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Some Aspects of Yoruba Urbanism¹

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THE YORUBA of Nigeria are the most urban of all African peoples of comparable size. The fact that they have large, dense cities which existed prior to European penetration has been demonstrated in earlier papers (see under Bascom). Briefly, 53.5 percent of the 5,046,799 Yoruba recorded in Nigeria's 1952 census lived in communities of 5,000 and over; 44.8 percent in those of 10,000 and over; 36.6 percent in 25 cities of 25,000 and over; and 22.1 percent lived in six cities of 100,000 and over. Their index of urbanization (defined by Davis and Casis [1946] as the average of these four percentages) was 39.3 in 1952, which ranked between that of the United States and that of Canada. If only the Yoruba of the Western Region and the Colony were considered, excluding 9 percent in Ilorin and Kabba Divisions of the Northern Region of Nigeria, their index of urbanization was 42.4, exceeding that of the United States.

Population densities of 87,000 per square mile for Lagos in 1950, 55,555 for Ibadan in 1960; and 43,372 for Ogbomosho, 13,914 for Oyo, and 5,720 for Abeokuta in 1931, compare with 24,697 for New York City, 15,850 for Chicago, 15,743 for Philadelphia, and 5,451 for Los Angeles—the four largest urban centers in the United States—in 1960.

The permanence of the 12 largest Yoruba cities, all over 40,000 in 1952 (see Table 2), has been documented over the past century, although most of them were unknown until after 1825 when Yoruba territory was first penetrated. Nevertheless, Old Oyo has been known since 1725 because of its interference in the affairs of Dahomey, or possibly even a century earlier as the "Lucumies" (Alonso de Sandoval 1627). Ijebu Ode, whose population was 27,558 in 1952, is mentioned repeatedly in the historical documents from 1500 onwards, and it is probable that the first Portuguese explorers to visit Benin City in 1485 brought back word of the King of Ife.

Of these cities, only Lagos follows the familiar pattern of the new African cities which have developed at ports, mining and trading centers, and administrative headquarters. As the national capital, chief port, and principal railhead of Nigeria, Lagos is not a traditional city, although historical references to the village from which it grew go back to the early days of exploration. Ibadan, with nearly half a million inhabitants, and Abeokuta are not old cities, having been founded in the first half of the last century by refugees from the wars with Ilorin. Yet both exceeded 50,000 when they were first visited by Europeans a century ago, and in some respects both are intermediate between the new and the traditional cities. Old Oyo or Katunga was evacuated about

1839 and reestablished farther south at the present site of Oyo, but Oyo remains a traditional city.

In this paper I propose to investigate the relationship of the degree of urbanism, as measured both by the size of the 12 largest Yoruba cities and by the index of urbanization of the eight Yoruba areas of Nigeria, to population density, ethnic diversity, sex ratio, occupational distribution, percentage of males of employable age, and other factors which might be expected to be related to urbanism. For the traditional Yoruba cities, however, some of these factors do not behave in the manner that might be expected. Explanations are sought in a series of propositions or hypotheses which are tested in terms of the available data.

TABLE 1. YORUBA AREAS OF NIGERIA, 1952, RANKED BY INDEX OF URBANIZATION

	Index of urbanization	Percent urban	Percent of total	Percent Yoruba	Population density	Males per 1000 females	Percent Males			
							Agriculture and fishing	Other occupations	Not working	Aged 15-50
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Colony	59.9	68	7	72.8	369	1,095	16.8	43.0	40.2	57.0
Western Region										
Ibadan Province	59.8	70	33	97.7	365	1,022	35.0	18.3	46.7	37.6
Oyo Province	46.1	68	15	96.4	81	966	40.8	14.1	45.1	42.0
Ondo Province	25.4	50	17	89.2	116	945	41.1	12.3	46.6	44.0
Ijebu Province	19.5	37	7	95.5	142	923	41.1	16.8	42.1	44.4
Abeokuta Province	14.7	25	12	90.8	148	966	42.4	11.6	46.0	45.2
	42.4	57	91	92.2	160	990				
Northern Region										
Ilorin Division	11.9	22	7	90.9	151	934	53.7	14.0	32.3	45.0
Kabba Division	1.7	7	2	96.7	30	880	42.5	6.3	51.2	44.3
	39.3	54	100	92.2	147	983				

In Table 1, the eight Yoruba areas of Nigeria are listed in order of their index of urbanization (Column 1). This index ranges from highs of 59.9 for the Colony and 59.8 for Ibadan Province to a low of 1.7 for Kabba Division of Kabba Province in the Northern Region, with a figure of 40.4 for the five Provinces of the Western Region, excluding the Colony. The "percent urban" (Column 2), defined here as the percentage of the population residing in communities of 5,000 and larger, ranges from highs of 70 percent for Ibadan and 68 percent for the Colony and Oyo to a low of 7 percent in Kabba Division. The apparent correlation between these two columns is not surprising, as the percentage in communities of 5,000 and over is used in calculating the index of urbanization, as noted above.

Column 3 gives the percentage of the total number of Yoruba in Nigeria who live in each of the eight areas. It shows that 65 percent of the Yoruba are in three Provinces (Ibadan, Oyo, and Ondo), which are the three most urban

areas after the Colony, in which Lagos is situated. Ijebu and Abeokuta Provinces in the Western Region, and Ilorin and Kabba Divisions in Ilorin and Kabba Provinces in the Northern Region, with indexes of urbanization under 20, include only 28 percent of the Yoruba of Nigeria.

Column 4, giving the percentage of Yoruba in the total population of each area, indicates their high degree of ethnic homogeneity. Urbanism has not produced ethnic heterogeneity except in the Colony, and even here 72.8 percent of the population are still Yoruba. Contrary to what one might expect, the most urban provinces of the Western Region are generally the most homogeneous. Ibadan Province, which is a very close second to the Colony in the index of urbanization, is the most homogeneous (97.7 percent Yoruba), while Oyo, the next most urban area, is 96.4 percent Yoruba.

The Colony includes 45,858 Ibo (9 percent) and 66,872 other non-Yoruba (13 percent), all of whom are mainly urban migrants concentrated around Lagos, whose population is over 73 percent Yoruba. In addition, there are 24,506 Egun (5 percent) who are mainly nonurban and live in the western portion of the Colony. Elsewhere, the Yoruba constitute over 95 percent of the population in Ibadan, Oyo, and Ijebu Provinces and in Kabba Division, and about 90 percent in Abeokuta and Ondo Provinces and in Ilorin Division. There are 43,197 Egun (7 percent) in the southwestern portions of Abeokuta Province, 43,385 Urhobo (5 percent) in southeastern Ondo Province, and 19,180 Fulani (5 percent) in Ilorin Division. Except for Lagos, and to a lesser extent Ilorin, the non-Yoruba are largely rural and have occupied their present territories for centuries.

As has been noted elsewhere, the Ibo of Nigeria, who are comparable to the Yoruba in numbers, had no traditional cities despite population densities of 363 and 537 inhabitants per square mile in Onitsha and Owerri Provinces in the Eastern Region. Yet even if one does not consider population density to be an explanation of urbanism, one might expect that a high degree of urbanism would affect population density. Column 5 shows that the two most urban areas, the Colony and Ibadan Province, with 369 and 365 inhabitants per square mile respectively, are twice as densely populated as any other Yoruba area, and that the least urban area, Kabba Division, has the lowest population density, 30. Between these extremes, however, population density and the index of urbanization are inversely related. Oyo Province, the third most urban area, has a population density of 81, while Ondo has 116, Ijebu 142, Abeokuta 148, and Ilorin Division 151 per square mile. No acceptable explanation of this unexpected relationship has yet been found, but it again shows the inadequacy of population density as an explanation of urbanism.

As an alternative explanation, one might postulate a positive correlation between urbanization and economic opportunities for urban employment, a factor which has contributed to the rapid growth of Africa's newer cities. Nigeria began a period of remarkably rapid industrialization about 1956, too late to affect our figures from the 1952 census, but its results should be apparent in future census reports. Except for Lagos, where opportunities for em-

ployment have undoubtedly been greatest, Yoruba urbanism preceded economic development in the modern sense. The latter has largely followed the course of the railway from Lagos, which passes through the cities of Abeokuta, Ibadan, Oshogbo, and Ilorin, and close to Iwo, but this fact is of little help in explaining their relative size or other characteristics (see Tables 2 and 3).

Wealth is derived primarily from cocoa farming, which developed into a major enterprise during the present century and is practiced in varying degree in all eight areas except Ilorin and Kabba Divisions. During the 1951-52 marketing season, 38.2 percent of all cocoa in the Western Region was graded in Ibadan Province, 20.7 percent in Oyo, 20.6 percent in Ondo, 9.6 percent in Ijebu, and 10.9 percent in Abeokuta Province (Galletti et al. 1957:56). There is a suggestion of a correlation between these figures and the indexes of urbanization, but it is of little help in explaining the size of Yoruba cities before the introduction of cocoa.

If one postulates that urbanization has resulted from migration to the cities for new types of employment, one would expect to find greater urbanism associated with a higher number of males than females, a lower percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing, a higher percentage of males in other occupations, and a higher proportion of males of employable age. These factors are compared in Columns 6 through 10 of Table 1. As anticipated, the Colony with the new city of Lagos clearly stands apart from other areas in all these factors. Ibadan Province ranks second, but is obviously closer to the other Yoruba areas than to the Colony, despite an almost equal index of urbanization.

The sex ratio (Column 6) appears to follow the predicted course, except for the high proportion of males to females in Abeokuta Province and Ilorin Division. The percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing² (Column 7) also follows the expected course, with the exception of the position of Ilorin. The percentage of males in other occupations (Column 8) is much as expected, but the high figures for Ijebu Province and Ilorin Division are out of line.

The high proportion of males aged 15-50 (Column 10) in the Colony reflects urban immigration. Elsewhere, however, this percentage is negatively correlated with urbanization, rather than positively as would normally be expected, although the two northern areas are again slightly out of line. It is clearly contrary to the usual picture of urbanization elsewhere to have the percentage of males of employable age decline as the degree of urbanism increases. An important clue to this surprising fact is to be found in the close correlation in the Western Region between the percentage of males aged 15-50 (Column 10) and the percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing (Column 7), but for an explanation we shall have to turn from the eight Yoruba areas to the Yoruba cities themselves.

In Table 2 the twelve largest Yoruba cities are ranked by size. Column 1 gives their populations, while Column 2 gives the total populations for which tribal affiliations and occupations are reported in the 1952 census. Unfortunately, the census reports on these factors include nonurban residents, except for

TABLE 2. YORUBA CITIES OVER 40,000, 1952, RANKED BY SIZE

	Urban population	Total population reported*	Percent Yoruba	Males per 1000 females	Percent Males			
					Aged 15-50	Agriculture and fishing	Other occupations	Not working
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Ibadan	459,196	459,196	94.7	1,067	37	21.6	40.4	38.1
Lagos	267,407	267,407	73.3	1,154	60	2.5	56.0	41.4
Ogbomosho	139,535	194,716	99.5	995	40	36.4	12.0	51.5
Oshogbo	122,728	188,380	99.2	855	28	28.7	7.8	63.4
Ife	110,790	184,897	94.3	872	31	40.9	20.2	38.9
Iwo	100,006	156,443	99.5	1,354	24	34.2	10.1	55.7
Abeokuta	84,451	84,451	95.5	878	42	6.9	40.8	52.2
Oyo	72,133	172,577	99.0	1,061	46	44.6	9.3	46.1
Ilesha	72,029	72,029	97.0	900	39	18.7	27.1	54.2
Iseyin	49,680	75,335	99.1	958	53	46.1	14.7	39.1
Ede	44,808	57,055	98.6	922	43	40.6	11.6	47.8
Ilorin	40,994	40,994	84.3	982	50	14.3	47.2	38.4

* All figures which include nonurban residents are given in italics. The size and number of other communities included with the cities named is given in the following table:

	under 5,000	5,000-10,000	10,000-20,000	over 20,000
Ogbomosho	44	1	1	—
Oshogbo	5	1	1	1
Ife	30	3	—	—
Iwo	175	4	1	—
Oyo	47	2	—	2
Iseyin	11	1	—	—
Ede	16	—	—	—

Ibadan, Lagos, Abeokuta, Ilesha, and Ilorin, and attempts to secure comparable information for the other cities from the Nigerian government have proved unsuccessful. In one case, the residents of Oyo are outnumbered 1.4 to 1 by those living outside. All figures which include nonurban residents are given in italics. These data are not really comparable, but they are the best that are available.

Column 3 of Table 2 demonstrates the ethnic homogeneity of traditional Yoruba cities, a point I have made previously without presenting the supporting evidence. Except for Lagos, which has become something of a cosmopolitan center, and Ilorin, which has been under Fulani rule for nearly a century and a half, all other major Yoruba cities are between 94.3 and 99.5 percent Yoruba, although in some cases these figures would be somewhat lower if nonurban residents were excluded.

City size (Column 1) is clearly unrelated to either the sex ratio (Column 4) or the percentage of males of employable age (Column 5), and these latter two factors are also unrelated. This differs completely from the familiar pattern of urbanization in which large cities attract males of employable age and have an excess of males over females. If Lagos is excluded, there is some suggestion of a negative correlation between city size and the percentage of males aged 15-50.

The apparent correlation between the sex ratio (Column 4) and urbanization, noted when comparing the eight Yoruba areas (Table 1), disappears when

the cities themselves are compared. The three largest cities rank third, second, and fifth in sex ratio, but the next three rank last, eleventh, and first with no apparent reason. Iwo, which has the highest sex ratio (1,354), exceeding even that of Lagos (1,154), is the only Yoruba city with an appreciable excess of males, while it has the lowest percentage of employable males. There are only 1,067 and 1,061 males per 1,000 females in Ibadan and Oyo, and fewer males than females in the remaining Yoruba cities over 40,000. Whereas in the newer cities of Africa men leave their wives and children in search of urban employment, in the traditional Yoruba cities the great majority of men are born, raised, and married in the city, live there with their wives, their children, and their lineages, and die and are buried there with their ancestors.

Again, the suggested correlation between male occupations and urbanism, noted when comparing Provinces and Divisions (Table 1), is meaningless when applied to the Yoruba cities themselves. In Table 2 no recognizable relationship is found between city size (Column 1) and the percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing (Column 6) or the percentage of males in other occupations (Column 7). This fact also calls for an explanation, since one would expect to find fewer males in farming and more in other occupations as the result of urbanization. The inclusion of nonurban residents for some cities increases the percentages of their males in agriculture and fishing and decreases those of males in other occupations; but this fact does not eliminate the need for an explanation.

It is worth noting here that with the single exception of Ogbomosho, all cities lying outside the cocoa belt (Lagos, Iseyin, Ilorin, Oyo, and Ogbomosho) have higher percentages of males aged 15-50 than any of the others, all of which are within the cocoa belt. This fact provides a second important clue. In explanation of some of the facts mentioned above, I suggest the following propositions or hypotheses.

(1) Traditional Yoruba farming requires a higher percentage of the male population aged 15-50 than does cocoa farming, because cocoa is a perennial tree crop and because it provides a higher income. (2) Outside the cocoa belt more males of employable age stay home to work their farms, whereas (3) in the cocoa belt more can generally engage in other occupations, and (4) more are able to leave home in search of other employment, (5) lowering the ratio of males to females in cocoa belt cities. (6) More males of employable age go to Lagos than to other Yoruba cities because of the opportunities for employment offered there.

Some Yoruba men, of course, move from the farms, villages, and towns to Ibadan and other Yoruba cities, but they do not appear to offset the number who leave these cities for Lagos. As a result, Lagos and the Colony have the highest percentage of males of employable age, the smallest percentage engaged in farming and fishing, and the highest proportion in other occupations. As a result of this immigration, Lagos, which is one of the "new" or "modern" cities of Africa, and the Colony in which it is located, are in line with the usual urbanization pattern, but the traditional Yoruba cities are not.

If the hypotheses above are correct, one would predict that cities in the cocoa belt would have a relatively low proportion of males of employable age, a low proportion of males engaged in farming and fishing, a high proportion in other occupations, and a low sex ratio, regardless of their size. Excepting Lagos, cities outside the cocoa belt should have higher proportions of males of employable age, more engaged in farming and fishing, fewer in other occupations, and a higher proportion of males to females.

Table 3 provides an imperfect test of these hypotheses. Here the 12 largest cities are ranked in terms of these four factors, with cities outside the cocoa belt indicated in capital letters.

The ranking by percentage of males of employable age (Column 1) is in

TABLE 3. YORUBA CITIES OVER 40,000, 1952, RANKED BY MALES OF EMPLOYABLE AGE, MALE OCCUPATIONS, AND SEX RATIO

Percent of males ages 15-50 (1)		Percent of males in agriculture and fishing (2)		Percent of males in other occupations (3)		Males per 1000 females (4)	
1. LAGOS	60	1. ISEYIN	<i>46.1</i>	1. Oshogbo	<i>7.8</i>	1. Iwo	1,354
2. ISEYIN	53	2. OYO	<i>44.6</i>	2. OYO	<i>9.3</i>	2. LAGOS	1,154
3. ILORIN	50	3. Ife	<i>40.9</i>	3. Iwo	<i>10.1</i>	3. Ibadan	1,067
4. OYO	46	4. Ede	<i>40.6</i>	4. Ede	<i>11.6</i>	4. OYO	1,061
5. Ede	43	5. OGBOMOSHO	<i>36.4</i>	5. OGBOMOSHO	<i>12.0</i>	5. OGBOMOSHO	995
6. Abeokuta	42	6. Iwo	<i>34.2</i>	6. ISEYIN	<i>14.7</i>	6. ILORIN	982
7. OGBOMOSHO	40	7. Oshogbo	<i>28.7</i>	7. Ife	<i>20.2</i>	7. ISEYIN	958
8. Ilesha	39	8. Ibadan	<i>21.6</i>	8. Ilesha	<i>27.1</i>	8. Ede	922
9. Ibadan	37	9. Ilesha	<i>18.7</i>	9. Ibadan	<i>40.4</i>	9. Ilesha	900
10. Ife	31	10. ILORIN	<i>14.3</i>	10. Abeokuta	<i>40.8</i>	10. Abeokuta	878
11. Oshogbo	28	11. Abeokuta	<i>6.9</i>	11. ILORIN	<i>47.2</i>	11. Ife	872
12. Iwo	24	12. LAGOS	<i>2.5</i>	12. LAGOS	<i>56.0</i>	12. Oshogbo	855

decreasing order, and in line with these hypotheses the cities outside the cocoa belt should appear near the top, while Lagos as a "new" city should rank even higher. In fact, the first four positions are held by Lagos, Iseyin, Ilorin, and Oyo. Ogbomosho, the lowest ranking city outside the cocoa belt, is only three percentage points (out of a range of 36) below Ede, the highest ranking city in the cocoa area. The figures in Column 1 are comparable, as only urban residents are included.

The ranking by percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing (Column 2) is again in decreasing order. In line with the hypotheses, the cities outside the cocoa belt should again appear near the top, but Lagos should appear near the bottom. The imperfect nature of the test is shown by the fact that the seven highest ranking cities are all those for which nonurban residents are included in the percentages (again given in italics), while the five whose percentages include only city dwellers occupy the five lowest positions. The figures are therefore not comparable, but the first two positions are held by Iseyin and Oyo, with Ogbomosho ranking fifth, 4.5 percentage points (out of a range of 43.6) below Ife, the highest ranking city in the cocoa belt. Ilorin ranks tenth and, as anticipated, Lagos is in last place.

The ranking by percentages of males in other occupations (Column 3) is in increasing order, which means that cities outside the cocoa belt should again appear near the top, except for Lagos, which should again appear at the bottom. Again the imperfect nature of the test is shown by the fact that the seven highest ranking cities are all those whose percentages include nonurban residents, while the others occupy the five lowest positions. Oyo ranks second, Ogbomosho and Iseyin rank fifth and sixth, Ilorin ranks eleventh, and Lagos, as predicted, is last. Iseyin's low ranking can be attributed to the fact that it has been a center for weaving and blacksmithing since long before the introduction of cocoa, and its products are widely sold in Nigeria. Iseyin has the highest percentage of males engaged in crafts (Table 4) of the first eight cities in Column 3. Ilorin's position in Columns 2 and 3 will be discussed shortly.

The ranking by sex ratio (Column 4) is in terms of decreasing numbers of males per females, which means that Lagos and cities outside the cocoa belt should appear near the top. Lagos ranks second (1,154) after Iwo (1,354), and the other cities outside the cocoa belt rank fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. Ibadan, in third position, ranks higher than might be expected, but Iwo's high rank in first position cannot be accounted for either in terms of the hypotheses or the available data. It is clearly not due to immigration in search of urban employment, because Iwo has the lowest percentage of males aged 15-50 (Column 1). As only urban residents are included here, these figures are comparable.

The marked contrast between Lagos, as one of Africa's new cities, and the traditional cities of the Yoruba is brought out clearly in this comparison. Lagos has the second highest proportion of males to females after Iwo, and in other factors it is clearly the most "modern" of these cities. It has the highest percentage of males aged 15-50 (60 percent), the lowest percentage of males engaged in agriculture and fishing (2.5 percent), and the highest percentage of males in other occupations (56 percent), suggesting economic development, urban immigration, and the familiar pattern of urbanization.

Abeokuta and Ibadan, both of which were founded in the first half of the last century, have taken on some of the characteristics of the new cities of Africa, but are far less westernized than Lagos. Ibadan is Nigeria's largest city, an important stop on the railway, and the administrative headquarters of the Western Region, while Abeokuta has had a high degree of acculturation, being closest to Lagos by rail and having been the earliest missionary headquarters and an important center of mission education since more than a century ago. They differ by less than half a percentage point (out of a range of 48.2) in males engaged in other occupations, with Ibadan ninth, Abeokuta tenth, Ilorin eleventh, and Lagos twelfth. Abeokuta ranks eleventh, close to Lagos, with only 6.9 percent of its males engaged in agriculture and fishing, while Ibadan ranks eighth with 21.6 percent. Abeokuta ranks sixth in males of employable age, only one percentage point below the highest city in the cocoa belt, while Ibadan ranks ninth. On the other hand, Ibadan ranks third, next to Lagos, in the sex ratio with 1,067, while Abeokuta ranks tenth with 878.

Ilorin's rank in terms of males of employable age (Column 1) and the sex ratio (Column 4) is as one would expect from the hypotheses, but its male occupational distribution (Columns 2 and 3) suggests a different pattern of specialization and division of labor or of census reporting and recording in the Northern Region. Ilorin is recorded as having the highest percentage of craftsmen of all 12 cities, and as ranking second only to Lagos in the percentage of males in unspecified occupations (Table 4). Further evidence of a different pattern is to be seen in the unusual position of Ilorin Division in Table 1 (Columns 6-10) noted above, and in the low percentages of women engaged in farming and fishing in Ilorin and Kabba Divisions. These percentages run 19.5 for the Colony, 34.6 for Ibadan Province, 37.9 for Oyo, 37.8 for Ondo, 41.8

TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN YORUBA CITIES OVER 40,000, 1952

	Percent of Males					Percent of Females			
	Agriculture and Fishing (1)	Craftsmen (2)	Trading and clerical (3)	Administrative and professional (4)	Other occupations (5)	Not working (6)	Agriculture and fishing	Trading and clerical	All other females
1. ISEYIN	46.1	7.9	2.8	0.7	3.3	39.1	44.6	15.3	40.1
2. OYO	44.6	3.2	2.6	1.4	2.0	46.1	41.7	12.7	45.7
3. Ife	40.9	4.0	9.0	1.9	5.3	38.9	39.1	18.3	42.6
4. Ede	40.6	4.2	4.1	1.4	2.0	47.8	42.3	13.5	44.1
5. OGBOMOSHO	36.4	3.9	6.1	1.0	1.1	51.5	34.1	14.0	52.0
6. Iwo	34.2	2.7	4.5	1.1	1.8	55.7	36.2	7.6	56.2
7. Oshogbo	28.7	3.2	2.7	0.8	1.1	63.4	37.8	5.6	56.7
8. Ibadan	21.6	12.0	13.3	5.4	9.6	38.1	20.7	29.1	50.2
9. Ilesha	18.7	7.1	12.2	3.1	4.7	54.2	10.7	28.9	60.4
10. ILORIN	14.3	16.2	10.1	6.0	14.9	38.4	3.5	43.3	53.2
11. Abeokuta	6.9	13.1	10.6	5.7	11.5	52.2	4.3	36.8	58.8
12. LAGOS	2.5	7.9	14.6	11.0	22.5	41.4	2.2	26.7	71.1

for Ijebu, 38.3 for Abeokuta, 12.6 for Ilorin Division, and 5.2 for Kabba. These figures are roughly correlated with those for males (Table 1, Column 7), except for the two Divisions in the Northern Region.

Further data on occupations are given in Table 4, where the differences between Ilorin males and females in the percentages engaged in agriculture and fishing is also in contrast to a rough correlation for the other cities.

The hypotheses presented here would also account for the unexpected negative correlation between the percentage of males aged 15-50 and the index of urbanization of the Yoruba Provinces in the Western Region (Table 1), and the suggestion of a similar negative correlation with city size (Table 2). It also helps to explain the lack of a relation between city size and the sex ratio (Table 2) and between city size and male occupations (Table 2). These points, coupled with the high proportion of males aged 15-50 in cities outside the cocoa belt (Table 3), reflect the fact, stated in earlier articles, that traditional Yoruba cities were in fact agricultural centers, and that farming was an important urban occupation.

If the preceding analysis is correct, and I believe it to be so despite the fact

that strictly comparable figures are not available, farming was even more important as an occupation in these cities in the last century than it has been since the introduction of cocoa. Before cocoa, the traditional Yoruba cities probably resembled Africa's new cities in having high sex ratios and high percentages of males of employable age in comparison with those which today depend upon cocoa, but were in marked contrast to the new cities in male occupational distributions. Ilorin, on the other hand, approaches the new cities of Africa in all four of these factors, and presumably also did so during the last century.

As has been shown, the Yoruba were homogeneous, both in terms of their eight areas (Table 1) and in terms of their 12 largest cities (Table 2), and were undoubtedly even more homogeneous a century ago. Except for the Colony and Lagos, the most urban areas are still the most homogeneous. Population density obviously does not explain the development of urbanism by itself, but no explanation has been found for the negative correlation between population density and the index of urbanization in the Provinces of Oyo, Ondo, Ijebu, and Abeokuta, and in Ilorin Division (Table 1).

NOTES

¹ The present paper is a revision of one read under the same title at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Mexico City, December, 1959, and dittoed in early 1960 by the Committee on Urbanization of the Social Science Research Council.

² The occupational groups reported for males in the 1952 census are:

(a) Agricultural workers, farmers, fisherman and all other occupations closely related to agriculture, such as hunters and guides, lumbermen, dairy workers, herdsmen, gatherers of sylvan produce, etc.

(b) Craftsmen and others engaged in production processes. This group comprises all persons exercising crafts or engaged in semi-skilled and relatively skilled operations in producing such articles as metal products, textiles, wood products, pottery, etc.

(c) Traders and related workers. All persons engaged in trading or assisting in a trading establishment should be entered in this group. These persons include owners or managers of stores, all sales workers (shop assistants, pedlars, etc.), market stall traders, and all clerical workers such as accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers, etc., engaged in commerce.

(d) Administrative, professional and related workers. The category includes all persons employed by Government or Native Authorities, those practising professions or work usually requiring specialized knowledge and training, like chemists and draughtsmen. Professional workers comprise, besides doctors and lawyers, etc., all religious workers, nurses, school teachers, etc.

(e) Other occupations. This group should not be confused with the last group, which provides for "Other males." In addition to the categories of workers dealt with above, there are other occupations, such as drivers and lorry-men, stewards and other domestic service workers, dock workers, etc., miners, quarrymen, etc., who should all be included in this miscellaneous "other occupations" group.

(f) Other males. Persons not in the "labour force" such as young boys, old men, the crippled, etc., will constitute the "other males."

In Table 1, categories (b) through (e) are grouped in Column 8. For details on these subdivisions, see Table 4.

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