded centre and the land-surplus eastern frontier. If successfully introduced, a future development of the waterborne transport system would open up that eastern frontier, bringing the present remote lands of Epe division into Lagos land market. For the present, many potential land owners and developers - including the government, would rather invest their money in less remote territories, implying geographically the western half of the entire Lagos study area, or lands west of the main body of the Lagos lagoon.

Ownership in medium size units is less concentrated in any one zone. Their relative absence in Lagos, Ikoyi and Victoria islands is understandable on account of the high land prices involved and the intense competition from all land users and owners. However, Ibeja division remains by far the major area for medium size units; but the units themselves are undergoing constant fragmentation as holders tend to sell in smaller units today than those which they had acquired in previous years. Even the speculators who hold most of the lands in this class and the government who acquired lands originally for housing or industrial development have been selling their holdings in plots or other fragmented units to a new class of small holders - the developed freehold single

5.86 Map 35 and Fig. 6 refer. The eastern Lagoon coasts and hinterlands at Ikorodu and Epe divisions appear to be so remote from Central Lagos only as long as everyone depends on the single crowded Ikorodu-Lagos Road. Such a water-borne transport would probably involve a general dredging of the central lagoon to a kind of central navigable lake, but with the use of hover crafts or modified cheap versions a water bus service could be initiated by any authority charged with transportation matters for the entire study area (a future Greater Lagos). Alternatively the eastern Peripheral Road proposed by A. Bidderen (1965) q.v. Map 35 and linking Ikorodu Town via a bridge over Palavar Island to the Atlantic foreland at Aja and through an eastern approach to Lagos, Ikoyi and Victoria Island.
plot landlord or business proprietor. Many of these were recorded at Surulere, Ijupeju, Yaba and Ikeja during the 1972 survey.

The fragmented or small units of 1 to 9 acres represent mainly lands nearer to the centre, very valuable per unit and often recently carved out of one of the previous units (large and medium size ownership). Field examples of other kinds of land units such as those representing a consolidation process from small plots to large or medium size units were rare and were only encountered among some government compulsory acquisitions, e.g. the several small parcels of Federal Government acquisitions during 1968 between Ikorodu and Apapa for the Eko Bridge extension (See Table 13). The small units close to the centre are much sought after by wealthy developers but it was noted during the 1972 survey that no such "chunk of land" could be found within Lagos Division at less than £25,000 per acre, or in Ikeja Division at less than £10,000 per acre (₦50,000 and ₦20,000 respectively) for the cheapest "undevolved swamp or bush". Only the governments, through their acquisition powers, are able to overcome this price problem for their own purposes.

The "intensively fragmented" ownership units are identifiable as corresponding with all the residential districts of the Metropolis and attain maximum concentration in the "low income" residential districts such as parts of Lagos island, Shomolu, Mushin, Surulere and Agegune. In rural districts, the farms nearest the village settlements are also intensively fragmented, as most subsistence farming in this region is practised in units of less than one acre of land.

The whole of Old Yaba and Ebute Metta colonial housing estates appear under the category of intensively fragmented ownership even though they were previously acquired in large units (e.g. 700 acres for Yaba Estate) by the government of the time. The fact is that over the years the developed housing estates have been sold to private individuals as tenement plots or homes, in much the same way as the Lagos State Government has been doing with her Surulere and other housing estates. In the cases of Yaba and Ebute Metta many of the original buyers (back in the 1930s) are old or dead and their fast deteriorating homes (lacking in many basic modern

5.87 Swamp and marsh reclamation (filling cost only) was running at ₦2,000 per acre for mainland marsh using household rubbish or ₦2,500 using earth from the forest (See G.P.11 and 12). ₦3,000 for mangrove swamp using sand. Source: Lagos University Contract Dr. Maja and Chief Clubode.
amenities), many of which later served as family seats, have been converted into business premises, shops, crowded rooming houses or "hotels", in response to the recent population influx into Lagos (late 1950s onwards). There were, however, a few shrewd individuals, notably Mr. Odunaiya, alias Oba-nle Are, at Eque Metta and Mr. Gyadiran at Yaba, who still control medium sized units in the area.

The two aspects of land-ownership (a question of approach):

In an attempt to gain better insight into the nature (form and function) of land ownership in the Lagos Study Area, we have so far examined two aspects of the subject. First we considered who owned the land and have categorised ownership into eleven types on the basis of information collected from within the area. It then became possible to demonstrate the operation of a process of evolution in land ownership types, towards a modern system more conducive to contemporary development planning. This approach points to the fact that "time of adoption of the new system of land ownership" is a main indicator of spatial variation in land ownership pattern of the study area but also reveals the role of accessibility to and historical association with the centre (Lagos City) as decisive factors. Secondly, we have examined land ownership in terms of how much land is held per unit. For this, four categories are discerned: the large unit (100 acres and over); the medium size unit (of 10 acres to 99 acres); the small or fragmented units (of 1 to 9 acres); and, the "intensively fragmented" ownership units (under 1 acre).

This second aspect promises valuable answers to such questions as: is there an ideal size of ownership best suited for balanced land-use development, and/or where does what size of ownership unit occur? However, knowledge derived from this aspect does not, in the opinion of this writer, quite satisfy our greater search for relationships between land ownership, land use and land prices in the study area. It is in this respect that we feel obliged to acknowledge the importance of the first aspect - understanding the evolution and distribution of land ownership types in the study area - over and above the question of what units of land are held where.

When our problem is approached through the first aspect, it becomes easy to understand why ownership types vary within the area and, later, how the use made of neighbouring lands within the study area reflects the needs and capabilities of the landowners or holders, as well as such external factors as time controlled innovation (i.e. the introduction and diffusion of modern land ownership ideas into Lagos). This approach facilitates any later attempts at predicting the behaviour of land use.

588 Among the old established families of Lagos, some prosperous
or positive direction in planning land policies, based on a thorough understanding of these relationships. It is therefore to be recommended for the purposes of land-use research in Lagos (and in all probability in other developing regions) that, in the matter of land ownership, more weight be placed on this first aspect of investigation, even at the expense of investigating the size of each unit of ownership essentially because efforts expended in the latter can be counter-productive in a region of poor data availability. The influence of "who owns the land?" rather than "how much land he actually owns", matters more when it comes to deciding how the land shall be used or what categories of land use shall succeed in an open land-use competition. This is especially the case in Lagos where government land acquisition powers are supreme and where the small private la type of land owner is the least influential and least organised in this matter.

**Village and Communal Lands:** Two types of land ownership (corresponding in the foregoing analysis with types 5 and 6) together amount to nearly 22% (11% and 10% respectively) in the whole of the study area. They are associated with the several isolated and rapidly disappearing local villages (by urban absorption) and with the local (Yoruba) land tenure generally known as "communal ownership" in the study area. These constitute the traditional system. Many of the districts where a transition in land ownership ideas (from traditional to modern) was observed in Ikeja division during the 1972 survey were recent strongholds of the traditional system. (The case study of Mairan Village as presented in Chapter 7 of this thesis refers).

In the traditional system, as already noted in an earlier part of this thesis (see p.36 and Neek, 1949), land belonged to the village - collective living and dead - and was held in trust by the "Bale" ("father

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5.88 continued. ones or individual members of such families bought plots and houses earlier on (1890s at Ebute Metta and 1930s at Yaba) and as the occupants became by age or nomination heads of their extended families, the houses became family seats for meetings, settling disputes, funerals, marriages, or other family occasions.

5.89 See Table 14 - Landowners and Map 15.

5.90 The absence of an earlier data bank and poor data accessibility in Lagos field as noted earlier leads to counter-productive efforts in investigating early units of ownership e.g. size, often not recorded where they should or are wrongly surveyed initially. Consequently the elaborate ownership map planned earlier for this chapter had to be abandoned.
of the land" or village head). Every villager is entitled to a share in the land from the Bale unless he (the villager) had forfeited that right by desertion or misdemeanor. A villager gets enough for his basic needs (mainly for subsistence farming and residential home). Strangers (non-natives of the village) can also "be" land91 from the "Bale" for their temporary use but must never pass such rights on to anyone else or mortgage same. The strangers own only what crops they planted on such lands. He pays a token fee in cash or kind periodically as agreed in recognition of his limited rights to the land he holds. Even a "son of the soil" could not alienate his assigned plot. This system worked well in an agricultural society where a redistribution of lands (particularly under a shifting cultivation system) is periodically essential and ecologically beneficial. However, the introduction of cash crops brought some early complications and by the time land for non-agricultural uses, e.g. industry, became important in the region, enough experience of "western" land tenure had been propagated in the area, thus preparing the way for the changes now facing village and communal lands in the Lagos study area.

Family land ownership type has also emerged in districts that were originally regarded as village and communal lands. However, the role and status of family lands in Lagos appear to operate only at a transition stage between traditional land ownership and the new modern types of ownership. A slight effort in tracing the rise of family lands out of the village and communal land system promises abundant material of considerable potential interest historically and legally.

The idea of family land - a notorious source of unlimited litigation in the study area - was actually nurtured in the village and communal land holding system, possibly as an adaptation of the imported notion of personal land ownership rights, but retains a communal element whereby the family is substituted for the village and the size of holding became economically determined according to the fortunes, solidarity or resourcefulness of the family. The introduction of commercial agriculture

5.91 The term "stranger" distinguishes Sons of the Soil or people belonging to the ethnic territory, from all persons belonging to other settlements or of ethnic groups not belonging to the territory e.g. an Itire villager at Ojo or an Awori man at any part of Ijebu land. In the case of Lagos all non-Yorubas are considered strangers. See Chief Oluwa's case reported in Nigerian Gazette April, 1974.
provided early incentives for personal ownership of landed property (where kolanuts, cocoa and other cash crops might be grown); while the Yoruba system of kinship and property inheritance, at a time when free enterprise was eroding the basis of communal village life, kept the "family lands" idea in fashion in many parts of the study area until its present waning period. The Akhaji Tijani land case at Ifako-Sariga reported earlier in this chapter, is typical of the state of family lands today. (See p. 199 ). Today family lands (type 5) are less important features of land ownership type than they might have been twenty years earlier. The few remaining units in this type of ownership are either held by chieftaincy families or fitted more into our "Type X" (disputed lands).

Ownership by government corporations/business firms and single private individuals is replacing or has taken over lands that would in the 1940s be regarded as village lands, communal lands or family property. There is ample evidence that the new popular awareness of "land" as a valuable marketable commodity speeds up the trend.

Land Price Trends in Lagos: During the period of field work (1972), land price in Lagos was attaining its highest peak from the earliest recorded price index. An empty plot of land (50' x 100') in a poor district of Lagos island was fetching as much as £N8,000 (₦16,000) in March 1972. In the C.B.D. itself ₦100,000 per plot is easily obtained.

It was part of the field-work plan to attempt a reconstruction of land price or land value changes for the whole of the Lagos study area from 1942-1972 in a five yearly interval. However, this proved a most unrewarding task on account of poor and unreliable data; local authorities and usual informants in many ways demonstrated their reluctance to cooperate in this particular aspect; the issues involved proved so delicate to handle that any attempt on the researcher's part to press on this aspect regardless, was clearly likely to jeopardise the entire project; and, the Land Registry was not sufficiently long or well established to make it possible for this kind of information covering the whole of the study area to come from legally recorded sources alone. That aspect of the survey has therefore dropped and efforts became concentrated on

5.92 No price index as such exists for the study area. The prices paid as compensation for land at Ikoyi Plains (later known as C'Alende and Doddan) in 1907 by the colonial government for use as soldiers' barracks, 44.712 acres on 24.4.1907 and 21.3 acres on 7.5.1907 amounted to £49.57 per acre (i.e. £3272.1) - nearly £50 per acre. The site was then a swamp to be reclaimed.
ascertaining current land prices for the entire study area. It proved most fruitful. The other aspect will still be attempted by this writer at a later more convenient date.

That apparent disappointment notwithstanding, one field response collected at Mushin (originally scheduled among 40 others for this aspect) provides a glimpse at the trend in land value changes. (See Table 21b and Fig. 7). The data refers to sample plots of land drawn from various residential districts of Mushin mapped within category 1c to e in the 1972 land-use survey. Bottom and top prices for each five year period were taken. Between 1963 and 1973 the minimum price of a plot rose from £100 to £1,000 at freehold price or a top price of £125 to £1,200 per plot. A more conservative or slowed down trend is represented by the rate of compensation paid by government for land compulsorily acquired for public purposes. Records indicate that whereas £50 per acre was considered sufficient compensation for the land owner in 1912, by 1972 the figure of £400 was becoming a standard rate of compensation per acre of empty land.

**CURRENT LAND VALUES & The Pattern of Prices in Lagos:**

With the aid of a five-millimetre grid, data collected during the 1972 land use survey were mapped against appropriate settlements, farms, villages, urban districts and such spatial points from where they were derived. The result is shown in the accompanying map of Land Prices in Lagos 1972, revised to March 1973 Map 16b, 17(a) and 17(b) derive from this base map and represent the land value surfaces as it was at the period of study, with slight adjustments to known 1973 prices.

There is ample reason to believe that the general geographical pattern (in terms of areas of high prices and low prices) might not have changed very much in the past 30 years; but in terms of actual change in absolute figures, there has been a phenomenal increase in prices of perhaps a thousand fold in half that period.

It becomes apparent from these figures and the accompanying chirochromatic maps that land prices in Lagos City are among the highest

5.92 continued. On this basis together with considered mean averages for compensation paid for other tracts of land between 1907 and 1972 and allowing for the various factors which influence land values, the author is of the opinion that it would be proper to use £50 per acre in 1910 as index price and base year on which comparative land prices (given adequate data) could be calculated for the benefit of land value studies.

5.93 See Federal Land Registry Entry for Iru and McKunwe on Kyramo Island - 126.5 acres acquired for the purpose of "government reserve". Dated 24.1.1912.
in the world. The prices are almost unreasonable, but for the fact that there is no shortage of buyers. It is clearly a seller's market and up to the time of writing up this study there is no sign of the prices reversing their upward trend. The highest prices (100,000 and over per acre) are paid at the high class residential districts of Ikoyi and Victoria islands. This is closely followed by Lagos island and where slum property and blighted districts might have been responsible for lowering the general land value in what is considered the most central core of the Metropolis.

High property values at the C.B.D. are diluted by poorer land values in the poor districts of the island, bringing the general land price lower than was recorded at the far eastern districts of Ikoyi island and part of Victoria island. At Ikoyi island too, the poor residential district and service quarters at Opalende and Ije tend to force down normal land prices for that part of the island.

The Ikoyi, Victoria and Lagos islands together constitute the area of highest land prices (each within the £90,000 + per acre price mark). Next to this a second band is forming beyond the Marina and the two bridges to Apapa, Ebute Metta and Light House beach and part of the currently disputed Kuramo district. Land prices in this second band range from £45,000 per acre to £90,000 per acre.

The third zone follows a sector traversed by the arterial routes leading northwards to Agege and Ikorodu; but corresponds to the pre-1950 development on Lagos Mainland and Ibeja division. The same class of land prices form a mesh over Ikorodu and its urban lands down to her lagoon port. Land prices there range from £10,000 to £45,000 per acre.

A fourth zone of land prices, ranging between £5,000 and £10,000 per acre, is less regular in shape and covers all the post-1950 built up districts of Ikeja Division, the band of territory lying on either side of the new Lagos - Badagri road; the south western districts of Ikorodu division (Eti Osaa district) between the Atlantic and the lagoon; and, the western and southern part of Ikorodu division mainland, excluding the remote unreclaimed swampy and thick forests and outside Ikorodu urban lands already included in the previous class of land prices.

A fifth and lowest priced zone comprises the outlying lands of the study area traditionally remote from Lagos city centre and until 1967 served as frontier zones of a remote Western Regional capital at Ibadan. The lands here are mostly unreclaimed swamps, traditional farmlands now constituting our land-use categories A4 to A0. The lands of this zone
are remote, unattractive and often unquoted in the land market of Lagos -
sometimes even unknown to potential land buyers in Lagos city. Neverthe-
less, even throughout this remote zone, the ideas of a market price for land
and freehold property has penetrated in the past 5 years (1968 to 1973)
and nowhere was land found for less than £100 per acre during the 1972
survey.

Explanations: Two main factors appear to be responsible for the
feverishly high prices in the first two price zones of the Study Area:
(a) Land buyers are terribly ignorant of the local geography. Many of
the city dwellers express surprise at the existence of open land if taken
outside the built-up area or across to Badagri creek, for example. The
feeling of land "scarcity" is more apparent than real. Perhaps the
boundaries of the Federal territory, which until 1967 confined so many
people and activities into a choked-up area, had the effect of conditioning
many people into knowing only an increasingly overpopulated space, so
much that the new lands thrown open by the creation of Lagos state will
take some time to register mentally on people of the crowded city.
(b) A natural effect of rapid urban expansion: The general high
prices throughout the study area appear to be in general response to the
new idea of private property ownership and the speculative fever, which
as Dotson & Dotson (1954) had noted for Guadalajara, Mexico,94 tend to
accompany rapid urban expansion in recent years. There is considerable
attempt at land hoarding and the government's massive acquisitions
referred to earlier in this study (one sixth of all Lagos state lands
were so acquired in three years) leaves less land in the open market for
the private sector. The scramble for land, as already noted earlier in
this chapter, is almost always for residential land use (among the small
buyers) or held for speculative purposes (among the large-scale land
seekers).

In addition to these two main factors, we may also take into account
the effects of transport, politics and administrative guidance. The
role of transport is clearly important in the pattern of land prices
throughout the study area. Places with better accessibility command higher

5.94 Dotson, F, and Dotson, L.O. (1954): 'Ecological Trends in the City of
Guadalajara, Mexico'. Social Forces, Vol. 32.
land prices; while low prices are usual at the more remote parts rendered so either by actual distance away from the centre (as in the case of lands in Epe division relative to Lagos) or separated by physical barriers (as in the case of creeks, swamps and the main body of Lagos lagoon).

The effect of a political boundary has already been noted and is brought out clearly here in the steep price gradient occurring at the Apapa-Ajegunle boundary area. Finally, the absence of a well-defined policy on land prices\(^5\) and the imperfect nature of the land market combine with a poorly developed real estate practice, bear part of the blame for the chaotic land prices currently obtaining in the Lagos Study Area. Their reflection on the poor organisation of land use in the area becomes apparent as this thesis progresses.

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5.95 There is no official index - official or otherwise. Lagos State Government has none and the author was told "there is no plan to evolve one as a matter of policy; market forces should adjust itself." However, the relatively young Nigerian Surveys and Estate Agents and organisation is expected to tackle this long over due guide index which would minimise imperfections in Lagos Land market. The author's suggestion for 5.9 would probably serve academic purposes at least till professional land valuers offer one.
"LAND USE & INDUSTRIALIZATION IN LAGOS"

Good land-use planning is invaluable to a developing region; but such an exercise necessarily depends upon a thorough understanding of existing land use. Nigeria lacks both a tradition (based on field work) and the equipment in map forms for such studies.

The territory studied in this thesis is a typical tropical developing region. The problems encountered in the field, existing literature and theoretical analysis are also considered representative of the current situation in academic efforts at collecting, examining, presenting, interpreting and understanding data on land-use arrangements in a rapidly industrializing West African environment.

Previously no appropriate large-scale maps (1:50,000 or larger) existed for 90% of the anticipated study area. Lagos State of which it forms a part, is a new political entity where mapping and field information had not been organised by a single body or for any related purpose. During 1972, the author organised a detailed land-use survey covering about 500 square miles in approximately 62 acre blocks, using newly devised easily computerised categories based on the Lagos environment. Urban and Rural land-use types were identified as 1-10 and A1-A0 respectively, with "X" for disputed or "unknown" tracts. The complete land-use map (Map 8) produced became an essential document for the study which followed.

Organised in ten chapters (Vol. I for Chapters 1-5; Vol. II for Chapters 6-10; and Vol. III for maps, etc.), chapter 1 introduces "Lagos" and the operational framework for understanding the various themes, theories and assumptions brought together in this pioneer inquiry on Land Use and Industrialization in Lagos. A descriptive analysis of the land-use map is presented by categories in chapters 2 and 3. In chapter 4 the nature of industrialization in Lagos is examined and related to the land-use pattern evolved under that process. Chapter 5 examines land acquisition in Lagos as the basis of ownership, utilization and price trends, together with the theoretical background to land-use competition.

In chapter 6 a spatial analysis of industrial impact is attempted; while case studies for all categories of Lagos land use are presented in chapters 7 and 8. From the combined theoretical and observed material derived through this study, a model and some firm conclusions are advanced in chapter 9 towards an understanding of land-use organisation in the development of Lagos and perhaps similar regions. The final chapter presents the author's concluding remarks and observations on this geographical study of land use in a developing region.
A. Amos. Ph.D. Thesis 1979

Land Use & Industrialization in Lagos, Nigeria