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**EXPLORING THE RAPID URBANISATION  
OF  
THE OIL RICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN  
AFRICA AND ITS DRIVERS:  
THE CASE OF NIGERIA**

LILIAN NWANYISONDE SMART

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTERS OF ART BY RESEARCH

SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

2017

# Abstract

**Topic:** Exploring the rapid urbanisation of the oil rich developing countries in Africa and its drivers: The case of Nigeria

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**DATE:** August 2017

AN HONOURS THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ART BY RESEARCH

## ABSTRACT

The rate of urbanisation in many countries of the world, and especially in Africa, has been unprecedented in recent times. Perhaps most spectacularly, as these countries urbanise some of their cities very quickly emerge and qualify as ‘mega-cities’. According to Davis’s predictions from the 1950s (Davis, 1955), this rapid urbanisation has led to urbanity gradually taking over rurality. While there is a consensus among scholars that the world has now reached its ‘urban age’, there is no comparable consensus with regard to the drivers of this urbanisation. Further to this point, this study investigates the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. The primary aim is to explore what accounts for the unique characteristics of urbanism in Nigeria, thus helping to enhance our overall understanding of the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa. The study empirically analyses published literature, drawing insight from the findings to discuss extensively the theories of urbanisation including historically grounded, demographic, economic and postcolonial urbanism,

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while also highlighting the factors that drive urbanisation in these countries. This literature demonstrates that colonialism and the availability of oil resources are the dominant drivers of urbanisation in these countries. Drawing from the economic theory of urbanisation and Garth Myers African Cities Thesis (postcolonial urbanism) (Myers, 2011), the study mainly shows that the creation of 36 states and the impact of capital, oil, and colonialism contributed immensely to the urbanisation of Nigeria. The explanation put forward is that the influx of the oil wealth to Nigeria which altered the local economic base from a primarily agricultural one to one dependent on the extractive economy, together with colonialism facilitated its urbanisation. This study, therefore, argues that oil and colonial factors accelerated the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria through migration from the rural to the urban areas. Thus, substantial investments in labour-intensive industries, agricultural development, enhanced educational policies and capacity building need to be prioritised in Nigeria's development policies to harness economic growth from this rapid urbanisation.

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# Declaration

I declare that this thesis and all the information contained in it has been obtained and presented in accordance with the academic rules and regulations. Also based on these rules, I have fully cited and referenced all the materials of the authors that are not original to this work.

# Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotations from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

# Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge the Almighty God for His great mercies and kindness towards me throughout the period of this research, may His name be continually praised in Jesus name, Amen. I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Davidson Christopher M., for the useful feedbacks he gave me throughout the writing process of this MA by Research. Moreover, I sincerely appreciate my lovely husband – Chidiebere Smart Onuoha for his love and support during the stressful academic period. Also my heart goes out to my two wonderful children, Godsriches Chidindu Onuoha and Anointed Chizitere Onuoha, they are simply God’s given children. From the bottom of my heart, I appreciate our family friend in the person of Benafa Oyinkuro, a PhD student in the University of Newcastle, United Kingdom who has selflessly supported me throughout the entire process. I am humbled by his kindness and I must say that he is indeed a friend that sticks closer than a brother.

# Dedication

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the year 1955, Davis Kingsley, a renowned demographer predicted the arrival of the explosion of urbanisation on a world scale (Brenner & Schmid, 2014). Other thinkers such as Patrick Geddes and Oswald Spengler also predicted the worldwide explosion of urbanisation from the twentieth century (Madden, 2012; Brenner & Schmid, 2014). Davis however, gave his predictions strictly on empirical grounds when in his work titled, 'origin and growth of urbanisation in the World' he made this observation;

“almost any technological advance from now on is likely to contribute more to the centrifugal than to the centripetal tendency. It may turn out that urbanisation in the sense of emptying the countryside and concentrating huge numbers in little space will reverse itself-not, however, in the direction of returning people to the farm but rather in that of spreading them more evenly over the land for purposes of residence and industrial work. ”Rurality” would have disappeared, leaving only a new kind of urban existence” (Davis, 1955, p. 437).

This prediction by Davis portrays a situation when much more people will reside in the urban centres than in the countryside. According to him, when this happens, urbanity will take over rurality. What Davis foresaw at that time is what can presently be called the urban age, that is an age when more than fifty percent of the world's population live in cities (Friedmann, 2006; Bloom, Canning, & Fink, 2008; Chen, Zhang, Liu, & Zhang, 2014). However, Brenner & Schmid (2014) questions the authenticity and the credibility of the term 'urban age'. They argue that notwithstanding the long history and the progressively prevalent influence the expression commands, the thesis;

” is a flawed basis on which to theorise world urbanisation patterns: it is empirically untenable and theoretically incoherent (a chaotic conception)” (Brenner & Schmid, 2014, p. 731).

Brenner and Schmid see the term 'urban age' as not only ambiguous but also not the right expression to be used in explaining the explosion of the present day urbanisation.

Contrary to the argument raised by Brenner and Schmid, urban age is arguably the right expression in describing the explosive urbanisation of the present day world, and there may not be a better expression than that. In fact, no matter the level of the argument surrounding the expression, it does not negate the fact that the world is urbanising at an explosive rate when compared to how it was in the pre-industrial period. Indeed, the rate of the urbanisation of countries in recent years is phenomenal and unprecedented, much more than it has been in the history of man. For instance, in 1950, about 30 percent of the world population resided in the urban centres, this rose to about 54 percent in 2014, and 54.5 percent in 2016 (United Nations, 2014, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2016). According to these records, urban areas are projected to house 60 percent of people globally by 2030, and by 2050, 66 percent of the world's population is projected to be urban. These statistics show the rapid urbanisation of the world – developed and developing countries inclusive, and as such a clear reflection of the argued urban age.

The most spectacular thing about this urbanisation is that as most developing countries urbanises speedily, some of their cities speedily qualifies as mega-cities (cities with more than 10 million inhabitants). According to the UN-Habitat (2016, p. 7), there were 22 large cities and 14 megacities in 1995; it rose to 44 large cities and 29 megacities in 2015. On this basis, the UN-Habitat projected that this trend would continue as several large cities in Asia, Latin America and Africa are to become megacities by 2030. Further to this, the United Nations in 2016, identified 31 megacities in the world and also projected that it would rise to 41 by 2030 (see UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 2). Concerning Africa particularly, the UN-Nations report on the World's cities in 2016 shows that;

”Under pressures from demographic growth, very large regional urban systems such as extended metropolitan regions, megacities and mega-urban regions are now also emerging in Africa” (United Nations, 2016, p. 30).

For instance, in Africa, such cities as Cairo, Kinshasa and Lagos were recorded as megacities as at 2014 (United Nations, 2015), and from the rate at which cities in the developing countries urbanises, several other megacities will emerge in Africa in the future. According to projection, the expectation is that from 2014 to 2030, 13 cities will join

the group of megacities. This projection also shows that by 2030, there will be 41 urban agglomerations of 10 million inhabitants or more which will host around 730 million people worldwide (United Nations, 2015, p. 91). This staggering estimates and the projections of the rate of the world's urban population up to 2050, does show that urbanisation is a continuum. A situation where all regions especially those in Africa are expected to continue to urbanise further over the coming decades with some qualifying as megacities (United Nations, 2014).

Indeed, this development shows a noticeable increase in the rate of the urbanisation of Africa, making it easy to agree with the urban age thesis. Further to this, Robi (2011) states that one of the ways to investigate whether the urbanisation of developing countries has been rapid or not is to compare the current rate of its urbanisation with the historical trends. It means that comparing the speed of the urbanisation of the past with the urbanisation of the present automatically reveals whether the pace of urbanisation has been rapid or not. So like the countries in Asia, the current pace of the urbanisation of the developing countries in Africa has been much higher than its old speed, and this shows that their urbanisation has been very rapid (Freire, Lall & Leipziger, 2014). For instance, in 1960, the rate of the urbanisation of Africa is 15 percent, it became 40 percent in 2010, and it is projected to reach 60 percent in 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2010).

The record of the 2014 revision of the world urbanisation prospect, shows that while the global urban population is predicted to grow by 2.5 billion urban dwellers between 2014 and 2050, nearly 90 percent of the increase will concentrate in Asia and Africa (United Nations, 2015). Also, urban populations in Africa are expected to triple in the next 50 years, considering that some cities in Asian and African countries, such as Bombay, Beijing, Cairo, Dhaka, Karachi, and Lagos, have been growing at a more rapid pace than some others. The urban population of these cities is expected to move up several positions in the nearest future. For example, Lagos–Nigeria will witness a sharp increase in its urban population growth as it will reach at least 24 million inhabitants (United Nations, 2015, p. 16). This growth is indeed unprecedented and following from what Robi said; it is needful to emphasise that the urbanisation of these developing

countries like the ones in Africa is rapid because the current trends and rate of their urbanisation are far more significant than its previous pace.

According to the revision of the 2014 report of the United Nations (2015), the future growth of the global urban population will be in a few countries, and Nigeria is among such areas. These predictions show that countries such as China, India and Nigeria will account for 37 percent of the increase of nearly 2.5 billion people in the urban population between 2014 and 2050. Remarkably, between 2014 and 2050, Nigeria will have the third most significant absolute increase in the size of the urban population. This increase means that it will add 212 million urban dwellers within this period, more than tripling the size of its current urban population (United Nations, 2015, p. 56). It is not doubtful that the urbanisation of Nigeria is rapid and will continue at the same pace in the coming decades, according to the statistical predictions of the United Nations (UN).

However, the critics of the UN data said that the published data series appear deceptive or misleading (Cohen, 2004; Satterthwaite, 2007; Potts, 2012). Potts (1995, 2005, 2012) , for example, challenges the statistical predictions on rapid African urbanisation, and put forward an argument concerning de-urbanisation using terms such as; counter-urbanisation; de-urbanisation and ruralization to describe the patterns of urbanisation of some African countries. By counter-urbanisation, Potts refers to a reverse trend in the patterns of urbanisation (a situation where an already urbanised city witnesses a reduction in its urban population growth). This reduction according to Potts occurs as a result of ruralisation (a condition where a significant number of urban population resorts to urban-rural migration). All Potts demonstrated is that the urbanisation of African countries like Nigeria is not as rapid as portrayed in the UN data.

Unlike the critics of the UN data, Bloch, Fox, Monroy & Ojo (2015), affirms that the UN statistics epitomise the best efforts of proficient demographers for national and sub-national urban population estimates and the data are undoubtedly useful in identifying trends over time. This argument further laid credence to the importance and indispensability of the data from UN. Following from the discussion of Potts (2012) , and the statement of Bloch et al., (2015) , it can be said that there may be a little here and

there of urban population decrease. However, that does not automatically mean that the urbanisation of most developing countries in Africa is not rapid. In fact, more recent data from UN still shows robust estimation and projections of rapid urbanisation of countries like those in Africa, and this includes the oil-rich developing countries.

While it is clear that there is rapid urbanisation taking place in most countries of the world - developed and developing countries of Africa like the oil-rich Nigeria, what is not clear is the main drivers of this urbanisation. The drivers of the rapid urbanisation of countries have been unclear and largely subjected to debate, no wonder there have been different theoretical perspectives on urbanisation. These different theoretical perspectives are worrisome to the point that some scholars are still looking up to the time when there will be a reconstruction of urban theory in such a way that it will:

- (a) "account for the genesis of cities in general,
- (b) capture the essence of cities as concrete social phenomena and
- (c) make it possible to shed light on the observable empirical diversity of cities over time and space" (Storper & Scott, 2016, p. 1116).

The infusion of these ideas into urban theory may not completely eradicate the debates around it, but it may be of immense help in reconstructing the thought around the different cities of the world. In fact, the reconstruction of the urban theories is necessary, not the least because it will capture some of the critical specificities of the urbanisation of individual countries and by so doing curb the rate of over-generalisation of ideas. Storper and Scott (2016) suggested this as a possible way out of the high level of scholarly debates and disagreements on urban theories. Notwithstanding these suggestions, most scholars still use the theory of urbanisation built and developed from the patterns and processes of the urbanisation of the industrialised countries to explain the urbanisation of the non-industrialized nations like Nigeria. Most of these theories are Eurocentric and do not seem to capture the above factors stated by Storper and Scott, and as such, post-colonial urbanists argue against it. These urbanists made their argument because, in the history of urban transition in Europe and Northern America, rapid urbanisation over the

late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries was observed to accompany industrial revolution and rapid economic growth (United Nations, 2015). During this period, urbanisation was a consequent of industrialisation, that is after the industries came the cities (Gugler, 1982, 1996; Lotfi, 1998). Precisely, this scenario is what Gollin, Jedwab, and Vollrath (2016) referred to as "urbanisation with industrialisation", and it leads to the concentration of the population on "production cities" (where the economy consists of tradable materials). With this idea, some urban scholars closely linked urbanisation to economic development and developed theories based on this.

However, the postcolonial urbanists argue against the fact that these same theories used to explain this kind of urbanisation (urbanisation with industrialisation), are still being used to describe the urbanisation of the non-industrialized and colonised countries. They argue for a theoretical revision (see Myers, 2011) which will capture the rapid urbanisation of the developing countries in Africa. These countries have kept urbanising rapidly amidst poverty. In short, Edward Glaeser, a Harvard Economist, coined and termed this kind of urbanisation as "poor country urbanisation" (Glaeser, 2014), and it can as well mean urbanisation without industrialisation. Urbanisation without industrialisation implies that urbanisation happened without the building of factories and industries, hence, the concentration of the urban population on consumption cities (where the economy consists of non-tradeable goods). This type of urbanisation suitably explains the urbanisation of most developing countries of the world today. From this, it is arguable that although all industrialised nations can urbanise rapidly, not all rapidly urbanised/urbanising countries are industrialised.

With this in mind, it becomes clear that the theory that explains the urbanisation of the industrialised countries especially the economic theories cannot adequately describe the urbanisation of the developing nations. The reason is that most of these theories maintained that industrialisation is the engine of urbanisation (Kelley & Williamson, 1984), thus linking urbanisation with economic development. However, the rapid urbanisation of both the resource-rich and non-resource rich developing countries in Africa is divergent of these theories. According to Myers (2011), these theories do not capture the

heterogeneity and peculiarity of the cities in Africa. Based on this, Myers emphatically argues, for instance, "a seeing again, and a revising – of how cities in Africa are discussed and written about in both urban and African studies" (Myers, 2011, p. 1). Therefore, since the rapid urbanisation of the developing countries like Nigeria is divergent of these generalised theories, there is no point trying to use only such in explaining the rapid urbanisation of the developing nations of Africa.

Indeed, some of the concepts from the Eurocentric theories can be borrowed but revised (adding other relevant ideas from the African contexts) to make them adequate to explain urbanisation as it applies to Africa (Myers, 2011). Especially so because firstly, some of these developing countries in Africa are resource-rich countries with, for example, copper in Zambia, gold and oil in Ghana, oil in Nigeria to mention but a few as natural endowments. With this understanding, it becomes challenging to neglect the impact of these resources on their urbanisation. Secondly, African countries were former British Empire, been colonised for a long time, the effect of colonialism on the processes and patterns of their urbanisation is one that need not be relegated to the background when writing on the urbanisation of any of these countries (Myers, 2011). Therefore, it is arguable that any theory developed to explain the urbanisation of the resource-rich developing countries of Africa that does not put all these factors into consideration is haphazard and will not produce a clear picture of their urbanisation. This study in trying to explain the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa with Nigeria as a case study will put all these factors into consideration.

Therefore, this research investigates the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa like Nigeria and also explores what accounts for the unique characteristics of urbanism in Nigeria, the case study. The organisation of the dissertation is into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which shares the general trends on urbanisation, the objective of the study, research questions, significant of the study and methodology. The second chapter reviews the literature on the drivers of urbanisation as a spatial demographic process. The third chapter discusses the factors that have shaped contemporary African urbanism. It will examine the urbanisation of some of the oil-rich

developing countries in Africa and their oil industry, thus, helping to determine how oil resource contributes to their urbanisation. The use of these ideas in chapter three in combination with the inferences from the theories of urbanisation discussed in chapter two will inform an adequate framework that will be used to explain chapter four. Section four will apply these theories that were discussed in the other chapters to analyse the urbanisation of Nigeria, beginning with the analysis of the historical perspective in the urbanisation of Nigeria.

Then, it will bring into focus how the oil industry affects its urbanisation to provide precise details of the drivers of its urbanisation. Chapter five closes with conclusions and recommendations of what can be done to harness the benefits and opportunities that accompany rapid urbanisation. This study argues that despite the numerous challenges of rapid urbanisation, there are opportunities. It is strongly recommended for the government and policymakers of these developing countries to look beyond the challenges of urbanisation and start to harness its opportunities for economic growth. It is arguable that it is how best to use the benefits of urbanisation that poses as one of the significant challenges that faces the policymakers in most developing countries. According to Freire et al.,(2014), the unprecedented rate of urbanisation will change the profile of the African region, and equally, challenge policy-makers to devise strategies to harnessing urbanisation for sustainable economic development.

## 1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To investigate the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa, the case of Nigeria.
- To explore how oil resources help in facilitating the urbanisation of Nigeria.
- To make some policy recommendations which will help to harness the benefits and opportunities of rapid urbanisation in Nigeria.

## 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

From the objectives enumerated above, the pertinent research questions which this study intends to address are:

- What are the driving factors behind rapid urban population growth and urbanisation in Nigeria?
- What accounts for the unique characteristics of urbanism in Nigeria?

## 1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The study of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa and its drivers, the case of Nigeria is a critical study. It will undoubtedly spell out the differences in the drivers of the urbanisation of developed countries and the developing countries as well. The study will achieve this by bringing into focus, first the impact of colonialism on the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa. Secondly, it will also bring into focus the effect of oil on their urbanisation. These are the critical aspect of the processes and patterns of the urbanisation of these countries that need to be accounted for using Nigeria as a case study. The reason is that arguably, an adequate knowledge of the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries will help the policy makers to be able to make policies on how best to harness the benefits of such unprecedented urbanisation rather than concentrating more on its challenges.

This paradigm shift in the thinking of urbanisation is possible through enacting policies that will inform the right choice of establishments, a situation where more labour intensive industries are established rather than capital-intensive sectors. With this alone, the challenges of the high rate of unemployment will reduce because investments will increase as well because people would want to save and invest part of their salaries and so on. This situation will further result in the achievement of one of the sustainable development goals which are to eradicate all forms of poverty. To the private investors, the result of this study will help them make a more informed decision on what to invest in

and where to make their investments to maximise their profits. In general, the research results and recommendations seek to inspire Nigerians who reside in the urban centres to become more creative. To also focus on making the most use of their time to get the best out of the rapid urbanisation to help better their lives. They will be made to understand that this is a better option than involving in frivolities and activities that will jeopardise their lives and that of others in the future (urban crimes).

## **1.5 METHODOLOGY**

Unlike the use of the qualitative and quantitative methodology in empirical research aimed at generating fresh data, this study is literature/library-based research aimed at using secondary sources rather than the generation of fresh ideas. It aims at reviewing various relevant existing literature and publications. These secondary sources include the review of books, dissertations, journal articles and reports from United Nations, World Bank, UN- Habitats from the internet sources and libraries. These data will be critically summarised, analysed, synthesised, and evaluated to get the desired results. The data in no small measure will help in the development of the theoretical framework showing how oil contributes to the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries of Africa. Also, it will help in constructing a framework that will show the argued drivers of the urbanisation of Nigeria.

## Chapter 2

# THE DRIVERS OF URBANISATION AS SPATIAL DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESS

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Global urbanisation has rapidly increased and changed in the last three decades compared to what it had been previously (Chen et al., 2014, p. 1). There is a consensus among scholars that the world has entered the urban age as urbanisation levels have reached 50 percent especially by rapidly developing countries in Africa like Nigeria (Friedmann, 2006; Bloom et al., 2008; Chen et al., 2014). Bloom et al., (2008) specifically advanced that the proportion of the population of a country inhabiting urban areas correlates with that country's income level. This explanation is consistent with the fact that some scholars affirm that the urbanisation of such countries as China and Korea, accompanied income growth, resulting from a conversant historic pattern (Glaeser, 2014). Also, countries in the Eastern and South-eastern Asia such as China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam experienced a steady increase in Gross Domestic Products (hereafter GDP) per capita causing people to move to the cities (United Nations, 2015). This situation implies that urban population grows in direct proportion to the income of any of these countries and contributes to the argument that urbanisation is a consequent of economic growth and development.

However, the rapid urbanisation of the low and middle-income countries is divergent of this argument because their urbanisation has continued to be unprecedented despite their low income. For instance, such countries as Nigeria, Pakistan, and Haiti, witnesses the occurrence of a weighty rate of urbanisation notwithstanding the lack of economic development - persistent poverty and challenging politics (Glaeser, 2014). The data from Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, and Nigeria indicated a weak definite link between urbanisation and income see (United Nations, 2014). This fact is not to dispute the argument that economic development and its subsequent income growth substantially drives the urbanisation of most countries. Instead, it does show that economic development, which some scholars see as the primary driving force of urbanisation, may not entirely explain the urbanisation of most countries, especially those in Africa. It can quicken the process, but it is not a necessary condition for urbanisation to occur (Fox, 2013). Nevertheless, there is the tendency for rapidly urbanising countries to harness sustainable economic

development from their rapid urbanisation with the help of strategic planning (Freire et al., 2014) . When this happens, it will be on record that urbanisation led to the economic development of the countries concerned rather than the other way round. However, harnessing economic growth from rapid urbanisation is not within the purview of this study to explore.

Apart from economic development, urbanisation in both developed and developing countries is a complicated process. It is a consequence of a blend of many factors such as historical, demographical (natural increase) and economic factors. The economic factors are embedded in industrialisation and globalisation (leading mostly to migration - rural-urban and urban-urban). Also as regards the urbanisation of the countries in Africa, colonial factors are vital factors to reckon with and are as much an important factor as the economic factor is to the urbanisation of the Europeans (United Nations, 2016; Myers, 2011; Gollin et al., 2016). Arguably, each country in its peculiarity has its different drivers of urbanisation. It is essential to explore the peculiar drivers of the urbanisation of individual states rather than basing urban studies on mere generalised theories. No wonder some scholars such as (Myers, 2011), see also (Brenner, 2013), contest against a generalised theory of urbanisation. Brenner (2013) questions the generality of the theory of urban studies, asking if there is

“any future for urban theory in a world in which urbanisation has been generalised?” (Brenner, 2013, p. 93).

The generalisation of urban theories does not give room to explore other factors that can be used to build new arguments especially the ones grounded in field data. It further impedes the generation of peculiar frameworks and approaches that can be used to explain the urbanisation of individual countries. Instead of the continued use of the generalised theories of urbanisation to describe the rapid urbanisation of nations, it is recommended for scholars to revisit and modify some of these urban theories. To include the critical observation made by Storper and Scott (2016) as stipulated in chapter one. Because if urban arguments are not revisited to avoid over generalisation, it may as well mean that there will be no need to continue conducting empirical research on urban studies (see

Brenner, 2013).

This contestation is one of the factors that makes the study of urbanisation a little problematic. However, it is not advisable to relegate urban studies to the background just because of the numerous contestations/problems arising from its investigations. In fact, there are no disciplines or areas of study that are entirely void of problems/issues, and the essence of research/studies is to resolve most of these contestations. Moreover, despite these contestations, the concept of urbanisation in both the developed and the developing countries of the world has been of immense interest to academics in fields such as politics, geography, anthropology and social sciences. The interest of these scholars stems from the fact that the rate of urbanisation before the 19th century was slow, with a limited number of people dwelling in the cities in most developed (capitalist) countries of the world (Harvey, 1996), and it has become very unprecedented in recent times. This sudden speed means that the population in the cities started to grow at a limited pace and suddenly its growth becomes unimaginably rapid. It is on this basis that (Northam, 1979; Knox & McCarthy, 2005; Tettey, 2005) affirm that what characterises the process of urbanisation is a continuous and gradual urban population growth, followed by a steep rise indicating a significant share of the total population living in the urban areas.

Fox (2011) explains that there are few reasons for the initial limited and gradual rate of urbanisation within this period - the pre-industrial period. Firstly, the limited availability of surplus food and fuels (energy supplies) meant to support a non-agricultural-urban population. Secondly, the devastating infectious and parasitic diseases, which blossomed in densely populated settlements. These factors were heavily present as inhibition/constraint to the rapid urbanisation of that period. It was the advent of technological and institutional changes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries that improved these conditions (Fox, 2011). It also set the inescapable process of world urbanisation in motion, first in Europe and subsequently across countries (Davis, 1955; Harvey, 1996). Davis termed the nineteenth and the twentieth century, the period of "urbanised societies" (the society with a greater proportion of its population in the cities). While Harvey called the 20<sup>th</sup> century, "century of urbanisation" (century marked with "universal flow of massive

urbanisation” (Harvey, 1996, p. 38). Now that it is clear that rapid urbanisation marks these centuries, it becomes crucial to ask; what factors can explain this universal flow of massive urbanisation taking place in most countries like Nigeria today?

While there is an understanding of the fact that most countries are urbanising rapidly, there is a serious debate on what drives this urbanisation. These various debates gave rise to the abounding theories on the urbanisation of nations. This research outlines the most prominent theoretical approaches currently being used to study urbanisation. It guides the reader through arguments and statements that will facilitate proper understanding of urbanisation, exploring to what extent urbanisation in Africa can legitimately be analysed using general urbanisation and urbanism theories. At the same time, it will consider whether there are unique features of Nigerian society and culture that sometimes render arguments either irrelevant or essential.

In this research, all arguments of critics are subject to scrutiny. By the end of the research work, the reader will feel better placed to assess the legitimacy of claims made for and against rapid urbanisation in Nigeria through the lens of urbanism and urbanisation perspectives. It is the need for this clarification that justifies the importance of explaining the concepts of Urbanisation and Urbanism in this chapter. Therefore, this chapter reviews the literature on the drivers of urbanisation as a spatial demographic process. Thus, discussing the theories that underpin urbanisation in both the developed and developing countries. It will examine the urbanisation of the developing nations of Africa – looking at the colonial urbanisation of Africa, considering how the urbanisation of Africa is divergent from the Euro-centric theories of urbanisation. This approach thoroughly discusses the impact of colonialism on African urbanisation – post-colonial cities. There are two main sections in this chapter. The first section centres on literature on the definitions of the concept of urbanisation and urbanism and the second section discusses some of the various theories of urbanisation.

## 2.2 LITERATURE ON THE DEFINITIONS OF URBANISATION AND URBANISM

### 2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is important to state that urbanisation and urban studies are a broad field of study, and this requires a careful approach to any empirical or literature-based research attempt. It becomes vital to distinguish between the term urbanisation and urbanism, alongside its vital concepts which engender confusion most often. Therefore, this section begins with the definition of urbanism followed by the definitions of urbanisation.

### 2.2.2 URBANISM

In his seminal work on urbanism and urbanisation, (Anderson, 1959) boldly stated in his abstract that 'the global phenomena of city growth stimulate increased interest in urbanism as a world-permeating way of life'. For him, urbanism is descriptive of the way of life found in the modern city, while. The description of urbanism by Anderson holds true in the case of Nigeria because urban dwellers in Nigeria behave and react differently from rural dwellers. There have always been show-off differences between the urban dwellers and the rural dwellers - the urban lives versus rural/village lives scenario. The show-off differences are probably because the urban areas of most of these countries in Africa are a lot better than their rural regions because of a little here and there transformations. Although these small transformations may not be development, it may not also be the mark of a higher standard of living, the inhabitants see it as a rare roadmap to success. As such they try to live up to that and equally behave differently from the way their rural counterparts lives and acts.

Another aspect of the argument on urbanism is the one put forward by (Fox & Goodfellow, 2016). Fox and Goodfellow, acknowledges that urbanism refers to the unique social, economic, cultural and political dynamics that result from the close habitation of people in urban space. However, they argue that urbanism does not apply to the cities

alone. According to them, some social scientists say that there is the exportation of the urban ways of living in the rural areas particularly in advanced economies. Fox and Goodfellow cited advanced economies as the particular areas showing the manifestation of the urban lives in their rural settings. With this explanation, it is understandable that Nigeria like other developing countries is an exemption to this explanation. Therefore, urbanism in developing countries like Nigeria is the study of how individuals in the city interrelate and come together. It is an urban way of life which is different from the rural way of life, and it is the lifestyle mostly confined to the cities alone. The study of the concept of urbanism has something in common with the study of urbanisation. According to Anderson (1959), urbanisation is reflective of urbanism. Anderson further states that urbanisation which is the movement of people into industry and cities has received considerable demographic attention. In fact, the discussion of the concept of urbanisation will take place in the next section.

### 2.2.3 URBANISATION

Over the years, the definition of urbanisation as presented by different scholars has appeared to be the same, with little or no significant difference. Parnell and Walawage (2011) indicated that there are two unmistakable related meanings of the English term 'urbanisation' that is rather confusing. Firstly, urbanisation as the movement of people from the countryside (rural areas) to city (urban centres) sees also (Higgins, 2011). Secondly, urbanisation as the proportion of the national population of a country that lives in urban rather than rural areas. While the second definition of urbanisation is clear, the first definition is a little bit confusing. The confusion stems from the fact that the movement of people from the rural areas to the urban centres is migration and one of the drivers of urbanisation. Migration contributes to urban population growth, and as such, it may be difficult to conclude that rural-urban migration is urbanisation. Even Tacoli, McGranahan, and Satterthwaite (2015), rightly observed that Nigeria is among the low and middle-income countries whose rapid urbanisation is overwhelming as a result of net rural to urban migration, that is, people moving in response to better economic

opportunities. This observation in effect means that urbanisation is a consequent of migration where migration is as a result of economic reasons. There are other definitions of urbanisation as provided by different other urban scholars.

Davis (1955) defined urbanisation as a situation where a sizable proportion of a country's population lives in cities. Another describes it as the increase of the urban population when compared with the rural one (Roberts, 1978, p. 9). Further to this, Firman et al., (2007) define it as a transformation from an agricultural to an industrial way of living. To Stage et al., (2010) , it is the increasing share of the population living in urban settlements. Babanyara and Saleh (2010) explains it as the percentage of persons residing in cities accompanied by the migration of labour force from the rural sector to the urban areas. Moreover, Potts (2012) defined urbanisation as a demographic process whereby an increasing share of the national population lives in urban settlements. Writing in the year 2015 on the urban expansion of Nigeria, Bloch et al., (2015) , state that urbanisation is an increase in the proportion of a country or region's population living in urban settlements.

This work acknowledges and appreciates the different definitions of urbanisation offered by various scholars, which as stated earlier appears to share the same meanings in one way or the other. Also, it acknowledges the fact that historically, urbanisation portrays the gradual progression of town and cities towards forming and becoming bigger as many more people begin to settle, inhabit and work in them. Therefore, in the present study, urbanisation will be seen as the increase in the total number of people residing in the urban centres following from a high rate of rural-urban migration. The reason for the adoption of this definition in this study is that rural-urban movement is arguably a central factor in the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries like the one under investigation. The section that reviews the literature on oil and urbanisation reveals this explicitly, because, in a study like this, the definition of urbanisation may be haphazard without putting in rural-urban migration, which is the central focus here. At this point, it is essential to discuss the arguments surrounding the term urban.

### 2.2.4 THE TERM URBAN

In the study of urbanisation, there is substantial misperception or debate with regards to the term urban. Moreover, defining the word urban has always raised problems of specification and objectivity, as the word has vastly different meanings and connotations, making it complicated. This work does not pretend to be an attempt at resolving the challenging complexity of the definition of urban. It is an attempt to contribute to the simplification of its meaning because the quest for its exact definition could be likened to the pursuit of Holy Grail which proves endless, exhausting and ultimately futile. Like all simple looking but complex issues, the term urban has no precise definition, instead what is possible is a reasoned description of it to enable us to isolate it from what it is not. Since its meanings vary according to individual perception, it is essential to draw attention to the suggestion of (De Bono, 1990) on the use of words.

According to him,

”words are but a classification system to make sense of the world around us, of our thinking and our communication” (De Bono, 1990, p. 45).

Indeed, there is no theoretical or practical agreement as to the meaning of what is urban. Moreover, Cohen (2004) and Tettey (2005) agrees that it has no universal definition, that it lacks specific definition. Even Macura (1961) indicated that there appear to be about thirty different definitions of the term, yet none seems explicit to address this challenge of a lack of precise definition. This lack of exact meaning of the word is what Brenner (2013, p. 89-90), sees as a new challenge in urban studies. Scholars see (Macura, 1961; Tettey, 2005; Brenner, 2013), mean to say that the definition of the term in question is complicated and lacks a precise sense. In fact, it is arguable that its present description seems much more complicated than it was in the early 1930s or so. One of the reasons could be because there has been a robust difference in the rate of the urbanisation of the 1930s and the pace of the urbanisation of today. It is arguable that these differences in the speed of urbanisation make it challenging to decipher what is an urban and what is not an urban.

Geographers defined urban as the concentration of a specific population in an area. They offer this definition because they are space-oriented and as a result, they link urban with space. Sociologists and anthropologists, on the other hand, associates the meaning of urban with human behaviour (Tettey, 2005). Unlike geographers, sociologists (see Wirth, 1938), argued that population alone does not define an urban instead the influence that the urban areas exert on the social life of the people is what is more important. Arguably, the association of the meaning of urban with human behaviour by the sociologists and the anthropologists mean the same thing with the concept of urbanism. Nevertheless, like a mystery, there still exists confusion as to what is the meaning of urban.

In an attempt to further demystify this profound confusion surrounding the term urban, Louis Wirth a Chicago School urban sociologist, exceptionally outlined the precise definitions of urban using three sociological properties. These properties include large population size, high population density, and high levels of demographic heterogeneity see Brenner (2013, p. 90), see also Fox (2013), who simplified the definition of urban provided by Wirth. Further to this, Mumford (1937, p. 93), in an attempt to define what is an urban, added that social division of labour is a significant feature of 'urbanism'. This explanation shows that a is any densely populated area where there is a social division of labour, coupled with a high level of demographic heterogeneity. From these elaborations, Wirth and Mumford take any settlement where there is considerable population size, high population density, high levels of demographic heterogeneity and social division of labour as urban. Arguably, these definitions make it easy to see the difference between what is urban and what is not. However, they are much more relevant to the explanation of the term urban as at that early period of the 1930s - the early stages of urbanisation, because the overall population and the urbanisation then were not as rapid as it is now.

The overall population of countries in both rural and urban areas have grown exponentially in this twenty-first century than what it used to be. The implication is that the population size which they classified/envisaged as urban in those days may fit into the class seen as rural areas these days. As Preston (1979) demonstrated, there is a robust one-to-one correlation between total population growth and urban population growth.

This correlation implies that the higher the increase in the general population of any country, the higher the increase in its urban population. This relationship sounds factual because a state with a low rate of general population, may not have the pace of urbanisation that is as rapid as that of a country with a high rate of general population growth. In more explicit terms and relating it with the definition of Wirth and Mumford above, one can say that the comparison between the pace of the urbanisation of the 1930s and the rate of the urbanisation of the twenty-first century appears difficult. The difficulty could be why the definition of the then urban was not as complicated as it seems in recent times. This situation justifies why Fox (2013, p. 31); see also, Brenner (2013), states that the definitions of Mumford and Wirth are slippery. According to Fox (2013, p. 31), it fails to provide answers to the following questions that he raised;

“what distinguishes a large village from a small town, or a large town from a small city? At what degree of specialisation does the division of labour in a community qualify as ‘urban’ in character?” (Fox, 2013, p. 31).

Based on this, it has remained difficult to understand the difference between urban and rural areas. In fact, there is no definite distinction between these two terms and its meaning remains confusing.

National statistical agencies use numerical evaluations of the population of a given settlement to define an urban (Fox, 2013). To UN Some places qualify as urban when it has a population of about 20,000 residents and above. Others qualify as urban when it has a given number of people which may be lesser than the 20,000 residents (United Nations, 2011). For instance, while Senegal and Benin use a minimum threshold of 10,000 or more inhabitants to measure what is urban, in Nigeria any settlement of 20,000 and above is classified as urban (United Nations, 2011). There is still a limitation in using this criterion to define what is urban because the overall population of countries varies. While some African countries like Nigeria are densely populated, there are other countries whose society are not as dense as that of Nigeria, and this in one way or the other affects the number of people that reside in their urban centres. On this basis, Potts (2012) states that the definitions of “urban” vary from country to country. Potts notably advanced that

if African countries adopt the criteria used in India for the classification of a settlement as urban, then their population will become recognised as much more rural than urban.

However, Lefebvre (2003) noted that the term urban is characterised by

”Piles of objects and products in the warehouses, mounds of fruit in the marketplace, crowds, pedestrians, goods of various kinds, juxtaposed, superimposed, accumulated – this is what makes the urban, urban” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 116).

The definition of Lefebvre entails that urban is a crowded and busy place where business transactions of all kinds take place. This definition is somewhat ambiguous because not all of these factors listed herein constitute an urban centre. Cities will still be cities without mounds of fruit in the marketplace and products in the warehouses. In short, this definition makes an urban a kind of an economic centre, thereby neglecting that some urban centres are administrative centres, social, religious and educational arena (see Myers, 2011).

Amin and Thrift (2002) gave another elaborate description of the term urban, according to them;

“the city is everywhere and in everything. If the urbanised world now is a chain of metropolitan areas connected by places/corridors of communication (airports and airways, stations and railways, parking lots and motorways, teleports and information highways), then what is not the urban? Is it the town, the village, the countryside? Maybe, but only to a limited degree. The footprints of the city are all over these places, in the form of city commuters, tourists, teleworking, the media, and the urbanisation of lifestyles. The traditional divide between the city and the countryside has been perforated” (Amin & Thrift, 2002, P. 1).

Although this description of urban is well articulated, it appears to be too generalised, and even more complicated than the one given by Lefebvre above. For scholars who would want to differentiate what is urban from what is not urban, this definition may not be a good start. The reason is that it particularly states among other factors that the footprints of the city are everywhere, and concludes that the difference between the rural

areas and the urban centres are punctured. It is worrisome that the field of urban theory as handed over by such scholars as Wirth, Castells and other major twentieth-century urbanists, under the conditions listed above is tantamount to confusion (Brenner, 2013). According to Brenner,

“what could justify the existence of an intellectual field devoted to its investigations?” (Brenner, 2013, p. 91).

Brenner was astonished at the confusions associated with the definition of urban. Thus, Brenner (2013) sees the urban studies as the field whose epistemological foundations are decaying, resulting to what (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 29 53) as quoted in (Brenner, 2013) called ‘blind field’, degenerating to “academic Babel”. No wonder Castells treats urban discourse as a pure ideology (Castells, 1977).

From the ongoing, it is clear that there is no precise meaning of urban and a little tiny line demarcates the difference between urban and rural areas. That notwithstanding, what can be called a city is still different from what can be called a rural area. Therefore, in this study, an area will be considered as urban when it is densely populated, booms with economic, political, social and cultural activities capable of pulling the rural dwellers. Another factor that will be used as a yardstick to define an area as urban in this study is to check if rural dwellers are often pushed into it for economic, political, and social reasons.

At this point, it becomes important to discuss other terms associated with urbanisation. According to Bloch, Fox, Monroy, and Ojo (2015), in the study of the processes of urban change, it is vital to,

“disaggregate the generalised concept of urbanisation into four distinct spatial demographic phenomena of interest” (Bloch et al.,2015, p. 4).

These four distinct terms in the study of urbanism include urbanisation (see the definition above), urban growth, urban expansion and urban system. As stated earlier, these terms are more often than not confused in both academic and policy circles (Bloch et al., 2015, p. 4; Fox, 2013, p. 31-32), and as such requires vivid explanation.

### 2.2.5 URBAN GROWTH, URBAN EXPANSION AND URBAN SYSTEM

In urban studies, the meaning of such term as urban growth often conflates (Fox, 2013) . The conflation of meanings propelled Bloch et al., (2015) to propose the disaggregation of such terms that appears related while their definitions differ so that their meanings can be precise. According to them, urban growth refers to an increase in the total size of a country or region's urban population. It is an increase in the 'absolute' number of people living in urban settlements other than the proportion of people living in urban settlements (see Fox, 2013, p. 32). Fox advanced the difference between urbanisation and urban growth by stating that 'fully' urbanised countries can witness urban growth with or without an increase in the proportion of people living in their urban centres (urbanisation). He gave examples with such places as North America, South America and Europe and argues that it is possible for a country to witness urban growth without urbanisation.

Importantly, Fox (2013) understands the difference between urbanisation and urban growth to the extent that he was able to spot the fact that there is a misinterpretation of the statistics of regional urban growth to be the statistics of regional rates of urbanisation. This error is evident in the work of Parnell and Walawage (2011) on sub-Saharan African urbanisation and global environmental change. Indeed, this statistical representation is what Fox (2013) see as a mistaken presentation of statistics. With this, one can quickly conclude that there is a thin line separating the meaning of urbanisation and urban growth. As a result of this, one will be careful to understand that urbanisation is the increase in 'the number' or 'proportion' of a country's population that resides in the cities. On the other hand, the urban growth is an increase in 'the size' or the 'absolute number' of a country's population.

The understanding of these terms, particularly in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, is vital because, Bloch et al. (2015) observes that in some of these countries, their urban population growth rates are high but overall urbanisation rates are relatively low. Potts (2012) in agreement with this points out that,

”Rapid urban population growth is evident throughout sub-Saharan Africa. However, a burgeoning urban population does not automatically denote a rise in a country’s urbanisation level. Even if a national population grows at 3.5% a year, doubling in 20 years, urbanisation – in the sense used in this Counterpoint – will only occur if the rate of urban population growth has exceeded the rate of national population growth” (Potts, 2012, p. 2).

Preston (1979) observed that it is the growth rate of the urban population that has been unprecedented rather than the urbanisation rate. It means that a country may be having an unusual urban growth without rapid urbanisation, and this leads to the explanation of the term urban expansion.

Bloch et al., (2015) defined the urban expansion as the spatial or physical extension of built-up areas which occurs as a result of the level of urban growth, and its dynamism depends on the nature of physical developments and the population densities they promote. They categorically stated that there is the possibility that a city can witness urban growth without urban expansion especially if the increase is enthralled within existing settlement boundaries. The inference is that urban growth may or may not result in urban expansion. There may be urban growth without urban expansion on the one hand, and there may be an urban expansion without urban growth on the other. Another important concept is urban structure. Urban structure is the arrangement of the land use in urban areas which is closely related to urban expansion because the physical pattern of a settlement influences its population density (Bloch et al., 2015). Further to this is the urban system. The urban system is the distribution of urban populations across settlements within a national territory (Bloch et al., 2015). For instance, a country can have a profoundly ‘concentrated’ or ‘primate’ urban system when a large, single city dominates the distribution (Bloch et al., 2015).

In all, the definitions of urbanisation and some of its concept revolves around the increase of a country’s urban population, expansion of built areas, the precise spatial distribution of urban population and so on. The definitions of the urbanisation presented by these scholars look similar to each other, making it difficult to differentiate

the urbanisation of the industrialised and the non-industrialized countries. It is essential to distinguish this because it will provide an academic roadmap to understanding what drives the urbanisation of the developed and the developing nations. Based on this, this study considers the urbanisation of the developing countries in Africa to mean the dramatic increase in their urban population following rural-urban migration with the reasons to migrate being influenced by little or no economic development. Indeed this study has noted the distinct meanings of urbanisation and its related terms and will use them accordingly, being careful just like Fox (2013) to use them distinctively throughout. At this point, there will be the review of the literature on the historical background of urbanisation.

## **2.3 LITERATURE ON THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF URBANISATION**

### **2.3.1 INTRODUCTION**

As stated earlier that urbanisation is not a new phenomenon, rather it started during the ancient period firstly, in the now developed countries, before it extended to the developing countries of today; though the pace was never as rapid as that which is happening across countries in this contemporary age. It becomes important to trace the historical background on urbanisation and Fox (2011, 2012, 2013) comprehensively compiled the histories of urbanisation into what he called historical urbanisation.

### **2.3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Fox (2013) proposed a theory grounded in history in a bid to develop a suitable theory that will explain why the proportion of the world's urban population remained roughly constant for so many years and later grew at a neck-breaking pace. According to him, the proposed theory is grounded in two key historical, theoretical perceptions that can explain the fundamental causes of this global transition. The central argument is;

”that urbanisation and urban growth are fundamentally driven by mortality decline, which in turn is stimulated by technological and institutional changes that facilitate disease control and food security in urban areas” (Fox, 2013, p. 20).

According to him, the limited urban transition which took place during the pre-industrial period is explainable by the disease constraint theory and the surplus constraint theory. The disease constraint theory spells out the fact that the pre-industrial urbanisation was constrained by the spread of infectious and parasitic diseases that heralded the then urban centres without any solution in view. The resultant effect was that death rates exceeded birth rates making cities 'demographic sinks' (Fox, 2012; Bairoch & Goertz, 1986). This barrier to rapid urbanisation lingered for a long time which made the urban settlements to depend on the incessant flow of rural migrants to sustain its populations (Fox, 2012, p. 6). According to Fox, it was until the period in the 18th and 19th centuries that the advent of technological and institutional transformation helped to put the situation under check, leading to rapid urbanisation resulting mainly from the high urban natural increase. This rapid urbanisation led to the conclusion made by (Dyson, 2010), that any country that has experienced a fat reduction in its mortality rate eventually urbanises. Thus, Fox (2013) argues that the disease constraint theory suggests that mortality decline is an essential pre-condition for the occurrence of urbanisation and urban growth. Fox also made bold to add that mortality decline followed by rapid population growth also interprets as a sufficient condition for urbanisation (Fox, 2013, p. 7).

On the other hand, the surplus energy theory emanates from the propositions of the economic historians who accounted that the limited rate of urbanisation before the 19th century is because of the surplus constraint framework (low food and fuel supply) (Fox, 2012). Based on this, Fox in line with the argument of Davis (1955) affirms that cities exist where there is surplus energy to support the many urban populations made up of non-agricultural population. Moreover, some of the scholars summarised that two factors such as agricultural productivity and transportation costs helped to eradicate the surplus energy constraint see (Davis, 1955; Lowry, 1990; Bairoch and Goertz, 1986; Fox, 2012).

From historical perspectives, as (Fox, 2012) observed that although food produced in a country primarily determines the surplus available to support the urban population in that region, developments in transport technology eventually made the importation of food from other areas possible, thereby contributing to urbanisation. This framework leads to what Fox (2013) called productivity-transport cost framework which he affirmed that it largely explains the geography of early urbanisation.

In all, Fox (2012, p. 7) see the surplus constraint and disease-constraint theories as theories that trace the origins and the limitations of the early urbanisation. According to him, such factors as the intensified regional trade, risen surplus and falling rate of mortality drive European urbanisation. With this, the industrial revolution that is often argued by the economic theorists to be a significant player in European urbanisation collapsed in the historically grounded theory of urbanisation where Fox claims that technological and institutional changes are instead a substantial driver of urbanisation. A look at the argument of Fox shows that industrial revolution does not appear to be a significant driver of the urbanisation of countries. To him, industrial growth may be a factor, but it is not an indispensable factor in the urbanisation of nations. However, Bairoch & Goertz (1986), sees industrial growth as an inescapable driver of the urbanisation of the European countries. In a cross-country study they carried out, they demonstrated statistically that the pace of the European urbanisation in the 19th century was driven primarily by three factors. These factors include the changes in agricultural productivity, the speed of industrial growth and the expansion of trade. According to them, between 1800 and 1900, the proportion of the population of Europe residing in urban centres nearly triplicated from about 10 percent to 30 percent, reaching approximately 70 percent by the turn of the millennium (UN-Habitat, 2010); as a result of above the enumerated factors.

With regards to the urbanisation of the rest of the world, Fox (2012) affirmed that the key technological and institutional developments that caused the urbanisation of Europe were diffused to other countries of the world. The diffusion was through trade, colonialism and international development assistance which started taking place in the latter half of the 20th century, thereby stimulating urbanisation in such countries as well. While this

is plausible, the aspect of institutional change and its impact on urbanisation does not apply to all nations. The reason is that some states may have strong institutions while the rest of the states (mostly resource-rich developing countries the focus of this work) may have weak institutions. In fact, a considerable body of literature suggests that natural resource wealth results in institutional weaknesses (Auty, 2001; Gelb, 1988; Ross, 1999).

Strong institutions will not only aid the facilitation of the judicious use of the resource riches but will also support the diversification of the economy and might prevent avaricious rent-seeking. Weak institutions, on the other hand, do the exact opposite. A healthy institution is one of the major determinant factors in economic development, but weak institutions can daunt developments. With this, one cannot escape the conclusion that lack of strong institutions is one of the reasons why most of these oil-rich countries are still developing. Especially so because development is a process that has to do with social structural, attitudinal, institutional transformations geared towards fostering economic growth of a country thereby reducing inequity, and alleviating poverty (Calhoun, 2006; Kothari, 2005). With this, it is arguable that institutional changes play a significant role in both the development and the urbanisation of some countries. It may also mean that institutions play a role in the urbanisation of nations too.

Also by mentioning colonialism, Fox is saying that colonialism, among other factors, played a role in the urbanisation of some of the colonised countries in Africa. This observation is vital and is not worth neglecting in accounting for the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa – Nigeria because of its long history of colonialism. Colonialism, as it relates to African urbanisation, will be treated accordingly in this chapter. The reason for treating it here is because this study argues that colonialism is one of the factors that drive the urbanisation of most oil-rich developing countries in Africa.

In summary, Fox (2011) in his historical grounded theory of urbanisation states that urbanisation is a consequent of technological and institutional transformations which started first in Europe and then to the rest of the world. According to his argument, after the urbanisation of the developed countries, much, later on, the urbanisation of

the other nations of the world followed. It is consequently as a result of the fact that the significant technological and institutional developments that caused the urbanisation of European countries affected the other countries of the world. This diffusion started taking place in the latter half of the 20th century, thereby stimulating urbanisation in such countries as well.

Fox (2011) also emphasises technological advancement as one of the factors that drive the urbanisation of nations. Obeng-Odoom (2011), confirms that there is the increase in the use of technology, especially mobile telephone, information and communication technology, and flight connectivity and the use of internet alongside urban growth in Africa. What it means is that technological development and colonialism are two factors from Fox theoretical perspective that impacts urbanisation. It entails that technological transformations and colonial factors can explain the urbanisation of some African countries to an extent. Technology because Obeng-Odom made confirmation on the increase in the use of technology in most urban centres in African countries. Also, there is the justification of the fact that colonialism is one of the factors that facilitate the rapid rate of the urbanisation of Africa. Partly because during the colonial period, the White restricted the Black from migrating to some places (like the cities) through the use of racist policies. But these policies were lifted following the advent of independence in these countries thereby giving the masses freedom to troop into the cities of their choice without limitation.

Moreover, the historical development and urbanisation of Africa cannot be complete without the narration of the impact of colonialism. The reason being that the development patterns of most of these African countries have been nothing short of the same models set by the colonial masters. In fact, these colonial patterns of development are arguably traceable as the origin of the prevalent urban bias policies in Africa. Therefore, it is not out of place to argue that the urbanisation of Africa does not entirely base on economic factors, colonialism plays a significant role too. It is also important to state that although Obeng-Odom rightly pointed out that technological development facilitates urbanisation, the measure of which technologies are present in African countries differs.

Hence, contributing to the differences in the rate and levels of their urbanisation.

Fox (2013), is careful to differentiate European urbanisation and that of Africa. According to him,

”In Africa, mortality decline was set in motion during the colonial era; sustained economic development in the form of expansion and diversification of output was not. This explains the apparent de-coupling of urbanisation and economic development in the region and highlights the need for concerned policymakers to focus less on population mobility and more on mortality and fertility trends” (Fox, 2013, p. 20).

With this, Fox vividly captured the disconnection that exists between urbanisation and economic development in the Global South. The situation here entails that economic development exercises a positive effect on urbanisation and urban growth by further stimulating rural-urban migration as demand for labour in non-agricultural sectors expands. However, this is not enough evidence to consider it a conditioning factor for urbanisation. Given that non-economic motivations for migration are equally omnipresent. Thus, Fox challenges the level of importance and necessity attached to economic factor in the urbanisation of countries. Then argues that the onset of the urban transition in any given country or region (both developed and developing countries), should, therefore, be understood as part of a global historical process. The process linked to technological and institutional change and diffusion, not merely as a product of economic and demographic forces. At this point, it is crucial to discuss other relevant theories of urbanisation.

## 2.4 LITERATURE ON RELEVANT THEORIES

### 2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

There are abounding theories on the urbanisation of countries, most of the body of literature on urbanisation centres on economic and demographic theories (Fox, 2011). These theories on urbanisation will be discussed below before looking at what these theories have to tell us about the urbanisation of Africa properly.

### 2.4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC THEORY OF URBANISATION

The line of the argument of the demographers lies in the fact that urbanisation is a consequent of natural increase, a situation where the total number of urban births outgrows the total number of urban death. Before the 19th centuries, the growth of cities was gradual with the limited number of people residing in the urban centres (Davis, 1955; Harvey, 1996). The account of the historical demographers as to the cause of the limited rate of urbanisation as at this period is that urbanisation was negatively affected by high death rate in the cities. During this period, urban death rates exceeded urban birth rates, rendering cities dangerous places to live (Bairoch, 1988; Lowry, 1990; Fox, 2011, 2013). As stated above, this situation made the cities dependent on the continuous influx of rural-urban migrants who continued to flow into these cities not minding its high mortality rate. Dyson (2010) in discussing the impact of natural increase (high urban birth rate) to urbanisation pointed out that any country whose population witnesses a decline in death rate tends to urbanise even rapidly. Moreover, Fox (2011) affirmed that,

”mortality decline contributes directly to urban population growth in three ways: 1) By raising the rate of urban natural increase above zero (allowing an urban population to reproduce and expand itself). 2) by increasing demographic pressure in rural areas, and hence spurring migration, and 3) by transforming any rural migrants into a source of urban population growth instead of mere maintenance” (Fox, 2011, p.7).

In all, the argument of the demographers scope down to the argument raised by Fox in his historically grounded theory of urbanisation explained above, that high urban birth rate increases urban population while high death rate grossly limits it. The limitations that only institutional and technological transformations could break (Fox, 2013). Also, industrial revolution helped to combat these limiting diseases and led to the urban population explosion. It is noteworthy that urban natural increase counted and it is still counting as one of the factors that cause urbanisation following the reduction of high mortality rate in urban centres. Importantly, the demographic theory can explain the

urbanisation of the developed and developing countries of the world. However, it is capable of explaining the rapid urbanisation of the developed nations more than that of the developing nations like Africa. The variations in the availability of excellent and adequate health care facilities in individual countries make it a near undebatable fact. From these discussions, demographers, unlike economic theorists, affirmed that urban natural increase is the major factor in the urbanisation of nations.

### **2.4.3 ECONOMIC THEORY OF URBANISATION**

The underpinning of this theory is that as the 'modern' urban sector increases (i.e. manufacturing, industry and services), it attracts surplus labour from the rural/agricultural economy to the cities (Lewis, 1954), see also (Fei, Ranis, & Kuo, 1979). The typical models of structural transformation as explained by Freire et al., (2014) leads to urban expansion through the movement of labour from rural to urban areas as a result of the transformation from agriculture to industry and services. Urbanization following from this transformation would be a result of either a "push" from agricultural productivity growth or a "pull" from industrial productivity growth. One peculiar fact about this theory is that it explains that urban population is concentrated in the "production cities," with a mix of workers in tradable and non-tradable sectors (Gollin et al., 2016). Some of the economic theories that will be discussed herein albeit, in brief, includes modernisation theory and urban bias theory.

#### **MODERNISATION THEORY**

Modernisation theorists' stresses that urbanisation occurs as a result of a country's transition from an agrarian to the modern/industrialised economy (Berliner et al., 1977, p. 448-449; Gugler, 1997, p. 3) . According to them, it, in turn, results to transition from rural to urban society. Through this transition, rural dwellers are pushed out of the rural areas and pulled into urban areas by high industrial wages, thereby causing rapid urbanisation. Rogers & Williamson (1986) affirmed that the urban population explosion that developing countries experiences,

”is nothing less than the evolution of society during its structural transformation from an agrarian to an industrial-service economy” (Rogers & Williamson, 1982, p. 468).

Based on this frame, Kelley & Williamson (1984, p. 179) made a provocative statement that the growth in manufacturing employment (industrialisation), has been the ”engine of urbanisation in the past and will continue to be so in future”. To scholars like Fox, this statement is indeed provocative and generalised because Fox has continued to emphasise that growth in related economic activities is not an indispensable factor in the urbanisation of some countries. While the urbanisation of some states may be a consequent of the argued growth in manufacturing employment (Bradshaw, 1987; Kentor, 1981; Rogers & Williamson, 1982; Gugler, 1997), not all urbanisation is traceable to industrialisation/economic development. Importantly, this transition which leads to growth in manufacturing and services are concentrated mostly in urban centres, and as such it pushes the rural population to the urban centres. This situation draws our attention to the urban bias policies which shift the emphasis of urbanisation from being a consequent of economic factors to consequent of political factors.

### **URBAN BIAS THEORY**

Proponents of this theory assert that government and policymakers tend to favour urban areas over the rural areas. They do this by disproportionately allocating resources to the cities, especially capital cities, with results that are both ”inequitable and inefficient” (Lipton, 1977, 1984; Bradshaw, 1987; Gugler, 1997, p. 3). The argument is that urban bias policy leads to the development of the urban centres at the expense of the rural areas and in retrospect lead to rural-urban migration which increases urban population (Gugler, 1997, p. 3). Contrary to the argument that urbanisation is caused by economic factors as argued by the economic theorists, urban bias theory of urbanisation shifts the drivers of urbanisation from the economic perspectives to political perspectives (Tettey, 2005).

Lipton (1977) coined the expression ”urban bias” in his work titled why poor people

stay poor: urban bias in world development in 1977. According to Lipton, the first conflict that exists in developing countries is between the rural classes and urban classes, that is the main reason why poor people stay poor. According to Lipton, the disparity created by these urban bias policies metamorphose into a higher standard of living for people in the urban areas; hence, it draws migrants from more impoverished (rural areas) to the cities. In fact, the primary pointer of the said policy is the substantial investment of domestic capital in non-agricultural activities than in agricultural activities. This theory can explain to a great extent the rapid urbanisation of most African countries, in the sense that some of the countries in Africa have continued to invest in their urban centres at the expense of their rural areas. Unlike countries like China where some of its policies favour rural areas through rural industrialisation, most policies in Africa supports the urban centres far more than the rural areas, and this catalyses rural-urban drift in these countries.

In fact, urban bias policies are one of the causes of over-urbanisation in developing countries (Lipton, 1977; Bhattacharya, 2002). These policies by favouring the development of the urban centres more than its rural counterparts engender uneven development, and as a result, people clusters massively in the more developed areas than, the less developed regions. This uneven development makes the urban labour market in many developing countries more favourable than its rural counterparts. The resultant effect is that it increases migrant's expectation regarding the level of income payable to the urban workers as compared with the income level of the rural workers. This difference in wages also plays an essential role in continually attracting agricultural labour to the urban centres (Todaro, 1969). It in effect means that the more cities keep receiving favourable investments, at the expense of the rural areas, the more it continues to attract the influx of migrants to the point where such towns will continue to urbanise till it over-urbanises. The central thinking here is that the investments made in the urban centres at the expense of the rural areas cause over-urbanisation through massive and continuous rural-urban migration. Importantly, the urban bias policies which allow a discriminate sow of resources in most African countries can be argued to be traceable to some of the

inherited colonial legacies during the colonial period (Myers, 2011). At this point, it is essential to discuss the urbanisation of Africa - a theoretical perspective.

#### **2.4.4 COLONIAL URBANISATION OF AFRICA**

It is clear that the urbanisation of Africa started before the colonial period, but the arrival of the Europeans further escalated its urbanisation in diverse ways. Scholars such as (Tettey, 2005) and (Myers, 2011) listed out the ways through which the Europeans contributed to the urbanisation of Africa during the colonial period. These include the establishment of ports authorities thereby enhancing the means of transportation, the establishment of administrative centres, mining centres with the use of some policies. According to them, the Europeans came with businesses upon arrival and established trading ports along the coast in so many parts of the continent for their business activities. They also created small ports for easy transportation of commodities to their 'mother countries'.

The establishments of various ports brought the development of transportation networks from these port centres into the interior for the exploitation of the commodities. Some of these ports that became trading garrisons in Africa during the colonial period include Accra in the Gold Coast (presently Ghana), Dakar in Senegal, Freetown in Sierra Leone, Cape Town and Durban in South Africa, Beira in Mozambique, Mombassa in Kenya and Tunis in Tunisia (Tettey, 2005). The argument of most of the postcolonial urbanists is that all the colonial port centres ended up becoming among the major urban centres Africa has today (Tettey, 2005; Myers, 2011). Another critical factor that contributed to the development of urban centres is the establishment of administrative centres in Africa by the colonial masters. The establishment of these centres catalysed rural-urban migration, attracting the indigenous population to settle in those centres.

Further to this, is the establishment of resource extractive industries - mining. Mining opportunities attracted the influx of expatriates (international migrants), and indigenes (internal migrants) to these cities with most of them employed as workers in the extractive industries. Some of the examples of these mining centres are the ones in places like Jos in

Nigeria, Obuasi, Tarkwa, and Dunkwa in Ghana, and Kimberly in South Africa (Tettey, 2005). Strikingly, these colonial cities turned out to be among the fastest growing cities in Africa today. For instance, data from UN-Habitat demonstrates in 2010 that, for forty-six of the continent's fifty-three independent states, the colonial cities such as the colonial capital, primary port, or port-capital cities emerged as the primate/major cities in the African urban hierarchy (United Nations, 2016).

Additionally, most of the policies made by the colonial administrations contributed to urbanisation in one way or the other, especially the tax payment policies (Tettey, 2005). This policy requires every household to pay an annual tax to enable the Europeans to generate sufficient revenue with which to help with the running of their day-to-day affairs. These policies resulted in the migration of the able-body individuals to the cities to seek employment opportunities to raise the money with which to pay the annual tax, thereby causing urbanisation. Arguably, the policies may have instilled in our youths the belief that city is where money is usually raised, not in the rural areas. This belief has continued to play out in the lives of the youths in the countries in Africa. It is to the point that it has become almost a way of life for the people residing in the rural areas to prefer the urban centres, hence the continued increase in the speed of urbanisation. It reminds us that the Europeans brought with it a new wave of urban development that further triggered the urbanisation of Africa and set the pace for its post-colonial urbanisation (the present urbanisation). At this point, it becomes essential to investigate further the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Africa by discussing Garth Myers African Cities Thesis.

## **2.5 THE DRIVERS OF THE URBANISATION OF AFRICA**

There is an intense debate on the causes of the rapid urbanisation of Africa, and from the ongoing, it is clear that colonialism plays a noteworthy role in its urbanisation. With this, it becomes advisable not to neglect colonial factor as among the factors that drive the rapid urbanisation of Africa. Fox (2011, 2012) understood the importance of colonialism

in the urbanisation of African countries and proposed a historically grounded theory of urbanisation which included colonialism as a driver of urbanisation. The impact of colonialism on the urbanisation of Africa is discussed under what can be called Garth Myers African Cities Thesis. The reason for considering Myers perspectives in this study is because Myers treated the urbanisation of Africa in details proposing five themes through which he requested that cities in Africa should be studied.

## **2.6 GARTH MYERS AFRICAN CITIES THESIS**

The postcolonial urban thinkers see for example (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012; Robinson, 2006, 2014; Roy, 2011, 2016; Edensor & Jayne, 2012; Myers, 2011, 2014) have increasingly voiced out the inadequacies of the application of Euro-American theories of urbanisation to explain cities in the Global South. They are worried about the incessant use of these Eurocentric theoretical insights to define the urbanisation occurring in the cities in Africa. According to them, the ideas are void of the essential factors that underpin the rapid urbanisation of countries in Africa, and it neglects the inherent colonial legacies of these cities. On this basis, Comaroff & Comaroff (2012) and Myers (2011) respectively questions the authenticity of the generality that these Euro-American theories claims to itself since it excludes the importance of historical contexts of these cities embedded mostly in colonialism.

As a result of this, they insist in finding out if there can be an inversion of this order (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012, p. 113-114). A situation where the theories of urbanisation framed in the contest and histories of the cities in the Global South can be used to explain the cities in Europe and North America even the world at large. The result of this inversion will automatically change the entire theoretical concepts of urbanisation. The reason for the change is because the drivers of the urbanisation of the developed countries are not entirely the drivers of the urbanisation of the developing nations of the world, there are clear-cut differences/discriminations. It is important to understand this diversities properly, otherwise, urban theories may continue to face challenges.

Robinson (2006) in her book titled 'ordinary cities; between modernity and development, boldly states that the unprecedented rate of the world's urbanisation today, as well as the rapid urbanisation of poverty, is a great challenge to urban theory. According to her, for the present-day urban theory to remain relevant to the majority of the cities in the world especially those not within the Western world, it must strive to meet this challenge. The challenge of developing a new framework for urban studies especially one that considers all the cities to be 'ordinary cities'. This framework according to her should cut across the divide between the western cities and those in the Global South labelled as the Third world. Robinson further points out that the spatial discrimination in academic urban theorisation has hampered the development of that which is arguably an unbiased urban theory. In that, some cities are already seen as rich, influential and global/world cities while others are seen as poor cities in developing countries. Based on this, Robinson contended that the development of theories is not supposed to base on the experiences of the rich cities; and that without all cities seen as 'ordinary cities', there will continue to be the lack of good theoretical insights. In agreement with the argument of Robinson, Parnell & Pieterse (2016), assert that;

”Advancing global urbanism depends upon making Africa’s cities a more dominant part of the global urban narrative. Constructing a more legitimate research agenda for African cities, however, necessitates a repositioning of conventional modes of research” (Parnell & Pieterse, 2016, p. 236).

The assertion of Parnell & Pieterse emphatically means that global urbanism could only develop further when African cities are fully represented being a more dominant part of the global urban narratives. The main issue as noted by Boeckler (2017, p. 3) is that the urban academic scholars continually frames African cities based on its deficiencies. According to him, they frame these cities based on the extreme poverty, social inequality, ecological, economic and political crises that encumbers these cities. Boeckler agrees with the postulations of Robinson and others that instead of viewing cities in Africa through such derogatory lens of deficiencies, all cities should be regarded as "ordinary cities" and none should be cities off the map of urban studies (Robinson, 2006; Parnell & Pieterse,

2016). Storper & Scott (2016, p. 114, 1121) criticised the post-colonial urbanists for its "particularism and its insistence on the provincialisation of knowledge". They further picked out the key contestations of the post-colonial urbanists and put them thus:

"Obviously, cities of the Global South have been severely overlooked in past research efforts; obviously we must be careful to pay attention to the specificities of these cities; and obviously we need to acknowledge that urban theory must now range over the entire world for its sources of data and evidence while remaining fully open to new conceptual insights generated out of the experiences of the cities of the Global South. Equally obviously, we must beware of the dangers of Eurocentrism, by which we mean theoretical overreach based on limited evidence derived from Northern cities, but that is inappropriate or irrelevant with respect to Southern cities" (Storper & Scott, 2016, p. 1114, 1121).

The above observation entails that some of the scholars writing on urbanisation have come to acknowledge the fact that the Eurocentric theories of urbanisation are too generalised and need adjustment by paying attention to specificities of cities to be able to explain the urbanisation occurring in the different countries. They also noted the need for urban scholars to remain fully open to new conceptual insights grounded in the experiences of the cities of the Global South. It depicts the exact facts that Myers decried of in his work in 2011, where he suggested how a comparative approach to African cities might contribute to changing urban theory and practice on the continent in particular, and urban studies in general (Myers, 2011). Despite these apparent facts stipulated by Storper & Scott above regarding the contestations of postcolonial urbanists, it is not clear whether there has been a new version of the urban theoretical perspectives that put all these facts into consideration. If there is none, then it can be assumed that the global urban scholars have not yet advanced the urban theory to address some of the relevant points raised by the postcolonial urbanists. To be precise, there is every indication that we may be tempted to conclude from the above debates that these theoretical issues are yet to be addressed, and it is arguable that it appears almost fruitless to keep identifying and raising concerns

over issues in urban studies without resolving most of them in good time.

These contestations contribute to making Myers African cities thesis relevant in this study. It further triggers the need to conduct this intended research without neglecting the concept of colonialism and its impact on the cities in Nigeria. It is necessary to begin by stating that before the colonial period, Africa had many cities, which may be referred to as “non-colonial cities” (cities not influenced by colonialism). However, colonial rulers indisputably reoriented these cities, its urban forms and urban functions to meet their needs (Myers, 2011, p. 68-69; Kalu et al., 2014). The re-orientation of the cities in Africa by the Western colonial masters produced colonial cities (cities shaped by the norms of colonialism) and formed a central part in the argument of post-colonial urban scholars as demonstrated above. Myers (2011) researched African cities with Lusaka as his touchstone and found out that there are significant factors which influence its rapid urbanisation. Drawing on the work of Soja (2001, p. 38 as cited in Myers, 2011) the ‘post-metropolis’ and his ‘six discourses’ of Los Angeles as the primary structure for his analysis, Myers proposed five themes through which African cities should be studied. These are (1) the postcolonial city, (2) the informal city, (3) governance in Africa, (4), the wounded city and (5) the cosmopolitan city. In all, the post-colonial city (which emanated from colonial cities explained above), and the informal city are of particular relevance to the present study, and it can be argued that the informal city is an offshoot of the postcolonial city (Myers, 2011), and will be treated as such in this research. The next will be the discussion of the themes that are of relevance to this study that is the postcolonial city which will be seen to comprise of the informal city.

The postcolonial city as defined by King (2009), is a city which does

”not only emphasises the distinctive impact which colonialism has had on the economy, society, culture, spatial form, and architecture of the city but also on the way the city itself is understood and represented” (King, 2009, p. 1).

Citing examples with cities like Lagos, Abuja (Nigeria), Lilongwe Malawi, Myers (2011, p. 28-45), argues that African cities still bear the scars of colonialism. In the sense

that its present-day cities are patterned and cultured following colonial tactics. One of the resultant effects of some of these colonial tactics/legacies that characterise the urbanisation of the colonised cities in Africa is the informal city. According to (Myers, 2011), informal city originates from the colonial era through segmentation, separation and inequality. That is the discriminatory treatment meted out on the black during the colonial period. A situation where some areas were mapped out for the white and some for the black. The informal city is associated with such terms as informal settlements (slums and squatter settlements in most cases) and informal economy. The informal economy is characterised by mostly self-employed individuals who engaged in diverse small-scale, income-generating activities in an unregulated environment different from the regulated environment of formal economy see (Hart, 1973). This is why in the present research this type of city will be collapsed in post-colonialism. In fact, it is not clear why Myers did not deem it fit to put the idea of the informal city into the concept of postcolonialism. It can be better that way rather than putting them forward as two different themes.

Having clarified some of these points albeit, briefly, it is essential to discuss the two crucial aspects of these colonial legacies translated into the postcolonial cities. Firstly, the classification of cities in Africa into different groups, such as cities located in proximity to sites of resource extraction, others are created into roles as entrepot/warehouse cities, and bureaucratic capital cities (Myers, 2011, p. 53; Tettey, 2005). The second colonial legacies are segmentation and segregation of the urban landscape which stems from racial discrimination, causing a high rate of inequality (Myers, 2011, p. 53). According to Myers, the former is the most significant urban spatial impact of colonialism, because these classified cities eventually became the major cities in Africa (see above).

However, it is arguable that although the classification of cities into three different groups played a significant role in the urbanisation of Africa, the cities born out of segregation and discriminations played a more significant role. The reason is that according to Myers (2011), formal white or elite areas are;

”increasingly full of exclusive and infrastructure-rich gated communities and fortress compounds, and the dirt-poor habitat at the other end of the

segmented plan of the colonial order (informal settlement) are even more overcrowded and destitute” (Myers, 2011, p. 56).

This assertion is a clear description of the type of cities that are still present in Africa today namely the postcolonial primate cities and informal settlements. In places like Nigeria, the primate/formal cities include those areas known as the Government Residential Areas with exclusive infrastructures, places that have continued to receive developmental attention. The informal cities are those areas that are abandoned, with lack of the necessities of life like electricity, good roads and so on. It is nothing short of the same discrimination that characterised the colonial period, which has continued to result in uneven development in Africa. Based on this discriminatory investments, the mainstream Western Geographers affirmed that African cities have poorly developed urban hierarchies (Myers, 2011). Further to this, the cities classified as resource cities, entreport cities and bureaucratic capital cities have continued to urbanised unprecedentedly even after colonialism. For instance, the urbanisation of Lagos one of such cities has been very rapid and even among the megacities in the world today. Also, the urbanisation of the urban centres located close to the site of resource extraction has been very rapid than the rest of the cities (Oviasuyi & Uwadiae, 2010). This is the manifestation of inequalities.

Thus, inequalities which characterised the colonial cities are now infused in the postcolonial cities because the postcolonial regimes have repeatedly enhanced and built on the strategies of colonial administrations, producing even much more segmented cities in the process (Cunningham Bissell, 2007). They do this by persistently investing in these colonial cities at the expense of the others (urban bias policy), thereby causing massive migration to these cities and subsequent rapid urbanisation. In fact, this is the point of intersection between Myers ideas and Harvey’s theoretical perspectives. Myers is making us understand that among other things, the capital realised by the African countries is continuously being invested in the postcolonial cities thereby engendering unstoppable rate of migration. Harvey (1996, 2012) on the other hand, is making us understand that the capital realised by the industrialised countries is invested into the cities thereby causing people to migrate to these cities.

Importantly, from this enumeration, it can be said that while Harvey explains where the capital is invested, Myers explains why the capital is invested where it is invested. To Harvey, the accumulated wealth is invested in the urban areas, and Myers is saying that most of these urban areas are colonial urban centres - the same cities created by colonialism. It is the persistent investment in these cities that can account for why most cities in Africa are more developed than the others. Also, it is this line of investments that result in massive migration and rapid urbanisation of such places, and even enhances inequalities in cities. Inequality in the sense that some of the cities qualify as primate/formal/major cities and others as informal cities.

From this viewpoint again, Myers has made it clear that in each of the selected cities in Africa, there are spread out informal settlements where migrants who cannot get suitable jobs in the formal sector resides see (Jaeger, 2014). It means that most cities in Africa are characterised by formal and informal settlements which are orchestrated by the colonial rule. Essentially and again, there is a kind of similarities between Myers' idea of informal cities and Harvey's idea of suburbanisation. Suburbanisation is the growth in the population and economic activities in cities resulting in the takeover of surrounding urban villages (Harvey, 1996, p. 6). Both are similar terms though with arguably tiny differences. Indeed, oil cities, divided into formal and informal cities are essential concepts from Myers work to help in this study.

However, Fourchard (2013), critiques Myers African Cities Thesis, stating that Myers did not question the pertinence of the expression 'African cities', even when he has steadily stated in his work that the cities in Africa are heterogeneous. According to Fourchard, this leads to the risks of not considering that these cities belong to different countries. Fourchard's critique is a fact, because, although these countries are on the same continent and passed through almost certainly the same colonial experiences, their patterns and processes of urbanisation remain heterogeneous. However, it can be argued that Myers understood this, and that is why he used Lusaka as his touchstone.

From the above contestations, firstly, it is evident that the urbanisation of the countries in Africa is happening without economic development but grossly influenced by

colonialism. Secondly, it is also important to emphasise that diverse challenges characterise such urbanisation. Some of these challenges will be discussed here albeit, briefly. Freire et al.,(2014, p. 22) summarised these challenges into four categories namely;

1. “Rapid populations growth with low levels of economic activities based on inadequate physical and human capital,
2. Low density, urban sprawl and informality in peri-urban fringes that exacerbate poverty in the continent,
3. Weak coverage of basic infrastructure services notably water, energy and sanitation which makes it difficult to improve welfare in either urban or rural environments,
4. Weaknesses in administration, institutions and overall planning”.

Arguably, these points neatly capture most of the outstanding challenges posed by rapid urbanisation without economic development as it happens in developing countries like those in Africa. However, this study does not intend to dwell on the challenges of the rapid urbanisation of these countries; instead, it centres on the drivers of their urbanisation. Based on this, theories have been combed to be able to find out the right drivers of the urbanisation of the countries in Africa.

So far the review has shown that the drivers of the urbanisation of Africa are a complex blend of factors. At this point, it becomes crucial to also draw from the recent idea of Fox before concluding on the issue of urban theories. Fox (2017) who wrote extensively on the historically grounded theory of urbanisation, came up with another insightful theoretical perspective on the drivers of urbanisation. In his work in 2017, he observes that most of these theories discussed except the demographic theory scope down to migration as the central cause of rapid urbanisation. He emphasised that rural transformations and reclassification are other emerging theoretical insights that will help to understand urbanisation more, but they have been neglected. Fox, statistically demonstrated how the number of new urban settlements in West Africa increased from just 157 in 1950 to 1947 in 2010. He further cited examples with such areas as Ghana where the town of

Akatsi in the Volta Region grew from about 1600 number of people in 1960 to over 25,000 in 2010. As regards Nigeria, state that Agaie in Niger State, had an urban population of just 0 in 1970 and grew to over 33,000 in 2010. With this evidence, Fox emphasises that these are cities that grew independent of any recognisable metropolitan region, that these can be seen as instances of reclassification. Based on this, he concludes that other theories of urbanisation are merely the traditional mode of thinking about urbanisation that has continued to obfuscates the fact that new towns and cities are emerging across the countries of Africa. In fact, Fox argues that while migration is undoubtedly an essential component of urban population growth, urban natural increase and reclassification (including rural transformation) are almost certainly more significant.

No wonder Fox, Bloch, & Monroy (2017) argues that;

”the scale of rural transformation in Nigeria has likely been underappreciated as a source of urbanisation and urban growth” (Fox, Bloch, & Monroy, 2018, p. 949).

So Fox (2017) therefore, advised that it is crucial for the impact of rural reclassification and rural transformation to be seen as a significant driver of the urbanisation of most developing countries in Africa. He also confirms that the evaluation of the contribution of urban natural increase, migration and reclassification and rural transformations is constrained by the lack of reliable comparable economic and demographic data. According to him, this is due to the conceptual ambiguity in the meaning of the term urban and the lack of sufficient resources and capacity for data collection. This concern may contribute in accounting for why there are different arguments on the rate of the urbanisation of the developing countries. For instance, there has continued to be a misrepresentation of the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria, in fact, at some point, its rate of urbanisation was claimed to have stalled probably due to this same conflicting data (see Pott, 2012).

With regards to the argument put forward by Pott that the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria has reduced, (Fox et al., 2018) affirms that the growth rate of the urban population of Nigeria is still unprecedented. According to him, this growth is in absolute terms as against the argument that its urbanisation is overestimated, and that it has

dramatically slowed down. In fact in Fox et al.'s terms., this claim,

”is not only empirically incorrect, but it is also based on a problematic conceptualisation of urbanisation as an intrinsically economic process” (Fox et al., 2018, p. 948-949).

Writing specifically on the urbanisation of Nigeria, Fox et al.(2017) emphasise that the urbanisation of Nigeria will continue to be rapid even into the future due to such factors as rural-urban migration and rural transformation. According to them, these two factors are fed by persistent high fertility in a context of declining mortality in rural and urban centres.

With the above, it is convincing that apart from migration and natural increase, urban transformation and reclassification are essential factors in the rapid urbanisation of the developing countries like Nigeria. This study acknowledges these vital facts. However, it can be argued that the measure at which these factors drive the urbanisation of countries in Africa varies. This means that what constitutes a significant driver in a country's urbanisation may not be a substantial driver in another country and vice versa. In some cases, some of the data with which some scholars base their arguments differ also. This is why Potts based on the data she uses, argue that the urbanisation of Nigeria and some other African countries are stagnating. However, scholars such as Fox and Fox et al., in a more recent study and with perhaps a different data maintained that the urbanisation of developing countries like Nigeria is still rapid and will continue like that into the future. Both empirical and theoretical differences can fuel these various arguments. For instance, Abel (2014) researched Nigeria and its Niger Delta region and found out that high rate of urban natural increase and a much higher percentage of migration causes its rapid urbanisation. Some other scholars writing on the same region in Nigeria, affirm that migration is central to its urbanisation (Ordinioha & Brisibe, 2013).

Therefore, to be able to progress further into drawing the best-suited argument for this research, there is need to also review the literature on the impact of oil on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. The essence of the review is because there is an inescapable fact that most countries in Africa are resource-rich countries. As such, it is

advisable that in the discussion of the urbanisation of some of these countries, the role of resources (oil) should not be relegated to the background. The inclusion of oil in its discussion is necessary because the sample of 116 countries used by Gollin et al., (2016), in their study of the urbanisation of African countries, shows that natural resources impacted grossly on the urbanisation of the resource-rich countries. Moreover, Freire et al.,(2014), argue that the urbanisation of the natural resource-rich African countries may have been triggered by the development of natural resource exports rather than by improvements in manufacturing productivity (Collier, 2007). This natural resource necessitates the dividing of African countries into oil-rich developing countries and non-oil rich developing countries, to explore this in details. Therefore, the next chapter discusses natural resource wealth –oil and urbanisation, to vividly show how natural resources (oil) contributes to the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries of Africa - Nigeria.

## Chapter 3

# THE FACTORS THAT HAVE SHAPED CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN URBANISATION

### 3.1. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY OF THE OIL AND THE URBANISATION OF THE OIL RICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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This section is devoted to discussing the factors that have shaped the contemporary African urbanisation in the context of oil resource. It will start by examining the rationale for the review of the literature on oil and the urbanisation of developing countries. The discussion of this will help to create a background that will enable the understanding of the role of oil in discussing the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa. The second section will review the literature on the urbanisation of some oil-rich developing countries, and this will show how oil resource influences the urbanisation of these countries. The third aspect of this chapter will bring out some of the important and relevant concepts from the literature review that points to how oil resource facilitates the rapid urbanisation of these countries and use them to draw a framework. The fourth section will centre on the discussion of migration (seen through the lens of the push and pull frame), as one of the significant factors in the urbanisation of the low and middle-income countries like Africa -Nigeria (Tacoli, McGranahan, & Satterthwaite, 2015, p. 6). The conclusion then follows this.

### **3.1 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY OF THE OIL AND THE URBANISATION OF THE OIL RICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

Oil played a vital role in the development of nations with indelible footprints on the geographies of human migration globally. Extant research on the oil-urbanisation nexus agrees that the oil boom of the 1970s triggered rapid urbanisation of some of the oil-rich countries (Juma, 1996; Al-Mubarak, 1999; Kezeiri, 1983; Jäger, 2014; Bloch et al., 2015). As evidenced in oil-rich countries such as United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Libya and Nigeria, these scholars are also in overall consensus over the deployment of this same oil-derived wealth of these nations for urban development. According to them, it was these developmental projects that attracted the influx of migrants and immigrants (foreign expatriates) to these cities.

Some of the scholars that researched the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich countries argue that oil and its boom caused the rapid urbanisation of these countries through the stream of migration (Ahmed, 1988; Al-Mubarak, 1999; Adham, 2008; Jäger, 2014). Others say that though oil boom is a significant contributor to the urbanisation of some of these oil-rich countries, other factors played a role too. According to them, the others factors include the reclassification of rural areas due to densification and city annexation (Harvey, 2012). Also, the actual concentration of investments in the urban centres, wars (e.g. Arab-Israeli's wars that caused some people to flee to the cities) and natural increase plays a significant role too (Grill, 1984; Kezeiri, 1983; Adham, 2008; Aboukorin & Al-shihri, 2015; Bloch et al., 2015). Together these scholars had a consensus that there is a relationship between oil and urbanisation.

However, the contestations evoked in this consensus advances inquiry to mainly investigate how oil wealth does help to facilitate the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa. This investigation is necessary because most oil exporting nations including Nigeria (which dominates in the Gulf of Guinea) occupy a central position in the global economy as a result of their oil (Khan, 1994; Watts, 2016). Given that they are still influenced by the dependency on the oil sector as a primary international trade commodity. It makes their economic prospects including their dynamics of human resources, infrastructural and institutional development strictly and consequently bound to the future of oil (Watts, 2016). For instance, Nigeria's political economy has remained oil-dependent for four decades (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). According to her, as at 2010, oil became the predominant export of the Nigerian economy, a situation where its oil export rises to 90 percent, which was much more than the 25 percent it was in 1965. According to Okonjo-Iweala (2012), oil at a point became the primary source of government revenue yielding more than 75 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) annually. As such, this research intends to explore how oil, the primary determinants of the economic prospects of these said countries influence their urbanisation.

Since it seems clear that oil played a role in the urbanisation of the oil-rich countries, what is essential is knowing how. Most of the literature on oil and urbanisation base

their argument on the impact of the oil boom on urbanisation. However, a critical but surprising point to note is that migration and urbanisation did not end with the oil boom of the 1970s, which is about 48 years ago. Instead, it has continued even more rapidly in some of these countries despite the oil price fluctuations. For instance, in recent ethnographic research conducted by Jäger (2014) in Kazakhstan, he observed that migrants see oil as a catalyst for migration. Seeing oil as a catalyst for movement may mean that oil (boom or no boom) is the leading factor in migrants decision to migrate with or without job opportunities in sight. Astonishingly, some of these migrants move to the cities and also prefers to stay in these cities even when they do not get a job in their prospective oil industries. However, Gollin et al., (2016), clarifies the reason for the lack of sufficient positions in the oil sector saying that it is because the oil industry is a capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive industry. As a result, it creates few employment opportunities, including few low-skilled jobs.

According to the analysis of Gollin et al. (2016, p. 46), the urbanisation of Angola before oil was 16 percent, and 60 percent in 2010 following the discovery of oil and its subsequent wealth, yet the oil industry employed less than 10,000 people and few expatriates. In another example with diamond, they further stated that Botswana's diamond constitutes 36 percent of its economy, but employs but about 13,000 people. That notwithstanding, people still migrate, showing that job opportunities may not be the only reason why people migrate as economic theorist makes us believe. This understanding triggers curiosity as to investigate why there is still rapid urbanisation of these oil-rich countries, despite the limited employment opportunities in the oil sector. Moreover, some of the migrants in these developing countries may be said to fall under the category of semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Why do they continue to move to the cities considering their limited chances of getting jobs in oil industries?

It is based on the above enumerations especially the mainstreams thinking of the scholars on oil, migration and urbanisation, that this research seeks to investigate how oil resource can lead to rapid urbanisation. This approach leads to reviewing the literature on oil and urbanisation. The concepts generated from the literature will help to develop

a framework showing the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. Such will be used to analyse the urbanisation of the case study Nigeria, and the framework will be of help in answering the two questions posed in this study.

## **3.2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON OIL AND THE URBANISATION OF OIL RICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

It is essential to start this section by stating that politically and economically speaking; there is indisputably pronounced diversity amongst the countries and cities of the developing world (Al Bassam, 2012, p. 23). According to Al Bassam, some of these countries like the countries that are members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), became wealthy because of oil revenues. Others, like many resource-rich African countries, have an economic and social deficiency despite their resources. Notwithstanding the many economic and social deprivations that most of the developing nations experience, their urbanisation is still rapid and unprecedented. For this singular reason, it is essential to find out what drives this rapid urbanisation in the midst of all these challenges. As stated by (Al Bassam, 2012), it is worthy of note that most of these developing countries in Africa are among the nations of OPEC and are rich in oil resource with more significant part of their revenue generated from oil. Thus, the need to understand the role of oil wealth in urbanisation arises. Scholars such as (Kezeiri, 1983; Grill, 1984; Ahmed, 1988; Tiepolo, 1996; Al-Mubarak, 1999; Adham, 2008; Jäger, 2014; Aboukorin & Al-shihri, 2015) researched in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa and Kazakhstan and found out that the rapid urbanisation of these places tied to the discovery of its oil. As stated earlier, this section will extensively look at the work of some of these scholars to be able to understand these arguments fully.

In a study conducted by Grill (1984, p. 20, 27), he explained that oil is the catalyst for much of the rapid urbanisation processes on the Arabian Peninsula. Grill made it clear

that factors such as the historical concentration of development projects in the urban areas, trade patterns and the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967 aid the urbanisation of Arabian Peninsula. However, he states that the role of the expansion of its oil sector is paramount. According to him, the investment of the massive oil wealth in the development of their cities, in turn, generated well-paid employment opportunities, education, and healthcare facilities which attracted the influx of people to such cities. Grill in his analysis of these factors shows that the improved healthcare facilities and various other investments that led to the urbanisation of Arabian Peninsula were oil-wealth sponsored. He made it clear that it was these investments in health care facilities that improved the urban fertility rate and reduced the mortality rate. These investments also led to the inflow of internal and international migrants to the cities in Arabian Peninsula (Grill, 1984, p. 24).

Also in his analysis of the urban population growth of Riyadh, he found out that it has about 85 percent migrants, with its annual growth rate of over 70 percent attributed to migrants. He clearly states that Dammam and Al-Khobar are two cities in Saudi Arabia that have grown directly due to the oil industry with about 85 percent migrants. About one-third of its population comprises the rural-urban migrant, and over 80 percent are immigrants. Furthermore, foreign expatriates in Kuwait rose from 45 percent in 1957 to 56 in 1970. Based on this analysis, Grill argues that both migration and natural increase (resulting from improved healthcare facilities) caused the urbanisation of the Arabian Peninsula (Grill, 1984, p. 11). In all, Grill shows that the urbanisation of Arabian Peninsula is a consequent of both demographic and economic factors, hence, in his argument, he combined demographic theory and economic theory of urbanisation to explain the rapid urbanisation of his case study. However, he was careful to point out from his explanation that although there are other contributory drivers of urbanisation, the contribution of oil wealth is massive (meaning that oil facilitated other factors).

Further to this, studies carried out on different cities in Saudi Arabia with different methods also show that the rapid urbanisation of Saudi Arabia is caused mostly by its oil wealth (Ahmed, 1988; Al-Mubarak, 1999; Abou-Korin, 2015). The main argument as

put forward by these scholars is that the migrants in Saudi Arabia were attracted mainly by well-paid employment opportunities created through the investments made from the wealth realised from the oil resource. According to these scholars, before the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia, it was predominantly rural. The development investments made in the cities attracted both skilled and unskilled labour, turning the place into a mostly urban society that is, from predominantly rural to predominantly urban society (Ahmed, 1988). Aboukorin and Al-shihri (2015) statistically demonstrated that the urban population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia rose from 665 thousand in 1950 to 24.8 million in 2015, with an increase of 24.1 million, thus, doubling 36 times its population in 65 years and is expected to reach 35.8 million in 2050.

Aboukorin and Al-shihri (2015, p.53) wrote elaborately on the urbanisation of Saudi Arabia. Remarkably, they state that the economy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is predominantly based on the exploration, extraction and processing of petroleum and the export of petroleum and petroleum-based products. According to them, the heart of Saudi Arabia oil production is in the Eastern Province of KSA, and he also states that the economy and the physical development of DMA are mostly dependent on the petroleum industry. DMA multiplies in the areas of its population and physical development as a result of three critical factors (Aboukorin & Al-shihri, 2015, p. 55-56). According to them, the three main elements boosting this growth include: (a) the rapid expansion of the economy (b) the speculative real-estate market and (c) the limited capacity of Damman Urban Planning Department (DUPD) in devising and imposing public regulation. The most striking factor here is the rapid expansion of the economy which Abou-Korin & Al-shihiri argue that it is closely related to the growth of petroleum sector in KSA. They further advanced that Dhahran is the headquarters of Saudi Aramco, the national oil company and a significant proportion of the population in DMA works at Aramco or in other petroleum-related business activities. Moreover, the expansion of petroleum exploration and petrochemical industries and investment in infrastructure and services continually generated new employment opportunities. To the point that the average household income in DMA is very high, more than \$3000 per month.

Ahmed (1988), undertook a qualitative study in the cities of Jeddah and Riyadh, interviewed 1000 migrants and immigrants. The result of his interviews shows that the internal migrants and international immigrants who were attracted by the well-paid employment opportunities in these cities drive its unprecedented rate of urbanisation. According to him, as in the 1980s, the immigrants made up to 30 percent of the total urban population and about 55 percent of the labour force. This high rate of immigrants is because most of the jobs in the oil sector need skills and education which the internal migrants do not possess.

Interestingly, Ahmed also observed that the rise in oil prices led to increased industrial and commercial activities, and government dependence on foreign immigrants to carry out most development works. He also affirms that the decline in oil prices led to the deportation of some of these immigrants by the government. After deporting these immigrants, the government resort to investing in their agricultural sector as well as in the education of its youth. What this speaks to us is that Jeddah and Riyadh depended more on foreign immigrants during the period of massive oil wealth to the extent that they neglected to invest in their youth and agricultural sector. From this argument, it is clear that the cause of the urbanisation of this area is the influx of the oil-led migrants who respond to opportunities in the cities. With this, it is arguable that Ahmed used economic theory of urbanisation to explain the rapid urbanisation of Jeddah and Riyadh,

In the same vein, Al-Mubarak (1999), researched in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, the place where Aboukorin and Al-shihri (2015, p. 53) said is the heart of Saudi oil production and confirmed that migration (international and internal) is the cause of the rapid urbanisation of Saudi Arabia. With the use of four different cities of Al-Khobar, Alththogba, Dhahran and Dammam as case studies, Al-Mubarak made a contrary argument to that of Ahmed. According to him, it was not the well-paid jobs that attracted the international immigrants to the cities of Saudi Arabia. Instead, these immigrants were Americans, who were admitted by the Standard Oil Company of California (Socal) as their employees, to occupy prominent posts in industrial and construction companies. In other words, Al-Mubarak signposts that most of these American immigrants would

not have entered Saudi Arabia except for the Social. According to him, as in the 1950s, these Americans were about 6,400 including those with dependants. The massive developments in this area brought about the creation of new towns to accommodate the teeming population of workers.

Aththogba and Dhahran cities were the new towns that grew from being the labour camps, companies offices and residential quarters of workers. Dammam urbanised from being a major commercial port and its close location to the first oil wells (Al-Mubarak, 1999, p. 35,36). Thus, confirming the result of the work of Grill (1984) which shows that the cities of Al-Khobar and Dammam urbanised as a result of the expansion in the oil industry of Saudi Arabia. The inference from this is that Al-Mubarak sees urbanisation as a consequent of the economic and political factor. Economic factors because most migrants are pulled to these cities by employment opportunities, and political factors because according to Al-Mubarak, the immigrants in these cities were those admitted by the Standard Oil Company of California. Arguably, sometimes it takes policies (political factor) for a country to source for employees from the other countries.

The findings on the urbanisation of the UAE is not different either, as its urbanisation linked to oil. Juma (1996), in his comparative study and field survey research on the UAE, affirmed that the UAE could never have developed and spread so rapidly without oil wealth. According to him, the discovery of oil in the UAE was in 1960, the oil price rose dramatically in 1973, and by 1995, 84 percent of the total population of the UAE had become urban residents. Also, a significant number of expatriates were pulled into UAE by the various employment opportunities created with the oil wealth. In agreement with this, Grill (1984) argued that about 80 percent of the population of the UAE resides in its most significant cities. Additionally, Fazli and Faridi (2008), whose research is in Dubai, pointed out that the oil boom of 1973 led to rapid economic growth accompanied by unprecedented urbanisation, causing its urbanisation to be well above what it was within the periods of the 1970s and 1980s. Fazli and Faridi added that the oil boom, massive international and intra-regional migration, and globalisation shapes the urbanisation of the UAE. This argument brings in globalisation as another factor that

drives the urbanisation of most countries as (Fazli & Faridi, 2008).

Further to this, Adham (2008), in his research in Doha, Qatar, argues that the untold wealth that poured into Qatar during the 1950s worked as a catalyst to the urban development taking place in Doha. He affirmed that the speed and strategy of the urban development suggests a deliberate act to promote its global image (Adham, 2008), as a global city (Robinson, 2002). According to the statistical analysis of Adhams, Qatar achieved US\$1 million in the 1950s, US\$35 million in 1955, and US\$70 million before the mid-1960s. This wealth led to a boom in construction activities, and thus opened doors to numerous employment opportunities for both the skilled and unskilled labour force. As a result, from the period of 1949 to 1969, it had about 600 percent of the labour force, more than 1000 percent international immigrants. It also has a significant number of Qataris who moved from the surrounding villages and small towns (rural-urban and urban-urban migration) to the cities. This aspect of immigration is called 'oil-induced' rapid urbanisation through migration (in Obeng-Odoom's terms, 2009). It is important to state that historically, Qatar's oil wealth was always modest. It was only in the 1990s, and with its natural gas, that it became rich and also began to witness rapid urbanisation.

Another relevant argument is the one concerning the rapid urbanisation of some oil-rich African countries. Freire, Lall & Leipziger (2014, p. 4) found that the levels of urbanisation in 13 African countries are above 50 percent, mostly in the oil-producing countries. According to (Kezeiri, 1983, p. 17), before the discovery of oil in Libya, its population was "sparse and desertic", and following the exploration and exploitation of its oil reserve, it transformed dramatically into rapid urbanisation. According to him, Tripoli is the citadel of political, commercial, industrial and communications centre in Libya. Benghazi, is the manufacturing, retail services and a significant port centre in Libya. It had a population of about 300,000 in 1973 which represents about 13 percent of the national population and about 50 percent of its region. Keiziri affirmed that the cause of their urbanisation is natural increase and migration (international and internal). According to him, a significant number of immigrants were imported into Libya because of its limited labour force despite its high birth rate. The inference is that the urbanisation

of Libya is caused by both demographic and economic factors as explained by (Kezeiri, 1983).

Further to this, Tiepolo (1996) in his research in Brazzaville, Congo, found that Brazzaville is the largest city in Congo and its rapid growth and urbanisation is due to the oil booms of 1972-1974, and 1979-1984. He advanced that this oil boom increased the GDP and GNP of the country considerably, thereby turning its economy from agricultural and timber exports to the energy sector. According to Tiepolo, the two oil booms transformed the economy of Congo totally, because the oil price was high and the exchange rate was stable. He shows that immigrants in 1984 made up 4.3 percent of the total population and that natural increase was 2.3 percent (3.4 percent births and 1 percent deaths). Then, it has an urban population estimate of 1.2 million in 1995. Based on this, he argues that oil wealth realised from the boom periods transformed Congo from the least urbanised country in sub-Saharan Africa (5 inhabitants per square kilometre) to the most urbanised country (Tiepolo, 1996). Like Ahmed and Adhams, he found that the end of the oil boom affected the economy of Congo and resulted in environmental degradation in the city of Brazzaville, yet the urbanisation was not affected. From this explanation, it seems difficult not to conclude that both natural increase and economic factors explain the urbanisation of the city of Brazzaville.

Jäger (2014), in his ethnographic study in Kazakhstan, observed that oil plays a significant role in the daily lives of the people of Kazakhstan. His observation centres on the fact that oil offers the people job opportunities in both the mining sector and other related activities such as transport, security and food supply. Jäger's central research question focuses on migrants' choice of workplace. He intends to understand the extent to which oil in the resource extraction industry attracts migrants and how they evaluate the places there. To also to find out whether they prefer jobs at the oil stations or in the urban environment, and to investigate how far the migrants see future perspective in working for an oil company (Jäger, 2014). In his study, he found that the availability of well-paid jobs provides migrants with money which they in turn use to intensify the migration of their households. A situation where the first migrants sponsor others (second

migrants) to the city thereby increasing urban population growth.

Additionally, he observed that the resource extractive industry does not offer permanent jobs to migrants in the city of Aktobe. This observation is consistent with the statement made by a scholar above that the resource (oil) sector is a capital-intensive sector and not labour intensive. As a result, it does not employ a considerable number of people for it creates little employment opportunities. Like this perception, Jäger observes that apart from the few oil and gas engineers, the majority of migrants subject themselves to working in unfavourable conditions. Most of these migrants see work in the other non-oil related sector as a "waiting loop for better possibilities" in the oil sector. Based on this idea some of these migrants were able to hang on in the cities still waiting for an opportunity to come up in the oil sector. However, Jäger also observes that not everyone had the patience to hold on and wait for better opportunities (Jäger, 2014, p 513). In some cases, migrants who are unable to find a befitting job in Aktobe city resort to moving either to the provincial towns or village suburbs. So his main observation is that migrants use work in resource extraction industry as a catalyst for migration. As a result of this observation, Jäger suggests that money earned from the oil sector can work as a catalyst for migration and urbanisation.

What this means is that migrants move to the city of Akhobe because of the wages they expect to get from working in the oil companies (Todaro, 1969). However, the majority of the migrants in Kazakhstan get a disappointing result because of job opportunities in the oil sector favour the few oil and gas engineers. No wonder these migrants resort to what Hart (1973) calls casual jobs. It is important to point out that in countries like Africa, these casual jobs - which are found mostly in informal settlements are associated with colonialism (see the full discussion on colonialism in chapter two above). In all, Jäger is trying to prove the fact that in Kazakhstan, getting jobs in the oil sector is the primary reason why people migrate. But in most cases, these migrants end up not getting jobs in this sector, so they resort to using casual jobs as 'a waiting loop for better opportunities'.

Further to this, Ampene (1966), who undertook a sociological survey on Obuasi, a mining town in Ashanti, Ghana in 1966, reported that even the discovery of gold resources

in Obuasi caused the urbanisation of Obuasi. According to him, immediately a mining agreement was signed, people started to migrate to that city from all parts of Ghana and Africa, to make a living. What can be constructed from this explanation is that gold, oil and some other wealth generating natural resources makes a substantial impact on the rate of the urbanisation of countries. Ampene explains that the reason for this is because people tend to tie their hopes and expectations on these wealth generating resources.

Moreover, Obeng-Odoom (2009), in writing about oil and urban development in Ghana even when its oil exploitation had not started, predicted that oil would expedite the urban growth of Ghana both within and outside the oil cities. He added that as soon as the exploration of oil begins in Ghana, migrants from other cities, migrants from rural areas, from other countries and a combination of all these categories of migrants would move into the cities of Ghana (Obeng-Odoom, 2009). The resultant effect of this high rate of migration will be rapid urbanisation, and so he calls this "oil-induced urbanisation". It appears as if people move at any slightest knowledge of the discovery of oil, probably because of the massive wealth that oil generated mostly during the oil booms. This mentality has not left the masses, because, despite the oil price fluctuations, people still tie their expectations and hopes in some of these natural resources. In fact, this was confirmed by what was found by (Jäger, 2014), in independent Kazakhstan, that the citizens of Kazakhstan tie their hope to the development of its oil resources.

From the review section above, some few factors are worthy of note. Firstly, it is clear that there exists an overall consensus amongst scholars that oil contributed to the urbanisation of these oil-rich countries. However, there are variations in the arguments - while some argue that oil caused the rapid urbanisation of some of these countries via the streams of migration, others say that apart from oil, there are other factors also. For instance, although some of the scholars explicitly show that both natural increase and migration (internal and international) caused the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich countries (Kezeiri, 1983; Grill, 1984; Tiepolo, 1996), Grill added other drivers too. Grill argued that migration and natural increase contributed to the rapid urbanisation of Arabian Peninsula. Grill also affirmed that the chronological concentration of development

projects in the urban areas and the patterns of trade which resulted in the development of some regions at the expense of the others played a role too.

He also made bold to state that wars also contribute to the urbanisation of Arabian Peninsula. In fact, these arguments are presented from different perspectives making it clear to understand that the impacts of oil on the urbanisation of these oil-rich developing countries vary. Based on this, it is arguable that there could be other underlying factors such as political/institutional and socio-cultural factors which affect and determine the level of the impact of oil on the urbanisation of oil-rich countries. No wonder Al Bassam (2012) rightly pointed out and as stated above that there is unquestionably pronounced diversity among the nations and 'cities' of the developing countries both politically and economically.

Moreover, in the argument of Aboukorin and Al-shihri (2015), he stated that there are three factors responsible for the rapid urbanisation of Saudi Arabia. According to him, one of the crucial factors is the rapid expansion of the economy of Saudi Arabia following from oil wealth. This expansion resulted in migration (internal and international) and caused its urbanisation. Scholars such as (Ahmed, 1988; Juma, 1996; Adham, 2008) argue that employment opportunities played a significant role in the urbanisation of most of these oil-rich countries through migration (internal and international). Other scholars who associated the urbanisation of their case studies with migration includes (Ampene, 1966; Jäger, 2014).

The above provides a synthetic review of the literature on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. Interestingly, the summary of the drivers of this urbanisation is within five overarching paradigms: migration (internal and international), natural increase, globalisation. For the discussion of global cities see (Robinson, 2006, 2011, 2014). Globalisation can as well include patterns of trade, war (this leads to displacement), and political factors mostly embedded in urban bias policies. These factors contribute in one way or the other to the rapid urbanisation of countries, and oil resource fuels each of them. First, oil wealth and its investments in cities cause people to migrate to cities. Second, oil wealth invested in healthcare facilities lead to high urban natural increase

resulting from increased urban fertility rate and decreased urban mortality rate.

Further to this, the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in a country can result in other countries coming into those oil-rich countries and agreeing on terms of trade. Oil resource can equally necessitate foreign investment in a country's infrastructure, thereby triggering globalisation. Another factor is the war which can be as a result of resource conflict. War causes forced migration and (Harvey, 1996, 2012), sees forced migration as the most potent and unstoppable type of movement which escalates urbanisation. Lastly, there can be oil-related political factors mostly omnipotent in urban bias policies which equally triggers urbanisation. For most of these oil-rich developing countries are in the habit of concentrating more considerable resources in the already existing urban centres at the expense of the rural centres.

It is becoming clear how oil contributes to the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries through such factors as natural increase embedded in the demographic theory of urbanisation (see above). There is also the migration resulting from the massive investments of the oil wealth in the urban centres (see urban bias policies under the urban bias theory of urbanisation in chapter two) etc. In this study, there is the acknowledgement of the importance of the various drivers of urbanisation in both oil and non-oil rich developing countries. However, there is also the need to emphasise that the role of migration in the urbanisation of these countries is more pronounced than the others.

It further justifies why migration is the central focus of this study. This section will show extensively how oil resource contributes to the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries through migration – the primary focus of this study. The consideration of migration as the primary driver of the urbanisation of some of these countries does not mean that other factors such as natural increase, reclassification, rural transformations, city annexation and globalisation do not count immensely in the urbanisation of these countries. Arguably, some of these factors can be economical, socially and politically induced and also tied to oil. The political factors that cause urbanisation can collapse under the urban bias theory which facilitates migration. The reason for this step is because some of the pull and push factors of migration are as a result of the policies

made by the government which in most cases favours the urban centres at the expense of the rural areas.

According to the literature review on the urbanisation of some of the oil-rich countries, the scholars stated that most of these countries were predominantly rural and agricultural before the discovery of oil. Scholars also noted that these countries invested the massive oil wealth in the urban centres by embarking on different development projects and construction activities. These enormous investments attracted people from different places within and without the countries to seek employment opportunities in oil and oil-related industries. Along the process, the first migrants who migrated to these cities made some money and used the money to bring their household and families to the cities. This may mean the early migrants are bringing in other migrants and so on.

Unfortunately, most of these migrants only went to the cities with the expectations of getting befitting jobs in the oil companies. But when they could not get any, they resorted to taking other oil-related jobs in the cities and using such tasks as a waiting loop to getting better jobs in the oil industries someday. Furthermore, these migrants can be classified into three namely; migrants employed in the oil industries, those engaged in the oil-related sectors and those staying in the waiting loop for jobs in the oil industries. All these classes of migrants contribute to the urbanisation of the oil-rich countries. Therefore, before the review of the literature on migration, it is crucial to categorically use the concepts from the above analysis on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries, to draw a simple framework for a clearer understanding of the debate.

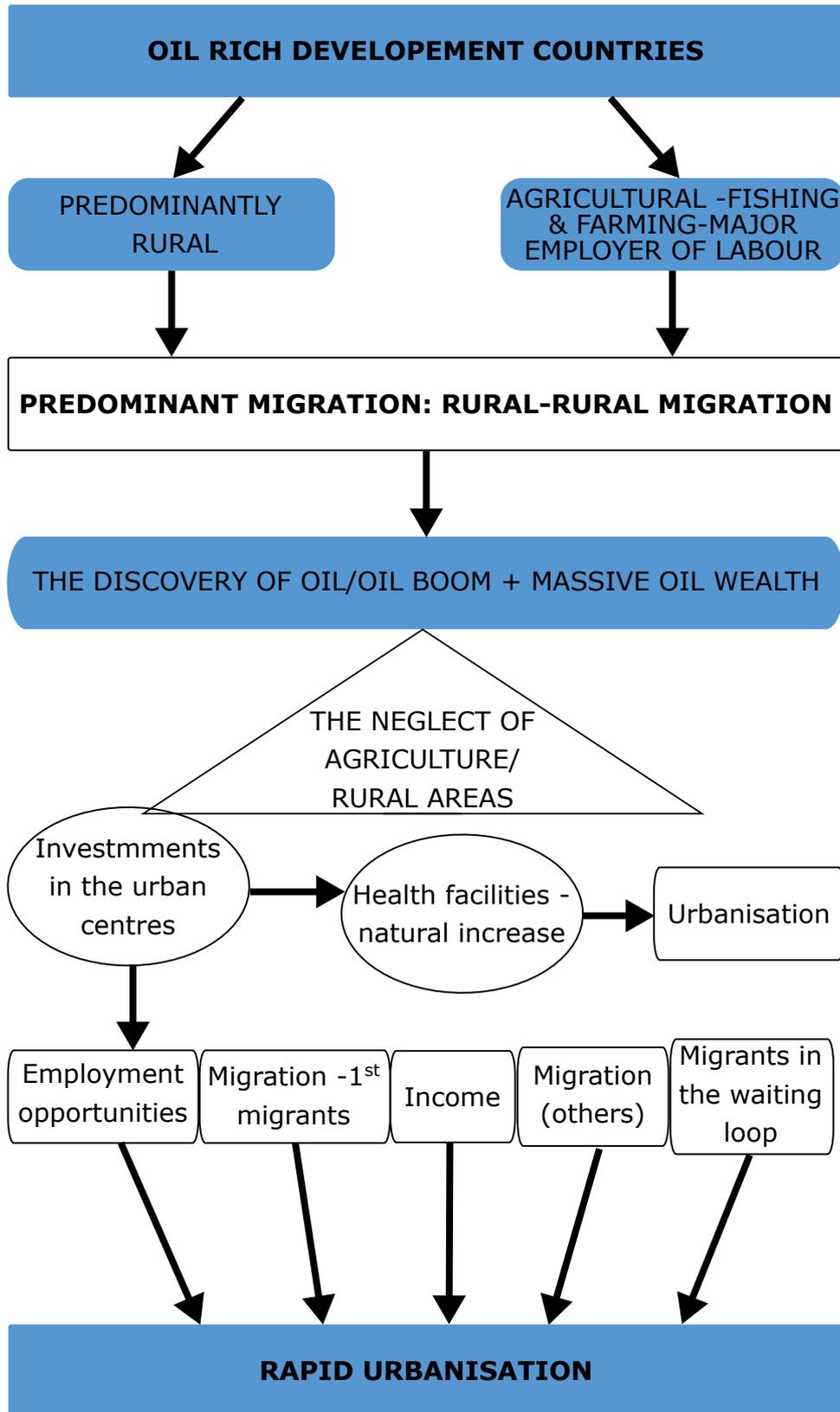


Figure 3.1: Conceptual representation showing oil as a paramount factor in the urbanisation of oil-rich developing countries

The concepts in the framework show that most of these oil-rich developing countries were predominantly rural and agricultural before the discovery of oil. The discovery of oil resulted in the neglect of agriculture in most of these countries. Following the massive wealth generated from oil, developmental investments were made in most of the already existing cities, these created employment opportunities resulting in the influx of migrants to the cities. These early migrants got employed and make money, use part of the income generated from their jobs to facilitate the migration of their household to the cities. Some of the migrants who could not get befitting jobs in the oil sector stays in the waiting loop. It is important also to state that from the perspective of the urban bias theorists, these investments in urban centres is politically influenced perhaps as a form of political patronage to maintain alliances or for other political reasons. The investments stimulate in-migration among people seeking opportunities, thereby causing rapid urbanisation. Thus, oil resource contributes to the rapid urbanisation of these areas through the streams of migration.

The above signifies at a glance that the role of migration as one of the causes of the urbanisation of oil-rich countries is paramount. However, it was stated that migration is key to African history and not a town, but is not necessarily related to urbanisation Wilson (1966, p. 17). This statement seems vague because it does not specify what Hilda means, it only leaves one wondering if she means rural-rural migration. If this is what she says then, it is understandable because this type of movement was dominant during the pre-colonial periods, and did not affect urbanisation in any way. If not, Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite (2014), suggest that it is reasonable to treat migration as the primary cause of urbanisation. Before addressing migration in this chapter, it is good to summarise the argument on both migration and natural increase as among the overemphasise drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries above.

### **3.3 MIGRATION AND NATURAL INCREASE AS AMONG THE DRIVERS OF URBANISATION**

Parnell & Walawage (2011) and Montgomery(2008) affirmed that about 60% of future population growth of cities including those in Africa would come from the offspring of current urban residents. According to Parnell and Walawage, natural increase rather than migration is the cause of the rapid growth of sub-Saharan African cities. Further to this, Potts (2012) argued that the predominant growth factor in most urban populations of some African countries is the natural increase rather than net in-migration, as it is in the case of some of the oil-rich developing countries. She went ahead to state that one of the challenges of migration is that neither the UN-Habitat data nor "common knowledge" has been able to accurately represents what has been happening to migration patterns and urban economies in sub-Saharan Africa. It is important to note that Potts mentioned that net in-migration plays a role in the urbanisation of some of the oil-rich countries, she, however, emphasised the impact of the natural increase in urbanisation. Despite these arguments and the challenges of migration as put forward by Potts, the review has otherwise shown that migration is a predominant factor in the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. Moreover, many scholars have argued that migration is the primary cause of population growth in the urban areas of the developing nations of the world like African countries through a response to the push and pull factors. Based on this, the study intends to focus on migration to further understand how oil contributes to the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich countries.

### **3.4 MIGRATION**

Essentially, migration like urbanisation is not a recent phenomenon (Abbass, 2012), because historically, people have moved and established settlements from rural areas to urban centres. According to Lee (1966, p. 49), migration is a "permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". The definition is precise, making it easy to understand that migra-

tion can be temporal (long term, short term, seasonal and circular) or permanent. As regards circular migration, Potts (2012) state that in African censuses, there were trends of circular migration, which also has been detected by many social science surveys. According to her, the research was on Harare, Zimbabwe in the 1990s, revealed an increasing number of people who plan to leave the city. Those can be the temporal migrants. That notwithstanding, the definition of migration as given by Lee, does not specify whether the change of residence is through rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban migration, which is the critical aspect of migration in countries in Africa, especially Nigeria (Oyeniya, 2013; Bloch et al., 2015). Because it is possible for someone to change residence by migrating from one rural area to the other (rural-rural migration), some others can migrate from one urban centre to the others (urban-urban migration), and some others can migrate from urban centres to the rural areas (urban-rural migration).

It is needful to state that migration can be classified as voluntary and involuntary migration, forced and unforced (Harvey, 1996), and expulsion (Sassen, 2013). Voluntary and or unforced migration refers to the decision to migrate. On the other hand, involuntary (unintentional) migration is an unplanned movement which may occur as a result of the war, displacement, political crisis etc., as observed from the literature above. Moreover, Harvey pointed out that forced migration is the most potent and unstoppable factor when it comes to urban population growth in the world today (Harvey, 1996, p. 49). No wonder, Sassen used 'expulsion' which is a more powerful term to describe forced migration. According to her, forced migration arises when people are forcibly displaced or expelled from their homes leaving them with no shelter and food which are the necessities of life. Thus, leaving them with no other option than to migrate to other safe places to at least find shelter and food. It is indeed a situation that arises unexpectedly.

Migration in Africa just like other countries can be forced and or voluntary, with deep-rooted response to economic pressure (McDonald, 2000; Rakodi, 2002), and environmental crises in Africa, political situation and socio-cultural issues. However, like in other countries, not all African migration is voluntary because there are already about 20% of refugees globally and 45% of internally displaced people (IDP) found in Africa.

War and conflict each year contributes to the number of the internally displaced people in some of these countries causing them to migrate unwillingly to the cities. Moreover, in Africa, including Southern Africa, urbanisation is mainly due to the migration of people from rural areas and natural increase of population in urban areas.

With forced migration, people tend to embark on the various trajectories of migration at any point in time. For instance, Potts (2012) cited an example of what happened in Zambia following the census of the 1990 and made it clear that there are cases of urban-rural migration. From the analysis of that census, Potts showed that the population of the Copper belt towns was declining in size relative to the national population and that urban-rural migration exceeded rural-urban migration. Another aspect of migration that usually takes place in some regions is the one where out-migrants from rural areas no longer hope to move to cities within their own countries instead they prefer to migrate to outside nations. For instance, research conducted in Francophone West Africa shows that many rural out-migrants seek to move straight to overseas destinations, mainly to Europe instead of moving from one city to the other within their countries (Potts, 2012). With this, one can conclude that like urbanisation, migration is a continuum. The primary concern in this study centres on the aspect of migration that affects the rate of urbanisation that is, rural-urban migration to understand what pull and push people into the cities.

Historically, rural-urban migration forms an essential part of the discussion of the processes and patterns of the urbanisation of mostly the developing countries. The pattern of the movement is dependent on the prompting circumstances involved and based on individual, household or community decisions and reasons to migrate. Rural-urban migration resonates even more in contemporary research on urbanisation due to its importance. Although the speed of rural-urban migration may have slowed down in some countries as identified by Potts (2012), there are developing countries in Africa like Nigeria whose rate of rural-urban migration has continued to be rapid. Lall, Harris & Shalizi (2006, p. 3) citing Brockerhoff (1995) argue that migration from rural areas accounted for at least half of all urban growth in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s and about 25

percent of urban growth in the 1980s and 1990s. Lall, Harris & Shalizi (2006, p. 3), in their World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, contended that the migration of labour from rural to urban areas is an integral part of the urbanisation process in developing countries. As a result of this, they pointed towards the “classic pull/push framework” to address the burning issues of what actually “push” rural dwellers to the cities and what “pulls” them from the cities.

### **3.4.1 THE PULL AND PUSH FACTORS OF MIGRATION**

Some researchers who write on migration clarifies the role rural-urban resettlement plays to facilitate the study of urbanisation in the developing countries, asking questions about its motivations/propelling factors. Some of these scholars are interested in finding out the extent to which the differences in human living conditions in the country-side explain as adaptive responses to the new habitat in which they migrate. In fact, there is a rising interest of some of the researchers on migration, many of whom have backgrounds in various academic areas, to explore the reasons for migration further. According to Lall et al., (2006),

”the decision to migrate also involves contextual factors, such as ‘push factors’ which force migrants out of rural areas and ‘pull factors’ which attract migrants to urban areas. These factors typically reflect the relative strength of the local economies (such as the availability and remuneration of jobs), the existence of local amenities, the cost and availability of public goods, or even institutional factors” (Lall et al.,2006, p. 4-5).

What Lall et al. (2006) mean is that ‘contextual factors’ push and pull people to the cities. According to them, these factors are consequent upon how local economies can provide for basic life necessities through well-remunerated jobs and availability of infrastructure like good roads, electricity that could help with self-employment initiative, access to soft loans, etc. Lall et al. gave an example of land property enforcement rights. The enforcement of a system of land property rights, they argue, might act as a push

factor and encourage migration from rural areas for workers that are displaced as well as for the new landowners. These landowners can leave their properties without the fear of losing their assets and can even sell them or use them as collaterals to further finance migration. Availability or access to credit facilities with which individuals can start their businesses can also be a push factor. The likelihood of getting access to credit will hasten a rural dweller's plans to migrate to the cities due to good prospects of economic progress that can also affect the family positively through remittances. Even as these factors fall into the pull and push framework of migration, it is important to narrow it down to further clarify what the context entails.

Clemens & Pritchett (2008) and Sabates-Wheeler et al.,(2005) are among the researchers who made a significant observation concerning the pull and push factors of migration. According to them, the substantial differences in income and living standards between places, as well as the general perception that migrant households are better off than non-migrant households, act as incentives for people to move to the cities. In Nigeria, in an average, one family has at least one migrant family member, through whose money remittances, their families can pay bills and procure critical medical needs.

According to Lall, Harris & Shalizi (2006, p. 3), the rate of migration is determined by those factors that “pull” rural dwellers to the cities as well as the forces that “push” them to the cities. Brueckner et al.,(2014, p. 4) identify economic prospects as a critical factor: Better economic opportunities in cities, they argue that agglomeration economies are a significant pull factor, often providing the primary motivation for internal migration. But people, they continue, are also pushed off their land by severe declines in agriculture, by the pressures of population growth, and by environmental changes that make cultivation no longer viable. Historically, droughts, they conclude, have had sudden and prolonged impacts on the population distribution in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

Other researchers (for example, Black et al., 2006; Kwankye et al., 2009) affirm that with regards to rural-urban migration in the developing world critical “pull” factors are financial considerations. The push factors also include employment opportunities,

healthcare provision, infrastructure and other prospects for personal achievement and progress in the more developed urban centres, which are severely lacking in the countryside. Even if some of them cannot fit into the formal employment in cities due to lack of academic qualifications, the informal sector (for example, retail, construction, and agricultural sectors that require the unskilled labour market for survival) offer ready employment prospects for the migrants. This makes economic, socio-cultural and political factors to feed the pull and push framework of migration.

Potts (2012) states that migration is volatile and highly sensitive to economic signals, this constrains push and pull factors for economic reasons. Contrary to this argument, Kainth (2009) contends that migration is a global phenomenon and what constitutes its push and pull frame are social and cultural factors and not economic considerations. It is important to state that in addition to these factors listed, political factor plays a significant role in driving migration also. For instance, Akokpari (2000) argues that migration, whether voluntary or forced, intra-state or interstate is both an effect and cause of the political and economic conditions of the sub-Saharan African political dispositions. Akokpari further advanced that the political and economic factors that are often cited as the pull and push factors in migration in these countries result from the indecisiveness of the government in addressing critical economic, political, population and environmental issues.

Moreover, there is an essential aspect of the push factor that needs to be discussed here, and that has to do with agriculture. Breasted (1916) was among the earliest scholars to find out that the neglect of farm fertilisation and elongated period of cultivation which reduced agricultural productivity was what constituted the push factor of the pioneer migrants. Especially so because most of these rapidly urbanising countries were predominantly agricultural and people especially the youths made a laudable living from farming, so as agriculture receives little economic attention, people started to migrate to the cities. Jike (2004, p. 693) and United Nations (2016) in agreement with Breasted and using Nigeria as a case study, stated that it was oil spillage that destroyed farm fertilisation and affected agricultural productivity in oil-rich Nigeria, causing most farmers

who previously depended on farm products and who earns their living from it to migrate to the cities.

Endsjö (1973), using Nigeria as a case study, stated that though there was a decline in agricultural productivity in Nigeria, it was not as a result of the neglect of agriculture resulting from the oil boom. Per-Chr. Endsjo further explained that the problem lies in the less intensive use of these agricultural lands, not on the abandonment of agriculture. Further to this, Ammani (2011), using Nigeria also to cite an instance, statistically demonstrated that neither farming nor the fertilisation of farmlands suffers neglect in Nigeria during the oil boom. He was firm in his argument and reminded us of such programs as Nigerian Agricultural Bank established in 1973, Integrated Agricultural Development program in 1974. He also listed the Livestock Development Program in 1981, and a running 75 percent subsidy on fertiliser from 1977-1983, arguing that these programs were put in place to foster agricultural productivity in Nigeria. Endsjö (1973) and Ammani (2011), is trying to say are that the decline in agricultural productivity that occurs in such countries like Nigeria does not connect to the discovery of oil and its subsequent boom. This argument will have been plausible if they have been keen enough to point out what they think was the cause of the decline in agricultural productivity after the discovery of oil since they argue that agricultural reduction is not as a result of the oil boom. With regards to the argument of Ammani, it can be argued, however, that the stipulated programs took place in the 1970s and 1980s. As a result of this, it is advisable not to use them as a basis for arguing that agriculture was not neglected even at present period. Per-Chr.Endsjo, on the other hand, was not clear with what he means by the less intensive use of agricultural lands.

From the above enumerations, this study takes two crucial factors home. One is that there appear to be a decline in agricultural productivity which was argued to be as a result of the urbanisation of most of these countries, and this decline further serves as a push factor of migration. Two, it appears that the discovery of oil and the wealth it generates leads to a shift of attention from the agricultural sector to the oil sector and the subsequent investment of the wealth in the cities. Again, these investments made the cities more

attractive than the rural areas and further serves as a pull factor to these cities. Lotfi (1998) cited an example of what happened in Iran. According to him, before the discovery of oil and its exploration in Iran, agriculture was the primary employer of labour. But following the advent of oil and its associated wealth, the making and the implementation of policies that do not support the development of agriculture and the concentration of economic facilitating resources in the urban centres, agricultural productivity declined rapidly. The case of Iran which is also similar to Nigeria can be said to be the result of urban bias policies resulting in uneven development. Uneven development result from a situation where some places are more developed than the others. In all of these, it is important to argue that if the neglect of agriculture results in rapid urbanisation, the investment and development in agricultural activities can promote the economic income of the rural households, thereby decreasing migration and rapid urbanisation.

However, the scenario does not apply to all countries. For instance, Firman, Kombaitan, and Pradono (2007), in their research on the urbanisation of Southeast Asia, found out that the urbanisation of Southeast Asia unlike the urbanisation of other nations is characterised by what they called "blurred distinction" between 'rural' and 'urban'. According to them, whereas agriculture is neglected in some other predominantly agricultural countries following urbanisation, it is not so in Southeast Asia. They state that in this country, both agriculture and non-agricultural activities take place "side by side" and the urban physical development moves across city administrative boundaries. This phenomenon is what McGee (1995) labelled "mega urbanisation", see also (Lin, 1994; Jones, 2002; Yang, 2005). McGee in one of his previous work calls this phenomenon "Kotadesasi", and this term was coined from Indonesia language (Bahasa Indonesia). According to him, it means "process of socio-economic and physical integration between urban areas (Kota) and rural areas (Desa)" (McGee, 1991). Moreover, Latin America, Mexico City has a similar phenomenon (Aguilar, Ward, & Smith Sr, 2003) including Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo (Gilbert, 1993).

Further to this, Tiago, Da Mata, and Frederik (2013) in their study of oil, growth and urbanisation; evidence from Brazil state that the urbanisation of Brazil is paradox-

ical. According to them, despite the enormous investments in development programmes such as agricultural settlement, cattle ranching, and timber extraction in rural areas by the Brazilian Government, the region's population has become increasingly urbanised. The argument on Brazilian urbanisation leaves one with the quest to understand the propelling factor of the continued rapid urbanisation in Brazil. Interestingly, the scholar was apparent when he states that the discovery of oil did not affect the investments in rural areas and agriculture, yet its urbanisation remained on the increase. Can it be that agricultural development in Brazil is technologically inclined, or a capital-intensive industry not employing as many people as before? This question arises because, from this explanation, it is arguable that the economic factors cannot entirely explain migration in this area. The inference is that there seem to be other underlying reasons why people in Brazil still prefer to reside in the cities regardless of the fact that the rural areas are not neglected as done in most countries. Based on this, migration can as well be seen as a constant factor when it comes to urbanisation, and its drivers are diverse, not limited to most of the elements mentioned here like the neglect of agriculture, neglect of rural areas etc. That notwithstanding, there is the need for the development of both the rural areas and the urban centres. Like Lipton (1977) stated that before you can have widespread of successful growth in other sectors, developed mass agriculture is typically needed. The essence of this is not to curb the rate of migration and urbanisation but to ensure that the urban bias policies and its associated uneven development replaced with policies that promote even development in countries.

The reason for this is because it is clear that migration in so many countries occurs in response to push and pull factors mostly the lack of even development (Al Bassam, 2012). However, Laczko (2008) shows that migration can contribute to the development of the receiving city. It entails that migration does benefit both the individuals who migrated and also support the development of the cities and (Al Bassam, 2012), said that it relieves labour pressures especially. As Bhuyan, ar Rashid Khan, and Ahmad (2001) puts it, rural-urban migration is economically beneficial to a country because it allows human resources to move around internally. (Bhuyan et al., 2001), however,

pointed out that in most countries with particular reference to developing countries, the rate of migration often exceeds job creation in urban areas especially where there is the issue of over-urbanisation. The resultant effect is that it places pressures on industries and factories as well as municipal services. Writing on migration, Al Bassam (2012) stated that though rural, urban migration has continued to be the most common form of internal migration in Asia, that it should be of note that in other areas such as Latin America and Egypt, there is high urban to urban migration rather than rural-urban migration.

In advancing this, Al Bassam (2012, p. 25), states that there are consequences of rural-urban migration, and according to him, the considerable literature shows that there is a negative interpretation of facts when it comes to analysing rural, urban migration alongside other consequences. Migration leads to health issues, unsustainable environments and even civil unrest (Brockerhoff, 2000). Kok and Collinson (2006) pointed out that the reason why these consequences result from migration is that the receiving areas are not economically strong. However, they point out that migration does not cause urban unemployment, rather unemployment is simply moved from the rural areas to the urban centres. This effect means that Kok and Collinson are of the opinion that the causes of urban unemployment are the unemployment in the rural areas moved to the urban centres via migration. It is not quite clear how that can be possible, because the problem of urban poverty/unemployment can be argued to be a consequent of low labour-intensive industries that will absorb the massive migrants.

According to ISIBOR (2013), urban unemployment is growing progressively worse due to rural to urban migration. This migration is as a result of high concentration of infrastructure and amenities in the urban areas, coupled with favourable living conditions and standard of living. This is why Brockerhoff and Brennan (1998) points out that the problems associated with migration are not exclusively due to population pressures but instead because of inadequate responses from local governments, lack of accountability, poor management, improper deployment of community resources and lack of private-sector involvement in the economic activities geared towards development. However, this

study is not intended to investigate the challenges or consequences of migration to either the sending areas or the receiving centres; instead, it studies the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

From the review of literature in oil and urbanisation above, it was discovered that oil wealth plays a very significant role as a driver of migration and as a factor in natural increase leading to urbanisation. With regards to migration, Mabogunje summarised that the cause of rural-urban migration in most African countries like Nigeria is due to uneven development. The uneven development result from a situation where the urban centres developed more than the rural areas (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 1-18). Also, Mabogunje's statement shows that even as at the 1970s most countries concentrate on the enactment and the implementation of urban bias policies. Urban bias policies explain the line of the argument of most of the scholars in this review – the concentration of oil wealth in the already existing urban centres as a result of the implementation of this policy. In fact, there is no trace in the review of the creation of new urban centres with the oil wealth in most of these oil-rich states or the transformation of the rural areas into cities. This situation accounts for why Myers (2011) stated that cities in most African countries are hugely post-colonial cities, which is cities born out of colonialism due to the persistent building and investments in the already existing colonial cities rather than building new cities void of colonial legacies and structures.

Another important fact from the analysis above is that scholars use the push and pull framework to explain rural-urban migration. It is important to state that the push-pull framework can as well explain urban-urban migration and urban-rural migration (Potts, 2008, 2012). Both urban-urban and urban-rural migration are as important factors as rural-urban migration in the study of urbanisation. What this means is that if the push and pull framework can explain rural-urban migration, it can also explain urban-urban and urban-rural migration (forced and unforced) in oil-rich developing countries. Oil

wealth can push people from either rural area to the cities or from a city to the other where oil wealth is massively invested as stated earlier. It can also drive people out of the cities through forced or unforced migration that may happen as a result of oil-related conflicts. Other oil-related factors include wars, oil spillage, degradation, displacements as a result of the demolition of houses for urban expansion, economic crisis probably caused by oil prices/production fluctuations as observed from the review above. While the rural-urban migration and urban-urban migration tends to cause urbanisation, the urban-rural migration and in some cases urban-urban migration can cause de-urbanisation. However, the central focus of this study is on urbanisation, not de-urbanisation.

In all, this chapter reviewed the literature on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries from which it discovers that apart from other factors that can cause rapid urbanisation, migration and natural increase are significant factors to the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. The explanation is that following the discovery of oil and its subsequent wealth, its continued investment in the development of mostly existing urban centres, people from other countries and people from the predominantly rural and agricultural areas of the states start to migrate to the cities mainly for economic reasons. Also, money from the oil resource was invested in improving the health facilities of most of these countries to the point that urban birth rate increased as against urban death rate. This chapter provided a framework showing the role of oil in the migration and urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. Therefore, this reviewed literature will be used to analyse the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria in chapter four.

## Chapter 4

# URBANISATION IN NIGERIA

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Following from the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of most countries as discussed in the previous chapters, there is no consensus among scholars on the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of mostly developing countries in Africa. Importantly, the postcolonial urbanists argued that the rapid urbanisation of the previously colonised developing countries occur as a result of the omnipresent colonial legacies in operation in these countries. Other scholars who wrote on the urbanisation of some of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa, who also argued that rapid urbanisation is a characterising feature of the urban transition of the oil-rich developing countries, affirmed that the urbanisation in these countries is a consequent of their oil wealth. These confirm the fact that there are no single agreed drivers of the rapid urbanisation of nations, for each state in its peculiarity has factors that drive its urbanisation according to its structures. Indeed, it is on these country-specific structures that the explanation of the drivers of any country's urbanisation should be based. Like in the case of Nigeria, a country once colonised and rich in natural resources with special reference to oil, one cannot put forward an argument on the drivers of its urbanisation without putting these factors (namely; colonialism and oil resource) into consideration. The rapid urbanisation in Nigeria is very evident in most of the cities in Nigeria such as Lagos (megacity), Port Harcourt and Abuja. It is the upsurge in its urbanisation rate without development that has given rise to the questions posed in this study, such as:

- (a) What are the driving factors behind rapid urban population growth in Nigeria?
- (b) What accounts for the unique characteristics of urbanism in Nigeria?

To answer the above questions, the study will start by briefly discussing the historical perspective in the urbanisation of Nigeria. It will bring into the discussion the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial urbanisation of Nigeria. Followed by the traditional makeup of Nigeria. The study will progress to discuss the agricultural and the oil sector of Nigeria. Then there will be a detailed discussion of the urbanisation of Nigeria, a situation giving room for the extensive analysis of the data on the rapid urbanisation of

Nigeria. The debate will be with a brief write up on the challenges posed by this rapid urbanisation. After which, the discussion of the drivers of the urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria will follow. This section puts into use the three theories of urbanisation discussed in the previous chapters. The reason is to consider them in the context of Nigeria with the aim of exploring the extent to which these theories relate to the urbanisation of Nigeria. These theories are demographic theories, economic theories and postcolonial urbanism. After all these analyses, the study will draw an argument from the analysis of these theories in the context of Nigeria as a conclusion.

## **4.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE IN THE URBANISATION OF NIGERIA**

Since independence, Nigeria has increasingly become among the urban-oriented countries in Africa (Ekpenyong, 2015). Before the advent of the Europeans in Nigeria which took place in the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries, urban areas have emerged in some part of Nigeria, particularly in the Northern part (Mabogunje, 1965). There was a kind of municipal system existing in Nigeria within this pre-colonial period. However, the colonial period changed this existing system through transforming the pattern of the distribution of cities/towns in the country (Fourchard, 2013; Bloch et al., 2015). Moreover, Otto (2008) state that about 450 ethnic groups inhabit Nigeria as a country, and within the pre-colonial period, trade relationships have existed among these groups. As a result, such cities as Kano, Ibadan and Benin had a large concentration of people and were popular. Otto advanced that when the colonial masters arrived in the country, they expanded the existing cities and created other new towns which they turned into centres of commercial activities and administrative offices with good roads and railways where both traders and their employees reside’.

Myers (2011) in his work on African cities confirmed that Africa had many cities before the colonial period - "non-colonial cities" (cities not influenced by colonialism), that the colonial rule unquestionably reoriented the patterns of the cities in Africa like

those in Nigeria. The reason for the restructuring of the existing "urban forms and urban functions in Africa by the Europeans is basically to meet their business and administrative needs" (Myers, 2011, p. 68-69; Kalu et al., 2014). Arguably, it was the re-orientation of the structure of the cities in Africa by the Western colonial masters that produced what is called the 'colonial cities'. These are cities shaped by the norms of colonialism and characterised by such factors as separation and segregation – discrimination between the black and the white and uneven development. A situation where the white resides in a much more developed than the others places where the black lives and so on. In the other way round it is these colonial cities that form a central part of the argument of postcolonial urban scholars (please see chapter two).

Like Myers (2011) observed in writing about the cities in Africa, using Lusaka as a touchstone that the colonial masters classified the cities in Africa into different groups, such as cities located in proximity to sites of resource extraction, cities created into roles as entrepot/warehouse cities and bureaucratic capital cities. This same classification applies to Nigeria because such cities/towns as Kaduna and Nsukka in Nigeria developed as administrative headquarters, others such as Jos and Enugu developed as industrial centres, and such cities as Lagos and Port Harcourt were nurtured as port cities and so on (Bloch et al., 2015).

Bloch et al. (2015) pointed out that 'The 1917 Township Ordinance' classified cities into three, namely, first class cities, second class cities and third class cities, this was done during the colonial period. They advanced that the only town identified as the first-class city as at that period is Lagos (Lagos today is still the leading city in Nigeria when it comes to rapid urbanisation, hence among the megacities in the world). Further to this, Bloch et al., pointed out that 18 others are as second-class cities and 50 as third-class cities. The implication is that some of these cities as their names imply receive greater development investments than the others. This classification of cities caused the uneven development resulting from the unequal distribution of social amenities and infrastructure (Bloch et al., 2015).

To this effect, the cities in the south which are close to the coastline, ports and railway

lines considerably developed when compared with the other cities in the North, because the colonial masters invested so much in these cities (Bloch et al., 2015). Other places that received greater development attention during the colonial period is the residential areas of the colonial masters and their employees. Indeed this uneven development befits the statement of Myers (2011), the residential areas of the white are,

”increasingly full of exclusive and infrastructure-rich gated communities, fortress compounds; the dirt-poor habitat at the other end of the segmented plan of the colonial order (informal settlement) are even more overcrowded and destitute” (Myers, 2011, p. 56).

Another important aspect of the colonial rule which impacted upon the urban system of Nigeria grossly was colonial 'Indirect Rule'. In a straightforward interpretation, an indirect rule is a system of administration employed by the British colonial government to rule the people through the use of the already existing traditional rulers and traditional political institutions. It is a system of a rule introduced in Nigeria by Lord Fredrick Lugard – the father of indirect government in Nigeria and the person who amalgamated the Northern and the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria. These rules were formulated and enforced by British officials in Nigeria, and the traditional rulers served as mediators between the people and the British government.

It contributed immensely to causing the fragmentation of the cities in Nigeria and up till now, this is among the most visible mark left by the colonial system in Africa (Bloch et al., 2015). Unfortunately, the postcolonial leaders have consistently built on these imperial urban systems and patterns, no wonder the Western Geographers affirmed that African cities have poorly developed urban hierarchies (Myers, 2011). The poor urban hierarchies gave rise to what is known as the formal/primate settlement (first class cities), and informal settlements (second class and third class cities). The reason for the emergence of the informal settlements is primarily because of what Bloch et al. (2015) called 'demographic pressures', increased housing and population density and the inability of cities to house new migrants properly. The consequent of this is the escalation

of poverty – urbanisation of poverty on the fringe of the cities (Morakinyo, Ogunrayewa, Olalekan, & Adenubi, 2012; Bloch et al., 2015).

Importantly, Myers (2011) observed that it is based on economic and administrative reasons that the colonial masters classified the cities in Africa into various groups. Bloch et al. (2015) stated that in the case of Nigeria, the basis for the classification of some cities as first-class cities, others second class and third class respectively is still vague. For according to them, the base of the rating was neither the population size nor the traditional size of the cities as its determining factors. However, Bloch et al. (2015) enumerated the evidential factors that contributed to the classification of cities into first, second and third. According to the enumeration, such factors as firstly, the proximity of some of these cities to the coastal ports. Secondly, the essential role played by some of the cities in the processing and collecting of raw materials counted in the reasons for the city classification. Thirdly, level of the contribution of some of these cities to export trade also counts as among the critical factors that contributed to the ranking. In fact, Bloch et al. (2015) points out that the reason for the division of the cities in Nigeria into three different groups is not apparent. However, their observation that most cities are coastal cities and the rest are for trade maybe some of the reasons for the ranking.

One factor that is clear is that right from the colonial period, Lagos was seen as the first-class city in Nigeria even at the peak of colonialism. This fact is notwithstanding that the record of 1952 showed that Ibadan held the position of the most significant city in Nigeria, later on, Kano outgrew Ibadan (Bloch et al., 2015). However, in 1991, Lagos re-emerged as the largest city in Nigeria and has continued to be among the fastest growing city in Nigeria ever since. Presently, apart from Lagos that is a megacity with a population that is well above 10 million people, there are other cities in Nigeria with an unprecedented rate of urbanisation, some of which are "hosting between 1 and 5 million (Abuja, Benin City, Ibadan, Kano and Port Harcourt) (see Bloch et al., 2015). Additionally, there are about 14 rapidly growing secondary cities of between 500,000 and 1 million. Some 18 medium-sized cities in the 300,000 to 500, 000 range, many smaller cities, and a huge number of towns that are exponentially emerging as urban centres"

(Bloch et al., 2015, p. 49). Having discussed the historical aspect of the urbanisation of Nigeria, it becomes crucial to consider the historical background of Nigeria.

### **4.3 BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA**

Nigeria has more than 350 ethnic groups and numerous languages. Among these languages, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are the three recognised languages, with the English language as the lingua-franca. In the area of politics, Nigeria is one of the most politically violent countries in Africa. Just like some of the oil-rich countries such as Angola, Venezuela, Sudan and Gabon, oil revenues in Nigeria has become a menace to the attainment of peace, sustainable democracy and development (Le Billon, 2001; Di John, 2007; Ikelegbe, 2001). For instance, soon after independence in 1960, there came military coups and counter-coups with the country vacillating from military to civilian rule. Okonjo-Iweala (2012) confirms that the years of military leadership in Nigeria were disastrous politically and economically. Unfortunately, this political pandemonium with particular reference to the destructive civil war of 1967 to 1970 is traceable to the natural resource wealth of the country (Gunning, 1991; Karl, 1997).

There are 36 states in Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. Each of the states in Nigeria has various Local Government Areas (about 774 L.G.A), and the reason for this is to bring the government closer to the people. Importantly, each of the 36 states in Nigeria has state capitals, and according to (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012), each of these states has at least four mineral resource deposits making the country economically prosperous. The most outstanding of these natural resources is the oil resource. It is needful to point out that though Nigeria is made up of 36 states and the capital, the discovery of oil was in a region in Nigeria called the Niger Delta region which is the southern part of Nigeria. This region is made up of nine oil-producing states namely; Rivers, Cross River, Imo, Abia, Bayelsa, Ondo, Edo, Akwa Ibom and Delta. Thus, the exploration and exploitation of oil in Nigeria take place in this region. Scholars see the area as the mainstay of the

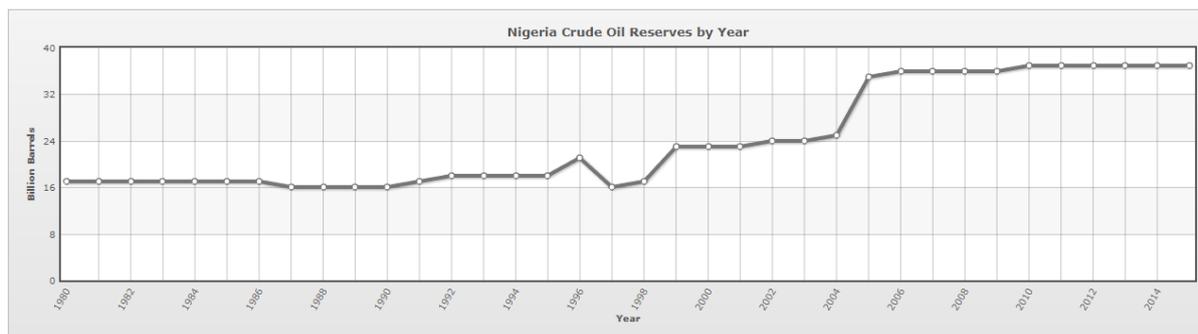


Figure 4.1: Plot showing crude oil reserves in Nigeria from the year 1980 to 2014  
 Source: United States Energy Information Administration: <http://www.eia.doe.gov/>

economy of Nigeria because of its outstanding level of oil deposits and reserves (Oviasuyi & Uwadiae, 2010). Oviasuyi & Uwadiae (2010, p. 111) described it as "the goose that laid the golden egg" – this means that the wealth and economic success of Nigeria comes from the said region. Jike (2004) sees the Niger Delta region as the engine room that propels and drives economic growth and development in the broader Nigerian society. Jike also noted that the location of the oldest Nigerian refineries is in this region, one in Port Harcourt and the other in Warri. In fact, this is why scholars consider the area the home for multinational oil companies and at the same time the place where a considerable number of expatriate personnel resides.

According to Oviasuyi and Uwadiae (2010), Nigeria has about 21 billion barrels of oil reserves resident in the Niger Delta region and makes up to 20 million U.S dollars per a day. The Group Managing Director, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (hereafter, NNPC), revealed that Nigeria had recorded some increase in its oil and gas reserves. The NNPC who is the body that pioneers most of the affairs of oil exploration and exploitation released a more recent figure of the daily oil production in Nigeria. According to their record, the daily oil production of Nigeria grew from 2.4 million barrels in 2012 to 2.7million barrels in 2015 (NNPC, 2017). Although the validity of this record may be questionable, there may not be an alternative to generating a factual data in Nigeria. With this, one cannot but argue that Nigeria is an oil-rich country, but there is lack of data showing the level and rate of its oil production and reserves. That notwithstanding below is a table showing the crude oil reserves in Nigeria from the year 1980 to 2014:

The above shows how prosperous Nigeria is in oil resource. Moreover, in 2017, the oil and gas reserves in Nigeria increased to 37 billion barrels and 192 trillion cubic feet, and this indicates a significant growth rate (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, NNPC, 2017). More details of the records of the quantity of the oil productions in Nigeria is specified in the section that discussed oil exploitation in Nigeria. Nevertheless, apart from the hydrocarbons, Nigeria has substantial undeveloped deposits of more than 30 solid minerals including bitumens and tantalites (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). Falola and Heaton (2008) affirm that Nigeria has diverse geography yielding a broad assortment of natural resources. Besides these natural deposits, Nigeria has a pleasant climate, forest, and savannah regions, arable land, it is well situated for agriculture and has the largest market in Africa.

## 4.4 THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR OF NIGERIA

Looking at the urbanisation of Nigeria before the discovery of oil will go a long way to reveal how oil resource influences the rate of its urbanisation. Historically, agriculture dominated the economy of Nigeria before the discovery of oil. During this period, such products as cotton, cocoa, groundnut, rubber, palm oil, palm kernel among others were the primary products of Nigeria (Osuntogun, Edordu, & Oramah, 1997; Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). The agricultural productivity of Nigeria as at this period was very high, and this gave rise to the recognition of the country as the leading producer of such products as groundnuts, palm oil and cocoa. Apart from being known as the leading producer of these listed products, Nigeria produced other foodstuffs in large quantities to the point that it became self-sufficient in food. This pronounced rate of agricultural productivity contributed to why Auty (1995) states that the position of self-sufficiency made it possible for the country (Nigeria) to feed Sahelian refugees during the severe drought. With this alone, one cannot escape the conclusion that before the discovery of oil in Nigeria, the yields from agriculture was at the highest maximum. It does not mean that Nigeria had no manufacturing sector as at this period, but then the manufacturing industry was not

booming as the oil sector and generated only 6 to 7 percent of the non-mining GDP at this period. Rather than the manufacturing industry, agriculture was the mainstay of the economy and the primary source of government revenue as at that period (Auty, 1995; Gunning, 1991; Osuntogun et al., 1997).

Before the 1960s, agriculture was a primitive kind of farming (farming with hoes and cutlasses - crude implements). At this period, agriculture was the tilling of land and the rearing of domestic animals for human consumption. It was able to provide food for the growing population, created employment opportunities, provide raw materials for industries, and most importantly was a primary foreign exchange earner, generating over 39 percent of the GDP (Auty, 1995). Agriculture was unswervingly yielding its increase before the discovery of oil and the economy then was also geared towards economic development with a strikingly low rate of urbanisation. According to Gelb (1988), agriculture accounted for 40 percent of non-oil GDP and 42 percent of commodity exports, and it also employed about 70 percent of the country's labour force. Though statistics as at this period of the 1980s could be dubious, however, this record in effect means that about 70% of the country's population resided in the rural areas, being gainfully busy with agricultural works thereby keeping urbanisation at its barest minimum. A situation where non-disabled men and women were working hard and producing more than the expected level of goods and services, with little or no intention of leaving the rural areas. Importantly, agriculture was able to employ these significant number of people (about 70%) before the discovery of oil because farming is more labour intensive than the oil industry which is capital intensive (Akinlo, 2012).

Following the discovery of oil and its subsequent wealth, agriculture witnessed a rapid decrease in the 1970s from 70 percent, to 43 percent and to slightly 7 percent in the same 1970s (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). Moreover, at the peak of the oil boom, agricultural exports declined by 17 percent. In the previous chapters, some scholars argued that agriculture was neglected following the discovery of oil and its subsequent wealth (Jike, 2004; United Nations, 2016). Others claimed that farming was not neglected (Endsjö, 1973; Le Billon, 2001; Ammani, 2011). In all, it is arguable that the neglect of agriculture in Nigeria

which led to the decline in agricultural productivity is a fact. Also, the escalation of the rate of unemployment and the high rate of migration is a fact. Indeed they are all facts because the discovery of oil has made people continue to migrate to the cities in their mass, abandoning rural areas. In fact, since the discovery of this oil, agricultural activities were almost left in the hands of the aged men and women in some of these rural areas even to this present period as the youths migrate to the cities. Moreover, the sudden decline in agriculture as a result of the neglect of agriculture does not only reduce the export of agricultural products but discouraged farmers and reduced food production. The resultant effect was increased rate of poverty/hunger first in the rural areas and subsequently in the urban centres, unemployment and mass rural-urban migration (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012).

According to Okonjo-Iweala, Nigeria was at the verge of being a diversifying economy before the discovery of oil and its boom of the 1970s, but with the development in their oil sector, it turned into a monoculture economy suddenly based on oil. This manifestation further lays credence to why some scholars argued that about the neglect of agriculture following the discovery of oil (see (Jike, 2004; United Nations, 2016)). Thus, the immediate effect of this problem was a massive migration of the country's population to the cities. In fact, the literature review on oil and the urbanisation of the oil-rich countries shows that most of these oil-rich countries were predominantly rural, there were no cases of mass migration to the cities, and as such, the rate of urbanisation was meagre (pre-colonial urbanisation).

The ongoing has shown that agriculture was at its gainful peak, and so many non-disabled men and women were gainfully busy with agricultural works which also provided them with sufficient food, shelter and so on. As shown above, over 70% of the country's population were farmers, whose farmlands were very productive, without any issue of less fertilisation due to oil spillages or environmental degradation. This high rate of fertilisation and agricultural productivity turned the rural areas to a place where so many promising farmers find their future glaring at their faces because agriculture was very lucrative and yielding. All of this put together made people prefer to work on

their farms to go to the cities until the discovery of oil. However, the discovery of oil in commercial quantities changed the profile, leading to a situation where according to (Davis, 1955), urbanity takes over rurality in Nigeria.

## 4.5 THE EXPLOITATION OF OIL IN NIGERIA

Though according to Ariweriokuma (2008), the exploitation of oil and gas in Nigeria started as far back as 1908, the discovery of crude oil in Nigeria was in the year 1956 in Oloibiri, the Niger Delta region. According to these scholars, the exploration and exploitation of this oil started entirely in 1958 with the involvement of companies such as Shell, Mobil and Texaco, and the economic and political importance of oil became apparent in the 1960s. Gunning (1991) stated that the state took up a significant role in the oil sector in 1969, while oil occupied a protuberant stand in the country's commodity exports in the 1970s. Following the development in the oil sector of the economy, Nigeria joined the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as a member in 1971 and subsequently established the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) in 1977 (Odularu, 2008). Further to this, Okonjo-Iweala (2012) pointed out that oil became the principal export of Nigeria to the extent that its export rose from 25% in 1965 to 90% in 2010.

According to the analysis of the oil production put forward by Okonjo-Iweala (2012), the initial production of barrels of oil in Nigeria as at 1958 was 5000 barrels of oil per a day; this increased to about 17000 barrels per a day in 1960. This growth in oil production continued this way but witnessed a slight reduction during the civil war that bedevilled the country. Immediately after the destructive civil war, the barrels produced per a day rose to 1 million barrels in 1970, 2.6 million in 1974 (which was the height of the oil shock), and 2.3 million barrels per day in 2010. Akinlo (2012) statistically demonstrated that the oil subsector grew remarkably, pointing out that between 1970 to 1998, oil production increased from 395.7 million barrels to 776.01 million barrels. The statistical quotation of Akinlo (2012) is quite enormous and much more than what Okonjo-Iweala demonstrated,

however, it appears to be a kind of summation of the total barrels within the said periods.

That notwithstanding, it is evident that Nigeria is among the oil-rich countries. Also as an oil-rich country, it made enormous wealth from its oil resource, especially during the oil boom period. According to Nankani (1979, p. i), the oil boom massively increased the national savings of oil exporting countries like Nigeria, to the point that it doubled the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country between 1968 and 1974. Gelb (1988) also confirmed that the oil boom supplied the Government of Nigeria with financial resources enormous enough to take care of new development projects. The government invested much of this untold wealth in infrastructure and education in the urban centres (Gelb, 1988), yet Auty (1995) categorically stated that these investments did not strengthen the economy of Nigeria.

Karl (1997) maintains that as at the 1973 and 1974 respectively, the oil price quadrupled to the point that the significant amount it provided to these countries shocked them. The price, however, slowed from 1975 to 1978, then doubled again from 1979 to 1980 with the spot market prices reaching about \$40.00 per barrel. To Karl, this stunning price was one of the most remarkable "international resource transfers in history". Apart from the quantity of the daily oil production in Nigeria, Nigeria has enormous oil reserves. Okonjo-Iweala (2012) noted that the country's oil reserve amounts to 37.2 billion barrels – the tenth largest oil reserve in the world and 5,110 billion cubic metres of the natural gas reserve - the ninth largest in the world (OPEC, 2011 as quoted in (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). These records alone can be among the different evidence of the high level of resource wealth possessed by Nigeria. At this point, it is necessary to explore the historical perspectives on the urbanisation of Nigeria. It is important to point out that the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria increased exponentially only after the discovery of oil.

## **4.6 THE URBANISATION OF NIGERIA**

From the outset, it is clear that urbanisation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, as there is evidence of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial urbanisation (Otto, 2008). Since after

the colonial period, the urbanisation of Nigeria has been very rapid and will continue to be unprecedented in the coming decades. In the record of the Friedmann (2006), Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, it was demonstrated that the urban population of Nigeria was 3.9 million in 1950, 7.4 million in 1960, 16.2 million in 1975, and 34.4 million in 1990. According to the UN, Nigeria's urban population reached 69 million by 2010 while the Africapolis estimate is only 76 million (see Fox et al., 2017). Alkali (2005), demonstrated statistically that about half of the total population in Nigeria resides in urban areas and that projections indicate that more than 60% will live in urban centres by the year 2025. In 2006, while the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2006 as indicated in Bloch et al. (2015) professed that the level of the urbanisation of Nigeria was 49%, Africapolis estimated 30%. Based on this, the figure from the UN suggests an urban population of 69 million, while that of Africapolis proposes an urban population of 42 million (Potts, 2012).

Bloch et al. (2015) stated that out of the overall population of about 170 million, about 50% is urban population. In their analyses of urbanisation and urban expansion in Nigeria, and with the use of UN data, Africapolis data, and the data from the Atlas of Urban Expansion Projects, they found out that the urban population of Nigeria was 3 million in 1950 and 30 million in 1990. The UN and Africapolis figures citing the 2006 population census, suggests that the urban population of Nigeria has reached about 40 million, but the Atlas of Urban Expansion Project suggest 33.4 million. In 2010, the UN proposed approximately 69 million, Africapolis, 50 million, and in 2020, the UN projection will be 108.7 million, and Africapolis, 61.8 million (Bloch et al., 2015). By 2020 the UN projects an urban population of 108.7 million while the Africapolis project is just 61.8 million.

These statistical records show that there are diverse sources of urban population data with different figures, in the case of Nigeria these figures show an unprecedented rate of its urbanisation. However, Potts (2012) concludes the 'triangulation' between the Africapolis datasets and the census of 2006 proposes that if the stated national population growth rate of 3.2% was correct, this means that the population share of approximately four

out of five of Nigeria's major cities was either stagnating or declining. Potts made this argument following the records of the Africapolis on the urban population of Nigeria as recorded in The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. According to these records, Nigeria's urbanisation level in 2006 was 49%, then Africapolis team estimated 30%. With this, the UN figure infers an urban population of 69 million, while that of Africapolis suggests an urban population of 42 million. All Potts was saying is that if anything happens that the data released by the Africapolis is believed to be correct, that means merely that the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria is stagnating or declining.

Further to this, Potts (2012) continued to emphasise that though there is a rapid increase in the urban population of some countries, the widely-accepted fact that the urbanisation of sub-Saharan Africa is growing faster than any other part of the world is a 'fallacy'. Potts made this argument in connection with the regular data released by the United Nations, World Bank and some other prominent bodies, including the ones based on the census. According to her, these data are misleading for it has continued to show an incessant, rapid increase in the urbanisation of different countries of the world with particular reference to African countries even when there is evidence of stagnation. She cited an example with Nigeria, the country with a considerable largest population in sub-Saharan Africa; that it has continued to have highly questionable census since 1952. These bodies (the ones she listed above) notwithstanding have continued to use the same controversial count to determine the rate of its urbanisation. The principal argument especially as it concerns the urbanisation of Sub-Saharan African countries is that statistics in Africa are rarely easy to understand because most of them are either contested to be too problematic to use. The implication being that it makes census not to "corroborate the received wisdom about rapid urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa" (Potts, 2012, p. 10). She, however, acknowledges the fact that there has been a noticeable improvement in the quality of data released in most of the countries in Africa in recent years, making the data a better resource for analysis than imaginary projections.

That notwithstanding, Bloch et al. (2015) added that generally in sub-Saharan Africa, there is lack of reliable census data together with the existing restrictions of satellite

imagery. They also stated that there is a sporadic record of data collection in Nigeria, that in all its cases, politics is used to manipulate the population statistics. Bloch et al. (2015) advanced that the politics of population statistics in Nigeria has a direct link to the way in which the data is used to decide the distribution of fiscal resources in the country and the questionable political make-up that binds together culturally diverse and religiously differentiated country. Bloch et al. (2015) indicated that these political, ethnocentric and religious factors offer robust incentives for the expansion and inflation of the population size of most of these communities at the state level. It is the propensity to inflate the size of the population that causes over-counting thereby affecting the quality of census data usually released in Nigeria. However, Bloch et al. (2015) demonstrated that there could be other different sources in assessing the rate of urbanisation apart from census data. They went on to state that although the UN drew from the 1963, 1991 and 2006 censuses to conclude on the 2014 urban population estimates in Nigeria, there are other sources of data.

These sources of data include household surveys, the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) and the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS). In fact, there are diverse sources of data collection used in monitoring urban population growth namely, population censuses; household surveys; and satellite imagery (Bloch et al., 2015). According to Bloch et al. (2015), all reliable printed estimates and projections of urban population can largely be traced back to one or more of these sources. Nonetheless, Bloch et al. (2015) emphasised that historically, census data has been considered to be what they termed the 'gold standard' of demographic sources. This in effect means that census data has been a significant source behind the extensively used United Nations demographic statistics, but where there is limited or unavailable census data, other references mentioned above can be employed (Bloch et al., 2015).

Though Potts arguments are plausible looking at it from her perspectives and the evidence she cited. However, in a situation where there are too many sources of data, it is not advisable to conclude by merely using one of the data without considering the others. It is based on this that Bloch et al. reminds that there are several sources of data

that can be used to determine the growth rate of the urbanisation of countries. In this regard, it is arguable that the speed of the urbanisation of Nigeria is still very unprecedented. Moreover, the statistics released by the United Nations (2015) lays credence to the fact that the pace of the urbanisation of Nigeria will be unique in the coming decades. According to the statistics of the UN, by 2050, China, India and Nigeria are projected to account for 37 percent of the increase of almost 2.5 billion people in the urban population. That amid 2014 and 2050, there is the expectation for the urban areas to grow by 404 million people in India, 292 million in China and 212 million in Nigeria. These are clear indications of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria which extends into the future. With this, it is arguable that with or without accurate census data (though it is an unfortunate situation), the urbanisation of most African countries like Nigeria is still unprecedented, and this will extend to the coming decades. From the data so far, there is an understanding that urbanisation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, it started before the colonial period, increased during the colonial period and escalated at an unprecedented rate within the postcolonial period.

It is important to state here that the urbanisation of Nigeria is plagued with so many challenges. Babanyara and Saleh (2010) argue that the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria contributes to the high rate of poverty. According to them, the severity of abject poverty in urban Nigeria is enormous compared to the one in the rural areas, and it contributes immensely to urban congestion and environmental degradation. Mabogunje (2005) gave a clear situation of poverty in the urban centres in Nigeria, stating that chronic poverty in urban areas is visibly complicated than the problems of pressing need in rural areas of Nigeria. It indicates that the urbanisation of Nigeria is associated with high rate of poverty (Pugalis, Giddings, & Anyigor, 2014). They also argue that the funds mapped out to take care of this alarming rate of poverty in Nigeria were misdirected and wasted. Pugalis, Giddings, & Anyigor affirms that rapid processes of urbanisation, linked with poverty, offer distinct challenges for contemporary and future generations. Consequently, it was the rapid rate of urbanisation that grossly affected or even limited the socio-economic development of the country thereby causing the high rate of poverty (Otto,

2008). Contrary to the argument that urbanisation increased the rate of urban poverty in Nigeria, Satterthwaite, McGranahan, and Tacoli (2010) stated that urbanisation is not the cause of urban poverty. They advanced that in addition to the high levels of urban poverty, there are severe development problems in many urban areas in Nigeria, such issues as food security, high infant and child mortality. According to them, the primary cause of these problems is the lack of programs and policies suitable to respond to these challenges by governments and international agencies, not urbanisation.

Regarding the high rate of increased under-5 mortality rate in Nigeria, however, Antai and Moradi (2010), in their study period of 1983 and 2003, argues that rapid urbanisation in Nigeria contributed to the increase in under-5 mortalities. In agreement with this same argument, Barrett (2010), in the study period of 1979-1983 and 1999-2003, concluded that these periods are the periods of rapid urbanisation in Nigeria and also the period of considerable increase in under-5 mortality rate in the country. Apart from urban poverty, there are other consequences of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Poitou (1981) in a book written in French using Niger and Nigeria as case studies argues that urbanisation is the primary cause of juvenile delinquency in Niger and Nigeria among other factors. Juvenile delinquency which may also be known as juvenile offending can be defined as the participation in all sorts of crimes and illegal behaviours by person or group of persons who are younger than the statutory age of maturity. These people can be between the ages of 10 and 18 as the case may be, who at one time or the other committed some acts that violate the law. Strikingly enough, these are called delinquent act instead of crimes. It means that Poitou considers the fact that there is a high level of juvenile delinquencies in countries such as Niger and Nigeria as a consequent of rapid urbanisation. According to him, these delinquent acts occur because following the discovery of oil and formation of cities, customs and the traditions of the people which directs their mode of conducts were abandoned thereby giving room for juvenile delinquencies. Moreover, Anukwonke (2014) in his study on the impacts of urbanisation on groundwater quality, argue that urbanisation and urban activities posed a threat to groundwater pollution in Onitsha, Nigeria. All these is a pointer to the fact that there are opportuni-

ties associated with urbanisation and also challenges, but the level of the opportunities that urbanisation provides and the challenges that come with it depends on the economic growth of individual countries. This further leads to investigating the factors that drive this unprecedented urbanisation in Nigeria.

## **4.7 WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF THE URBANISATION OF THE OIL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NIGERIA?**

### **4.7.1 INTRODUCTION**

This section will discuss the drivers of the urbanisation of Nigeria drawing from the theories presented in the reviews such as demographic theory, the postcolonial urbanism and the economic theory of urbanisation (the economic approach will draw from Harvey's capitalist urbanisation to explain how oil resource drives the urbanisation of Nigeria). The discussion of these theories as it relates to the urbanisation of Nigeria will be of immense help in drawing an argument with which to answer the questions posed above.

### **4.7.2 THE DEMOGRAPHIC THEORY OF URBANISATION**

Following the review of the literature on the demographic theory of urbanisation above, the argument around it is that though the prevailing urban high mortality rate during the ancient period grossly affected the speed of the urbanisation of that period. According to the theory, the rate of the urbanisation witnessed as at this period though at a little pace, was mostly a consequent of rural-urban migration rather than natural increase, for the outbreak of epidemic diseases in the then cities grossly limited the impact of the natural increase on the growth of the urban population. However, the advent of technologies and institutions reduced this high mortality rate to the barest minimum, thereby contributing massively to the rapid urbanisation which countries experiences up

to today via natural increase (Fox, 2012). The argument of the demographers based on the fact that urbanisation is a consequence of natural increase (rate of natural increase calculated by subtracting the crude death rate from the crude birth rate – see (Bloch et al., 2015). In Nigeria, some scholars argue that natural increase is the cause of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria rapid urbanisation of the developing countries like Nigeria rather than other factors such as migration, reclassification and annexation.

In discussing the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of the developing countries, (Higgins, 2011) stated that natural population increase is the predominant cause of their urbanisation. Contributing to this, Potts (2012) who has been sceptical about the ongoing debate that the African countries are experiencing rapid urbanisation due to mass rural-urban migration, affirmed that natural increase, rather than net in-migration, is the principal growth factor in most urban populations of the developing countries. The essential information that Potts passes across with this argument is that instead of still holding the fact that rural-urban migration is the predominant driver of the urbanisation of most countries in Africa like Nigeria, the natural increase is a principal driver of their urbanisation. Potts made this affirmation in consideration of her argument that some of these countries are already witnessing reverse migration (urban-rural migration) which results in the de-urbanisation of some of these countries. These are essential phenomena worthy of account in the literature of urbanisation, and as such, this study does not pretend to be ignorant of these. However, it is necessary to reiterate that the focus of this study is on the drivers of the urbanisation of oil-rich developing countries in Africa like Nigeria, not on counter-urbanisation, de-urbanisation and ruralisation as raised by Potts.

At this point, it is essential to discuss this demographic theory in the context of Nigeria, albeit briefly, to find out what other scholars are writing on the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria have to say. In writing about the urban expansion of Nigeria, Bloch et al. (2015) stated that urbanisation is a consequent of such factors as; natural population increase in existing urban centres, and reclassification. However, Bloch et al. (2015) argue that whereas rural-urban migration adds to urban growth, the importance of urban natural increase and rural reclassification (reclassifying rural areas

into urban centres due to its densification) have been widely underappreciated. But the role of rural-urban migration somehow exaggerated in Nigeria. Based on this, they argue that the fundamental cause of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria is the natural increase. According to them, urban natural increase plays an important and 'possibly dominant' role in driving urban population growth and even 'spatial expansion' in Nigeria.

Higgins (2011) elaborated that the level of urban fertility rates (birth rates) and that of mortality rates (death rates) determine the level of the contribution of natural increase to urbanisation. In fact, this entails that declining urban mortality and importunately high urban fertility drives natural increase, and the high natural increase drives urbanisation. It in effect means that when there is high urban fertility rate, there will be a high rate of urbanisation and vice versa (Knox & McCarthy, 2005). However, in a country like Nigeria, it is nearly an impossible thing to be able to determine birth rates and death rates to be able to decipher their impacts on urbanisation. That notwithstanding, Bloch et al. (2015), hold firmly the view that urban natural increase is a central factor in the urbanisation of most countries like Nigeria. However, they equally expressed their concern over the lack of adequate data with which to determine the relative contributions of mainly urban natural increase and other factors such as reclassification and migration to the urbanisation in Nigeria. It is a challenge in the sense that without accurate data, it will be almost impossible to provide a detailed analysis of the contribution of each of the argued drivers of the urbanisation of these countries. For instance, it will be difficult and almost a near impossible task to determine the total number of migrants (rural-urban and even urban-urban) in the cities, the total number recorded births in each urban settlement etc. All these are very important to determine which of the factors are the predominant driver of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria.

Therefore, without this kind of precise elaborations, drawing a simple conclusion on the natural increase as the primary driver of the urbanisation of Nigeria becomes a near tricky job. When there is both urban natural increase and rural natural increase, it becomes even more complicated to conclude on these drivers. Fox (2012) pointed out that apart from the urban natural increase, there can equally be a rural natural

increase. According to Fox, an unprecedented rural population growth that is, rural natural increase, can as well inflate the influx of pool of likely rural out-migrants. It means that the more the rural population grows, the more people from the rural areas troop into the cities. A situation where both rural natural increase and the urban natural increase fuels the urbanisation of the cities. But while the former is through the streams of migration, the latter is not, and one needs to treat this with caution.

The above has briefly demonstrated that natural increase can influence the rate of the urbanisation of such countries like Nigeria, though it was a brief discussion. The reason for the short review of this theory as it concerns Nigeria is because migration is a continuum in so many developing countries of the world with particular reference to those countries where urban bias policies are still omnipresent in their plans. A situation which does not only result to the neglect of agriculture but also to the development of the urban centres at the expense of the rural areas, thereby giving the rural dwellers no other option but to migrate to the urban centres in their masses in search of better opportunities. For instance, such city as Abuja in Nigeria was both remote and sparsely populated before its choice to be a federal capital territory, but the story changed after it had become the national capital of Nigeria when the government began to concentrate numerous development projects in that city. Abuja is among the fastest growing cities in Nigeria. The urban population growth of Abuja is primarily due to massive in-migration that started taking place in the area following the relocation of the capital, with many migrants arriving from other Nigerian cities to Abuja (Oyeniya, 2013). This was not because of natural increase but because of the influx of migrants to the city. The flow of these migrants to the cities like Abuja is mainly because of the discriminatory investments been pumped into the city as a Federal capital city at the expense of the others. It is, without doubt, the colonial way of investments that is inherent in Nigeria. This will lead to discussing the postcolonial urbanism in the context of Nigeria.

### 4.7.3 THE POST-COLONIAL URBANISM – NIGERIAN CON- TEXT

In Nigeria, one of the colonised countries in Africa, the process and patterns of urbanisation gained more push due to the inherent colonial legacies as can be seen from above. In times of collective search for an appropriate theoretical framework for the study of the urbanisation of Nigeria, the urge to comb the global landscape for outstanding model comes logically. The appeal and relevance of inspirational frame that will suitably explain the Nigerian situation without leaving out the crucial factors know no boundaries. As a matter of importance, colonialism has a lot to speak about the drivers of the urbanisation of Nigeria, also speaks to more extensive debates in African urbanisation research. This is the reason why to grasp the complexity of the urbanisation of Nigeria, an appropriate theoretical background which is embedded in colonialism needs to be adopted, and this is broadly depicted on the theoretical underpinnings of Garth Myers' African Cities Thesis – postcolonial urbanism. It does not mean that research on the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria will be done only within the framework of colonial and postcolonial discourse. What it means is that in the context of this study, there is need to situate this research on both the colonial frame and also on the economic framework. Thus, Myer's 'alternative visions of theory and practice' for African cities and Harvey's capitalist urbanisation respectively come handy. However, this section will discuss the postcolonial urbanism under the umbrella of Garth Myers' African Cities Thesis, and as it relates to Nigeria in details. This is because his thesis argues, for instance,

”for a revision – a seeing again, and a revising – of how cities in Africa are discussed and written about in both urban studies and African studies”  
(Myers, 2011, p. 1).

This means a call for a revision of how cities in Nigeria are explained. In fact, one of the strengths of the works of Myers, as pointed out by (Gupta, 2014), lies in Myers argument that there can be no stereotype of African city because they are heterogeneous. However, Gupta (2014, p. 166-167), critique the work, pointing out that Myers critiques

the works of notable scholars in urban studies such as David Harvey, Mike Davis, Doren Massey, Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, saying that their works did only marginalise Africa and its cities, yet his works built extensively from their research. Gupta also stresses that Myers work focused on sub-Saharan Africa, ignoring completely the same urban processes in North Africa. Further to this, Fourchard (2013), critiques that in Myers work, the key discussions on some terms with multiple and competing meaning such as governance, informality and democracy are missing. He also affirms that the author did not explain the reasons for these competing meanings and that it could be because he did not draw from fields like anthropologists, historians, political scientist and economists.

These notwithstanding, reviews, commentaries and citations of Myer's wisdom and insight continue to be published years after he came up with his thesis on 'alternative visions of theory and practice' for African cities. This is a concentration of intellectual attention and research curiosity derive mostly from his great views and perspectives of African scholarship. As he says,

"when critical urbanists who have not made a career out of the study of African cities turn their attention to the continent, what we find in their scholarship may not be much of an improvement" (Myers, 2011, p. 6).

Even in far away Nigeria, Myers has a lot to tell us about this controversial and often misunderstood issue in our contemporary world. With a very acute sense of history and a keen eye for modern developments, Myers offers an unusual depth of insight into the unique nature of African cities – Nigerian cities. His argument on the revision of the theories used in explaining the urbanisation of the African countries is because he sees most of the theories of urbanisation as Eurocentric. According to him, the Eurocentric theories are one-size-fits-all theoretical frameworks which cannot explain the urbanisation of the colonised African countries like Nigeria. The central inference derives from Myers argument is that he disagrees with these other theories of urbanisation because of its over-generalisation.

Importantly, for research work of this type, it is believable that, it is only fit and proper

to borrow from a framework that disagrees, and rightly too, with existing scholarship. A structure that "continue quite confidently with its discussions of 'Africa', typically as a place of grand and broad crisis" (Myers, 2011, p. 3). His works on African urbanisation can be quite illuminating in analysing the urbanisation of Nigeria. Indeed, his logical explication of "alternative visions of urban theory and practice" in African cities elevated to the status of the framework of analysis has recommended it as a background for research work of this nature. It is a significant contribution to the research on the urbanisation of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. This adopted approach is imperative given that existing paradigms and methodologies of Western empirical studies, which although occasionally suitable and universally-centred analysis, the problem appears to make claims to universality that do not apply, especially as they misunderstand the patterns of the urbanisation in African - Nigeria.

In his work, Myers (2011) uses African urban concepts and experiences to speak back to theoretical and practical concerns in urban studies and disciplines that study cities more generally, while at the same time contributing to African studies as a field. As he argues, most urban social studies are still built on theories utilising Western cities to stand as the universal models or measuring cities in non-Western settings by the models and metrics of the West. Indeed, it is counter-productive, for instance, to utilise urban social studies built on theories utilising Durham city which is a small British city, for example, as a model to measure or gauge Asaba city, in Delta State, Nigeria. At this point, it is essential to look at some of the legacies of colonialism that Myers argued to have grossly affected the rapid urbanisation of the African countries like Nigeria.

The five factors enumerated by Myers in his work are as follows;

1. the postcolonial city - and it is arguable that informal city is an offshoot of the postcolonial city (Myers, 2011),
2. the informal city,
3. governance in Africa,
4. the wounded city and

5. the cosmopolitan city.

These concepts are discussed below. But while such concepts as governance in Africa, the wounded city and cosmopolitan city are presented in brief and firstly too, the rest - postcolonial city and the informal city will be discussed in detail. This is because they are of particular relevance to the present study, and will be discussed herein in the context of Nigeria.

### **GOVERNING AFRICA'S CITIES**

The ways and patterns of governance in Africa - Nigeria are grossly influenced by colonialism is alarming, no wonder it takes a central place in African urban studies (Myers, 2011). According to Myers, governance starts from the manner of governing to decision-making processes, and this decision-making process includes the making of rules to enable the exercise of power and conflicts settlement over such laws. This government saddled with the responsibility of making and implementing laws in Nigeria do so following colonial precepts which encourages segmentation and segregation which produces uneven development, hence different urban hierarchies in the country. It has been argued that postcolonial regimes have repeatedly enhanced the strategies of colonial administrations, becoming even more exclusivist, authoritarian, and segmented in the process (Bissell, 2007). This they do by building on these already segmented and separated colonial cities, perhaps through the use of urban bias policies which favours urban areas at the expense of the rural areas, thereby causing massive migration and urbanisation. To be precise, this section is describing the discriminatory leadership of the colonial masters during the colonial period. A situation where they develop some areas more than the others. While those developed areas are mapped out for the white, those neglected areas are mapped out for the black. Apart from this, another prominent aspect of their colonial government was that they restricted the black from migrating to these areas made for the white. This, directly and indirectly, affected both migration and urbanisation during these periods. So what Myers (2011) is arguing in effect is that this discriminatory way of leadership is still very much present in the post-colonial Africa. According to him, the

government in the present day Africa - Nigeria has continued to invest and develop some part of the countries (urban areas) more than the others (rural areas), thereby causing these areas to be more urbanised than the others. Urban bias theory of urbanisation captures this idea.

A situation where the government in Nigeria neglects the rural areas, while they continue to concentrate developments in the urban centres. This is indeed the aftermath of colonialism which reaps bare good governance and primary responsibility of the government (Myers, 2011, p. 105). These enumerations suggest that ineffective and inefficient way of governance in Africa contributes to no small measure to its urbanisation. This type of governance results in lack of appropriate policies that will ensure even development and reduce the growing informal settlements and slums in cities.

### **THE WOUNDED CITY**

Here, Myers used war-torn Mogadishu in Somalia as an example of a typical wounded city. Noting that most cities in Africa shares in political conflicts, violence and long lasted wars in one way or the other which left their towns with scars. For instance, such cities as the Niger Delta, Brazzaville, Bujumbura, Abidjan has their share of 'urbicide (violence against the city) and near-urbicide' and can be 'wounded cities' (Myers, 2011, p. 141). Wounded cities as it relates to cities in Africa are those cities that have experienced wars, crises and political riots which raided the cities, led to the death of many people, displaced most people and destroyed lots of infrastructural facilities. It can be argued, however, that some of these cities are more wounded than the others. The implication is that there is the tendency for people to migrate in their mass from cities that are war-stricken to a more peaceful city thereby populating such cities.

### **COSMOPOLITAN CITY**

One of the points that Myers made under the cosmopolitan city as it relates to the cities in Africa is that globalisation in its full capacity of political, economic, sociocultural and environmental dimensions has dramatically impacted on African cities broadly in differ-

ent ways. In trying to explain how globalisation affects the cities in Africa like Nigeria, Myers referred to the three 'interrelated globalising movements' which are globalisation from above, globalisation from below and globalisation in-between which were used by Grant (2009) to explain globalisation in Accra. Globalisation from above is made possible by the policies which allow foreign bodies to invest foreign capital in the cities in Africa. Globalisation from below could be globalisation resulting from the linkages between the non-governmental civil society and the residents in the informal settlements. A situation where the non-governmental organisation empowers the greatly marginalised and deprived communities in the developing countries. The third concept is globalisation from in-between and Myers focus is on this one, stating that the best way to approach cosmopolitanism is from in-between. According to Myers, the in-between globalisation has been 'facilitated by international migration', this is associated with return migrants who are well travelled and as such links, different places, cultures and practices together to bring development to their countries (Myers, 2011). From this argument, it is important not to overlook the fact that cosmopolitanism affects the urbanisation of the developing countries in Africa like Nigeria and this is made possible by both technologies, institutions, communications and trade.

### **THE POSTCOLONIAL CITY**

King (2009, p. 1) defined the postcolonial city as a city which does "not only emphasises the distinctive impact which colonialism has had on the economy, society, culture, spatial form, and architecture of the city but also on the way the city itself is understood and represented". This definition means that postcolonial cities are those cities established during the colonial period with lingering legacies that still speaks volumes in the post-colonial period. These cities which are further developed by the postcolonial government in these colonised countries appears to be among the fastest growing cities of these countries. According to Myers (2011), the first part of this postcolonialism includes cities living in the "temporal aftermath" of colonialism or the "period after colonialism", and the second includes cities "amid the critical aftermath" of colonialism. Most cities in

Nigeria falls into the cities amidst the critical aftermath of colonialism, because the mark of colonialism is still very apparent in both the governance and structures of these cities. These are cities created a base on the pace settings of colonialism; it could as well be 'an extension of colonialism'.

According to Myers (2011), in Lusaka, such things as demolition, removal, and upgrading processes that characterise the colonial era are evident in both Lusaka and other African cities, and as such he said this condition "should be pluralised as colonial conditions". For instance, there have been cases of demolitions after demolitions in most cities in Nigeria thereby causing displacements and forced migration; these factors contribute immensely to the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Also, the removal of capital cities from its original place to another location as it happened in Lusaka applies to Nigeria because the capital of Nigeria moved from Lagos to Abuja. Citing examples of colonial cities, Myers, stated that cities like Lagos (Nigeria), Lilongwe Malawi are colonial cities, that its creation dates as far back as the colonial period, yet they still exist as among the fastest postcolonial cities in Africa with all the legacies of colonialism speaking volumes therein. This contributes to why he (Myers), argues that African cities still bear the scars of colonialism, being that these cities are patterned and cultured according to colonial tactics.

It is arguable that some of the colonial legacies or what can be called the scars of colonialism are rampant in Nigeria and its cities resulting in poverty, underdevelopment, and high inequality. These are what Myers called postcolonial conditions, and they contribute immensely to rapid urbanisation through the streams of migration. For instance, in Nigeria, people migrate as a result of poverty and underdevelopment, they are also forced to relocate because of the constant demolition of their houses and shops (displacements). Another factor is inequality and uneven development which Myers (2011) argued to have originated from colonial rule results in the migration of people from one place to the other. Myers emphasised that these colonial legacies which include the constant relocation of government offices, state and federal capitals, ministries and parastatals, corporations, even demolitions because of the creation of new states and cities as it happens in Nigeria.

Like stated earlier, the capital of Nigeria was moved from its initial place of Calabar to Lagos, then from Lagos to the present location, Abuja, and this involves the shifting of government offices, ministries and parastatals. It also requires several demolitions taking place in the new areas to be able to accommodate the moved ministries, parastatals etc.

The demolition of places, offices and even homes renders lots of people homeless, and office-less, and as a consequent of this, lots of the displaced people were left with the option of migration, thereby affecting the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria. Displacement leads to forced migration which Harvey (1996) sees as the most unstoppable aspect of migration which floods the cities with migrants. This is the same as what Potts reported that happened in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, where about 570,000 people or 133,534 households were rendered homeless and asked to migrate back to the village (Potts, 2008). These were the legacies of colonialism that has been playing loudly in the contemporary urbanisation of the colonised countries – Nigeria, no wonder, Myers was consistent in his argument that the impact of colonialism in the urbanisation of these cities need not be left out in their urban discussions. Moreover, another aspect of the colonialism that speaks volume in the urbanisation of African countries - Nigeria is informal city/settlement.

## **INFORMAL CITY**

Myers (2011) argued that the term informal city originates from the colonial era where the blacks were not allowed to live in the cities except those who resided in their employers' compound. Based on his research in Lusaka, the white who have control over farmlands unofficially rents it out to the blacks who build informal/illegal houses and resides therein. Lipton (1977, p. 223-224) sees the urban informal sector as a "transit camp towards rural or urban status". This in effect means that migrants in informal sector can be there temporarily and they can either migrate from there to the formal sector in the primate cities or move back to the village should their expectations be dashed to the ground. Informal cities proliferate in Nigeria because the majority of the job seekers and those who do menial jobs use it as a "waiting loop" to getting employment in the primate cities

(in Jaeger's terms, above).

As Kasarda & Crenshaw (1991), puts it, informal economy provides alternative jobs to the teeming unemployed migrants. A country's overwhelming population resides in this type of settlements (Myers, 2011, p. 105). With this, one can state that informality explains why migrants continue to move into these cities despite the apparent lack of employment because it provides them with cheaper accommodation. In a simplistic term, living in informal settlement means living in some affordable and illegal part of the cities that is not as developed as the main cities, thus, living in cities beyond the reach of official planning or regulation. Thus, informality characterises and patterns the urbanisation of not only Lusaka but all cities in Nigeria. However, the informal city can be neatly collapsed in the postcolonial city since it is one of the prominent colonial legacies listed by Myers.

From the previous sections, it is worthy of note that the foundation of the urbanisation of Nigeria just as the other African countries were altered by colonialism, replaced with some colonial legacies which are still presently conspicuous in its rapid urbanisation. For instance, there is an inherent problem of urban hierarchies in Nigeria, a situation where some cities are termed primate cities – cities with significant infrastructural and social amenities with the fastest growth of urban population and then informal cities – cities at the fringe. Unfortunately, these informal cities are underdeveloped, and people quickly obtain illegal houses and lands at an affordable rate, this is what Myers stated as one of the legacies of colonialism. As Myers observed in Lusaka (see above), close to the residential areas of the white men, where the black people are restricted from, some of the white men secretly sell out illegal lands to the black where the black builds unlawful houses to settle there with their family. While the areas of abode of the white are usually seen as the primate/formal cities, that of the black is considered to be an informal settlement, and in some other developing countries, it can be called shanty towns. This same informal city as a colonial legacy has duplicated itself in leaps and bounds in Nigeria. Most of the times, such cities are called the slums, and as Myers observed, the more significant part of a country's population resides in these underdeveloped informal settlements. This

in effect means that one cannot write about the urbanisation of countries like Nigeria without thinking about the massive population in the informal cities.

Therefore, in this vein, it can be argued that colonialism is a significant factor in the urbanisation of Nigeria, for it contributes in no small measure to the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. This is in line with the central thinking of the postcolonial urbanists as discussed extensively in chapter two that the rapid urbanisation of the African countries cannot be alienated from the colonial impacts, meaning that it is not enough to explain their urbanisation without elaborating the role of colonialism in their urbanisation. Moreover, the argument that colonialism played a vital role in the urbanisation of Nigeria is evident in some of the cities in Nigeria, for example, the city of Lagos. Lagos started as a colonial port city, and it is among the megacities in the world. According to the records of the United Nations (2014, 2015), Lagos, Cairo, and Kinshasa were the only megacities in Africa in 2014; nevertheless, three more cities such as Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Luanda (Angola) and Johannesburg (South Africa) are projected to surface by 2030.

Bloch et al. (2015), however, stated that though Lagos is widely believed to be the largest city in Nigeria, there is no agreement on how big the city has been because of the paucity of reliable data. They advanced that right from the census of 2006, the actual population of Lagos has been fuelled by conflicting estimates by the federal government's National Population Commission (NPC). In fact, they argue that there is inconsistency in the estimation of the population of Lagos. They cited an example with the census conducted by the NPC in the year 2006, and the one held by the Lagos State Government in the same year. Explaining that while the NPC estimate was 9.8 million, the Lagos State Government estimate was 17.5 million, thus, confliction of the generated data. In this study, the derived inference from the argument on the urbanisation of Lagos is first, that Lagos is one of the megacities in Africa. Secondly, there are other growing cities in Nigeria too such as Abuja and Kano (see Bloch et al., 2015), although there is no recent data to determine whether such cities have joined the megacities in the world or not. Lastly, it is not out of place to state that colonialism is a contributory factor in the urbanisation of Lagos.

Another example of a colonial city in Nigeria is Port Harcourt. According to Anyanwu (1979); Obinna, Owei, and Okwakpam (2010), Port Harcourt was established in November 1913 (pre-oil period), because its site met the location requirements for a railway port-terminus set by British colonial surveyors. The founding of Port Harcourt was, therefore, mostly based on the urgent need for a railway connection by the British colonial government to evacuate the abundant produce of south-eastern Nigeria and coal, discovered at Enugu Ngwo in 1912. So after the creation of Port Harcourt in 1913, by 1914, a total of 7,403 labourers were engaged in railway construction work at Port Harcourt, and along the line, this led to the migration of labour force to the city of Port Harcourt (Anyanwu, 1979). Arguably, what happened in Port Harcourt, that is, the railway construction that pulled people to the city of Port Harcourt in 1914 was neither as a result of booming industrialisation or even oil per se. However, following the discovery of oil in 1956 and its exploration in 1958, Port Harcourt starts to record urbanisation in leaps and bounds with increased poverty and slum dwellers. At this juncture, it is necessary to write about how oil drives the urbanisation of Nigeria – economistic theory of urbanisation drawing from Harvey’s capitalist urbanisation.

## 4.8 THE ECONOMISTIC THEORY OF URBANISATION

The economistic theory of urbanisation shows that economic factors drive the urbanisation of most countries of the world through migration. Although economic reasons do not entirely drive the urbanisation of all the nations of the world, the review done in this study shows that to every urbanisation of any country, there are some measures of economic factors. Therefore, this section intends to discuss this theory in the context of Nigeria to account for the unique characteristics of urbanism in Nigeria which is question number two (2). As research on the link between urbanisation and oil in Nigeria is sparse, the following section will use the already reviewed literature above on how oil and urbanisation are connected in different country studies like Saudi Arabia, Libya, and

others to analysis the urbanisation of Nigeria. Following from the argument of scholars who wrote about the urbanisation of the oil-rich countries like Nigeria above, there is a consensus that oil played a vital role in the development of these nations resulting to migration to the cities and their subsequent urbanisation.

Writing on the urbanisation of Nigeria, Otto (2008) stated that though the colonial development increased migration and urban population growth, some other factors aid the post-colonial urbanisation of Nigeria. These factors include the expansion of its oil sector and the creation of 36 states and capital with new administrative cities. The creation of states and capitals in Nigeria plays a very prominent role in the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria because of each of these states and their capitals witnesses a significant influx of migrants who flock the new states and especially their capitals in search of greener pastures. According to Otto, the existing cities and the creation of the new ones) were the reasons why people continue to migrate from the rural areas to the urban centres. Otto argues that the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria is a consequent of both migrations (resulting from the expansion in its oil sector together with the creation of states, capitals and new administrative cities), and natural increase.

Mukwaya, Bamutaze, Mugarura, & Benson (2011) in their study of rural-urban transformation in Nigeria, argue that since the late 1960s, Nigeria's rate of rural-urban migration has been driven mostly by the developments in its oil sector. They further advanced that the decline of the agricultural sector following the discovery of oil is one of the primary reasons for the mass migration of people to the urban centres and the cause of urbanisation. The review of the oil resource of Nigeria and its urbanisation in this study also shows that oil is the primary reasons for the mass migration of people to the urban centres. It also shows that the same development in its oil sector and the decline of the agricultural sector is the cause of its urbanisation. Jike (2004) and (United Nations, 2016), using Nigeria and Zambia as an example suggests that oil spillage which causes farmlands to lose its fertility makes farmers migrate from oil- cities to other cities in search of alternative forms of livelihood. Based on this, Jike affirmed that oil is a contributory factor to the urbanisation of Nigeria.

Further to this, Bloch et al. (2015) shows that the urbanisation of Nigeria is because of rural-urban migration, caused by the revenue gained from oil in the 1970s and its investment in modern urban infrastructures such as an improved water supply, tarred streets and highways, the construction of bridges in cities. That these, in turn, attracted an influx of rural population into these cities (Bloch et al., 2015). On the other hand, Bloch et al. (2015) also made it clear that the decline in oil prices put the country into debt and led to the abandonment of most of these development projects. This in effect means that if the oil wealth resulting from a high rate of oil prices can contribute immensely to rapid urbanisation of Nigeria through migration, fall in oil prices may also affect the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. This, however, appears not to be plausible because right from the time that Nigeria began to urbanise rapidly to this point, there has not been an argument with clear evidence showing an apparent reduction in the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria, as a result of a decrease in oil prices. This work does not pretend that Potts (2012) challenge of the statistical predictions of the urbanisation of African countries is not a fact. It stands merely on the emphasis of the heterogeneity of the cities in Africa put forward by Myers (2011) to argue that not all countries in Africa are experiencing a low rate of urbanisation or even de-urbanisation for whatever reasons.

One of the essential points made in the review of literature is that oil was discovered and agriculture was neglected. Because of this neglect, the government cared less about the loss of farm fertilisation through oil spillage, thereby rendering over 70% of the country's agricultural labour force population, almost jobless. This draws our attention to the statement made by Lipton (1977) in his analysis of the urban bias policies, that before there can be widely successful development in other sectors of any country, developed mass agriculture usually is essential. Indeed, the neglect of agriculture can as well mean the abandonment of the rural areas. This is why Endsjö (1973) in examining the scope of the urbanisation process in Nigeria, argue that the migration to the urban areas is caused by public stimulation of urban activities and the neglect of the rural regions. A situation where the government spends a lot of resources in developing the urban centres alone, at the expense of the rural areas (urban bias policies). This is an example of lack of

strategic sowing of the petroleum wealth as argued above. The implication is that people have no option but to overcrowd the areas which already have numerous investments with more significant opportunities. Undoubtedly, this increases the urban population without measure and leads to high level of unemployment in the cities, escalates urban poverty and increases the number of slum dwellers.

Following from the various literature review in other country studies and that of Nigeria, deep insight has been provided on the drivers of urbanisation as it relates to oil resource. These arguments spelt the link between oil, its boom and urbanisation. The literature attributed causes of rapid urbanisation to different factors, such as migration, natural increase, war, annexation, reclassification and rural transformation, but in all, this study agrees with the observation of Jaeger that oil wealth could function as a catalyst for migration and urbanisation. As it regards to Nigeria, an important point to be taken from the review on the urbanisation of Nigeria is that there is no consensus on the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Such factors as migration, rural transformations, natural increase and the creation of 36 states and capital (leading to the expansion of existing cities and the creation of the new ones) are also the reasons for the rapid urbanisation.

That notwithstanding, in chapter three, oil resource is seen as a catalyst for migration and urbanisation. It only means that people tend to migrate in their mass to mostly oil cities with the expectation to get jobs in the oil industries. These set of people are also willing to remain in these cities even when they were unable to get jobs in the oil sector and take up oil and non-oil related jobs. Jaeger and Abou-Korin made it clear that some migrants who could not get a job in the oil sector took up oil-related jobs (informal jobs, (Hart, 1973). It reminds us of the fact that oil industry is not a labour-intensive industry, it is a capital-intensive industry with few employment opportunities (Gollin et al., 2016). People continue to migrate to these cities despite the high rate of unemployment, no wonder the urbanisation of Nigeria has remained rapid with a high rate of unemployment and poverty ravaging the cities.

Having stated the factors enumerated by the scholars as the drivers of the rapid ur-

banisation of Nigeria, it is now essential to focus on how oil wealth drives the urbanisation of Nigeria through migration. For ease understanding, there will be the formulation of a framework derived from the concepts of the literature review on oil and urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries. Importantly, this framework is rooted in Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation, and as such, it requires the use of some of the concepts of Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation which is also an economistic theory in this analysis. In answering the question number two (2) of this study, drawing from the economistic theory of urbanisation, it can be said that the factors such as the creation of the 36 states and capital in Nigeria, natural increase contributes to its urbanisation. However, the growth in the oil sector of the country plays a paramount role in its rapid urbanisation. The role of oil is seen as a predominant factor because these other factors can neatly be collapsed under 'oil resource and its wealth', and the reason is not far-fetched. The idea is that, during the pre-oil period, the review shows that the urbanisation of the country was low, perhaps because of the low rate of rural-urban migration, low natural increase, little or no reclassification and city annexation. These are the factors that contribute grossly to the urbanisation of countries, but the pre-oil period is characterised by the lack of enormous wealth to invest in urban development which in turn affected the rate of migration. There was also not enough money to reduce the high urban mortality rate and increase fertility rate (natural increase). Lastly, there was limited money to invest in the creation of the 36 states and capital etc.

Scholars show that most of these ostentatious investments kicked off during the oil booms, and as such it supports the fact that oil is a predominant factor in the urbanisation of Nigeria. This may appear to be speculative because many non-oil based economies have experienced similarly rapid rates of urban population growth. The question arising from this maybe; how do we know that Nigeria wouldn't have urbanised without oil? The answer to this question is straightforward. This is because looking at the section on the agricultural sector of Nigeria, and it was made clear that Nigeria had a booming agricultural sector which employs about 70% of the country's population. During this period, the country was still predominantly rural, with more than half of the population

residing in the villages close to their farmlands because agriculture was very profitable. Thus, Nigeria continued to be more rural than urban until the discovery of oil and its subsequent booms which blessed the country with enormous wealth. On this basis, it can be argued that although Nigeria may have urbanised after all without oil, its urbanisation may not have been as spontaneous and rapid as it became the moment oil booms stepped into the picture. This is because, agriculture was a promising sector before the oil wealth, and as such, it took a sector more promising either in reality or by speculation to pull and push people to the cities.

Based on this, it can be argued that to most of these oil-rich developing countries like Nigeria, it is the enormous wealth realised from the oil resource that was used to facilitate their development. This means that oil played a significant role in fuelling these other drivers of urbanisation; therefore the rest of the factors listed as the drivers of the urbanisation of Nigeria can be arguably collapsed into the oil factor. To give a comprehensive analysis of how oil facilitates the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria, one can start with the discovery of oil and the neglect of agriculture. Firstly, it is clear that the discovery of oil in commercial quantities led to the abandonment of agriculture, and the neglect of agriculture rendered so many farmers jobless. Secondly, the oil resource provided enormous wealth to the Nigerian government (massive oil wealth), this oil wealth is consistently invested in the urban centres in diverse development projects, this, in turn, created employment opportunities in these cities. Thirdly, these employment opportunities caused a mass migration to these cities, upon arrival to the cities, some migrants got jobs in the oil sector, some got oil-related jobs and others non-oil related jobs with the majority of the migrants being either underemployed or unemployed. Resulting in most of these migrants resorting to informal settlements where they can at least get cheap accommodation and manage themselves pending on when they can get their oil jobs. These are the ways through which oil resource caused the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria.

Borrowing from Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation, such concepts as capital accumulation and circulation, locations of corporations and shifts in the areas of corporations comes in handy. The central thinking in Harvey's theory of capitalist though

Eurocentric is that urbanisation is a consequent of capital accumulation and circulation. According to this theory and as discussed in chapter 2, capital can be acquired from somewhere or from somebody and invested in the development of the urban centres. These investments can be in the creation of space, transport, communication, technological advancement, good roads, electricity. It also includes investment in industries and establishment of multinational corporations, all of which will, in turn, attract other investors and corporation thereby circulating the capital. From the analysis of Harvey, it can be argued that since capital can be acquired from any given source, it means that to the developed countries capital can be gotten from their industries and factories, but in the case of Nigeria, capital is gotten from its oil. The twin fact in Harvey's theory and the concepts obtained from the literature review is that both the capital accumulated from industries and the one accumulated from oil resource is invested in the urban centres.

Moreover, in Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation, it was also recorded that migrants flow to these areas where the capital is invested into corporations to the point that whenever there are locational shifts of these corporations, migrants moves to the new locations of these corporations thereby causing rapid urbanisation of such areas. This is also applicable to Nigeria, in the sense that migrants also flow to the cities both oil cities and non-oil cities where the oil wealth is massively invested thereby causing the urbanisation of such areas. To Harvey, migrants follow corporations, and in Nigeria, people follow investments made with the oil wealth especially so because following the discovery of oil in Nigeria, the country became a monoculture economy. A look at this will show why it is worth arguing that to every urbanisation of any nation developed and developing; there is a measure of economic factors. This knowledge, therefore, leads to the argument that the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria is a consequence of its oil resource and colonialism. This argument is represented in the framework of Figure 4.2.

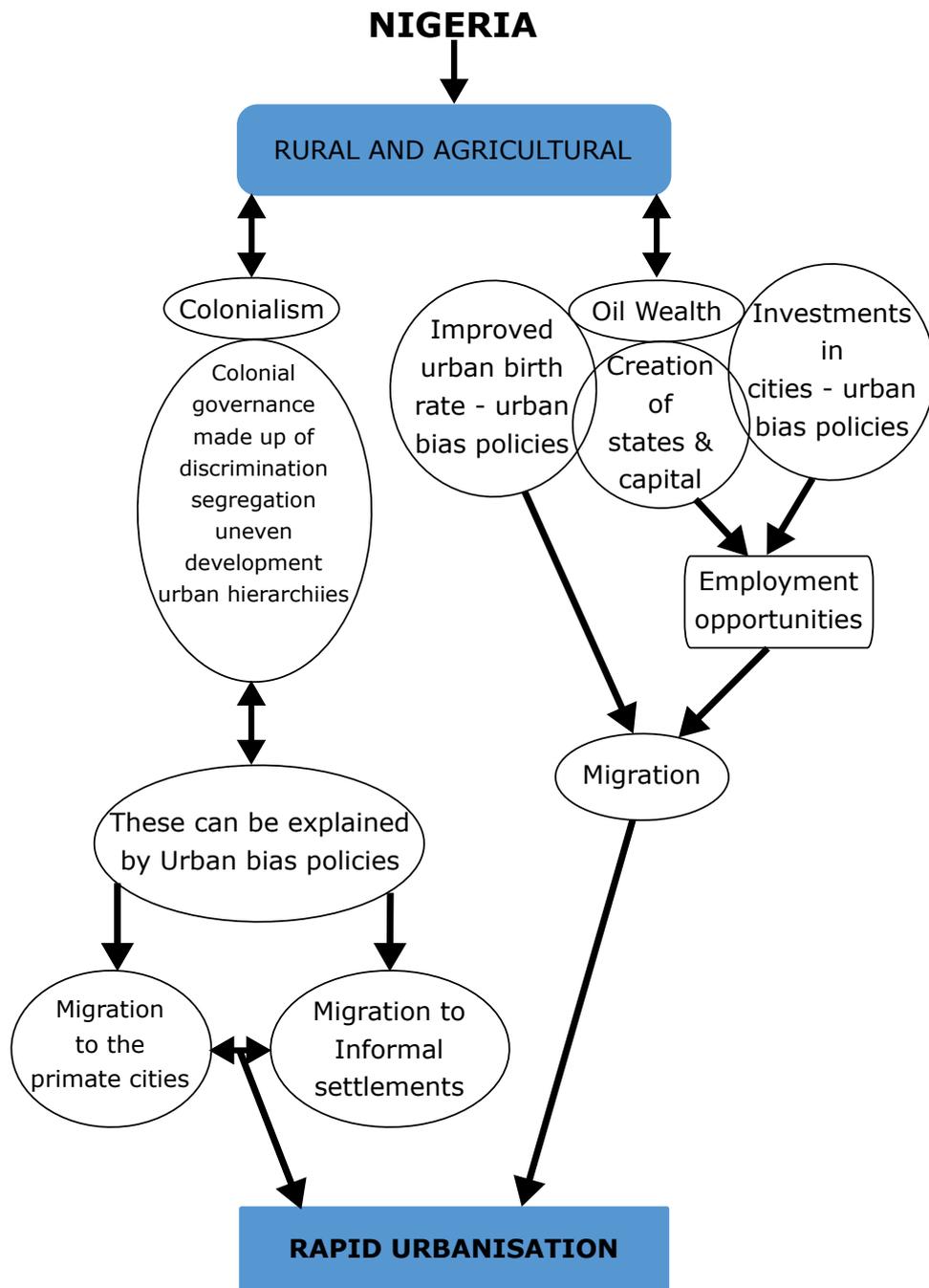


Figure 4.2: Framework representing the main factors that drives the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria

## 4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the urbanisation of Nigeria in the light of some of the theories of urbanisation namely, demographic theory, economic theory and postcolonial urbanism. This is to find the theoretical framework appropriate for examining and analysing the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Also, to show how oil wealth contributes to this urbanisation because Nigeria is among the oil-rich developing countries. In the course of this literature review, it was discovered that there is no agreement on the drivers of the urbanisation of Nigeria. Some of the scholars argued that the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria is a consequent of migration following the development in the oil sector of the country and the creation of 36 states and capital. Others argued that it is a consequent of reclassification and city annexation. The proponent of postcolonial urbanists contends that the urbanisation of Nigeria is a consequent of colonialism.

In fact, from this review, it is arguable that the urbanisation of all the countries of the world, both developed and developing, resource-rich and non- resource-rich has some measure of economic influence. As such in explaining the urbanisation of any of these countries, it is not out of place to start by seeing it through the lens of economic theory. However, the extent to which economic factors influence the urbanisation of these countries is a subject of debate. The reason is that while some of these countries urbanised following industrialisation, others urbanised without industrialisation, a condition that Edward termed 'poor countries' urbanisation. Based on this, the urbanisation of Nigeria which is among the oil-rich developing countries in Africa can be argued to be a consequent of both economic and colonial factors. It in effect means that the urbanisation of Nigeria is partly influenced by its oil wealth (economic theory) and partly colonialism (postcolonial urbanism), all caused the mass migration that facilitates its urbanisation. In all of these, it is clear that the impact of oil resource and colonialism in the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised.

## Chapter 5

# CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to conclude the study and to make some recommendations that will help the resource-rich developing countries in Africa, with special reference to Nigeria to harness economic development from its rapid urbanisation.

## 5.2 CONCLUSION

It is essential to start the concluding part of this study by saying that the central aim and strength of every research lies in its ability to explore new grounds, contribute to academic knowledge and to make the right policy recommendations. A deliberate choice of specific case studies in research alongside a more thorough investigation into the statement of the problem of any survey helps to achieve these. This study was able to meet these to a great extent for it explored the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa and its drivers with oil-rich Nigeria as the case study. This topic in itself gave room for investigations to be carried out firstly, on the general trends and theories of the urbanisation of countries in the world. Secondly, the patterns of the rapid urbanisation of African nations, to mainly find out what the general theories of urbanisation say about the urbanisation of the African countries. Thirdly, it explored the rapid urbanisation of most of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa, drawing from the theoretical perspectives of the urbanisation of the developed countries. Finally, the study then narrows down to the extensive review of the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria, and use all these theories and trends to analyse its urbanisation. The use of these general theories and patterns of urbanisation in the analysis of the urbanisation of Nigeria helps in no small measure to draw an argument on the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Thus, the study started with generality and ended with specificity. Moreover, any research with such structure ranging from generalisation and then particularity like this one is in most cases able to tackle the objectives and the questions it raised to a great extent.

To be able to conduct this research properly, a library or literature-based methodology was employed. A situation where an extensive literature review of the previous research

on urbanisation was carried out. The study also reviewed the literature on some of the theories of urbanisation which includes the historically grounded theory of urbanisation, demographic, economic and the post-colonial urbanism theory. These theories which help to evaluate the urbanisation of countries both developed and developing were firstly discussed in its general context, then in the context of Africa followed by the oil-rich developing countries in Africa before it was used to analyse the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria.

In the course of the discussion of the general trends in the urbanisation of the world, scholars show that the world has reached its the urban age. The urban age is an age where more than half of the population of the world now resides in the urban centres. The urban age thesis is among some of the crucial observations made as regards the urbanisation of the world in one hand and that of Africa on the other hand. For example, the United Nations stated that 2007, was the year when for the first in the history of man, the global urban population exceeded the global rural population. The record also states that since then, the world population has remained predominantly urban. The implication is that on a worldwide basis, more people are living in the urban centres than the rural areas (urban age). Although Brenner and Schmid (2014) put forward an argument that the term 'urban age' is both unclear and also not the right expression to be used in explaining the explosion of the present day urbanisation, this study stand with the fact that such argument does not negate the efficacy of the expression.

The review also shows that there is no single definition of the term urbanisation and somewhat different scholars defined it from their various perspectives. One of the fascinating descriptions of urbanisation given in this study is the one by Fox (2012) which also speaks volume of his proposed theory grounded in history. According to Fox, urbanisation is a global historical process driven by changes in technologies and institutions. Fox advanced that it was the application of these technological and institutional changes that reduced the 'surplus and disease constraints' which before now restricted urban population growth during the pre-industrial era. Moreover, this technological and institutional transformation emanated from Europe and afterwards extended, although

unevenly, 'through conquest and trade' to the rest of the world. He also states that the historically grounded view of urbanisation is an exact opposite of the traditional and widely accepted view that urbanisation is a consequent of industrialisation. He lays his emphasis on the fact that the occurrence of urbanisation is with or without industrialisation like it is happening in Africa today.

With regards to the urbanisation of African countries like Nigeria, some of the statistics show that its urbanisation is rapid and will continue to be unprecedented into the future. It is important to mention that in Africa on the whole, there are no definite numbers of the migrants that flood the cities and there is also no accurate data showing the urban birth rate, the available ones are not reliable statistics. This lack of reliable data makes it almost impossible to decide the level of the impact of these factors on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa. However, this study still maintains that the urbanisation of the developing oil-rich nations like Nigeria is unprecedented and that migration is the principal cause of its rapid urbanisation. Research has also shown that this migration results from the development in the oil sector of the economy of Nigeria and then colonial factor. As regards the urbanisation of Africa, the UN, points out that the urban population of the world is expected to increase by more than two thirds by 2050, and nearly 90 percent of the increase will take place in Africa and Asia (United Nations, 2015). This statistical demonstration is a clear indication that the urban population of Africa is both rapid now and will continue for decades to come. However, and as stated above, (Potts, 2012) challenged these statistical predictions on the urbanisation of Africa, putting forward the following statements;

“It is widely believed that urbanisation is occurring faster in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world, as migrants move from rural to urban settlements. This is a fallacy” (Potts, 2012).

In this study, the statement made by Potts (2012) appears convincing, but it is a generalised conclusion on the urbanisation of African countries, a situation where she did not take into consideration the heterogeneity of the cities in Africa. Moreover, she conducted this study since 2012, and since then it is not out of place to state that

there have been different new data/statistics which shows contrary argument on the urbanisation of the countries in Africa like Nigeria, (see the statistical predictions of the (United Nations, 2014) above).

Indeed, this study shows that there is need to treat generality with caution when it comes to the urbanisation of different countries. The reason to be cautious is that according to the (United Nations, 2014), levels of urbanisation differ significantly across regions. According to the United Nations (2014), Latin America, the Caribbean and Northern America have high levels of urbanisation, which is at or above 80%. Europe, on the other hand, has about 73% of its population residing in urban areas and is expected to be over 80% urban by 2050. These statistics show that there is no same rate of urbanisation in countries of the world, whether developed or developing. As a result of this, the fact that the urbanisation of the countries in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria is still rapid is acceptable in this study, notwithstanding Potts argument.

Moreover, most of the literature on the urbanisation of Africa and Nigeria show an increased rate of the urbanisation of these countries, though there may be a little opposition to the statistics. From the analysis, all indications still point to the fact that the urbanisation of African countries like Nigeria is multiplying in recent times when compared to what it was in the previous years. The significant aspect of the debate on the urbanisation of Africa is the lack of consensus on the drivers of its rapid urbanisation – that is disagreement on the theories of urbanisation.

These different theoretical perspectives lead to another critical aspect of this study which is the discussion of the theories of urbanisation. This aspect helped to vividly explain the drivers of the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa – Nigeria. The study reviewed the literature on the various theories of urbanisation. The general perspectives the urbanisation of nations were discussed extensively in chapter two, and it started with the historically grounded theory of urbanisation. Indeed, these theoretical perspectives deal with the aspect that shows how urbanisation began, the constraints to the growth in the rate of the urbanisation of countries in the ancient period. Also, the theories explain the reduction of the massive restrictions and limitations

through technological and institutional changes. Also, the argument shows that it was after the decline of the disease and surplus constraints that countries began to experience rapid urbanisation, from Europe first and to the rest of the states in later years through migration and natural increase.

The discussion of the natural increase as one of the drivers of urbanisation and how it impacts the cities took place under the demographic theory of urbanisation. The argument of the proponents of this theory centres on the fact that urbanisation is a consequent of natural increase, however, there is an exception to this. This position can be argued to be entirely applicable to the early urbanisation of the developed countries where a high rate of urban mortality constrained the rapid pace of its urbanisation. This constraint continued until facilities like technological and institutional development were used to combat these constraints as Fox explained. It is also worthy of note that up to now, these advanced facilities are still at work in the developed countries ensuring low urban mortality rate when compared to that of the developing countries, where no matter their level of fertility, the death rate is still alarming. The suggestion is that natural increase is as among the factors that contribute to the urbanisation of the developed countries much more than the developing countries. It does not mean that each developing country has no measure of the urban natural increase as a contributor to its urbanisation. It merely depicts that the rate and measure of its contribution to the urbanisation of countries differ and may be subject to argument. For example, in Nigeria, the discussion of the demographic theory of urbanisation shows that it does not represent a predominant driver of its urbanisation. In some other countries, the result may not be the same as in Nigeria, meaning that it may be a dominant factor in the urbanisation of other nations. The summary of this is that the level of the impact of the urban natural increase in one country may not be the same level in another.

Further to this is the economic theory of urbanisation which states that urbanisation is as a result of mostly economic factors. This theory sees urbanisation as a consequent of industrialisation. Again, this line of argument is conversant with the urbanisation of the developed and industrialised countries of the world which is accompanied by a boom in

their manufacturing sector. This theory denotes that such urbanisation happened after the creation of factories and industries in these countries. Gollin et al. (2016) refers to this as "urbanisation with industrialisation" (the title of their work), and it leads to the concentration of these countries' population on the "production cities". Contrary to the urbanisation with industrialisation that occurs in developed countries, this study confirms that most developing countries of the world today with particular reference to the countries in Africa, experience urbanisation without industrialisation. As stated earlier, urbanisation without industrialisation means that urbanisation happened without the building of factories and industries.

The study also shows that such theories as modernisation theory, urban bias theory and dependency theory of urbanisation are economistic and have more significant part of its meaning embedded in Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation. While the urban bias theory sees political factor as an integral part of the urbanisation process in developing countries, the study also shows that these theories have something in common. They see rapid urbanisation through the lens of economic factors as embedded in Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation. According to Harvey, the urbanisation of these countries is a consequent of capital accumulation and circulation. The compelling argument that Harvey put forward here is that the investment of the accumulated capital in corporations and industries in the urban centres, in turn, attracts the influx of migrants into these cities, causing rapid urbanisation. This conclusion drawn from Harvey's work points to the fact that urbanisation responds to economic growth and development - industrialisation (industries and corporations).

However, this study shows that the urbanisation of the developing countries is divergent of these theoretical perspectives. From the various reviews in this study, the fact that the urbanisation of the developed countries followed a different trajectory from that of the developing nations is not doubtful. It is as understandable as the fact that the British masters formally colonised most of these developing countries (this study demonstrated in this fact). Based on these apparent facts, some scholars argue that economistic theory of urbanisation is Eurocentric and not entirely able to explain the urbanisation of

the non-industrialized in Africa. According to their argument, these Eurocentric theories naturally limit the understanding of the rapid urbanisation of African countries (Myers, 2011). Myers (2011) challenges these Eurocentric and conventional theories and models that have primarily limited the study of the urbanisation of Africa in conceptual one-size-fits-all theoretical contexts. Stating that they do not help in understanding the subject of African urbanisation from the peculiarities of African cities and environment. According to Myers, as African societies urbanise, it becomes evident that they do so in ways that challenge prevailing theories and models of urban geography, sociology, anthropology, and planning.

As such, he argues that "it seems illogical to shoehorn cities into types just because they reside on the same continent" (Myers, 2011, p. 2). However, Myers further suggests that there are no reasons why African studies must categorically reject Western urban theory (Myers, 2011). Instead, he appeals for a revision of the theoretical perspectives of the urbanisation of Africa. Thus, he proposed five themes grounded in the context of Africa which he argues that can serve as the lens through which to study the cities in Africa. These propositions include the postcolonial city, informal city, wounded city, governing of African city and cosmopolitan city. In this study, these themes were referred to Garth Myers African Cities Thesis discussed accordingly in this study with colonialism as the watchword. More importantly, (Myers, 2011) stated that colonial factors majorly impacted on the rapid urbanisation of African countries and that these themes will facilitate the research and understanding of the cities in Africa. This suggestion further lays credence to the post-colonial urbanism which argues that the urbanisation of the previously colonised countries of Africa like Nigeria is a consequent of colonial legacies. This line of argument led to a detailed discussion on the post-colonial urbanism in the context of African urbanisation in general.

The post-colonial urbanists emphasised the fact that the post-colonial leaders in Africa built extensively on the colonial legacies created by the colonial masters, thereby producing post-colonial cities. An effort was made in this study to point out the various colonial legacies such as uneven development resulting from discrimination - segregation and pro-

liferated informal settlements. The isolation of the Black from the white, a situation where there are separate residential areas for the white and the black, this gave rise to some part of the countries been more developed than the others. In fact, it is arguable that these uneven developments that originate from this separation and segregation appear in this study as what constitutes the urban bias policy in operation in African countries, and the different urban hierarchies. Moreover, the research shows that apart from the colonial factor which still influences the urbanisation of Africa, there are some of the countries in Africa that are rich in natural resources (oil hereafter). Remarkably, these countries have made enormous wealth from oil, and their urbanisation has been rapid. Also seeing that it is not worth concluding on the rapid urbanisation of any of these oil-rich countries in Africa without considering the impact of oil wealth in their urbanisation, chapter 3 discussed oil and the urbanisation of the developing nations.

Furthermore, the review shows that apart from such factors as natural increase, re-classification, city annexation, migration is the most significant factor that necessitates the urbanisation of some of these oil-rich developing countries. In fact, the discussion on oil and the urbanisation of oil-rich developing nations, reveals that oil plays a significant role in the urbanisation of these countries. According to the analysis, most of these oil-rich countries were predominantly rural before the discovery of oil in its commercial quantities. Also following from the discovery of oil in these countries and the subsequent oil wealth, these countries began to invest in development projects which created employment opportunities and which in turn led to the influx of migrants to these cities causing urbanisation. There are other oil-related causes of migration and urbanisation such as oil spillage, environmental degradation, armed conflicts and fire outbreak as a result of oil. These oil-related factors result in both forced and unforced movement which consequently leads to rapid urbanisation.

Like the argument in Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation that urbanisation is as a result of capital accumulation and circulation, that the capital accumulated was circulated into several investments in different cities and migrants follow these investments to these cities. The scholars who wrote on the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich developing

countries in Africa and other oil-rich nations put forward this same line of argument. According to them and as stated earlier, most of these countries were predominantly rural and agricultural until the discovery of oil in its commercial quantities. That this oil provided untold wealth to these countries especially during the oil boom of the 1970s, and these countries invested the wealth in different development projects in the cities which created diverse employment opportunities. That it was these employment opportunities that attracted the influx of migrants into these cities and then caused migration induced rapid urbanisation.

Indeed, this shows that migration is a significant player in the urbanisation of most oil-rich developing countries in Africa. However, this study shows that this aspect of migration is mostly economic reasons for migration and urbanisation. What this means is that in every urbanisation of countries whether developed or developing, there is a measure of economic factors that propelled the urban population growth. The literature review on the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries also shows this. In the study, it was clear that the migrants that flood the cities in these countries do so because of the numerous investments made with the oil wealth and the employment opportunities it created. A look at the discussion, especially following Harvey's theory of capitalist urbanisation will reveal the fact that these migrants follow corporations and investments to its various locations thereby overcrowding such places. These corporations and industries are products of capital investment, and the capital according to Harvey can be accumulated from somewhere or somebody and invested in the urban centres. What this means is that to the industrialised countries, the capital can be gathered from their industries and to the non-industrialised but oil-rich developing countries in Africa like Nigeria, it can be gotten from their oil resource.

It is important to note that from the review conducted, the literature and data related to the oil and the urbanisation of Nigeria were discovered to be very limited and this was why the discussion on oil and the urbanisation of some of the oil-rich developing countries were employed. While there are different arguments on the rate of the urbanisation of Nigeria, sources also differ on its pace, some of these sources show that it is predictable

that urbanisation will increase rapidly in Nigeria in the decades to come. There are also different arguments on the underlying drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria, and this was why this study used the theories discussed in chapter two and three to analyse the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria in chapter four. Importantly, in the discussion of the urbanisation of Nigeria, the study shows that urbanisation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. The study advanced that the urbanisation of Nigeria started before the advent of colonialism. Thus, the study discussed the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial urbanisation of Nigeria.

From the discussions, studies show that Nigeria already has an existing urban system before the arrival of the colonial masters. The pre-colonial urbanisation was said to be at a reduced rate but increased to an extent during the colonial period with colonialism altering the already existing urban system in Nigeria. The study also discussed the agricultural sector of the economy before the discovery of oil, and it shows that agriculture employed about 70% of the country's total population. Meaning that up to 70% of the then population were both agricultural and rural, that also means that the rate of urbanisation as at this period was low, but the discovery of oil changed this scenario. There is an argument on the neglect of agriculture following the discovery of oil in Nigeria. While some argue for it, saying that there is nothing like the neglect of agriculture, others argued that there is the neglect of agriculture. No matter the argument surrounding this, the fact remains that the discovery of oil and its subsequent wealth necessitated the investments in the urban centres and subsequent migration of people. Importantly, some of these people were farmers before the discovery of oil. These set of people left because of the way oil wealth is continually sown in the cities (in Karl's words - see above), making them believe that there are greener pastures in cities. With this, it is not difficult to conclude that agriculture was neglected directly and or indirectly. An apparent conclusion in this issue is; if there is no neglect of agriculture, most farmers would not have resorted to migrating to the cities in mass because most of them have started making a living out of farming and fishing as shown in the review before oil.

Moreover, in a bid to answer the questions posed in this study, chapter four used

such theories as the demographic theory, economic theory and post-colonial urbanism to analyse the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Already the discussion on the urbanisation of Nigeria has shown that there is no consensus on the drivers of the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria. Writing about the urbanisation of Nigeria, some argued that the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria is a consequent of the creation of 36 states and capital, and the development of its oil sector (migration). Some others argue that the declining mortality and persistently high fertility rate (natural increase) drives its rapid urbanisation. Others like Fox and Fox et al., say that aside migration, rural reclassifications and transformation plays a more significant role in the urbanisation of Nigeria. The post-colonial urbanism insists that colonialism play a very significant role in the rapid urbanisation of African countries – Nigeria.

These factors in one way or the other contribute to the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria, and this study acknowledged their essential roles. However, the literature review shows that some of these factors are more prominent than the others in causing the urbanisation of Nigeria. Migration which is majorly in response to economic factor is a predominant factor in driving the urbanisation of Nigeria. Also, the literature shows the importance of seeing and treating colonialism as one of the factors that cause the rapid urbanisation of Nigeria as among the colonised countries. Therefore, this study has shown that the urbanisation of Nigeria is still very unprecedented and will continue like that in the coming decades. It also shows that the urbanisation of any developing country is not without challenges; this is because the urbanisation is classified as a 'poor country' urbanisation (see Edward Harvard above). Therefore, this study argues that migration and colonialism are the two predominant factors that cause the rapid urbanisation of the oil-rich Nigeria.

### **5.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATION**

From the above, it has become more evident that there is a rapid rate of urbanisation in the world today, even the urbanisation of the developing countries is even faster than that of the developed nations of the world. There are the tendencies that it will be

much more rapid in the coming decades. It is also clear that though there is no consensus among scholars regarding the causes of this rapid urbanisation, the fact remains that each country in its peculiarity has its significant drivers of urbanisation. Some of the identified factors of urbanisation herein include the natural increase, migration, reclassification, rural transformations, and annexation.

Having seen that the urbanisation of the oil-rich developing countries in Africa like Nigeria is still very rapid, and also noticed that there are challenges associated with this unprecedented rate of urbanisation. It is now essential to state that the primary problem that most developing countries in Africa have when it comes to handling issues on rapid urbanisation is seeing urbanisation as a problem and a challenge, rather than as an opportunity for economic development. It is clear that while the developed countries urbanised following the industrial revolution, the developing nations urbanise without the industrial revolution. It is necessary to point out that these other countries (developing countries) can make an industrial revolution out of their rapid urbanisation with strategic planning. This point is vital because urbanisation with or without industrialisation can speed up economic development.

Therefore, it is good that the Nigerian government has gotten an understanding of the fact that there is a rapid rate of urbanisation in the country. It will help the government to firstly, device means to sow its resources in some infrastructural facilities and development projects. The sowing this time should be mostly on labour-intensive projects capable of engaging the teeming youth population gainfully. There should be conscious efforts geared towards fostering the manufacturing sector of the economy. Secondly, the government and other concerned organisations should carry out projects geared towards empowering the jobless migrants to be able to make them self-employed, instead of roaming the streets. Thirdly, Nigerian government should create strategic plans to foster agricultural development and productivity, by investing strategically in agriculture. This type of investment will make agrarian jobs to be more productive and handsomely rewarding to the point that some the youths will find a future in it.

This last point is very vital because some of the issues raised in this research are

that the neglect of agriculture following the discovery of oil. People need to start seeing massive investments made in agriculture, like the provision of agricultural incentives to farmers. In fact, there should be the replacement of crude farming with mechanised agriculture. The provision of fertilisers and manures to farmers, the provision of various means of transportation, good roads and electricity and other facilities that will enable the preservation of the perishable agricultural products. Importantly, the provision of the market for farm products. These will, in turn, transform Nigeria from an age long monoculture economy to a diversified economy. Above all, the government should put trusted institutions in place to ward off the high rate of corruption that has eaten deep into the very fabric of the country Nigeria. It will help in no small measure to see that whatever project financed by the government geared towards harnessing economic development from this rapid urbanisation of the country will be carried out. The fact is that the urbanisation of the developed nations was and is still as a result of its development (industrialisation). However, with strategic planning and investments, the urbanisation of the rapidly urbanising countries like Nigeria can result in their growth (industrialisation). Therefore, with all these in place and judiciously followed too, the government will harness economic development from rapid urbanisation.

## Chapter 6

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