

URBANIZATION AND INFRASTRUCTURAL EXPANSION SINCE NIGERIA'S AMALGAMATION IN 1914: THE CASE OF IGBO LAND

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the history of urbanization and infrastructural expansion in Igbo land since the Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914. It essentially pinpoints the fact that Igbo-land, which presently comprises Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi and Imo states, in addition to parts of Delta and Rivers states had no history of urbanization prior to the advent of British colonial conquest and domination in the early 20th century. In pre-colonial times, the people had lived in autonomous village-groups and evolved a traditional political system popularly known as village democracy. Farming and trading were the major occupations of the people in pre-colonial era. With the advent of the British, there was a revolutionary trend towards developing urban cities across Igbo land. As a result, some communities where the British established administrative headquarters, mining and notable commercial centres were increasingly transformed into urban centres with modern infrastructural facilities such as good road network, railway, schools, hospitals, potable water supply and modern markets etc. Besides, modern houses were constructed not only to accommodate the British political officers, but the African staff as well. With time, the Igbo citizens who had migrated to the urban cities in search of economic opportunities or colonial government jobs began to emulate the British overlords by providing modern houses for themselves and their families. The enterprising spirit of the people coupled with their propensity for acquisition of modern skills contributed immensely in the phenomenal infrastructural expansion in such urban cities as Enugu, Onitsha, Aba, Owerri, Umuahia and Port Harcourt etc in colonial era. After Nigeria's independence in 1960, successive regional and states governments, as a matter of policies and commitments, tried to improve on, and expand the urban infrastructural facilities. States creation and democratic governance have added greater impetus to urbanization and infrastructural expansion in Igbo land.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to discuss the history of urbanization and infrastructural expansion in Igbo land since the Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914. Historically, the British colonial administration began its imperialist adventure into the Igbo heart-land with the conquest of Arochukwu in 1902. The conquest of the Aro undoubtedly spurred the British colonial administration to embark on a relentless push into the heart land of the Igbo and Ibibio areas. The military invasion and conquest of most parts of the Igbo heart land was carried out by the Onitsha hinterland expeditionary force which traversed the entire area between 1904 and 1915¹. Allan Burns stated that after the British conquest of the Aro "there now remained no single tribe of any importance which was not under control". He, however, admitted that "much remained to be done before the country (that is, Southern Nigeria especially the numerous Igbo communities) could be pacified"². Indeed, the British expeditionary force was still engaged in numerous wars in different parts of Igbo land (particularly in Northern and North-Eastern Igboland) even after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914. A case in point was the Udi Revolt of 1914 – 1915 in which the British colonial forces



spent over four months traversing from one part of Udi District to another in an attempt to crush the widespread revolt against the British colonial domination³. The British resolve to crush the revolt was principally to create a conducive condition for the commencement of coal mining in Enugu (Udi) Colliery. Geographically, the coal mine was situated within the Udi District where many villages within Agbaja and Nkanu clans of the district had persisted in their resistance against the British colonial domination. P.E. Hair stated that the Enugu Colliery Manager, Mr. W.J. Leck arrived in Nigeria in 1914 but could not resume work in the coal mine until 1915 "owing to the disturbed state of the people in the Enugu (Udi) district"⁴. The British also confronted such stubborn resistance in the Abakiliki district and some other parts of Igbo land up till the period of amalgamation in 1914. Thus, the British conquest and colonial domination of Igbo land took nearly two decades to firmly materialize.

URBANIZATION AND INFRASTRUCTURAL EXPANSION IN IGBO LAND SINCE NIGERIA'S AMALGAMATION IN 1914

The Concept of Urbanization

Urbanization has been defined as "the concentration of large numbers of people in a relatively small places"⁵. In a similar view, W.A. Schwab stated that urbanization should be considered to be the process of population concentration. According to him, "size is the most important criterion for defining a place as urban". Schwab noted that urbanization elicits new patterns of population movement with flows focused on the central places⁶. The above definitions are appropriate to our study of urbanization in Igbo land in that prior to the advent of British colonial rule, there was no history of urbanization throughout the entire Igbo land. The people lived in autonomous string of villages and evolved traditional political system popularly known as village democracy. The economic activities of the people in pre-colonial era included agriculture, trade, crafts making, fishing, palm oil and kernel production as well as palm wine tapping etc. Markets in Igbo land were periodized to create conducive condition for common and harmonious socio-economic interactions among neighbouring communities and beyond. There existed both local and distant markets which enabled the people to sell their products and as well purchase their needs. Markets were also instruments for creating a wide network of socio-economic relations among the people in pre-colonial era and even in modern times.

Thus, the concept of urbanization which principally dwells on both "the processes of diffusion of certain characteristics of urban cities, and the intensification of urban activities" as upheld by H.T. Eldridge is not in consonance with the Igbo experience of urbanization⁷. Urbanization in Igbo land is therefore intricately associated with the advent of British colonial rule, and could be regarded as one of the revolutionary changes of the period. Akin L. Mabogunje rightly observed that although urban development has had a long history in some parts of Africa, nevertheless, its modern manifestation can be said to be essentially due to active European penetration of the continent in the last decades of the 19th century⁸. In the case of Igbo land, it was the active penetration of its heart land by the British colonial overlords, European firms as well as the Christian missionaries that led to the revolutionary phenomenon of urbanization. The growth of urban cities across Igbo land gave rise to the development of modern infrastructures to cater for the needs of the Europeans and, by extension, that of the African migrants to these cities.



The Growth of Urban cities in Igbo land

As already stated in this paper, the history of urbanization in Igbo land is inextricably intertwined with the advent of British colonial rule. Urbanization in Igbo land is also closely associated with the development of colonial economy in the area. Moreover, the Christian Missions notably the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) which arrived at Onitsha at the tail end of the 19th century contributed immensely in the social and economic transformation of Igbo land beginning with Onitsha as the nucleus of their evangelical activities. I.R.A. Ozigbo stated that from 1900, the momentum of change increased considerably on all fronts both at Onitsha and the rest of Igbo land. He noted that by 1901 Onitsha had become not only an administrative district headquarters, but a sprawling centre for Christian missionary activities and commerce⁹.

By 1914, Onitsha was designated the provincial headquarters in charge of Onitsha, Awka, Udi and Obollo (Nsukka) divisions¹⁰. The provincial administrative system coupled with the missionary activities in terms of evangelism and provision of Western education helped in meteoric rise of Onitsha into urban city. I.R.A. Ozigbo observed that between 1905 – 1919 "village after village stormed the various Catholic missionary residences with petitions for schools and teachers". The villages, according to him, welcomed the priests (Fada). He noted that the people eagerly accepted the school and, by implication, the religious dimension of the school¹¹. Besides, the strategic location of Onitsha at the bank of the River Niger coupled with the commercial activities of European firms such as Lever Brothers, United African Company (UAC), SCOA, and Leventis etc contributed immensely in the rapid transformation of Onitsha into flourishing urban city in the early decades of the 20th century.

The urbanization of Onitsha was associated with the provision of modern infrastructural facilities such as good road network, electricity, hospitals, potable water supply and numerous good schools. Modern houses were also built to accommodate many Europeans that had settled in Onitsha either as colonial administrative officers, clergy or businessmen. Soon afterwards, the African migrants as well as the indigenes of Onitsha community began to emulate the housing pattern of the Europeans and thereby erected good houses for themselves in the town. P.E. Hair wrote that the people of Onitsha district were among the sophisticated people in Eastern Nigeria due to the benefits of Western education. He noted that by 1925 Onitsha district and Owerri province were the main recruiting grounds for foremen for the Enugu colliery¹².

There was also infrastructural expansion especially in terms of good road network from Onitsha to neighbouring communities and to other districts within the province. Today, Onitsha is one of the most sophisticated urban cities in Igbo land. It is also the most complex in terms of commercial outlook as it harbours many indigenous and foreign business conglomerates as well as numerous government parastatals. It also has the highest concentration of Christian missionary institutions in Igbo land. The development of Enugu urban popularly known as "coal city" was directly the logical outcome of the discovery of coal in nearby village known as Enugu Ngwo in 1909. By 1915, the British colonial administration commenced the mining of coal in Enugu. The Colliery Manager, Mr. W.J. Leck was one of the first inhabitants of Enugu, which its first group of houses were situated at the Hill top. Also Alfred Inoma and his gang of labourers who came from Onitsha to work in the coal mine were among the first early settlers in Enugu¹³. In early 1915, they were joined by the prisoners from Udi District prison that was relocated from Udi to Enugu. The prisoners first built their prison yard and subsequently engaged in working in the coal mine¹⁴.

The development of the colliery led to the influx of people to Enugu which, as a necessity, resulted in the rapid expansion of the new settlement. In order to meet the challenges of the new urban setting of Enugu the Nigerian Government declared Enugu a Second Class Township by Order in Council No. 19 of 1917¹⁵. This declaration necessitated the enunciation of a policy on urban planning for the new township of Enugu. It was then decided that apart from Alfred Camp (the first Colliery Camp named after Alfred Inoma, the leader of the gang of labourers from Onitsha) a new native settlement should be established south of the Ogbete stream. This settlement which was rapidly developed came to be known as Coal camp¹⁶. Thus, the colliery led to the rapid development of Enugu Township.

Besides, the extension of the railway from Port Harcourt to Enugu in 1915, and subsequently the linking up the Eastern and Northern Railways in 1928 rapidly transformed the transport infrastructure within the Enugu Township and beyond¹⁷. This gave rise to the influx of people from Northern Nigeria, Western Nigeria, and different parts of Eastern Nigeria. In 1929, the administrative headquarters of Southern Nigeria was relocated to Enugu. This further gave rise to influx of people from different parts of the country to Enugu Township. This helped to further define the urban character of Enugu. It is worthy to note that the territorial expansion of Enugu has been southwards. This is because the flat lands needed for residential houses and administrative offices could be easily available in such places. Hence, the British colonial administration chose the present location of the Government Reserve Area (GRA) as European residential quarters, while the administrative offices were located far away from the vicinity. The British colonial administration created a business zone within the present Okpara Avenue axis to serve as a buffer zone between the GRA occupied by the Europeans and the native location in the Coal Camp, Ogui Urban Area and several other slums occupied by Nigerian immigrants mostly the people of Igbo extraction. This epitomizes the segregatory practice inherent in European colonial system in Africa. Over the years, the phenomenal expansion of Enugu urban has resulted in the increasing acquisition of lands southwards from Nkanu communities such as Nike, Awkunanaw, Emene and Akegbe. Many private property developers have acquired expanse of lands from these communities and developed them as integral part of Enugu urban community. The most outstanding issues about Enugu is that it has been the administrative capital of many successive governments. These include Eastern Nigeria, Republic of Biafra, East Central state, Anambra state and presently Enugu state. This is a fulfillment of the prophecy of P.E. Hair that "Enugu is conveniently situated... in terms of modern communications to rule a large area". In this respect, he concluded that "it is therefore certain to remain some sort of administrative centre, whatever political developments occur in Nigeria".18.

Furthermore, Enugu has many federal and state institutions located within it, for example, University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus, University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital (UNTH), Institute of Management and Technology (IMT), Federal and Enugu State Secretariats, College of Education (Technical), Orthopedic Hospital and International Airport, Enugu, to mention but few. The Ogbete Market, Enugu which was established in the 1920s is one of the largest and flourishing markets in Igbo land. By the virtue of Enugu being the capital of successive governments, it has benefited tremendously from infrastructural development. It is marked by good road network, adequate health care institutions for its large population, good private and public educational institutions and some shopping and recreational centres. The urban renewal projects embarked upon by successive administration since 1999 have increasingly improved the social infrastructures as well as the face lift of Enugu Township. Owerri is another notable urban city in Igbo land. The transformation of Owerri into urban city was as a result of three main favourable factors. In the first place, Owerri was one of the

Igbo heartland areas that had the benefit of early penetration of the Christian missions especially the Roman Catholic mission and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The establishment of many schools in Owerri gave rise to the production of well-educated citizens who spearheaded the modernization of the community. P.E. Hair observed that by 1917 the Owerri people had "a fairly high proportion of literates". He noted that many of them held skilled jobs in Enugu colliery, while many others worked as artisans and clerks. He further noted that the Owerri indigenes in Enugu established Owerri Union, a community development organization in 1917¹⁹.

Secondly, Owerri was the centre of the flourishing palm oil and kernel industry in Southern Igbo land. This naturally attracted several European commercial firms and their African agents to Owerri which ultimately resulted in modernization of the community into urban city. Above all, Owerri, as a result of its strategic location and commercial importance was designated as provincial headquarters in about 1914. Sequel to this, it attracted many European colonial officers, clergy and business men. This gave rise to infrastructural development to provide the needs of the Europeans and to cope with the increasing urban population. The infrastructural expansion in Owerri was also to link up with the districts under the province, for instance, good road network to Okigwe, Mbaise, Orlu etc. With the creation of Imo State in 1976, Owerri was designated its state capital. This gave rise to accelerated development of Owerri into a modern urban city. The era of Governor Sam Mbakwe's administration resulted in phenomenal infrastructural expansion in Owerri, and the Owerri capital territory was extended up to Egbu, Nekede, Nkworji, Emekuku and other adjoining communities. Today, Owerri is a sprawling urban city with many institutions of higher learning such as Imo State University, Federal University of Technology Owerri, (FUTO) and Federal Polytechnic, Nekede etc, and a host of government ministries and parastatals. Moreover, there is the need to mention Port Harcourt which its growth as an urban centre began in about 1912, when the Eastern Railway was extended to it at the mouth of Bonny River. The policy decision of the British colonial administration was to carry the coal by the railway from Enugu to Port Harcourt for onward shipment to Lagos and other parts of British West Africa. Coal was the most vital source of energy available to the British for the purpose of sustaining the colonial economy in West Africa²⁰. Port Harcourt also became very important as a sea port in Eastern Nigeria for the purpose of exporting palm oil and kernel to Europe, and for importation of manufactured goods from European countries. Its connection with the Eastern railway up to Enugu made Port Harcourt to develop phenomenally as an urban centre. The important commercial centres such as Aba, Umuahia, Uzuakoli and Owerri largely depended on Port Harcourt for evacuation of palm produce purchased from these centres by European firms, while also depending on Port Harcourt for importation of manufactured goods such as stockfish, tobacco, detergents, clothes and other goods highly demanded by the people. By 1967, Port Harcourt was a flourishing urban centre in Eastern Nigeria, and was largely developed through the ingenuity of private property developers of Igbo extraction. Today, Port Harcourt is the capital of Rivers State.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to state that Abakiliki which was formerly a district headquarters under the Ogoja province, and later Abakiliki Province was first and foremost an outstanding agricultural community. It was noted for the production of varieties of food products such as rice, yams, cassava and maize. Also, Abakikili environment is noted for its large deposits of granite. This has attracted many companies engaging in quarry works in the area since 1970s. This has helped in transformation of Abakiliki from an agricultural community to a modern urban centre. With the creation of Ebonyi State in 1996 by General Sani Abacha's regime, Abakiliki was designated its state capital. Since then, the

transformation of Abakiliki into a splendid urban centre has been very phenomenal. State creation has brought about enormous financial resources to the state, and thus elicits infrastructural expansion within Abakaliki and beyond. Today, Abakiliki boasts of a Federal Teaching Hospital, Ebonyi State University, and Federal University, Ndufu-Ali Ikwo etc. It also has good infrastructural facilities such as good road network, potable water supply, electricity, a flourishing rice and quarry industries. In Enugu state, Nsukka has increasingly assumed urban character with the establishment of modern infrastructural facilities and the general modernization of the community into urban centre. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka is located there. The institution has significantly contributed to the transformation of Nsukka into urban centre. Apart from the university, Nsukka has several post primary educational institutions, health institutions, churches and flourishing market which drives the tempo of economic activities. Awka, the capital of Anambra state is one of the sprawling urban cities in Igbo land. The British colonial masters reached Awka in 1905 and established district headquarters in the town. Since then, Awka has been steadily transformed into a modern urban centre with several educational institutions and through the ingenuity of the people. The creation of new Anambra state, with Awka as the state capital in 1991, added greater impetus to the urbanization and infrastructural expansion in the town. Today, Awka has several housing estates, two Universities - Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka and St. Paul's University, Awka.

The Awka capital territory is strategically located along Enugu – Onitsha Expressway and generally Awka enjoys robust transport infrastructure. Its road network also connects it with the rest of Anambra communities and beyond. The private enterprise of the people coupled with their community development spirit has given rise to phenomenal urbanization and infrastructural expansion not only in Awka Township, but in entire Anambra State. Indeed, the tempo of urbanization and infrastructural expansion in Anambra state is legendary. This is partly due to the community development efforts of the people driven by respective community's development unions and other progressive associations.

Challenges of Urbanization and Infrastructural Expansion in Igbo land

The urban cities in Igbo land, like in many other cities in Nigeria, face many developmental challenges. Some of these challenges have distorted the appropriate growth of these cities, and hampered their real development. These challenges include the following:

1. The Unrestrained Rural-Urban Migration

Most urban cities in Igbo land face the emasculating challenge of unrestrained rural-urban migration. Many people from the rural communities migrate to urban centres not necessarily that there are available jobs in the urban centres for them, but for the joy of residing in urban cities. This has been attributed to the unfavourable environment in rural communities especially with the absence of modern infrastructural facilities or the decay of existing ones. The unrestrained rural-urban migration in Igbo land has given rise to the development of slums within the surburbs of cities which do not enjoy modern facilities. P.E. Hair described Ogui Urban Area, a well-known slum in Enugu urban, as "an unpleasant slum"²¹. This was because it lacked modern infrastructural facilities such as good houses, health care centres, regular power supply, police station etc and, above all, was reputed to be a haven for undesirable elements.

There are also such slums in Onitsha, Aba, Abakaliki, Port-Harcourt, etc. Their existence distorts the beauty and scenery of modern urban cities. They also complicate security problems in urban centres. El-shaks observed that rural-urban migration becomes more of a liability where a large number of the migrants are educated youths who stay unemployed because of faulty educational orientation and inflated expectations²². In most urban cities across Igbo land, the rural-urban migrants are the school leavers and graduates of tertiary institutions who are seeking for government jobs that may not be readily available.

2. Lack of Regular Power Supply

This is one of the major challenges confronting urban cities in Igbo land and, indeed, throughout Nigeria. Successive governments in the country since 1970s had initiated several policies and implemented many projects aimed towards the improvement of power supply in the country, but none of these has achieved the desired objective. This failure to meet the expectations in the nation's power supply is attributed to technical sabotage, gas pipeline vandalism and poor funding of power plants operations etc²³. The situation resulted in electricity being sent to consumers in the country to drop to as low as 1,939.88 megawatts per hour (mwh/h) as at June 19, 2014²⁴. Lack of regular power supply in urban cities in Igbo land has resulted in many manufacturing companies resorting to the use of generators which increases the cost of production. It has also given rise to retrenchment or total closure of many Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) as a result of unsustainable operational cost. Besides, it also hampered efficient social services, for instance, surgical operations in hospitals, technical services and entertainment businesses. This aggravates the problem of unemployment in urban cities and increases the problem of household poverty in urban areas. However, the Federal Government was reported to have set another dead line for 2014 to supply 18 hours uninterrupted power supply when most of its investments in the sector would have been completed²⁵. This would be a laudable achievement, and would certainly improve socio-economic development in urban centres and even in rural areas.

3. Poor Urban Planning

This appears to be a common challenge in most urban cities in Igbo land. The poor urban planning in Igbo land is traceable to the British colonial era when urban planning, development and renewal was largely concentrated in the Government Reserve Area (GRA) to the detriment of those places segregated and underdeveloped which acquired unenviable appellation of "native locations". Consequently, those places lacked good layouts, pipe borne water supply, regular supply of electricity and other social amenities befitting urban status. Hence, there are many slums and unplanned suburbs of urban cities in Igbo land. After independence in 1960, successive governments tended to concentrate in improvement of facilities in places which the elites live to the detriment of the growing slum settlements where the majority of the urban poor live. Consequently, many parts of the urban cities in Igbo land lack potable water supply, good hospitals, markets, police station and recreational centres. Some of the streets terminate abruptly, while some people built houses indiscriminately. These make such areas to be an emerging chaotic urban sprawl²⁶. This further creates a situation of lopsided development even within the urban cities. However, it should be stated that the current efforts of the various state governments in the South-east geo-political zone towards urban renewal since the inception of democratic rule in 1999 may mitigate the imbalance and as well considerably improve the urban environment.



4. Unemployment

This is a major challenge of urban cities in Igbo land. The cities over flow with many unemployed youths who are educated but could not find gainful employment. The frightening unemployment among youths in urban cities in Igbo land and, indeed, throughout the country is attributable to poor performance of the manufacturing sector over the years. Many industries which had flourished in the past have declined or closed shops, thus worsening the problem of unemployment and poverty in the urban cities in the country. The Minister of Finance and the Coordinating Minister of the Economy, Mrs. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala reportedly stated that 5.3 million Nigerians are unemployed. She noted that the government along cannot create jobs, and therefore urged the private sector to "play a part in fighting the problem of unemployment" This is necessary so as to minimize all forms of violence and social instability which plague the contemporary urban cities in Igbo land due to the existence of too many idle hands.

5. Inadequate Housing For Urban Population

The acute shortage of decent and affordable housing accommodation in most urban cities in Igbo land is a major challenge facing both the governments and the people in the geopolitical zone. Consequently, many urban dwellers, especially the poor, live in slum settlements without basic social amenities such as good roads, potable water, electricity, health facilities and good schools. The housing deficit in Nigeria is estimated at 17 million units which will require about N56 trillion to finance. Besides, it is reported that the country would require to build 700,000 housing units per annum to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG)²⁸. However, the housing deficit in urban centres and, indeed, in the country has been partly attributed to poverty of many households that cannot afford decent accommodation. C. Soludo observed that poor households with very large family sizes have more than 90 percent chance of ending up in poverty²⁹. Similarly, the former Central Bank of Nigeria Governor, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi attributed the problem of shortage of houses in the urban cities to high cost of land, exorbitant cost of building materials, inability of the majority urban middle class to access mortgage loan, and the exorbitant charge for certificate of occupancy (C-of-Cs) ³⁰.

Thus, despite the concerted efforts of the private property developers in the urban cities in Igbo land, there have been acute shortages of affordable houses for the urban population. The increasing interest of the present administration in the building of housing estates across the urban cities in the country is a welcome development. Besides, the proposal by the Federal Government to adequately fund the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) to enable Nigerians have access to fund to build personal homes is a laudable decision³¹. However, it has been suggested that the current government policy on housing should ensure that resources are deployed to provide the highest number of houses to the highest number of people. This, according to the President of Nigerian Institute of Quantity Surveyors, Mr. Agedo Alufohai is by creating incentives that would stimulate and enable private investment in the housing sector³².

CONCLUSION

Urbanization and infrastructural expansion in Igbo land are the logical outcomes of the British colonial rule. Urbanization which was in non-existent in pre-colonial Igbo traditional existence later became an acceptable way of life of the people. This demonstrates the high

level of Igbo receptivity to desirable change. Thus, urbanism is now an integral aspect of Igbo social and economic existence. Today, many splendid urban cities such as Onitsha, Enugu, Owerri, Awka, Umuahia, Abakiliki, Aba etc are located within Igbo land and each reflects true urban character. These include large concentration of heterogeneous population; varied economic and bureaucratic activities, technical services, availability of modern social amenities and existence of enforceable law and order. However, urbanization in Igbo land has been facing some challenges. These include unrestrained rural-urban migration, increasing urban poverty among many poor households, frightening unemployment among the youths which contributes to the phenomenon of urban violence, and worsening power outage. There is also the problem of vandalization of infrastructural facilities such as power cables and communication equipment. It is hoped that the government would sustain its efforts towards tackling these challenges, including that of inadequate infrastructural facilities.

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