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**THE EVOLUTION AND SPATIAL DIFFUSION OF
INFORMAL SECTOR ACTIVITY IN NIGERIA:
A CASE STUDY OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY
IN THE OYO STATE METROPOLITAN AREAS**

By

REMY N. ONYEWUENYI

**Submitted to The School of Graduate Studies
and Research, University of Ottawa, Ottawa,
as a partial requirement for an award of a
doctorate degree in Geography**

December 1990



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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ABSTRACT

One of the oldest traditional crafts that provided employment for a significant proportion of the Nigerian population and practised specially by the Oyo Yoruba, is dressmaking by hand. The introduction of colonial rule and sewing machine in the region in early nineteenth century, not only revolutionised the art of dressmaking, but it also created a new and non-traditional craft: tailoring - the art of making clothes with the aid of a sewing machine. Over the years, dressmaking by hand has given way to tailoring, and tailoring has gradually become a dominant industry in the field of informal sector activities in Oyo State.

The objectives of the study are (1) to describe the evolution and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the Oyo State metropolitan system, (2) to measure and explain the pattern of spatial variations of the diffusion, and (3) to explain the role of colonial and post colonial systems in the development and spatial diffusion of the industry in the state. It is hoped that from the evidence presented in the study, we can speculate on what spatial and historical structures that promote or hinder the development of informal tailoring activity, at least in the Nigerian metropolitan areas.

The study area is Yorubaland, where the bulk of the population is Yoruba. The observation units at the inter urban level are sixteen selected centres, consisting of eleven divisional and five non-divisional headquarter towns. The intra urban observation units are the forty five administrative wards and sub-wards of the Ibadan metropolitan area.

In order to reconstruct and explain the historical and geographical evolution of the informal tailoring industry in colonial and post colonial Oyo State, the author adopted a multi data source approach principally to provide supplementary information. A historical

(iv)

geographical approach is adopted in the discussion on the relationship between the colonial and post colonial economic and spatial structures and the development and diffusion of tailoring industry. Also, in tracing the impact of these colonial structures on the tailoring development, emphasis is placed on a descriptive approach. To test the hypotheses on the relationship between the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry and urban hierarchy in Oyo State, a probability of location model is designed and used. Based on the probability of location index, the actual and the expected patterns of diffusion and development, in time and space, of the informal tailoring industry, are compared. The relevance of the variables included in the construction of the probability of location model is tested, using Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation method.

The principal conclusions of the study are the following:

1) The British Colonial Administration in Nigeria brought with it many changes in the social and economic lives of the Yoruba of Oyo state, particularly their clothes production and consumption patterns. The colonial presence, its administrative and trade policies, the introduction of sewing machines and European clothes styles and cloth materials, greatly influenced the development and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the Oyo State metropolitan system.

2) The early missionary activities in Yorubaland, as part of the colonial experience, contributed significantly, through new moral and ethical teachings and, the establishment of schools, to the development of informal tailoring industry in the state by influencing the patterns of Yoruba clothes consumption and production.

3) The post colonial governments in Oyo State helped some of the existing informal tailoring establishments to continue in business, through government-assisted loans and the importation of sewing machines, cotton and rayon piece goods.

4) Assessed in the context of urban system effects, the concentration of informal tailoring industry in the Oyo state metropolitan system, in general, conforms to the theoretical assumption that the spatial concentration of economic activity results from increased local demand for goods and services.

5) In general, the informal tailoring innovation diffused hierarchically from the town with the highest probability of location index (PLI) to the town with the lowest PLI. In other words, the innovation spread from Ibadan, the primate and first order town, to Igboho, the smallest town in the urban hierarchy.

6) The intra urban distribution of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan was very much influenced by the availability of affordable residential site, work material, proximity to market, relatives, accessibility to good transportation system, and land use patterns. Nearly 90.0 percent of all the informal tailors in Ibadan carry out their business from residential or domestic buildings. The locational shifts of informal tailors in Ibadan show a strong movement towards the fringe of the city and away from the traditional core and its older suburbs. The current distribution pattern of the industry shows also a concentration in the fringe areas of the city of Ibadan. Poor facility availability at the core and older suburbs and new developments at the fringe, in a large measure, explain the direction of the shifts.

7) In planning the development of a sustainable Nigerian clothing industry, it will be a serious development planning mistake if the contributions of the informal tailors are not seriously considered. The invisible social and economic contributions of the sector to the Nigerian society and economy to date have been enormous. We also recommend that the informal tailors should be given the freedom to participate in the market according to their talents and preferences. On the issue of accessibility to public finance, although not all informal tailoring activities require loans from the government or public financial institutions, we recommend that the loan criteria be modified to accommodate those tailors in the discriminated units that may need financial help. Although the recommendation is made with respect to informal tailoring industry in Oyo State, its interpretation and application have some national and universal perspective.

8) In dealing with the phenomenon of informal sector in Nigeria, we recommend that more attention be paid to the understanding of the characteristics of individual informal activities, particularly their institutions and norms. These individualised studies will reveal not only the peculiar characteristics of certain informal economic activities, but also the institutions and norms which all informal sector activities share in common. This knowledge of the informal sector institutions and norms is essential in planning the incorporation of the sector into the state or national economy.

9) The application of modern economic framework and concepts in the analysis of an economic activity in a highly traditional society should be done critically and with caution. Such concepts should be critically defined before a universal application. Also,

(vii)

as an analytical tool, the probability of location model has obvious limitations, which can influence the interpretation of relationships.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
al.	alia (others)
CBD	Central Business District
CMS	Church Missionary Society
contd.	continued
Dr.	Doctor
ed.	Editor
eds.	Editors
f.	following
GRA	Government Reservation Area
GRAs	Government Reservation Areas
ILO	International Labour Office
km	kilometre
LGA	Local Government Area
LGAs	Local Government Areas
Mr.	Mister
n.a.	Not available
NAI	National Archives, Ibadan
n.d.	no date
No.	Number
Nos.	Numbers
op.cit.	opus citatus(i), "work(s) already cited"
OAU	Obafemi Awolowo University
p.	page
pp.	pages
Qs.	Question
Qss.	Questions
Rev.Fr.	Reverend Father
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
Unife	University of Ife
vol.	Volume

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Remy N. Onyewuenyi

Chapter One

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Too often in the past, in countries striving to industrialise, there has been a tendency to opt for major industrial production units using advanced capital-intensive methods and to establish new undertakings without too much concern for those already in existence, particularly the mass of small scale enterprises. The sector of crafts and small scale industries was regarded with a somewhat critical eye, as an inevitably backward and lagging part of the economy. Until the late 1960s and 1970s the sector was tolerated and barely aided only for social reasons and not on the grounds that they might constitute a promising opportunity for development (Schadler, 1968).

Since then more and more attention has been paid to the benefits to be gained by helping existing crafts and informal small scale enterprises to develop freely. In the context of developing countries, particularly in Africa,

"small industries are now considered to offer a good solution to the twin problem of a pressing need for higher industrial output and increasing employment" (Schadler, 1968, p.19).

In Nigeria, one of the oldest traditional crafts that provided employment for a significant proportion of the population and practised specially by the Oyo Yoruba, is dressmaking by hand. It was principally done by women and closely associated with

weaving and spinning. The introduction of sewing machine in the region in early nineteenth century not only revolutionised the art of dressmaking, but it also created a new and non-traditional craft: tailoring - the art of making clothes with the aid of a sewing machine.

Over the years, dressmaking by hand has given way to tailoring and it has changed from being an occupation principally engaged by women to a trade in which men and women have almost an equal participation. Most importantly, it has gradually become a dominant industry in the field of informal small scale industrial activities in the state.

The adoption of the new technology in dressmaking seems to have proceeded not necessarily from the major traditional centres of weaving and dressmaking, but from some other centres with more European and colonial contacts. It seems too, that the larger centres in the region adopted the sewing machine/tailoring innovation faster and before the smaller and more remote centres.

How the development and spatial diffusion of tailoring is related to either the colonial past or the system of cities in Oyo state has not been studied in any detail. In the light of the above, this study seeks to provide some answers to two primary questions, namely: a) What role did the colonial system play in the development and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state?, and b) What is the relationship between the diffusion of informal tailoring industry and the system of towns in Oyo state?

1.2 Objectives of the Study

Among the central objectives of this study is to gain a better understanding of the evolution and spatial diffusion of tailoring innovation in the metropolitan areas of Oyo State. This understanding will include both the inter and intra urban distribution of tailoring activity. The research hopes to contribute to the spatial perspective which has been lagging behind in geographical literature on the informal sector. From some of the evidence presented in the study, it is hoped that we can speculate on what spatial and historical structures that promote or hinder the development of informal sector activity, at least in Nigeria.

A spatial perspective to the study would help us to identify the linkages that exist between and within towns. It would allow us to speculate on what kinds of towns favour the development of informal activity. The importance of this is that we can begin to develop a typology of growth inducing versus growth inhibiting places for informal sector activity (Sanders, 1987; Roberge, 1989). Also, a spatial analysis would allow us to compare places where growth and development are occurring with places where the incidence of informal activity is high. If an association between the two is found, it would be a significant advance in terms of our thinking on the role of informal activity in the development process. It is the researcher's belief that even the most rudimentary descriptive spatial analysis would allow one to determine more reliably the productive organisation of towns.

1.3 Justification and Need for the Study

Tailoring is of special interest principally because it is a service-oriented industry that caters to one of the most basic human needs - clothing. Secondly, about 95.0 percent of the activity is informal. Thirdly, the researcher's interest in tailoring stems partly from the fact that he has a tailoring background. His father worked as a tailor for many years before joining the teaching profession in 1957. He made a decent living by it but when an opportunity for a higher and more regular paying job presented itself he quit tailoring. However, he still sews as a hobby.

Available evidence indicates that tailoring has been a significant if not dominant component of the small scale industrial sector of Oyo State since the colonial times. Not only has tailoring the overwhelming majority of all small scale industries in the state (Tables 1.1 and 1.2), but it accounts for the vast bulk of small scale industrial employment (Table 1.3 and Appendix 1). It also accounts for a significant proportion of total small scale industry capital investment (Appendix 2).

From table 1.3, on the average the tailoring activity accounted for between 36.3 and 40.0 percent of all small scale industrial employment between 1946 and 1971. Also between 1948 and 1988 it accounted for between 28.0 and 51.1 percent of all small scale industrial activities in the state (Table 1.1). In some cases, for individual towns, tailoring alone accounted for more than 65.0 percent of all small scale industrial activities and as high as 58.6 percent of all small scale industrial employment (Table 1.2).

Table 1.1

TAILORING UNITS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SMALL SCALE
INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN IBADAN, IWO AND OYO,
OYO STATE, NIGERIA, 1948-1988

Towns	1948	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1988
Ibadan	39.0	53.0	48.3	48.2	46.3	55.7	28.0
Iwo	19.8	33.6	30.6	28.0	48.7	31.1	10.8
Oyo	20.0	40.8	49.0	29.0	41.0	38.3	21.7
Average	26.3	42.5	42.6	35.1	45.3	41.7	20.2

Sources: Ministry of Economic Planning and Reconstruction, 1970, Interim Report on the Survey of Small-Scale Industries in Selected Towns in the Western State, (Ibadan, Iwo, and Oyo), M.E.P.R. (Statistics Division), Ibadan; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, Small-Scale Industries: Western State of Nigeria, Department of Economics, University of Ife, Ile-Ife; Odetola et al., (eds.), 1988, Survey of Business Enterprises in Oyo State: Manufacturing, Vol. 1, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Oyo State, Ibadan.

Table 1.2

TAILORING UNITS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1971-1988

Towns	Total Establish. Tailoring As Proportion Of Total					
			Number		Percentage	
	1971	1988	1971	1988	1971	1988
Ede	56	102	29	45	51.8	44.1
Ejigbo	159	41	81	9	50.9	22.0
Eruwa	71	55	27	13	38.0	23.6
Gbongan	55	29	36	15	65.5	51.7
Ibadan	3078	1893	1713	530	55.7	28.0
Igboho	45	54	26	25	57.8	46.3
Ikirun	134	20	76	5	56.7	25.0
Ile-Ife	922	139	519	49	56.3	35.3
Ilesha	1023	402	561	123	54.8	30.6
Iseyin	179	108	87	53	48.6	49.1
Iwo	853	93	265	10	31.1	10.8
Ogbomosho	658	164	364	26	55.3	15.9
Okuku	13	20	5	5	38.5	25.0
Oshogbo	559	389	302	96	54.0	24.7
Oyo	368	221	141	48	38.3	21.7
Shaki	272	72	86	11	31.6	15.3
Total	8445	3802	4318	1063	51.1	28.0

Sources: The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, op. cit., pp. xvii-xviii, Tables 2 and 3; Odetola et al., (eds.), 1988, op. cit.

Table 1.3

PROPORTION OF TAILORS TO TOTAL SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES'
EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1946-1971
(Excluding Apprentices)

Towns	Total Employment		Tailors As Proportion Of Total			
			Number		Percentage	
	1946	1971	1946	1971	1946	1971
Ede	357	78	236	37	66.1	47.4
Ejigbo	156	218	68	87	43.6	39.9
Eruwa	26	124	14	43	53.8	34.7
Gbongan	152	82	63	40	41.4	48.8
Ibadan	2114	4842	959	1929	45.4	39.8
Igboho	85	58	24	28	28.2	48.3
Ikirun	354	135	186	76	52.5	56.3
Ile-Ife	361	1100	96	519	26.6	47.2
Ilesha	596	1151	233	568	39.1	49.3
Iseyin	1149	240	67	92	5.8	38.3
Iwo	122	1174	57	306	46.7	26.1
Ogbomosho	368	765	224	364	60.9	47.6
Okuku	74	17	27	6	36.5	35.3
Oshogbo	392	643	184	303	49.9	47.1
Oyo	528	656	77	153	14.6	23.3
Shaki	213	339	46	93	21.6	27.4
Total	7047	11622	2561	4644	36.3	40.0

Sources: Senior Resident, Oyo Province, "Census of Tradesmen, Oyo Province, 1946", Oyo Prof.1, No. 426, Vol.II, p. 268, National Archives, Ibadan; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, op. cit.

Despite the obvious magnitude of the tailoring activity in relation to total small scale industrial activity in the state, no study has been undertaken to analyze either the socio-economic or spatial environments that have favoured its growth. The purpose of this research is to initiate a study in this important informal sector activity by exploring its evolution and spatial diffusion, and some of the factors responsible for its development. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research on the subject, particularly in the area of linkage relationships between tailoring and other informal sector activities in the state.

The decision to focus this study of informal tailoring activity in Nigeria on the Yoruba and Yorubaland is based on a number of perceived advantages on the development of the industry which the Yoruba ethnic group has and the other ethnic groups do not have. Among these factors are historical, geographical and cultural advantages that made the Yoruba "the readiest of all the tribes of Southern Nigeria, possibly in all tropical West Africa, to adopt, and to adapt himself to, that 'civilization' which British rule deems good for him" (Boyle, 1910, p. 35).

Compared to some of the other ethnic groups in Nigeria, it has been argued that, because of their long established expertise in traditional crafts and marketing organisation, the Yoruba of Oyo State are more likely to be involved in a modern sector small enterprise (Hodder, 1969; Hatch, 1970). The Yoruba seem to have had a competitive edge over the other ethnic groups, in terms of organisation and wealth, because of historical, geographical and cultural factors. These factors, particularly the historical and cultural,

may have contributed to the dominance of the Yoruba in the tailoring industry.

Historically, the Yoruba were among the first ethnic groups in Nigeria to come in contact with the Europeans and their culture, long before the establishment of British Colonial administration (Talbot, 1926; Bray, 1969; Hatch, 1970). Their coastal and westerly location played a major role in these early contacts with the outside world. As the main thrust of European contact with West Africa was from the west and the coast, the towns and ethnic groups located in the general direction of these thrusts had a greater chance of an early contact with European culture than those located in the hinterland and away from the line of European penetration.

One of the exogenous cultures that the Yoruba came in contact with historically before any other ethnic group in Nigeria, was a culture that requires the wearing of full dress. This primary contact and the fact the Yoruba practised weaving and dressmaking long before the colonial era in Nigeria, are partly responsible for their domination of the tailoring business (Talbot, 1926; Bray, 1969; Dark, 1973).

The Yoruba have been noted as one of the most colourfully and beautifully dressed of the Nigerian ethnic groups; something that they may have adopted from contact with exogenous clothes-wearing cultures, particularly the early European traders and missionaries (Boyle, 1910; Talbot, 1926; Akintoye, 1969). The need to provide highly specialised costumes and dresses may have led to an early development of the art of dressmaking among the Yoruba. Also, the fact that weaving was a well-developed industry in pre-colonial Yorubaland, may partly explain the development of dress-making and later,

tailoring, among the Yoruba. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cotton cloth produced by Yoruba weavers was an important article of trade between them and European traders (Talbot, 1926; Akintoye, 1969). Commenting on the weaving activity among the various ethnic groups in Southern Nigeria, Talbot writes:

"Weaving is carried on everywhere in the cotton districts, namely, in Yorubaland, and to a lesser extent in northern Edo and central Iboland, and among some of the northern Semi-Bantu. The Yoruba and Bini cloth used to be much appreciated because of its high quality. A large export market in cloth flourished until the third quarter of the 19th century, when it gradually declined owing to the great expansion in the import of Manchester goods. In 1857 the British Consul at Lagos estimated that no less than 150,000 'country cloths of native manufacture' were exported from the ports of that part of the coast stretching from Wida to Benin River" (Talbot, 1926, vol. 3, pp. 939-941).

The dominance of the Yoruba ethnic group in the weaving industry, the efficiency of the industry and the high quality of its product are also alluded to by a colonial Commercial Intelligence Officer (1905). After visiting one of the principal native cotton-growing centres in Yorubaland (Okeho and Iganna), lying about 120 miles from Lagos town, where all the cotton gathered is absorbed locally for the manufacture of yarn and in turn country cloths, the officer notes:

"The whole process [of country cloths manufacture] is the most interesting one I have seen in this country, and, although the implements are so primitive, the results, apart from unevenness in thread, are, in my opinion, equal to anything all our complicated machinery can produce in Europe" (Commercial Intelligence Officer, 1905, p. 22).

As has been suggested by Teriba et alia (1981), the availability of raw material is important for industries producing textile and wearing apparel products. The availability of local woven cloth may have facilitated the development of dress-making among the Yoruba. Similarly, the availability of advanced weaving and traditional dress-making technology in Yorubaland, in part, explains the early adoption of the tailoring innovation among the Yoruba. With these clothes-related technologies and entrepreneurs present, it was easier for them to adopt the tailoring innovation earlier than any other ethnic groups, especially those without these advantages.

The concentration of the Yoruba on the tailoring industry is largely related to the recruitment pattern of new people into trades, practised by most of the ethnic groups in Nigeria. Since skills acquired by a family or ethnic group were highly valued and often kept secret, it was not common for a craftsman or woman to apprentice someone outside the family or ethnic group in the specialised trade (Callaway, 1964; Onokerhoraye, 1977). As the Yoruba were the first to acquire the tailoring technology through initial historical advantage, they have continued to dominate the industry relative to their population size, through this recruitment system that favours the admission of additional members of their own ethnic group into the tailoring occupation relative to those of other ethnic groups.

The 1921 census of craftsmen and women in the major towns of Southern Nigeria, shows that the Yoruba constituted 68.2 percent of all the tailors (Talbot, 1926). Of that percentage, the Yoruba of Oyo state alone accounted for nearly 55.0 percent. In effect, there were about 1,379 tailors in Oyo state by 1921. This represented 37.5 percent of all

tailors in Southern Nigeria. A coefficient of localisation index of 2.66 in favour of Yoruba ethnic group indicates the high concentration of tailoring activity among the group, especially when compared with the other ethnic groups in Southern Nigeria. See Table 1.4 for details. The introduction of sewing machine and European style clothing and materials in Yorubaland by the colonialists seemed to have escalated the development of an existing entrepreneurial potential and market.

Other Yoruba cultural practices seem to have contributed to the growth and concentration of tailoring activity in the land. It has been argued that among the Yoruba, lavish spending on clothes is one of the accepted norms of distinction of a man of culture, principle and generosity (Eades, 1980). Conspicuous consumption, the costs of attaining high office and the inheritance system, are mechanisms for the dispersion and redistribution of wealth and fortunes, for the Yoruba.

An analysis of the expenditure on clothing as percentage of total expenditure on goods and services by individuals from different job classifications, indicates that workers from Ibadan spent more on clothing than workers from other non-Yoruba towns between 1960 and 1967 (Table 1.5). If the pattern of consumption by workers from Ibadan is representative of all Yoruba people, which is most likely, one can surmise that there is something about their culture that makes them spend more on clothes than other ethnic groups in the country.

Table 1.4

**CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION AND TAILORS BY ETHNICITY
IN MAJOR TOWNS, SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1921**

Ethnic Group	Population	Tailors	C.L.
Bafumbum	138,108	11	0.18
Bantu	287,283	4	0.03
Edo	471,717	38	0.18
Ekoi	89,768	11	0.27
Ibo	3,927,419	147	0.08
Ibibio	960,311	184	0.43
Ijaw	173,776	19	0.24
Popo	39,361	13	0.74
Yoruba	2,113,411	2,511	2.66
Total Population	8,235,353	3,681	-

Note: C.L. = Coefficient of localisation.

Source: Talbot, 1926, op. cit., Tables 7 and 8, pp. 166 - 169.

Table 1.5

**CLOTHING AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON GOODS
AND SERVICES PER INDIVIDUALS BY JOB CLASSIFICATION
IN SELECTED TOWNS, NIGERIA, 1960-1967**

Town	Year	Clerks	Artisans	Labourers	Average
Enugu	1962	12.5	12.1	7.0	10.5
Ibadan	1962	29.4	26.6	15.5	23.8
Kaduna	1963	12.4	11.2	5.5	9.7
Lagos	1960	13.4	10.0	6.5	10.0
Sokoto/Gusau	1967	18.0	11.4	10.0	13.1

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1963, Urban Consumer Surveys in Nigeria: Lagos, 1959-60; Urban Consumer Surveys: Enugu, UCS/1966/1; Urban Consumer Surveys: Ibadan, UCS/1966/2; Urban Consumer Surveys: Kaduna, UCS/1966/3; Urban Consumer Surveys: Sokoto/Gusau, UCS/1967/4; National Integrated Survey of Households: Report of National Consumer Survey June 1980 - May 1981, Printing Unit, Lagos.

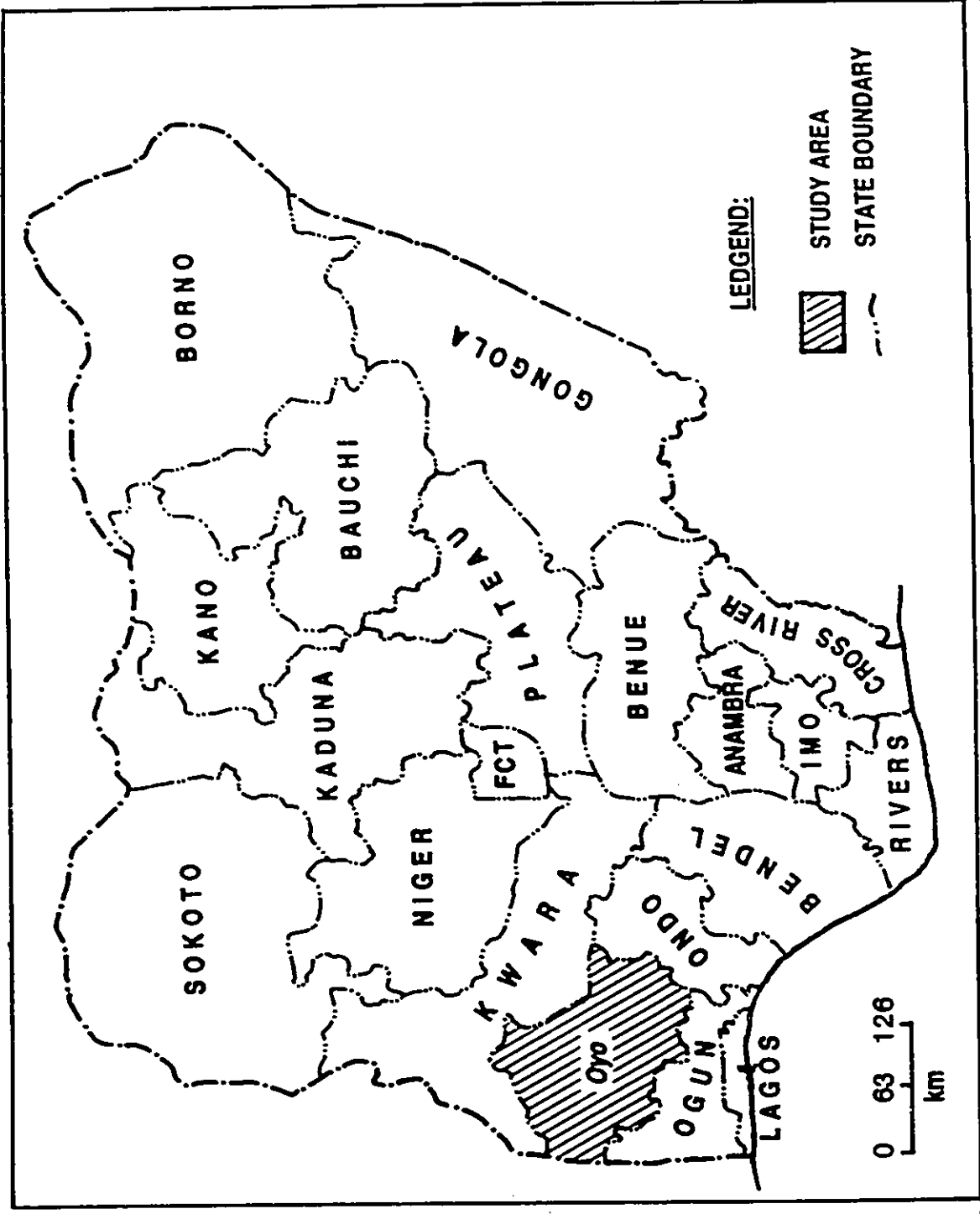
Apprenticeship, which is an important component of the development of tailoring activity, has a social and cultural content among the Yoruba. In addition to the tradition of handing on one's trade to a sibling, strong family and kinship ties promote apprenticeship in Yorubaland. By supporting and apprenticing junior relatives the master craftsman fulfils kinship obligations. Most Yoruba tailors have been very faithful to this cultural demand and this in part explains the growth of tailoring industry among the Yoruba. About 28.0 percent of the tailors in Ibadan in 1989 had a tailoring background either a member of their family or relatives is or has been in the tailoring business before them.

1.4 Study Area

Oyo State, one of the twenty-one States of Nigeria, provides a good test case for our analysis in many ways. Oyo was one of the oldest provinces in Western Nigeria before it became a state in April 1976 (Map 1). It has a long established urban structure with well defined administrative boundaries. In 1921 it had three divisions (administrative units) made up of Ibadan, Ife and Oyo (Talbot, 1926). By 1971, the administrative units had increased to twelve divisions. Today, it has twenty-four Local Government Areas (LGAs).

Of the Yoruba cities with populations over 100,000, Oyo State accounted for 83.3 percent in 1952 and 64.3 percent in 1963 (Mabogunje, 1962, Table 1; 1968). Based on Nigeria's definition of an urban town of 20,000 persons and above, Oyo State has a very

MAP 1
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA



high percentage of its population living in urban towns. In 1856 and 1911, five and seven towns respectively had populations of over 20,000 (Mabogunje, 1962), and by the 1952/53 census, the number was twelve. By 1963 the number rose to seventeen. Of these towns, five in 1952/53 and eight in 1963 had populations larger than 100,000, including Ibadan, with a population of 459,176 and 627,400 in 1952/53 and 1963, respectively.

The population concentration is principally in the south-eastern half of the state. The north and north-western portions of the state are sparsely populated. A series of wars directed against the Yoruba by the Fulani from the north and the people of Dahomey from the west before the beginning of the 19th century has been blamed, at least in part, as the cause of the regional imbalance in population distribution (Udo, 1970). The establishment of internal peace and security by the colonial administration provided a conducive environment for socio-economic and spatial reorganisation of the region.

Indigenous craft technology and production have a long history in Yorubaland. For example, bronze casting in Oyo dates back to the 12th century, while brass casting together with famous terracotta, ritual carvings and secular art objects were common in Oyo and Benin kingdoms in early 15th century (July, 1976; Crowder, 1978). Other traditional crafts practised in the state include leather-works, weaving, pottery, blacksmithing and gold-smithing. Among the "recent" and non-traditional economic activities that engaged some of the population are tailoring, carpentry, bicycle-repairing, auto-repairing, printing, shoe-making and watch-repairing.

Over the years they have developed intra-community institutions to support their entrepreneurial activities. In addition to daily markets, the Yoruba have also a well developed periodic market system, which serve wider areas and play a vital role in the distributive system (Hodder, 1969). The location of the daily and periodic markets, and the size of the distributive trade vary among the Yoruba towns. Some of these variations owe their origin to the colonial system.

Since Oyo State is the heartland of Yorubaland and occupies a central position in Yoruba history (Eades, 1980), its choice as a case study area seems relatively logical. The European contact with the area is one of the oldest in Nigeria. Many of the political, economic and spatial impacts of the colonial administration are still clearly distinguishable in Oyo State metropolitan areas. On the basis of information, more information on the subject is available here than elsewhere in the country. In the context of regional distribution of activity, tailoring activity appears to be concentrated in Oyo state more so than in others.

1.5 Scope of the Study

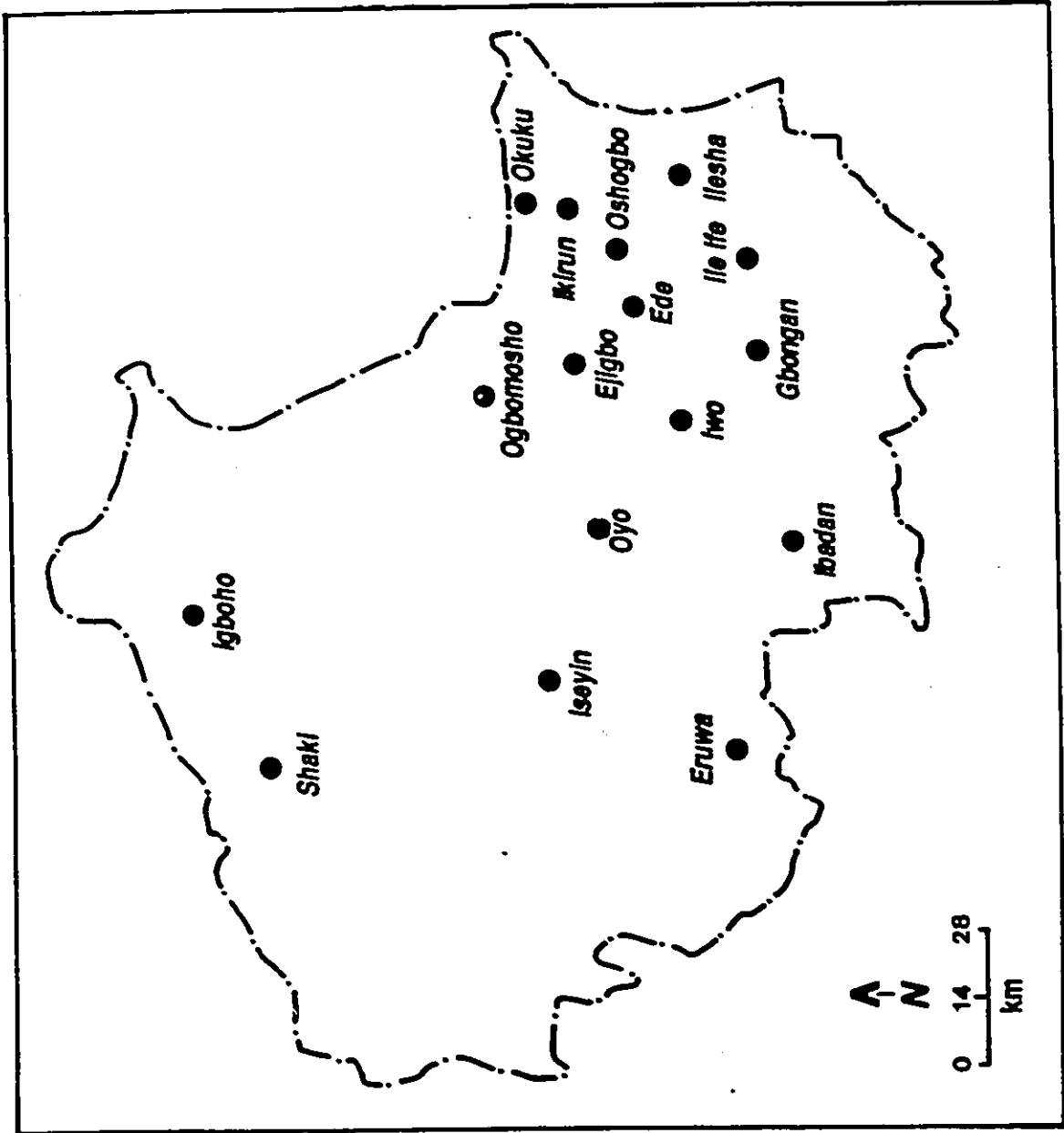
In as much as one would like to cover every town in the state, it is not practically possible for a number of reasons. One of the principal reasons is the lack of comparable data for all towns. The second major reason is the cost in time and money to cover all the locations.

Therefore, as observation points, sixteen centres (eleven Divisional Headquarters and five other towns), namely Ede, Ejigbo, Eruwa, Gbongan, Ibadan, Igboho, Ikirun, Ile Ife, Ilesha, Iseyin, Iwo, Ogbomosho, Okuku, Oshogbo, Oyo and Shaki, have been chosen, out of twenty-one possible towns in colonial Oyo Province (Senior Resident, Oyo Province, 1946), to monitor the inter urban growth and diffusion of tailoring industry (Map 2). These locations have comparable data for most of the period under review. They are representative of most of the administrative regions of the state. With respect to urban systems structure, the choice of these towns adequately reflects the concerns of the inter urban, and particularly the primate city relationships common to Third World urban hierarchy.

To examine in detail the intra urban spatial diffusion of tailoring, attention is focused on Ibadan city. Ibadan, founded in 1829 as a military camp at the foot of Mapo Hill, became the largest urban centre in Nigeria by 1860 (Mabogunje, 1968; Udo, 1989). By 1856 it had an estimated population of 60,000, which rose to 120,000 in 1890 (Mabogunje, 1968). Since then the city has continued to grow and is second only to Lagos in modern Nigeria.

The central place function of the city is as old as the city itself. The development of Ibadan as a city is due in part to its location in the heart of the Yoruba ethnic territory and its relation to the older Yoruba City States of Abeokuta, Oyo, Ijebu-Ode and Ife. It has been suggested that its location near the forest-grassland boundary contributed to its early importance as a marketing centre for traders and goods from both the forest and

MAP 2
LOCATION OF SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE.



grassland areas of the western half of Nigeria (Udo, 1989).

Its national and international functions, which date back to the colonial days, are due principally to its administrative role as the headquarters of the Western Provinces (1946), Western Region (1952), Oyo State (1976), and its accessibility from the colonial capital city of Lagos. Although the first European missionaries visited Ibadan in 1851, the first British large settlement in the city was built in 1893 (Mabogunje, 1968). In 1903 various European companies were given leasehold to settle in Ibadan (Ayeni, 1989) and by 1918 almost every European firm in Lagos had opened a branch at Ibadan (Mabogunje, 1968). According to the 1952 census the city had a population of over 2,000 Europeans (Department of Statistics, Lagos, 1953).

The European settlement and administration of the city introduced innovations and changes into the city's socio-economic and physical structures. Among the physical imprints of colonial experience on the city is the presence of two cores: the modern central business district (CBD) in Gbagi area and the traditional core around Oja Iba. The socio-economic changes include the introduction of new technology, modern economic activities and new code of morality.

The function of Ibadan as an innovation centre was at its peak during the colonial era when the city became not only the converging point for all traffic from Lagos to the Northern States, but also the major break of bulk point for both local and imported trade goods. As a colonial regional centre, it served as a disseminating point for British ideas and products into surrounding Yoruba towns and remote hinterlands.

Although Ibadan city is not properly planned and its land use pattern, especially in the traditional core, chaotic, it has some identifiable zones within which the intra urban distribution and diffusion of the tailoring industry can be monitored. Firstly, and as indicated already, the city has two easily distinguishable cores: the Gbagi and Oja Iba. Secondly, Ibadan is divided into forty-five wards and sub-wards that serve principally as administrative and electoral purposes. See Map 3. The ward codes (e.g. NW4, S6A, ..) function in a way like postal codes and are frequently used in the location of businesses and residences.

With reference to the tailoring activity of the city, no Yoruba city, except Lagos, has more or as many tailors as Ibadan. From available records, in 1946 Ibadan had an estimated 959 tailors and more than 4,200 in 1971 (Tables 1.3 and 2.1; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972). By 1989, the number of tailoring establishments in the city rose to nearly 4,600 (Table 1.6). The percentage distribution of tailoring industry in selected towns in Oyo State from 1946-1988 illustrates the heavy concentration of tailoring activity in Ibadan city (Table 1.7). The city's percentage share of the total has been on the increase. From 37.4 percent in 1946 and 39.7 percent in 1971 it rose to nearly 50.0 percent in 1988.

In the light of the above and with strong evidence of active inter and intra ward migration of tailoring industry in Ibadan, the city seems a good choice to study the intra urban growth and diffusion of this economic activity.

MAP 3
LOCATION OF WARD BOUNDARIES AND NUMBERS, IBADAN, 1989

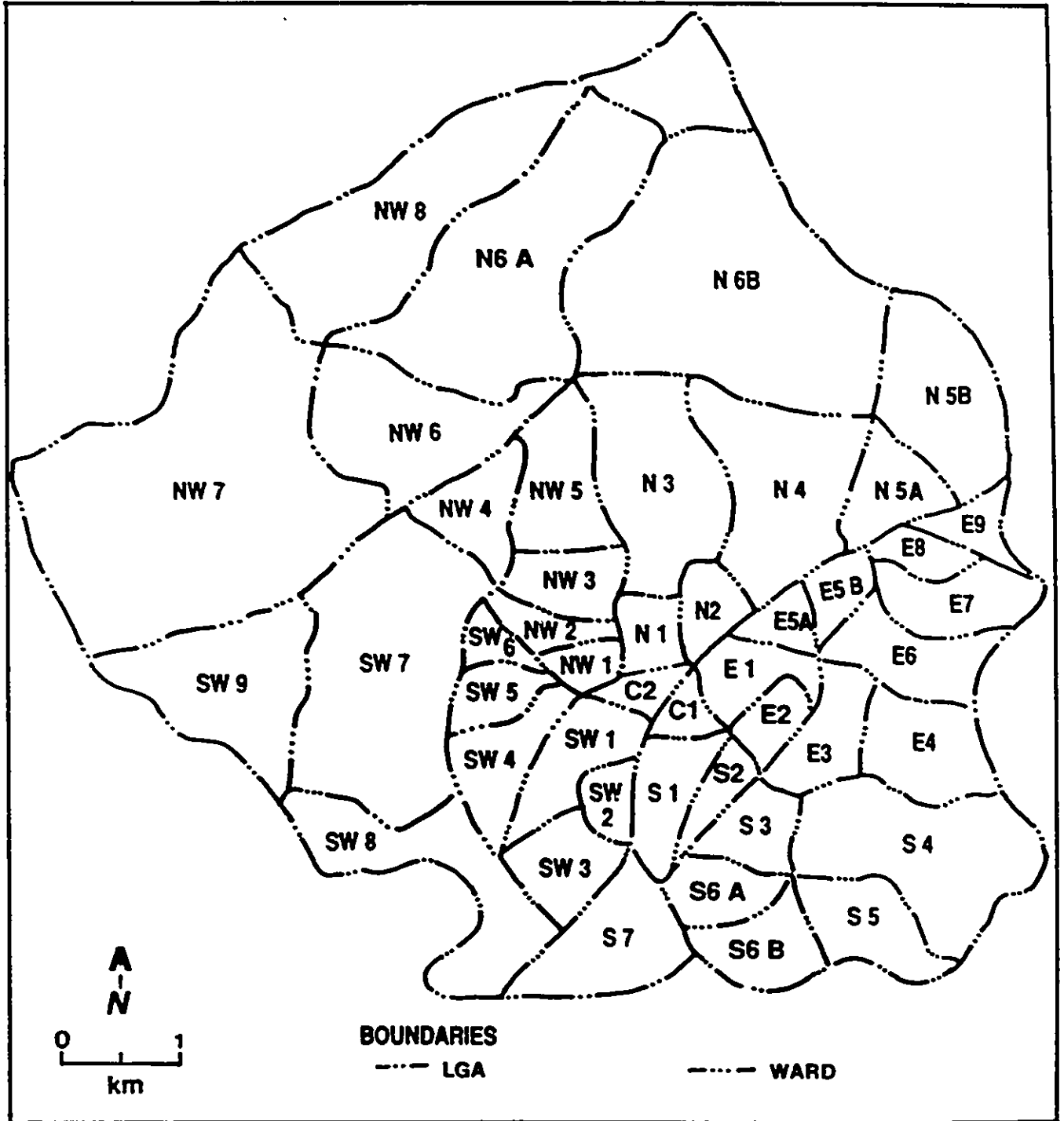


Table 1.6

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NIGERIAN ASSOCIATION OF MASTER TAILORS
BY BRANCHES, IBADAN TOWN, 1989

Branches	Total	Members		Non-members	
		No.	%	No.	%
Adekile	110	85	77.3	25	22.7
Agbowo	273	193	70.7	80	29.3
Agodi	108	101	93.5	7	6.5
Aiyekale	67	48	71.6	19	28.4
Aliwo (Agodi)	132	112	84.8	20	15.2
Aram-La	192	155	80.7	37	19.3
Atipe	133	115	86.5	18	13.5
Ayeye	80	70	87.5	10	12.5
Babanla	91	85	93.4	6	6.6
Challenge	103	78	75.7	25	24.3
Felele	96	66	68.8	30	31.2
Idi Arere	167	152	91.0	15	9.0
Idi Aro	233	198	85.0	35	15.0
Ifelodun (E1 & 2)	119	110	92.4	9	7.6
Inalende	160	140	87.5	20	12.5
Irepodun	174	162	93.1	12	6.9
Irepodun Moslem	83	73	88.0	10	12.0
Kobomoje	80	70	87.5	10	12.5
Ode Aje	125	96	76.8	29	23.2
Odinjo	90	83	92.2	7	7.8
Odinjo (S5)	409	279	68.2	130	31.8
Ogbere-Ti-Oya	130	95	73.1	35	26.9
Oke Aje	344	332	96.5	12	3.5
Oke Ola	130	120	92.3	10	7.7
Olomi	134	130	97.0	4	3.0
Olorunsogo	83	80	96.4	3	3.6
Oniyanrin	72	56	77.8	16	22.2
Oremeji	170	162	95.3	8	4.7
Oriaje	125	100	80.0	25	20.0
Oritamerin	71	53	74.6	18	25.4
Orogun	90	89	98.9	1	1.1
Sango	217	192	88.5	25	11.5
Total	4591	3880	84.5	711	15.5

Table 1.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING ACTIVITY
BY TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1946-1988

Towns	1946	1971	1988
Ede	9.2	0.7	4.2
Ejigbo	2.7	1.9	0.8
Eruwa	0.5	0.6	1.2
Gbongan	2.5	0.8	1.4
Ibadan	37.4	39.7	49.9
Igboho	0.9	0.6	2.4
Ikirun	7.3	1.8	0.5
Ile Ife	3.7	12.0	4.6
Ilesha	9.1	13.0	11.6
Iseyin	2.6	2.0	5.0
Iwo	2.2	6.1	0.9
Ogbomosho	8.7	8.4	2.4
Okuku	1.1	0.1	0.5
Oshogbo	7.2	7.0	9.0
Oyo	3.0	3.3	4.5
Shaki	1.8	2.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Tables 1.2 and 1.3.

1.6 Organisation of Chapters

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter Two reviews the literature on informal sector activity in Nigeria, leading to the definition of informal tailoring industry and the statement of thesis hypotheses. In chapter Three, the methods and techniques employed to organise and test the hypotheses are explained. Also examined in detail are the data and data sources. The evolution and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo State under the colonial system are examined in chapter Four. Chapter Five analyses the economic geography of the tailoring industry under the colonial and post colonial systems. In chapter Six, the intra urban distribution and diffusion of tailoring activity in Ibadan are described and analyzed. Chapter Seven concludes with summary of findings, and recommendations.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE EVOLUTION AND DIFFUSION OF INFORMAL SECTOR ACTIVITY IN NIGERIA

2.1 Introduction

To date, in the discussion of small scale enterprise phenomenon in Nigeria, the concepts of **Formal** and **Informal** sector are rarely used. All small scale enterprises have been discussed as if they were all alike. Yet it has been observed in The Nigerian case that the national and state governments do discriminate between small scale enterprises in the award of contracts and in the distribution of economic benefits. Certain types of small scale activities, because they meet certain government criteria, find their way into official records while other classes are not accounted for by these records (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Oyo State, 1987, 1988; The Centre for Industrial Research and Development, OAU, Ile Ife, 1988). Based on the above reasons, we can simply say for now that the small scale activities that meet these government determined criteria are to be regarded as formal, while those that have failed to meet these criteria are referred to as informal small scale activities.

The lack of distinction between the two sub-sectors in the literature of small scale economy in Nigeria creates a confusion in the understanding and interpretation of policies aimed at small scale enterprise development. In most cases and from governments'

viewpoint, these policies apply to the formal small scale sector and therefore, not addressed to the needs of the majority of the sector - the informal. As a result policies aimed at promoting small scale enterprise in Nigeria have generally ended up benefiting directly a few enterprises in the formal small scale sub-sector and in most cases none in the informal sub-sector. Yet informal small scale enterprises tend to contribute significantly, and more than the formal small scale sub-sector in many ways in Nigeria's socio-economic development.

The recognition of the distinction between the formal and informal sub-sectors of the small scale economy and the inclusion of the informal sector in the formulation of future small scale enterprise development policies are helpful. It is only in so doing that a total picture of the small scale economy can be painted, and perhaps the problems and prospects of the sector realistically planned for.

One of the objectives of this literature review is to arrive at a working definition of informal tailoring activity. To achieve this, information is drawn from studies on the informal sector in other parts of the world, particularly in the developing countries.

Informal tailoring activity like other economic activities operates in space. Its location in space is governed by a multiple of economic, geographical and political factors. Part of this chapter discusses, in general, the problem of spatial diffusion of an economic activity. The role of government, particularly the colonial administration, in creating favourable conditions for the development and spatial diffusion of an economic activity, is also a major concern in the review.

With the above in mind, the rest of the chapter is structured as follows. Section 2.2 reviews the Informal sector concept: its evolution, in geographic literature, and its treatment in Nigeria's small scale enterprises literature. Section 2.3 discusses the concept of spatial diffusion theory in the context of inter and intra urban hierarchies. In section 2.4 the concept of government as a factor in small enterprise development in the context of political and spatial economy is discussed. Section 2.5 concludes principally with the thesis hypotheses arising from the above discussion.

2.2 The Informal Sector Concept

2.2.1 Introduction

Given that the debate on feasible definitions of the informal sector is still under way and that many conceptual issues still remain to be resolved, the approach here is not to attempt new definitions, but rather to examine the degree of informality of one of Nigeria's small scale enterprises - tailoring - under existing definitions of the informal sector. But before then, a detailed discussion on existing and available definitions of the informal sector is in order.

2.2.2 Evolution of the Informal Sector Concept

From the early 1970s, the concept of the informal sector has featured constantly in the literature on Third World development. Recently there has been a renewed interest in the utility of the informal sector concept as a means of identifying small enterprises

worthy of government support (Bromley, 1989).

From its origin in the early 1970s, the concept has been beset by definitional problems. Keith Hart, "the father of the informal sector concept", defined the concept simply as "self-employment" (Hart, 1971, 1973). For him, informal income opportunities were ways for the poor to get by when neither corporations nor the government could provide sufficient employment for the expanding population. Hart's use of only a single criterion "self-employment" to define the informal sector, makes it relatively easy to define a sector using his definition.

However, Hart's simple definition was radically modified by the International Labour Office team (ILO). Using seven different criteria, the ILO (1972) defined the informal sector as a specific set of activities characterised by (1) ease of entry, (2) reliance on labour intensive and adapted technologies, (3) self-employment, (4) small scale operation, (5) family ownership of enterprises, (6) skills acquired outside the formal school system, and (7) unregulated competitive markets. Following the multi-criteria approach introduced by the ILO, Kitching (1980) described the informal sector as consisting "of all forms of wage employment and self-employment which do not find their way into the labour censuses". At its simplest, according to Kitching the sector comprises:

- "1) All forms of wage employment and self-employment in urban areas not included in the enumerations.
- 2) All forms of non-agricultural employment and self-employment in rural areas not so enumerated.
- 3) All full and part-time wage employment provided on small holdings and settlement schemes" (p. 397).

For Kitching, the key word is official enumeration. The size of the operation and the regularity and amount of wages paid do not seem to be very significant factors in the definition of informal sector employment or activity.

For Sanders (1987), informal activity has become an umbrella term that includes all those small scale activities in which participants lack permanency of employment, have no set hours of work, and have no provisions for pension and social security rights. It includes the activities carried out by small traders, unskilled workers, and other categories of workers with low or irregular incomes. The Nigerian informal tailoring activity can identify with most of Sanders' categories. Perhaps the only exceptions are "unskilled" and those with "no provisions for pension and social security rights." Tailoring is a learned trade. The western concept of "pension and social security" translates differently in the informal and less sophisticated economy of most developing countries.

Because most of the informal enterprises are very small, opportunities for wage employment are thus very limited. Most of the labour employed by the sector has been described as unskilled and unpaid family labour. Where paid labour is employed, it has been argued that it is generally at wages below the official minimum with no social security protection (Portes and Walton, 1981; ILO, 1987). However, the impression that all informal sector jobs pay lower wages than the formal sector has been challenged by a World Bank study in 1985. The study argues that:

"Poverty is not concentrated in the informal sector. Far from being at the bottom of the income distribution, many participants in the informal sector do as well as or better than many in formal jobs. Many in the informal sector plan to continue there and are not merely waiting for a formal sector job. Surveys have shown 86 per cent of a sample of informal sector participants in Jakarta (Indonesia) and 75 per cent in Freetown (Sierra Leone) prefer to continue in this sector rather than take a formal wage job" (World Bank, 1985, p.3).

Reflecting the conceptual and operational difficulties that still abound with the concept of informal sector, the conceptualisation and analysis of the formal and informal sectors of the economy in the developing countries have been criticised by Myrdal (1969), Hyden (1983) and Todaro (1985). Though these criticisms have been made largely in respect of Asian and Latin American cases, there is no doubt that a generalisable interpretation was intended.

2.2.3 Informal Sector Concept in Geographical Literature

A review of the geographical literature pertaining to the role of informal sector in development processes reveals that attention has focused primarily on the political economy aspects of informal activity (Bromley, 1978; Gerry, 1978; Armstrong and McGee, 1985). Very little attention has been paid to the spatial perspective of the phenomenon. The spatial perspective discussed by Santos (1975, 1977) focused entirely on the regional planning implications of informal activity.

De-emphasizing the spatial dimension of informal activity has resulted in a partial understanding of the various spatial processes and issues associated with development

(Sanders, 1987; Roberge, 1989). Therefore, there is a need to address questions pertaining to the spatial dimension of informal activity more directly. Sanders has argued strongly in favour of more studies on the spatial dimension of informal activity because:

"the spatial analyst has much to contribute to the study of informal activity. Thus far the contribution has been minimal and partial. Indeed, the spatial organisation of informal activity would be a worthwhile complement to existing work" (Sanders, 1987, p.230).

Two themes focusing on spatial distribution can be gathered from the literature of informal activity. One of the themes, the **Proximity theme**, suggests that informal activity locates in proximity to a central market or some other densely populated area. The second theme, the **Generative theme**, maintains that formal activity generates informal activity. It suggests that informal activity should be located in places containing high levels of formal activity (Weeks, 1971; Webb, 1974).

Explicit in both the proximity and generative theme is the knowledge of some factors that favour the spatial organisation of informal sector activity. Also implicit in the themes is the idea that individuals who carry out informal activity are guided by Western held notions regarding location decision making and surface at "favourable" locations. The notions imply that profit maximization is the primary objective of why individuals select locations that provide a larger market for goods and services or that display greater diversity in demand. If this were the case, one would expect to find greater amounts of informal activity in densely populated areas with relative decreases occurring with

distance from these centres (Sanders, 1987).

Geographic themes hypothesizing the relationship between informal activity and city size, are not new. Many previous empirical studies have indicated the importance of urban size in the adoption of innovation. For Hagerstrand (1967), successive ranks of the hierarchy of towns constitute the frontier of innovation diffusion. Berry (1972) argues that the innovation potential of a centre is a function of its own rank in the urban hierarchy, and the force exerted on it by virtue of its location relative to other centres in the hierarchy that have already adopted the innovation. And for Robson (1973) urban size is crucial in the diffusion of entrepreneurial innovation. Among the variables tested by Abiodun (1981) in a study to explain the spatial diffusion of modern manufacturing in Southwestern Nigeria was urban size [1]. Urban size is specially important in the context of a threshold size for the location of certain economic activities.

The proximity theme has much in common with the accessibility thesis found in the literature of geography, that suggests that the spatial occurrence of various indices of modernisation declines with distance from centres of modern innovation (Hill, 1967; Soja, 1968; Pedersen, 1970; Riddell, 1970). For example, Pedersen's work in Chile shows an overwhelmingly positive explanatory value of between 70.0 and 85.0 percent in all cases where the influence of a larger neighbouring settlement was considered as a variable on the possibility of innovation adoption. Similarly, the ideas contained in the generative theme echo precisely what is known of urban multiplier and urban system effects. Regarding the urban multiplier effects, we know for instance that increases in non-basic

activity result from increases in basic activity. Also, from urban system effects, it is known that spatial concentration of economic activity results in increased local demand for goods and services (Myrdal, 1957; Pred, 1973; Richardson, 1977). The process in turn leads to the development of a host of new businesses.

Based on the urban effects, the hypothesized relationship between informal activity and city size would lead to the expectation that informal activity would be concentrated in large densely populated urban areas and decrease in a systematic fashion as one moves further away. While this conclusion has an apparent surface validity, it warrants more formal analysis, since evidence from other studies appears contradictory (Lo and Salih, 1978; Sanders, 1980; El Shakhs, 1984).

From the geographic literature, two levels of spatial organisation of the informal sector activity in the urban system are distinguishable. The two levels are the inter urban and intra urban spatial organisation. The discussion thus far has focused primarily on the inter urban level. The spatial organisation of informal activity at the intra urban level is discussed in the next section.

2.2.4 Intra Urban Location of Informal Sector Activity

Many of the theoretical statements on the intra urban location of industry in general have been confined to descriptive blueprints and generalisations. Among the earliest authors, Burgess (1925), in his concentric zone model of the city, delimited a zone of light manufacturing adjacent to the central business district. He delimited no other industrial

districts. Analogously, Hoyt (1939) included a light manufacturing district in his sector theory of urban structure, maintaining that growth and expansion would follow the routes laid down by the railways.

In their multiple nuclei theory of urban structure, Harris and Ullman (1945) identified four distinct forces responsible for the creation of specific industrial zones in metropolitan areas. The forces included the need for specialised services, the need for agglomeration, the incompatibility of certain industries, and the inability of certain industries to pay high rents. And among the industrial zones identified within the city by Harris and Ullman were light manufacturing districts, heavy manufacturing districts and industrial suburbs.

Isard (1956) went further than the very imprecise notions of light and heavy industry. In his model of optimal urban land use he suggested that while the producers of some goods are concentrated in certain industrial districts, producers of other goods, which are of a miscellaneous nature or use ubiquitous raw materials, are found in all the industrial districts of an urban area. One of the major contributions of Isard to the discussion on intra urban location of industry is his emphasis on the locational requirements of individual industries. An even more complete inventory of industrial locations in cities presented by Pred (1964) and Murphy's work (1966), demonstrate that industry is not confined to any one section of the city and that industrial districts are spread throughout the urban fabric.

The core-dominated approach to intra urban location of industry has been strongly criticised by Pred (1967) particularly for lack of reality. The concept of cost rational economic person has also been criticised. A suggestion that "entrepreneurs are boundedly rational, rather than omnisciently rational, seeking to make satisfactory as opposed to maximum profits" has been expressed by Taylor (1979, p. 3). It has also been suggested that the external economies of an agglomeration may be behavioural rather than monetary, with the implications that these economies may not equip the producers of non-standard goods to bid more strongly for central area locations (Taylor, 1973).

Although these early studies, from Burgess to Pred, provide some useful models to analyse the location of some industries, they do not provide standard models to account for the intra urban distribution of informal sector activities as we know them today. Hence, our attention is turned to more recent studies that discuss the issue of intra urban location of informal sector activity, especially in Third World countries.

In the context of intra urban location of the informal sector industry in developing countries, Schmitz (1982), Vasconcelos (1985) and Roberge (1989) have addressed the issue of the spatial distribution of the informal sector in Brazil. Other studies reflecting developing country's conditions include Pratten and Dean (1970), Mimura (1971), Orlove (1974), Sit (1980), Healey (1981), Lipton (1981), Portes and Walton (1981), Gana (1984), Moser and Marsie-Hazen (1984), Wendorff (1985), Dwyer and Sit (1986) and Strassmann (1987).

According to Roberge (1989) the spatial distribution of informal activity within a Brazilian metropolis tends to be a function of income distribution and the need to find affordable residential sites. Access to a good location is determined by one's ability to pay for it. The following intra urban patterns of informal activity distribution have been observed in Brazil. Informal sector activities related to public administration, social, and retail services tend to predominate near the urban centre. In the higher income areas surrounding the central core, informal activities specialising largely in the provision of personal services are common. At the urban fringe are found those informal activities that cannot afford sites in and near the core, and provide "basic infrastructure for urban communities that have not as yet been integrated into the metropolitan administrative and service structure" (Roberge, 1989, p.4).

Small enterprises in general have been described as space-savers and adapters (Mimura, 1971; Sit, 1980). For a variety of reasons they have been known to use all kinds of dwellings and buildings as workshops (Pratten and Dean, 1970; Sit, 1980; Healey, 1981). Sit (1980), in an article titled "The Location of Urban Small Industries: An Ecological Approach" in Hong Kong, discusses the phenomenon of "doubling-up" the same premises to serve both as the residence of the operator's family as well as a workshop. Strassmann (1987) finds such practices common in Peru, Sri Lanka and Zambia in his study on "Home-based Enterprises in Cities of Developing Countries." According to Strassmann, between one-third and two-thirds of informal sector enterprises are home-based. Sit's figures reflect similar proportions. According to him, as many as 68.2 percent

of all factory operators in Hong Kong in 1977 carried out their business from domestic buildings.

Among the reasons explaining why small enterprises operate from domestic buildings and converted premises are:

i) Shortage of space and high rent in the inner city. As observed by Dwyer and Sit (1986), until recently small industrial units were virtually priced out of the land market in parts of Hong Kong. The result has been two-fold:

"firstly, considerable infiltration of small industrial units into domestic premises; and secondly, a widespread growth of small units in squatter areas" (Dwyer and Sit, 1986, p. 103).

In order to cut down the rent burden and remain in central locations, small enterprise operators have been known to use their premises for additional purposes. Often the premises also serve as housing for the owner's family (Sit, 1980; Healey, 1981; Gana, 1984; Dwyer and Sit, 1986).

ii) Limited financial resources. Because many small enterprises usually have limited initial and working capital, they do not very often invest in new buildings. The high overhead costs that usually result from new buildings tend to make their products very expensive and uncompetitive.

iii) The necessity to use family hands. By locating very close to home the small entrepreneur can bring in the assistance of family hands to meet rush jobs. The use of family hands means additional savings on labour costs for many of the smaller estab-

lishments, whose survival seems to depend to some degree on the combination of the two functions. Portes and Walton (1981) argue that unpaid family labour is one of the main reasons why informal sector activities can produce goods and services at prices lower than those that could be offered under formal production arrangements. They write:

"The unpaid labor input of kin and friends appears to be a prerequisite for efficient access to village production and the consequent lowering of prices" (Portes and Walton, 1981, p.89).

iv) Proximity to market. Wendorff (1985) attributes the prevalence of informal sector businesses in rented dwellings and premises to the need to locate close to markets.

Orlove (1974) seems to suggest that some types of informal sector activities are more likely to be home-based than others. Deriving from a study of urban and rural artisans in Southern Peru, Orlove concludes that tailors and shoemakers are more likely to do their work at home, while other artisans often rent shops elsewhere. And in Brazilian towns, Schmitz (1982) observes that virtually all knitters, weavers, and hammock makers work from domestic premises.

Regarding enterprises in domestic premises, not everyone favours the idea of merging industrial and residential functions within one premises. Policy makers have often opposed work-at-home urban design because of devotion to unifunctional land use theories and because of moralistic bias against private economic gain from social housing support. Home businesses are thought to be "unproductive sweatshops with no future" (Gerry, 1978; Moser, 1978; Moser and Marsie-Hazen, 1984). The location of some cate-

gories of small enterprises on domestic premises has been opposed on the basis of environmental and health reasons (Dwyer and Sit, 1986). Through political means conscious attempts have been made by the formal sector to hamper home-based enterprises through separation of home and workplace, either through general zoning or through prohibiting specific activities (Lipton, 1981).

The discussion on the spatial organisation of informal activity at the intra urban level reveals among other things complex factors that influence the spatial distribution of informal activity. It also paints a vivid picture of workplace conditions or environments from which informal sector entrepreneurs operate. One of the factors not adequately highlighted in the study of the spatial organisation of informal activity is the examination of the political and social systems that create some of these factors, which influence the development and spatial diffusion of informal sector activity. The thesis hopes to make a contribution in this regard with the discussion on the role of colonial and post colonial systems in the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state.

2.2.5 The Informal Sector Concept in Nigeria's Small Scale Enterprise Literature

Though the informal sector concept has received relatively little detailed study in Nigeria, it has been mentioned in some studies dealing with the country's small scale economy. A study by Sinclair (1977) on "Ease Of Entry Into Small-Scale Trading in African Cities: Some Case Studies from Lagos", makes reference to the concept of

informal sector. This study appears to be the first systematic attempt to analyse Nigeria's small scale enterprises in the context of the informal sector concept.

Based on one of the most common orthodoxies pertaining to the informal sector - that of ease of entry - Sinclair presents some preliminary evidence to cast doubts about its accuracy. From case studies of fish sellers, shirt sellers and street hawkers in four areas of Lagos, he shows just how difficult it is to begin selling. The degree of easy entry varies among sellers - decreasing from street hawkers of Kleenex tissues to fish sellers. A recent study in the Sudan by the International Labour Organisation (1987) shares a similar conclusion that entry into the sector is not easy because more often than not, the sector is segmented, with capital or skill requirements and cultural or ethnic origins as the major barriers to competition. The International Labour Organisation states:

"Entry requirements are quite high and include considerable skills, experience, savings and the maturity to take the risks attached to setting up one's own business" (ILO, 1987, p. 170).

Deriving from the study, Sinclair suggests that the quickest way to explore the informal sector is to break it down into coherent sub-groups. Such a procedure is desirable because one of the reasons for studying small enterprises is to identify and explain factors influencing their growth and diversification prospects, and in this respect aggregation, with concomitant implications of homogeneity, is likely to obscure some of the forces at work (Sinclair, 1977).

Onokerhoraye's (1977) study on the "Occupational Specialization by Ethnic Groups in the Informal Sector of the Urban Economies of Traditional Nigerian Cities: The Case of Benin", is one of the most systematic studies of informal sector activities in any Nigerian city. The study covered four ethnic groups including Edo, Ibo, Urhobo and Yoruba, and accounted for about thirty-seven different occupations in the sector. Among the occupations identified by Onokerhoraye as informal sector activities are blacksmithing, brass-smithing, gold-smithing, wood and ivory carving, leather works, weaving, drum making, carpentry and different types of trading. Others are bicycle and watch repairing, automobile, electrical and radio servicing, eating places and hotels, food grinding, hair dressing, photography, pools and betting, shoe making and tailoring.

Although Onokerhoraye did not attempt a new definition of the informal sector but adopted Hart's definition of "self-employment in legitimate income opportunities" as the basis for his analysis, he identified other factors characteristic of the Nigerian informal sector. The characteristics include "smallness of scale, lack of formal registration or licensing, and, often, the lack of a fixed place of activity" (Onokerhoraye, 1977, p. 60). He also suggests that some period of apprenticeship is required by those who want to enter informal sector occupations:

"Whereas some occupations in the informal sector of these [traditional Nigerian] cities require a short period of training, others demand a longer period. This is due mainly to the complexity of skill needed to carry out the various occupations" (Onokerhoraye, 1977, p. 60).

According to him, this period of apprenticeship ranges from 0.65 years for hair dressing to 6.50 years for automobile servicing. His average period of training for tailoring is 3.4 years (Onokerhoraye, 1977, Tables 4 and 6, pp. 62-64).

The identification of the way in which new entrants into the various occupations were recruited and the length of training required to establish a particular business as the two main factors relevant in the understanding of the pattern of occupational specialisation by ethnic groups in the informal sector of traditional Nigerian cities, is a very significant contribution to the Nigerian informal sector literature. Most importantly, this analysis of the pattern of informal sector occupational specialisation by ethnic groups in Benin is unique, particularly in the sense that it is a pioneer study and the only systematic one so far on the Benin city informal sector. Some knowledge of what constitutes the informal sector activity and the socio-economic changes in Nigeria that gave rise to new informal sector activity development in urban centres, are gleaned from the study.

However, Onokerhoraye's conclusion on the relationship between the four ethnic groups and informal sector occupational specialisation must be limited to the Benin city situation. Individual city studies like this tend to result in a relationship that is skewed in favour of the dominant ethnic group resident in such cities. To generalise for the whole country, a national study involving more cities and ethnic groups will be required. Such a study will generate a more objective measure for establishing a realistic relationship between ethnic groups and informal sector occupational specialisation, at the national level, than individual city studies. A relationship based on an aggregated study of many

cities will tend to reduce the bias of individual city's dominant ethnic group. The concentration of the dominant ethnic group on occupational specialisation at the city level is, in a large measure, due to the nature of the informal sector itself. The sector caters principally to local needs and markets, hence it is dominated by the local population.

In a study titled "Apprentices in the Informal Sector of Nigeria", Oyeneeye (1980) shows some frustration with the many notions associated with the informal sector concept.

He contends that:

"Even with all these [definitions], no firm conclusions can be drawn as to what constitutes the informal sector or the most fruitful procedure for understanding the concept" (Oyeneeye, 1980, p. 69).

Because of the "confusions" that surround the informal sector concept, Oyeneeye further argues that:

".... it is premature at this stage to use the concept of the informal sector to analyze economic activities in the urban areas of the Third World countries until we gain more understanding of what really constitutes the sector and the various forces operating on the sector's participants" (Oyeneeye, 1980, p. 69).

However, he suggests that in trying to understand the informal sector, it seems essential that research effort should take an inductive rather than deductive approach in order to generate empirical evidence on which plausible generalisations can be based. He is optimistic that by gathering data on the variety of occupations that are subsumed under the informal sector from different parts of the developing countries, it will be possible to

show that what the concept refers to represents a distinctive part of the urban economy which is different from the other parts from which it is demarcated.

As an empirical contribution, his study adds to the existing stock of data on apprentices in the informal sector of Nigeria's small scale economy. Although it is limited to apprentices in the craft segment (tailoring, fitting, radio repair, weaving, leather work and calabash carving) of the informal sector in two medium-sized Nigerian towns (Oyo and Ede), the findings are nevertheless important in understanding the informal sector. Oyeneye's findings suggest, among other things, that while there are significant similarities in the social background, characteristics and aspirations of the apprentices, there are also discernable differences explained by the type of enterprise which the apprentices are engaged in.

Another author who has discussed Nigeria's small scale enterprise in the context of the informal sector is Jerry Gana. Although he did not set out to do a systematic study on Nigeria's informal sector, Gana (1984) identifies some of the informal labourers as roadside mechanics, carpenters, furniture-makers, shoe repairers, petty traders, tailors, watch repairers, welders and panel beaters, photographers and barbers. In as much as he does not say precisely what constitutes the informal sector, but from other concepts which appear in the study in connection with the informal sector, Gana seems to equate the sector with self-employment sector and in opposition to modern and formal wage-employment sector. Pointing out one of the differences between the two sectors, he notes that:

"... whereas wages and salaries in the formal sectors are governed by appropriate legal instruments to guarantee a minimum standard of living, no such legislation covers the informal sector activities" (Gana, 1984, p. 28).

His vision of the informal sector in this perspective echoes Bienefeld and Godfrey's (1975) "less regulated producers" and de Soto's (1989) "sector outside the law" or "sector operating outside the legal institution."

Gana also alludes to the employment potential of the sector by affirming that a substantial proportion of the urban labour force in Nigeria are absorbed in the informal sector. Commenting on the results of the 1976 Labour Force Survey by the National Manpower Board, Gana notes:

"that the vast majority (73%) of those flocking to the urban centres for jobs have had to seek gainful employment in the so-called informal sector of the urban economy" (1984, p.26).

Gana's suggestion that all self-employment sector is informal and that the modern sector has no informal activities, is debatable. His notion of what constitutes the informal sector activity needs more clarification. However, his study tends to suggest that about 73.0 percent of all urban jobs in Nigeria are generated by the informal sector.

2.2.6 Towards a definition of Informal Tailoring Industry

Any attempt to define the informal tailoring industry precisely or operationally on the basis of any one of the criteria discussed in the review, is bound to be controversial

since it is likely to include some units which are formal and exclude others which may be considered informal. But, without some sort of definition any attempt to identify the informal sector in terms of size and relative importance is likely to be meaningless. Besides, the literature does reflect some common elements of agreement, even though many definitional issues still remain to be resolved.

In searching for criteria to operationally define informal tailoring industry, the works of Sinclair (1977), Oyeneye (1980) and Gana (1984) on Nigeria, are limited in their scope and therefore offer a limited help. Of the two criteria: "ease of entry" (Sinclair, 1977) and "self employment" (Onokerhoraye, 1977; Gana, 1984) gleaned from the Nigerian literature on informal sector, "ease of entry" has been heavily criticised (ILO, 1987). Onokerhoraye's "lack of formal registration or licensing" characteristic, is an important feature in the definition of informal tailoring industry. For more criteria to define informal tailoring activity our attention is directed to other empirical studies of the informal sector.

Sanders' (1987) discussion on 'operationalizing Informal Activity', suggests four measures of informal activity. These include the sector/branch, wage/income, size of establishment, and formal registration measure or approach. Sanders points out that each measure is plagued by a number of weaknesses which reduce its accuracy. Each measure addresses only one aspect of informal activity and none is comprehensive in the sense that it gets at the totality of what is actually being measured. The formal registration measure is a possible exception to this. It is important to note that by combining two or more of

these measures suggested by Sanders, it is likely that more reliable results could be obtained.

Basically, the tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan areas can be defined as informal sector. Under the various criteria measuring informality, the proportion of the state's tailoring industry that is informal varies, but not very significantly. However, one of the criteria - "unskilled workers" - suggested in the literature as a measure of informality, does not apply in the case of tailoring. Because, measured under "unskilled workers" (Sanders, 1987), probably none of the tailoring industry in the state would qualify as an informal activity. To become a tailor requires some period of apprenticeship ranging from three to five years, under an experienced tailor (The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972; Onokerhoraye, 1977; ILO, 1987; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989).

Based on the "self-employment" characteristic (Hart, 1971, 1973; Gana, 1984), on the average, over 91.0 percent of all tailoring industry in the state can be categorised as informal (Table 2.1). If the criterion "ease of entry" (ILO, 1972; Sinclair, 1977) is interpreted only in the context of initial and operating capital (which it is not), the percentage of tailoring industry that would qualify as informal may be as high as 97.0 percent (Table 2.2). This represents the proportion of tailoring units with an initial capital investment of less than E101.00.

On the basis of "skills acquired outside the formal school system" (ILO, 1972), all tailoring activity in the state falls into the informal sector category. In the state, tailoring is not taught as a subject in any of the institutions of formal education (Resident's Office,

Table 2.1

**DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TAILORING EMPLOYMENT BY
SELF EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYEES IN SELECTED TOWNS,
OYO STATE, 1971**

Towns	Total	Self Employed		Employees	
		No.	%	No.	%
Ede	37	29	78.4	8	21.6
Ejigbo	87	81	93.1	6	6.9
Eruwa	43	27	62.8	16	37.2
Gbongan	40	36	90.0	4	10.0
Ibadan	1929	1636	84.8	293	15.2
Igboho	28	26	92.9	2	7.1
Ikirun	76	76	100.0	0	0.0
Ile Ife	519	514	99.0	5	1.0
Ilesha	568	562	98.9	6	1.1
Iseyin	92	87	94.6	5	5.4
Iwo	306	266	86.9	40	13.1
Ogbomosho	364	364	100.0	0	0.0
Okuku	6	5	83.3	1	16.7
Oshogbo	303	301	99.3	2	0.7
Oyo	153	140	91.5	13	8.5
Shaki	93	85	91.4	8	8.6
Total/%	4664	4235	91.2	409	8.8

Source: Computed from The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972,
op. cit.

Table 2.2

**DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING INDUSTRY BY SIZE OF
INITIAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT, OYO STATE, 1971
(Pound Sterling [£])**

Towns	£1-50	51-100	101-250	251-500	501-1000
Eruwa	21	6	0	0	0
Ibadan	1,120	339	62	5	3
Ijebu Jesha	20	8	0	0	0
Ikirun	63	4	0	0	0
Ile Ife	404	84	13	2	0
Ilesha	433	108	8	2	0
Iwo	184	72	2	0	0
Ogbomosho	234	76	7	0	0
Oshogbo	241	37	7	0	0
Oyo	96	16	2	0	0
Shaki	70	13	1	0	0
Total	2,886	763	102	9	3
% of Total	76.7	20.3	2.7	0.2	0.1

Source: Computed from The Industrial Research Unit, Unife,
1972, op. cit.

Oyo Province, 1936; Anjorin, 1983). It is basically acquired through apprenticeship to local master tailors as already indicated above (Onokerhoraye, 1977).

In government circles, the principal determinant of formality or informality of small enterprises in Nigeria is formal registration (Sanders, 1987). Based on this criterion, not less than 98.6 percent of all tailoring industry in the state belong to the informal sectors. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show the distribution of registered and unregistered small industries in twenty-four divisional headquarters of the Western state of Nigeria in 1971 and Oyo State in 1987 respectively. Though the proportion of registered tailors in the state had increased from 0.03 percent in 1971 to 1.4 percent in 1987, the bulk of the tailors are not formally registered with the government.

Judging the degree of informality of the tailoring industry in Oyo state from the above figures, we can conveniently define between 91.2 percent and 100.0 percent of all tailoring industry in the state as informal. But the difference between 91.2 percent and 100.0 percent is very significant in this kind of definition. Also the factors accounting for these percentages are varied. For a more precise and limited definition of informal tailoring industry "lack of formal registration" is deemed an important distinguishing characteristic. The choice of this delimiting factor is influenced, in the first place, by the suggestions of Onokerhoraye (1977), Sanders (1987) and de Soto (1989), that formal registration or licensing serves as a comprehensive criterion for measuring informal sector activity in developing countries.

Table 2.3
REGISTRATION OF SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES IN 24
DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN STATE OF NIGERIA,
1971

Industries	Total	Registered		Unregistered	
		No.	%	No.	%
Auto repairing	680	1	0.15	679	99.85
Bakery	92	1	1.09	91	98.91
Bicycle repairing	584	1	0.17	583	99.83
Black-smithing	338	0	0.00	338	100.00
Boat making	3	0	0.00	3	100.00
Brewing	4	0	0.00	4	100.00
Brick/ Concrete works	246	0	0.00	246	100.00
Carpentry	1370	5	0.36	1365	99.64
Carving	10	0	0.00	10	100.00
Dyeing	23	0	0.00	23	100.00
Electrical/Electronics	393	0	0.00	393	100.00
Furniture making	120	2	1.67	118	98.33
Gold-smithing	701	0	0.00	701	100.00
Grain milling	174	0	0.00	174	100.00
Knitting	34	0	0.00	34	100.00
Leather works	19	0	0.00	19	100.00
Pottery	57	0	0.00	57	100.00
Printing	223	0	0.00	223	100.00
Saw milling	59	0	0.00	59	100.00
Shoe making	567	0	0.00	567	100.00
Tailoring	6815	2	0.03	6813	99.97
Watch repairing	281	0	0.00	281	100.00
Weaving	495	0	0.00	495	100.00
Welding	186	0	0.00	186	100.00
Miscellaneous	121	0	0.00	121	100.00
Total	13594	12	0.09	13582	99.91

Source: The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, Directory of Small Scale Industries: Western State of Nigeria, University of Ife, Ile-Ife.

Table 2.4

**TAILORING UNITS REGISTERED WITH THE OYO STATE
MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, JULY 1987**

Town	No. Registered (a)	Estimated Total Units (b)	% (a) of (b)
Ede	-	33	0.0
Ejigbo	-	87	0.0
Eruwa	-	29	0.0
Gbongan	-	39	0.0
Ibadan	44	1,840	2.4
Igboho	-	25	0.0
Ikirun	-	56	0.0
Ile Ife	2	557	0.4
Ilesha	2	602	0.3
Iseyin	-	53	0.0
Iwo	2	285	0.7
Ogbomosho	3	391	0.8
Okuku	-	5	0.0
Oshogbo	3	253	1.2
Oyo	5	152	3.3
Shaki	1	84	1.2
Total	62	4,491	1.4

Sources: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Oyo State, (1988), "Business and Professional Premises Registration: Registered Companies and Firms, Oyo State As At 14/7/87", Ibadan; Odetola et al., (eds.), 1988, op. cit.

Secondly, the formal registration criterion is used very often by federal and state governments and their agencies, and other public sector institutions to discriminate between small scale establishments in the award of contracts or loan grants. Finally, a personal field survey of Ibadan's informal tailoring activity in 1989, confirms that the use of formal registration criterion serves the cause of the tailoring industry well by presenting its degree of informality in a concept that is both nationally and internationally acceptable. Based on the data given above, the degree of informality of the tailoring industry accounted by lack of formal registration criterion is slightly above the mean between 91.2 and 100.0 percent. Therefore, by informal tailoring industry in this study we mean primarily those tailoring activities that are not formally registered with government, and whose workforce may not be officially enumerated as a result.

2.3 Diffusion Theory

As a non-traditional economic activity, the introduction and subsequent diffusion of the tailoring innovation in Oyo State must have evolved through some form of spatial process. A review of existing literature on diffusion theories is undertaken principally to inform and guide our search for the spatial diffusion pattern followed by the tailoring innovation in Oyo State metropolitan areas. Tracing the spatial diffusion pattern of the tailoring innovation is important in that it can lead to the identification of spatial characteristics within the Oyo State urban system that favoured an early or late adoption of the innovation and its subsequent rate of development at certain locations.

Various authors have attempted to explain patterns of diffusion observed in space. An excellent introductory review of theories of spatial diffusion and their use by geographers is given in Peter Gould's (1969) Spatial Diffusion. A more mathematical approach in the study of diffusion theories is followed by Haggett, Cliff and Frey (1977) in Locational Analysis in Human Geography.

Much of the geographic interest in diffusion studies stems from the work of Hagerstrand and his colleagues. In one of his early works, Hagerstrand (1953), by studying a series of innovation profiles in Sweden, developed the concept of "innovation waves", commonly referred to as diffusion waves. From this he demonstrated how diffusion profiles are broken into four types, each of which describes a distinct stage in the passage of an innovation through an area. Hagerstrand's simplest model for simulating spatial diffusion is one in which the probability of contact between two persons, one being a sender, declines with distance exponentially. It assumes standard but unreal conditions.

Since Hagerstrand's original work, other geographers have carried out parallel studies to test the validity of the four stage process. Gunnar Tornqvist (1967) has traced the spread of televisions in Sweden by observing the growth of television ownership from 1956 to 1965. Using information obtained from 4000 Swedish post office districts, he demonstrated how within nine years about 70.0 percent of the Swedish households had bought their first set. Tornqvist's results broadly confirm Hagerstrand's analysis.

More advanced work on the shape of diffusions in space and time has confirmed their essentially wave like form. By fitting generalised contour maps to the original

Swedish data, Morrill (1970) has demonstrated that a diffusion wave first has a limited height, reflecting a limited rate of acceptance. It increases in both height and extent, and then decreases in height but increases further in total area. The gradual waning of the wave over time and space is both time-dependent and space-dependent. Morrill's study introduced one more variable to Hagerstrand's simple model. The nature of the medium through which the wave is travelling may cause it to speed up or slow down.

Other ways in which the basic Hagerstrand model may be modified to fit more complex variables (real world conditions) are illustrated by the works of Yuill (1965), who programmed four types of barriers to the diffusion of information, and Levison, Ward and Webb (1973), who used a modified model to test alternative hypotheses about Pacific migration.

Diffusion as a process occurs in two ways: contagiously and hierarchically (Hagerstrand, 1968; Haggett, 1979). Contagious diffusion depends on direct contact, from person to person and tends to be strongly influenced by distance. Because nearby individuals or regions have a much higher probability of contact than remote individuals or regions, some innovations spread contagiously from the place or places of origin to neighbouring areas first. Hierarchical diffusion, on the other hand, describes the transmission of innovation through a regular sequence of order, classes, or hierarchies. This process is typified by the diffusion of innovations which tends to spread in steps down the urban hierarchy, starting with the largest centres, then diffusing down to their satellite cities, and gradually reaching surrounding small towns and remote rural villages

(Morrill and Dormitzer, 1979). Within socially structured populations, innovations may be adopted first on the upper level of the social hierarchy and trickle down to the lower levels (Haggett, 1979).

Among the principal mechanisms identified by Morrill and Dormitzer (1979) and Mehretu (1989) by which diffusion is accomplished are migration, exploration and colonisation; military conquest; and travel, trade, and communication. Particularly through trade, not only are innovations and ideas transmitted through the exchange of technology and goods, but the tastes and preferences of the receiving society change. Also radically modified in most cases are the society's patterns of production and consumption.

It has been suggested that the possibility of adoption of an innovation is positively correlated to the degree of exposure. And in the developing countries it has been shown that exposures to an innovation are greater in the large cities and in areas located along or near the coast and major transportation routes (Riddell, 1970; Abiodun, 1981; Lowder, 1986; Berry et al., 1987). This is attributable to the fact that in these countries, most modern innovations are introduced through contact with other centres of innovation-generation exogenous to these countries (Riddell, 1970).

Being a complex process, the successful diffusion of innovations depends on several factors, "some of which may be small or rather difficult to measure" (Abiodun, 1981, p. 120). The notable factors include the nature and strength of competitive ways of doing things, the nature and strength of other forms of resistance, and the quality of information about the innovation. Others are the degree of contact with the innovation, and

the determination and numbers of those carrying the innovation (Morrill, 1970; Morrill and Dormitzer, 1979).

Regarding the theories, it should be remembered that most of the concepts that underlie their formulation are derived from developed Western cities. Although they have been found appropriate to explain the diffusion of innovations and the distribution of economic activities among and within cities of developed countries, they may not necessarily explain all the innovation diffusions and spatial distribution of economic activities common to developing countries (Lowder, 1986; Okpala, 1987).

Reviewing the concepts and theories in African urbanisation and urban management strategies studies, Okpala (1987) makes the case that many of the theoretical concepts used in these studies have been transfers from Western urbanisation studies which have embodied transfers of cultural values. Such values may not necessarily reflect African values. Even those concepts with some kind of African flavour have their limitations. He writes:

"Many of these concepts and propositions have been direct transfers from earlier applications in the study of similar phenomena in countries where urbanisation is more advanced, while some have been newly coined by scholars from advanced countries working in Africa and using the African urban milieu as a testing ground. Such concepts naturally reflect their author's cultural backgrounds, standards of living, value systems, or even prejudices" (Okpala, 1987, p: 137).

In discussing the diffusion of informal tailoring industry innovation in the Oyo state metropolitan areas, we are not interested in any discussion on or measurement of diffusion

waves, primarily because of lack of adequate data. Rather, based on the hypothesis shared by most of the studies on spatial diffusion, that exposure to or contact with an innovation is an important variable in determining the possibility of adoption, the thesis focuses on the mechanisms of colonial and post colonial systems through which the Yoruba of Oyo state and their towns were exposed to the tailoring innovation. Reflected also in the analysis is the general hypothesis based on contagious and hierarchical theories of innovation diffusion, which explores how the informal tailoring industry diffused among and within the Oyo state urban system.

2.4 The Concept of Government as a Factor in Small Enterprise Development

Over the years and particularly in the context of the developing nations, the role of government as a location determinant is being recognised and more frequently discussed in development literature (Rodney, 1972; Amin, 1976; Aboyade, 1977; Friedmann, 1981; Frank, 1981; Onimode, 1982; Desai, 1985; Helmbolt, West and Hardy, 1986, de Soto, 1989). In Nigeria, over the years government policies, to some degree, have affected directly and indirectly the spatial organisation and development of small enterprises (Adegbola, 1978; Onyemelukwe, 1984; Liedholm and Mead, 1986).

Government policies have become, over the years, powerful tools guiding directly or indirectly almost every facet of socio-economic development in Third World countries.

Desai (1985) sees economic development, particularly the allocation of resources, as a politically conditioned process and its course as determined by an alignment of economic and political powers. Pointing to the adverse effects of politicisation on the socio-economic development of the Peruvian society, de Soto writes:

"This politicization....means that all problems are handled primarily according to the procedures established by the government, rather than according to other standards such as economic efficiency, morality, or justice. Everything is left in the state's hand, and society inevitably becomes bureaucratized and centralized" (de Soto, 1989, p. 191).

As a result of this polarisation, businesses channel their natural competitive zeal into establishing close ties with the political and bureaucratic authorities instead of into a contest to serve consumers better (de Soto, 1989).

For Helmbolt, West and Hardy (1986) the achievement of self-sustained economic development depends, in part, on the policy decisions of governments. Speaking on the role of national policy in bridging the gap between urban and rural areas, Friedmann (1981) writes:

"Only when national leadership decided to rectify the existing imbalance between rural and urban, and to give top priority to national self-sufficiency in food production and to the diminution of regional and social inequalities, will some of the recent ideas for regional rural development emerge from text books into practice" (p.19).

Lipton (1977, 1984) similarly argues that rural-to-urban migration is a response to government policies which disproportionately favour metropolitan centres. In his book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Rodney argues that colonialism was the principal cause of Africa's underdevelopment today, because

"By its very nature, colonialism was prejudiced against the establishment of industries in Africa, outside the agriculture and the extractive spheres of mining and timber felling. Whenever internal forces seemed to push in the direction of African industrialisation, they were deliberately blocked by the colonial governments acting on behalf of metropolitan industrialists" (Rodney, 1972, p.237).

Rodney is not alone in his views on the impact of colonialism on Africa's underdevelopment. Writing on the trend of the manufacturing industry development in pre and post independence Nigeria, Olayide (1976) observes that prior to independence, manufacturing industries did not make any appreciable impact on the country's economy. Only a small number of industries existed and most of them processed agricultural products for domestic and export markets. For him, the primary reasons for the low degree on industrialisation were not lack of markets, raw materials or labour:

"but due to institutional obstacles inherent in colonial economic structures which were largely dominated by trading companies. The United Trading Company and other colonial trading enterprises which dominated the Nigerian economy deliberately rejected industrialisation in Nigeria for the primary motive of protecting their own trading interests. They succeeded with this policy because they were supported by the British Colonial government" (Olayide, 1976, p.53).

Pushing the argument a step further Olayide demonstrates how the situation changed remarkably following Nigeria's self-government and political independence, underlining the power of government to change things around. The incipient process of industrialisation became accelerated through direct government investments and other promotional measures.

Developing the argument slightly from another perspective, Akeredolu-Ale (1977) alleges that the activities of expatriate companies retarded more than promoted the development of private indigenous entrepreneurship. Pollock (1971) argues that the degree and rapidity of economic growth was greatly influenced by the social and political attitudes of the community and by historical factors. For him, the present economic organisation of African states is due in very large measure to colonial influence:

"The communications network, patterns of agriculture and commerce and political structures were created in the colonial period. Distinctive colonial policies were developed over large areas of Africa...." (Pollock, 1971, pp. 44-47).

This view is also shared by Mehretu (1989) who argues that the most dramatic spatial and social differentiation that occurred in Africa took place in the colonial era:

"The economic and spatial structures of production which now prevail in Africa had their origin in the extractive and settler colonial frameworks both of which were associated with high degree of socio-spatial polarity and of orbital elongation of socio-economic interaction" (Mehretu, 1989, pp. 106-107).

Based on the issues raised above, these questions relating to the impact of colonialism on the tailoring industry need to be resolved. What is the relationship between colonial economic and spatial structures and the development and spatial diffusion of tailoring industry in Oyo State? What colonial economic, social and administrative policies generated infrastructural and spatial changes that made the development and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring activity possible in Oyo state urban areas? These questions are addressed in the thesis.

2.5 Towards the Formulation of Thesis Hypotheses

2.5.1 Summary of Literature Review

In summary, we have been exposed in this review of literature to the various definitions of the informal sector concept. Also discussed in some detail are the inter and intra urban locational characteristics of informal activities. Approaches including micro and inductive, to future studies of the subject have been suggested.

From the review of the theories of spatial diffusion of innovation we deduce that as a process, innovation occurs principally in two ways: contagiously and hierarchically. Among the principal mechanisms by which diffusion is accomplished are contact, colonisation, trade and communication. The discussion on the role of government in small enterprise development reveals how significant this can be. However, the role of government in spreading small scale industry has not always been positive. Demonstrated

here, is how directly or indirectly the various levels of government can promote the development and diffusion of small enterprises, particularly in Third World countries. Based on the above, our analysis focuses on how the British colonial system in Nigeria created conditions that enabled the development and diffusion of tailoring activity in Oyo state towns. The concepts of contagious and hierarchical innovations have given rise to the speculations as to whether the tailoring innovation spread contagiously from the place or places of origin to neighbouring areas first, or hierarchically, in steps down the Oyo state urban system, beginning with the largest to the smallest centres. A further question posed by the diffusion theories which requires some explanation is: What is the relationship between the intra urban structure of Ibadan Town and the development and diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the city?

2.5.2 Thesis Hypotheses

From the above discussions the following major hypotheses are examined in the thesis. With respect to the relationship between the spatial diffusion of tailoring industry and urban hierarchy in Oyo State, the following hypothesis is postulated:

- The tailoring innovation diffused from the towns with the highest probability of tailoring industry location index to towns with the least probability index.

Concerning the relationship between colonial and post colonial systems and the the development and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo State, three

primary hypotheses are proposed for examination, namely:

- 1) The colonial administrative and economic policies that created new towns or improved the status of existing ones, introduced new communications and transportation networks, and imported sewing machines, cotton and rayon piece-goods into Nigeria, encouraged the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan areas.
- 2) The early missionaries to Yorubaland, as part of the colonial system, through new moral and ethical teachings, and the establishment of schools, promoted the development of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state by influencing the patterns of Yoruba clothes consumption and production.
- 3) The post colonial governments in Oyo state helped some of the existing informal tailoring establishments to continue in business, through government assisted loans and the importation of sewing machines, cotton and rayon piece-goods.

In explaining the relationship between the intra urban structure of Ibadan and the development and diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the town, the following corollary hypotheses are discussed.

- 1) Informal tailoring industry diffused from the traditional city core of Oja Iba and Mapo Hill to the modern suburbs and periphery of the town.

- 2) The availability and level of concentration of the following factors: population, affordable residential sites, accessibility to good transportation, proximity to market, work/raw materials, kith and kin, and land use systems, influenced the intra urban spatial organisation of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan metropolitan area.

Among other things, the operationalisation of the thesis hypotheses is discussed in the methodology section (Chapter Three).

NOTES

[1] Abiodun's findings show that urban size provided low explanation, accounting for 11.0 percent of the variation in the diffusion of modern manufacturing in Southwestern Nigeria. In an earlier study on "Situational Effects and the Diffusion of Entrepreneurial Innovations in Bendel State of Nigeria", Abumere (1978) showed that urban size accounted for 22.0 percent of the observed variation in innovation diffusion.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, the primary objectives of the thesis are concerned with the evolution and spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring industry in the metropolitan areas of Oyo State, on the one hand, and the role of the colonial and post colonial economic and spatial structures in explaining the patterns of development and distribution, on the other hand. The task of this chapter is primarily to outline and explain the methods and techniques employed to organise the data and test the thesis hypotheses. Secondly, the chapter critically examines available data and their sources.

It is common knowledge that the quality and quantity of data available in most of the developing nations, and more so in Nigeria than elsewhere, are deficient in many ways. As a result, individual data sources, in most cases, require supplementary information before they can be used in any hard statistical analysis. Faced with this fact, the author adopts a multi data source approach in order to reconstruct and explain the historical and spatial development of tailoring industry in colonial and post colonial Oyo State.

3.2 Operationalisation of Hypotheses

The evolution and spatial diffusion of the tailoring industry is being studied in the context of the informal sector concept. The informal sector concept generates the proximity and generative hypotheses we consider appropriate for testing the spatial

distribution and diffusion of tailoring, in establishing the relationship between the size of tailoring industry and city size and function.

3.2.1 Hypotheses on The Relationship Between Colonial and Post Colonial Economic and Spatial Structures and The Development and Diffusion of Tailoring industry in Oyo State Metropolitan System

A historical geographical approach to the thesis in the discussion of the above hypotheses is important in many ways. History is an important window into the past and an historical examination makes it possible to monitor the evolution of a phenomenon. A historical approach is also important because it can reveal some of the underlying economic, political and social processes in development which a purely statistical cross-sectional approach cannot explain (de Souza and Foust, 1979). The focus on the processes is primarily to determine how the colonial and post economic and spatial structures influenced the development and diffusion of the informal tailoring industry. In tracing the impact of colonial economic and spatial structures on the development and diffusion of tailoring activity in the state, emphasis is placed on a descriptive approach.

One of the objectives of the hypotheses is to assess the impact of the colonial and post colonial governments' spatial and economic development policies on the tailoring industry in Oyo State. With regard to public policies that might have influenced the development of the tailoring industry, our concern covers economic development measures of governments which have resulted directly or indirectly in the creation of informal tailoring or have helped existing tailoring businesses to continue in existence. These

measures include, among others, the following elements:

- a) lending practices and policies of public lending institutions with respect to small scale industries in general and tailoring in particular.
- b) investment in the tailoring industry by government.
- c) trading practices that might have directly or indirectly benefited the industry.
- d) administrative and social policies favouring the development and diffusion of informal tailoring industry.

Direct references to the tailoring industry in government policies may be difficult to pinpoint. Inferences to the tailoring industry will be drawn from policies relating to small scale businesses or industries, local crafts, and manufacturing.

The levels of government whose direct and indirect policies are relevant to the study are the British colonial administration in Oyo province, Southern Nigeria, and Western Nigeria during the colonial period, and the Federal and state (Western and Oyo) governments in the post colonial era.

The major sources for the discussion on the impact of colonial government policies in general on the industry are as follows: Colonial Reports: Annual (various years); Government Gazette (various years up to 1959); Oyo Provincial and District files for various years up to 1959 (National Archives, Ibadan); Nigeria: Confidential: The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1939), (A critique of the 1929 Colonial Development Fund); Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare (1940); Preliminary Statement on Development Planning in Nigeria, Sessional

Paper, No.6 of 1945 (1945); Report of Western Region Economic Mission, March-April (1956).

For the post colonial government policies the primary sources are: National Development Plans (Second, Third and Fourth); A Directory of Industrial and Allied Trades in the Western Region of Nigeria (1960); Ministerial Statement on Nigeria's Economic Planning Policy and its Relationship with Distributive Trades and Road Transportation (1961); Nigerian Industrial Policy and Strategy (1985); Report on the Committee on Oyo State Industrialisation Policy Programmes and the Implementation Strategy for 1986-90 (1985); and Oyo State Policies and Strategies on Development of Industries (1988).

Specific information on small scale industrial loans and loan policies are derived from Second National Development Plan 1970-74 (Policy, section [h]: Aid to Small Scale Industries) (1970); Third National Development Plan 1975-80 (Policy on Small Scale Industrial Loans) (1974); "Monetary Policy Circular No. 22 of 1987" (Central Bank of Nigeria, 1987); "Loans and Advances to Small Scale Industries by the Banking sector, 1980-1987" (Central Bank of Nigeria, 1988); and "Loan Applications and Approvals Under Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme, Oyo State, 1978-1988" (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989).

On trading practices, import data on sewing machines, cotton and rayon piece-goods, and shirts for both colonial and post colonial periods are available from Annual Blue Book (various years), Nigeria Trade Report (various years) and Nigeria

Trade Summary (various years).

3.2.2 Hypotheses on The Relationship Between The Spatial Diffusion of Tailoring Industry and Urban Hierarchy in Oyo State

Many factors generated by the colonial and post colonial administrations promoted the development and diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the various towns of Oyo State. It is a fact that some towns adopted the innovation earlier than others. It is also a fact that the industry has developed over time, more at some locations than others. One of the objectives of the thesis is to develop and test the probability of location model through a matrix of factors created by the colonial and post colonial systems, which seem to make some towns more likely than others to attract informal tailoring industry. Based on the model, the actual and the expected patterns of diffusion and development, in time and space, of the informal tailoring activity in the state are compared.

Of special interest are the factors that induced some form of spatial reorganisation in the then existing urban system. The factors include the establishment of administrative headquarters, the development of transportation networks, trade policies favouring the importation of sewing machines and cloth materials, generation of new economic opportunities such as the introduction of salaried-employment. Other factors, which seem to have played a significant role in the development and diffusion of the industry include the activities of Christian missionaries, including the establishment of schools and inculcation of new moral values. In the post colonial period, the availability of

government-assisted loans and the continuation of sewing machine and clothing materials imports, are among the factors, which have directly helped existing tailoring industries to continue in existence. And in some cases these factors have given rise to the establishment of new tailoring enterprises.

What the probability of location model hopes to achieve is to derive a probability of location index (PLI) through an aggregation of these factors in a matrix framework, and then predict how the towns in the Oyo State metropolitan system adopted and developed the informal tailoring industry. The details concerning the design and calculation of matrix variable scores of the model are discussed in section 4.5 of chapter Four. But the variables significant in the calculation of the probability of location index (PLI) are urban size (population), colonial presence, administrative headquarters, accessibility to improved transportation systems, contact with Christian missionaries, proximity to centre of first adoption, presence of other business activities (agglomeration) and availability of work materials.

The primary purpose of incremental testing or adding more variables is to improve the predictive power of the PLI. The secondary objective is to provide an alternative index to the urban size (population), which seems to be a surrogate for many other things. Bearing in mind the infrequency and unreliability of population statistics in Nigeria, a search for other means of compensating for this lack became imperative.

The relevance of these variables is tested, using Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation method. For example, based on one of the theories of hierarchical diffusion of innovation

within the urban hierarchy, which holds that innovation diffuses from large to small centres, the author argues that the tailoring activity diffused from Ibadan, the largest centre (town) to Okuku, the smallest centre in Oyo state according to the 1911 population census. To test for relevance, the rank orders of the tailoring industry adoption and population size of selected towns in Oyo state, are compared. The comparisons are made for the 1856 and 1911 census years. The correlation between the two variables is assessed with the aid of Spearman's coefficient of determination (r^2), which shows the degree of variation in the diffusion patterns that is explained by the population size factor. This basic test of relevance is repeated for all the matrix variables based on relevant data from various sources, some of which are discussed in the subsequent sections.

3.2.3 Hypotheses on The Relationship Between The Intra Urban Structure of Ibadan and The Diffusion of Tailoring Industry in The City

Based on the probability of location model, the presence or concentration of certain factors, which promote the development of informal tailoring business in any part of the town, heightens the probability for that section of the town to have more informal tailors than areas that are less favoured. The thesis proposes to identify these factors within the Ibadan metropolitan system and to assess how their concentration has influenced the spatial organisation of the informal tailoring activity in the town over four historical time segments. The temporal and spatial frameworks for the analysis are discussed in detail in section 6.1 of chapter Six. The principal factors, which seem to promote the development

and diffusion of informal tailoring include availability of affordable residential site, proximity to market, availability of work materials, accessibility to good transportation, proximity to kith and kin, and land use pattern.

Following the conventional pattern of change in the urban systems framework, the distribution of tailoring industry within any of the towns is expected to follow the centre-periphery hypothesis which states that the spatial incidence of economic growth is a function of distance from the core. The thesis tests, in a general way, the hypothesis that the informal tailoring innovation spread from the traditional city core of Oja Iba and Mapo Hill to the periphery. The hypothesis is tested by examining the historical evidence on the distribution of first adopters on the Ibadan urban landscape. From the observed pattern of distribution a determination can be made whether the informal tailoring innovation diffused from the city core or not. Archival sources and Field Survey interviews provide the necessary data for the analyses.

Also the general hypothesis proposing that tailoring industry is predominantly concentrated in the periphery of the city rather than in the central core, is discussed. Using the statistics provided by "Crafts and Small Industries in Ibadan, 1963" (Callaway, 1967); Directory of Small Scale Industries: Western State of Nigeria, 1971 (The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972); Survey of Business Enterprises in Oyo State: Manufacturing, Vol. 1, (Odetola et al., eds., 1988) and Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, the intra urban distribution of tailoring activity in Ibadan is monitored for the years 1963, 1971 and 1989. These sources list the addresses (wards and/or streets) of tailoring units. The distribution

is mapped according to the 45 wards and sub-wards rather than the streets of the city. The street network of the city is so underdeveloped and confused that many of the tailoring units cannot be mapped using the streets. Moreover, the majority of the tailors gave their ward addresses. The tailoring distribution maps are compared in order to speculate where tailoring activity is growing or declining, and why? In the search for explanations, the maps are also compared with other land use maps of the city, especially those detailing residential and industrial/commercial areas.

3.3 Data Sources and Quality

The discussion on data sources and quality is treated under the following sub-headings:

- The Industrial Research Unit, Unife Survey, 1972;
- Ibadan Field Survey, 1989;
- Census of Tradesmen, Oyo Province, 1946;
- Interim Report on the Survey of Small Scale Industries in selected Towns in the Western State (Ibadan, Iwo and Oyo), 1970;
- Survey of Business Enterprises in Oyo State: Manufacturing, Vol. 1, 1988;
- Other sources; and
- Critical comment on data sources.

3.3.1 The Industrial Research Unit, Unife Survey (1972)

One of the primary sources of data for the thesis is a survey conducted in 1972 and documented in a directory format by the Industrial Research Unit, Department of Economics, University of Ife, Ile Ife. The findings were published under the title Small Scale Industries: Western State of Nigeria. An 11-page questionnaire used to collect the primary data was designed to solicit, among other things, information on the type of industry, date of establishment, location, size, capitalization, production techniques, type of employment and level of education of the owners and operators.

The directory lists 15,266 industrial units under twenty eight principal industrial types in forty nine major towns and villages of Western State of Nigeria in 1971. Seven thousand nine hundred and seven (51.8 percent) of these industrial units are tailoring units. Of the tailoring units, 6993 (88.4 percent) are located in the twenty four Divisional Headquarters of the state while the remaining 914 units (11.6 percents) are located in twenty five other towns and villages. While the data on the tailoring units located in the twenty four Divisional Headquarters are detailed, the data on the units found in the twenty five non-Divisional Headquarter towns are mere statistical summaries for 1971. The incomparability of data from the Divisional and non-Divisional Headquarters beyond the situation in 1971, would seem to limit the number of observation points for detailed comparison only to the Divisional Headquarters.

With reference to the reliability of Unife data, on the average the proportion (percentage) of industrial units in the state not included in the survey is estimated at

between 10.0 and 25.0 percent (The Industrial Research Unit, 1972). Although an estimated 10.0 to 25.0 percent of the units were not accounted for, but a statistically significant proportion of between 75.0 and 90.0 percent of the entire tailoring population were accounted for by the survey. The lower range (75.0 percent) of the total population represented in the study is associated with the Divisional Headquarter towns where a sizeable proportion of the entrepreneurs either did not return questionnaires or under-reported some aspects of their business on account of their suspicion of the motives of the interviewers. The margin of total small enterprises not accounted for in the non-Divisional Headquarters is estimated at about 10 percent. Of the two sets of data available common sense would dictate at a face value a preference for the data with a larger sample size to the one with a smaller sample size. But as has been indicated already both sample sizes are statistically significant, and moreover the Divisional Headquarters data are more detailed in many ways than the non-Divisional Headquarters data. However, with some knowledge of the units unaccounted for, a mathematical calculation can be performed to estimate the approximate number of establishments.

The quality of data varies from observation point to observation point, and also on various economic indicators of the industrial units. The highest margin of error is with respect to capitalization. The margin of error associated with underdeclaration of capitalization is about 25 percent (The Industrial Research Unit, 1972). The wide margin of error is a function of two main factors. Very few of the entrepreneurs kept records of sales, purchases and audited accounts. Secondly, many understated their capitalization and

earned revenue to avoid paying higher taxes.

Statistical data on industrial units, such as the date of establishment and capitalization, varied from town to town. Ogbomosho has the worst statistics in proportion to total industrial population size. For example, of the 334 tailoring units recorded for Ogbomosho in 1971 only 130 units (38.9 percent) have known dates of establishment. As high as 61.0 percent of the units have neither dates of establishment nor any information on capitalization. On the other hand, Eruwa, Shaki, Ikirun, Oshogbo, Ijebu Jesha and Iwo have very good statistics. Between 93.1 to 100 percent of all listed tailoring units for these towns have dates of establishment, and capitalization and employment figures.

In tracing the evolution of informal tailoring activity in Oyo State, not all the data contained in the directory are useful. The non-dated tailoring units have limited utility. They constitute about 15.7 percent of all tailoring units. Also of limited use to the study are the tailoring units located in non-Divisional headquarters. The main limitation of the non-Divisional headquarter data lies in the fact that it is a one-point-in-time measurement. And as such it does not allow evolutionary or historical comparison.

3.3.2 Ibadan Field Survey 1989

The survey was conducted between June 6 and September 1, 1989. The intention of the survey was to obtain more concrete and current information about the nature and distribution of tailoring industry in an urban environment. Recognising that tailoring belongs to the class of life activities which have underlying economic significance but

very incompletely recognised and poorly accounted for in official records and statistics, the primary survey in Ibadan to update existing information on the tailoring enterprise became very important.

How to get data on a marginal economic phenomenon was a basic issue in designing the enquiry. The method taken included formalised and informalised designs. In the formalised design a structured questionnaire was the main medium. Basic questions aimed at yielding both quantitative and qualitative results were posed to develop major themes of informal tailoring activity. See Appendix 3 for details on the Research Questionnaire. The unstructured (informalised) design focused mainly on informal observations and interviews. The observations and interviews were intended to provide concrete information as well as insights into attitudes and work environments with respect to small scale enterprises in general and tailoring activity in particular.

Another important question was: what methods would be appropriate to reach the target group - a cross-section of the tailors - in Ibadan who would be willing to participate in the survey? Knowing the Yoruba as a highly structured society, the main method selected was to approach key persons in the city and the industry first. Through personal acquaintances it was easy to identify the key persons both in the tailoring industry and government ministries responsible for industries and commerce in the State. The key persons in the tailoring industry include the Bale (The Grand Patron), chairmen and secretaries of the local and regional branches of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District. Through these officers it was possible to reach a representa-

tive segment of their members. A significant proportion of the non-association members were contacted through personal acquaintances.

In the Ministry of Commerce and Industries, Oyo State, the Commissioner, the Director and the Deputy-Director of Industries Division, and the Director, Registry Department, were among the key persons. In other capacities, the Secretary-General of the Nigeria Association of Small Scale Industrialists, Oyo State Branch, and the Dominican Community, Ibadan, also played a major role as key persons.

From the standpoint of the methodology used and what happened as it was applied in the field studies, some valued outcomes and observations were discovered. The role of key persons who supplied entries to networks was crucial, often involving a continuing contact throughout the period of the field study. Most of the people in government and associations would not answer any questions until there was valid proof that the appropriate authorities have been consulted and that their approval had been granted. One or two branches of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors wanted money for their participation in the survey. The demand was overruled by the central administration of the association, which was more interested in the exposure being given to their industry than in the short-sighted monetary gain of individual branches. Also through the intervention of these key persons, the researcher was able to attend, as a participant observer, many of the meetings of the central and branch associations of Master Tailors.

In general, the field studies proved to be an interesting and stimulating opportunity to gain valuable first-hand information and impressions. Throughout the field studies it

was helpful to find that people's response and willingness to take part in the study were most usually positive, displaying considerable interest in the issues discussed. There were only two or three instances where people seemed distant, uncommunicative or neutral.

An overview of the survey shows that out of the thirty eight branches of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors located within the Ibadan Municipal government area, thirty five branches (92.1%) returned their set of questionnaires in full or in part. A total of 1060 questionnaires were distributed and 564 (53.2%) usable questionnaires were returned.

A stratified random sampling technique was used in the distribution of the questionnaire with a proviso that men and women be equally represented in the sampling population. Being a male-dominated society, the inclusion of this condition is important to insure a fair female representation in the sample. The returns show that slightly more men than women responded to the survey. Of the 564 respondents, 300 (53.2%) are male and 264 (46.8%) are female. Although the women outnumber the men in the profession with a ratio of 1:1.5, they fell short of the male respondents by 6.4 percent.

In addition to the questionnaire, fifty five tailoring workshops in various parts of the city were visited. The primary purpose of the visits was two-fold: First, to observe first-hand the physical environment in which these tailors carry out their business, and secondly, to verify some of the information supplied in the questionnaire. Interviews with five retired tailors provided valuable information on the history of tailoring business in Ibadan.

The method of recording the informal interviews and conversations was through notes. Although tape recordings would have provided much fuller documentation, it was more appropriate to the informal nature of the interviews and to the problems of transcribing of tape recordings to maintain the written notes. Moreover, most of the participants would have felt uncomfortable in the presence of tape recorders. Also, the field notes were selective and more discriminating in the recording of relevant information than tape recorders.

3.3.3 Census of Tradesmen, Oyo Province, 1946

The survey was conducted by the Senior Resident of Oyo Province in 1946. It covered twenty-one towns and twenty four trade categories. A total of 10,672 tradesmen were accounted for. Out of these, 2937 (27.5 percent), comprising barbers, butchers, palm wine tappers, mud wall builders, plank dealers and motor drivers, are not considered in the analysis because they do not qualify as small scale industrialists. Of the remaining 7735 tradesmen, 2715 (35.1 percent) are tailors.

Of the twenty-one towns covered by the census, only sixteen are analyzed. The sixteen towns are those with comparative data in 1971 and 1988. The excluded towns are Igboora, Ikire, Illa, Kishi and Lanlate.

3.3.4 Interim Report on the Survey of Small Scale Industries in Selected Towns in the Western State (Ibadan, Iwo and Oyo), 1970

The survey was done in 1967-68 by the Statistics Division of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Reconstruction, Western State in co-operation with the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Ibadan. The main purpose of the survey was to obtain basic information on the nature and character of small scale industries in the Western State as well as their contribution to economic development.

Information which the survey was designed to collect include industrial production, wages and salaries, capital investment, employment size, value of production and assets. The survey was limited to small scale and handicraft establishments, employing less than ten persons and, having a permanent identifiable workshop or premises. Therefore, it is most likely that some small scale industries must have been left out, especially those without permanent and identifiable workshops.

A total of 2,800 establishments involving twenty six industry types were covered. Of the 2,543 establishments (90.8 percent) suitable for analysis, 1015 (39.9 percent) are tailoring units. One thousand one hundred and fifty three establishments (45.3 percent) and 551 (54.3 percent) of the tailoring units were located in Ibadan. Oyo had 797 (31.3 percent) of the establishments and 276 (27.2 percent) of the tailoring units, while 593 (23.3 percent) and 188 (18.5 percent) of all the establishments and tailoring units respectively, were located at Iwo in 1967.

3.3.5 Survey of Business Enterprises in Oyo State: Manufacturing, Vol. 1, 1988

The Ministry of Commerce and Industries, Oyo State, commissioned the survey in 1987. It was conducted by the Centre for Industrial Research and Development, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, and edited by Professor Odetola, Odejide and Jegede (1988).

The survey covered sixty three towns in twenty four Local Government Areas and 4,965 establishments including 1426 tailoring units. Of the sixty three towns covered, our analysis is limited to the sixteen observation centres. The survey in more than one way updates the 1971 survey by the Industrial Research Unit, Unife.

One of the weak points of the survey is the use of Local Government workers in the administration of the questionnaire. This process may have influenced the objectivity of the responses to some of the questions. However, this methodological flaw in data collection is of little consequence in the context in which this data is used in the thesis.

3.3.6 Other Data Sources

Because the data provided by the above surveys reflect principally the industrial establishments that existed at the time that the surveys were conducted and do not account for those establishments that were founded earlier but did not survive up to the year of the survey, other sources of data have been consulted. These were consulted principally to provide clues as to the size of employment and the number of industrial units that might have been founded during the studied period but not accounted for by the surveys, and insights into the social, political and economic conditions under which they were

established and operated.

In consulting the sources, efforts were focused on the indicators that seem of help, firstly, to analyze the development characteristics of tailoring, and to some extent other small scale industries, by time segments of the period under review. The attempt here is to elicit how much there has been a cumulative growth process especially with respect to the phenomenon of accelerating growth rates in the various areal units (towns). Secondly, attention was focused on processes that help to trace the diffusion of tailoring in order to comprehend better the stages of development and the spatial pattern of tailoring in the state. This provides, in part, the basis for identifying spatial variations in the levels of tailoring activity intensity within the city and in the state.

Among these other sources consulted are national archives, public record offices, and libraries. From these sources effort was concentrated on the following documents:

a) Colonial documents including Annual reports of Southern Nigeria, Nigeria, and Western Nigeria.

b) Administrative documents or reports relating to the study area at provincial, regional and divisional levels; and Colonial Administrative Papers especially on economic development policy matters on Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, and Western Nigeria.

c) Census records with particular reference to Oyo province and its divisions and towns.

Demographic characteristics considered include population distribution by towns and labour force (occupation) by industry classification. Census records were very poor with regard to information on labour force by industry classification.

d) **Trade and Commerce Reports** include Annual Abstract of Statistics, Annual Reports and Trade Statistics: Nigeria, Blue Books of Statistics: Southern Nigeria and Nigeria, and Board of Trade Company Records for import and export figures, trade and policy related matters that might have impacted small scale industries in general and tailoring in particular.

e) **Secondary Sources:** The secondary sources which were consulted are listed in the bibliography. But one of the most helpful of the secondary sources consulted to date is Talbot's work (1926), The People of Southern Nigeria: A Sketch of their History, Ethnology and Language with an Abstract of the 1921 Census, vols. 3 and 4. It contains valuable data on the distribution of tailors and population of southern Nigeria in 1921 by ethnicity and sex.

3.3.7 Critical Comment on Data Sources

Reconstructing the status of tailoring before, during and after the colonial rule in Oyo state from different available data and sources is complicated. Reconciling the differences among these information sources required careful and critical examination and management. While reflecting on the complementarity and supplementarity of these data and sources, it is necessary to comment on some of the limitations or shortcomings of the individual data and sources.

Oral sources or accounts of historical past have immense problems associated with them. Most of them tend to be very local, with many versions and lacking in specifics

with time. And as Elechi-Amadi (1982), rightly remarked, "The oldest living Nigerians cannot recall events beyond 1900" (p.vi). Oral sources used in the thesis have been verified and supplemented by documented sources.

Formal record keeping was virtually non-existent before the colonial era, but improved with time in quality and quantity during the colonial administration. In general, the Colonial Annual Reports tend to lack consistency and continuity, often very general and vague in the categories used. Commenting on the nature of colonial economic statistics as contained in Colonial Reports for Kenya, Kitching (1980), had this to say:

"The numbers involved, despite their apparent specificity, are almost all national, whilst given the absence of any detailed categorisation of data in reports, figures appear and disappear from year to year on the basis of the interests of the District Officer....Moreover the categories used are rather vague, and fluctuate from year to year and from area to area" (pp. 159-162).

Although Kitching was commenting on the Kenyan situation, his observations are equally applicable to the Nigerian situation. Both countries were colonised by the British almost at the same time. In the face of all these limitations, data from Colonial Annual Reports can only be effectively used in the analysis in conjunction with other independent and supplementary data sources.

Data from Census Records have their problems. The chief among these problems are those associated with boundary changes in the enumeration areas from one census to another, characteristics being measured and the level of aggregation. Caution, therefore, was exercised with reference to all census figures, especially when comparisons are made

between two or more censuses. Nigeria has a history of bad statistics, particularly on population figures. Suggesting reasons for the bad census statistics, Femi Ajayi writes:

"Censuses are ever so unreliable in Nigeria due to either underestimation for fear of taxes or overestimation to secure economic and political advantages" (Ajayi, 1990, p. 25).

Limitations of data from the Federal Office of Statistics are two-fold in the context of this study. First, most of the data are aggregated at national and state levels. They lack local content which is crucial here. Secondly, and with particular reference to manufacturing, data from this source as from 1962 do not account for manufacturing establishments with fewer than ten employees. The Federal Office of Statistics and the collaborating statistical units of the state governments cover only establishments employing ten or more people during the annual industrial surveys. A serious implication here is that a large chunk, if not all, of the tailoring units is not enumerated and therefore not accounted for in the Annual Industrial Surveys, as most of the tailoring establishments employ less than ten people.

Admittedly, the data provided in the survey by the Industrial Research Unit, Unife, have serious limitations and are of uncertain reliability, but faced with a scenario where official sources have little or no information on small scale establishments at the level of aggregation discussed by the Unife survey, the significance of the survey data becomes critical. Since very little information is available elsewhere, the survey data in most cases have been used as indicator rather than as a precise measure of local situations and of

small scale establishments employing less than ten people.

3.4 Organisation of Data

The historical or evolutionary approach, which is one of the primary methodologies of this study, requires time-sequence data. To achieve this all available data as contained in Small Scale Industries: Western State of Nigeria and other sources, are organised in a time-series format.

To compress the time span covered in the study some data are grouped in a ten-year interval. The choice of a ten-year grouping is primarily a convenient alternative to an annual grouping. Also, longer interval scales have been used in some other cases. For example, to compare growth and development indicators during the colonial and post colonial periods data are sub-divided into two main groups, namely: colonial (1885-1959) and post colonial (1960-1989).

Also when industry and census data with different dates are compared, data with the least time differences have been kept together. The sorting and sequencing of data are done by towns and industry category. Using the same technique tables are constructed to show the distribution of tailoring ownership by capitalization, and employment, for both the state and the individual towns.

Chapter Four

COLONIAL AND POST COLONIAL SYSTEMS AND THE SPATIAL DIFFUSION OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY IN OYO STATE

4.1 Introduction

The establishment of the British colonial administration in Nigeria in the 19th century caused many changes in the socio-economic and political life of the Nigerian people. One of the Nigerian societies that witnessed a significant change in its way of life and the organisation of its economic space, is the Yoruba of Oyo state. The changes are attributable to administrative and economic policies of the colonial system. Some of these economic and administrative policies created spatial and social conditions, which enabled the development and spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo state.

The chapter traces the evolution of colonial administration in Yorubaland and identifies some of the socio-economic and spatial changes that occurred during the period. Special emphasis is placed on the spatial changes that favoured the development and diffusion of informal tailoring industry, and the factors that generated them. Among the factors of spatial and social change discussed are colonial policies that led to the development of new administrative centres and, new communications and transportation networks that facilitated trade and channelled modernising influences into the area sooner and faster than was possible in the pre-colonial days. Other factors include commercial and trade policies that encouraged the importation of sewing machines and European

clothes and clothing materials and, missionary activities including moral teachings and the establishment of schools, which promoted the development and diffusion of informal tailoring activity through influencing the patterns of Yoruba clothes consumption and production. In the post colonial period, among the factors that have helped the growth of existing informal tailoring industry and the establishment of new ones are the continuation of sewing machines and clothing material imports, and the availability government-assisted loans.

The primary objective of the chapter is to develop a probability of location matrix through the identification of factors that make locations likely to attract informal tailoring industry. Based on this probability of location model the actual diffusion, in time and space, of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan areas is tested.

4.2 The Beginning of Colonial Administration in Yorubaland

The era of British Colonial administration in Nigeria began about 1851 with the defeat and sack of King Kosoko of Lagos. However, except for Lagos, which became a Colony in 1862, there was no real government in Nigeria till 1885. In the fifteen years between 1885 and 1900, the government was divided between three different groups of officials, responsible respectively to the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the Directors of the Royal Niger Company (Burns, 1972). With the amalgamation of the Colony of Lagos and its protected territory with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria under one administration on May 1, 1906, the British Colonial administration began to leave

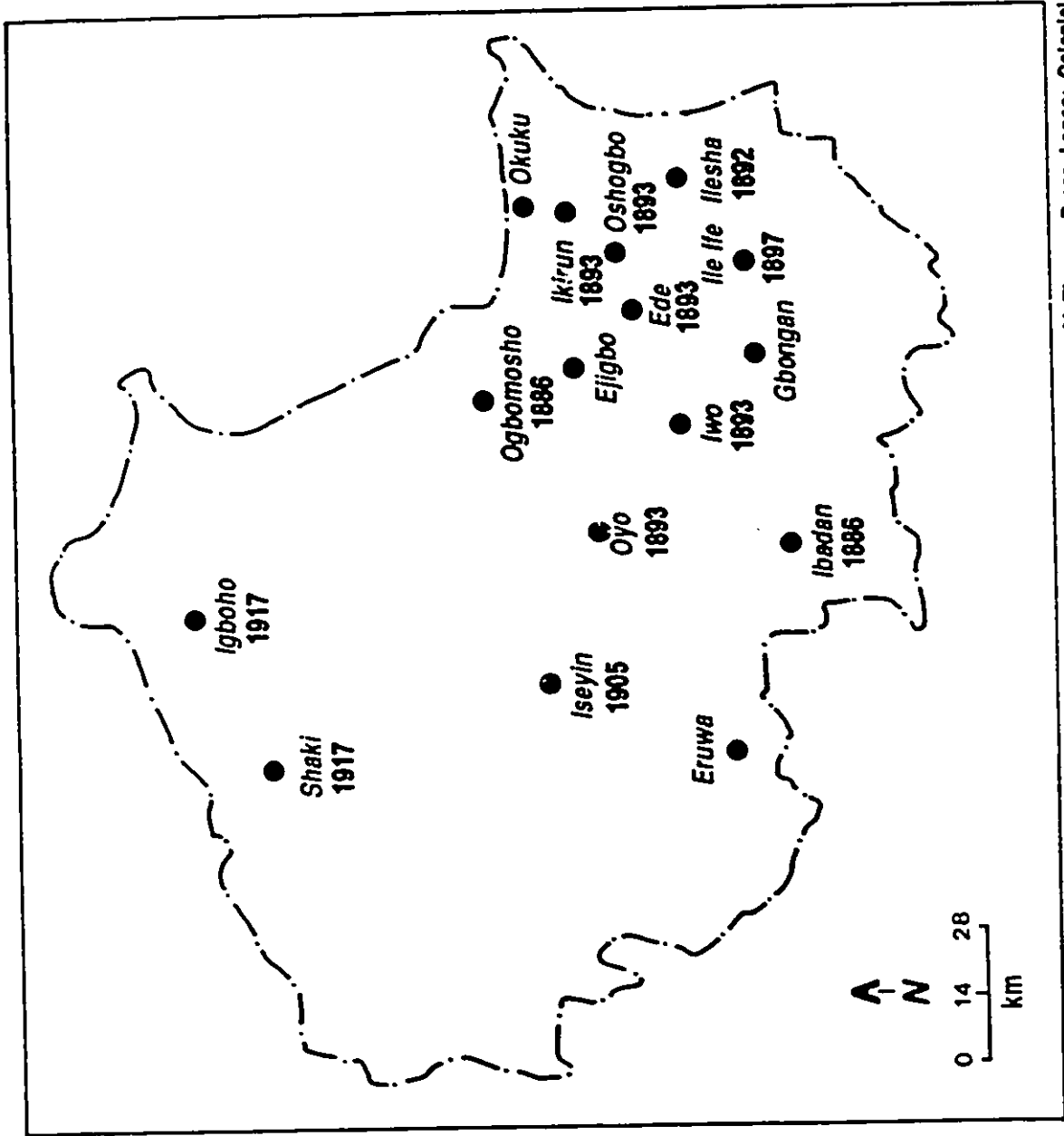
a permanent influence on the Nigerian political and socio-economic landscape.

The colonial penetration into Yoruba towns began as early as the first Europeans set foot on the coast. One of the first towns to come under the colonial influence was Lagos, and this was in 1851. By 1893, the British colonial administration had established some level of permanent settlement in many Yoruba towns (Payne, 1893). There were colonial residences in Ibadan and Ogbomosho in 1886, Ilesha in 1892 and, Oyo, Oshogbo, Ede, Iwo and Ikirun in 1893. The colonial presence at Ife and Iseyin was not established until 1897 and 1905 respectively (CMS Y.4/1/14, National Archives, Ibadan; Colonial Annual Report, 1905). With the capture and amalgamation of Ilorin in 1897 to the Colony of Lagos, more Yorubaland came under the control of the forces of the Royal Niger company. And by 1917, Shaki, Igboho and Kishi had significantly felt the impact of colonial presence (Colonial Annual Report, 1918). Map 4 shows the evolution of colonial settlement in selected Yoruba towns.

4.3 The Impact of Colonial Presence in Yorubaland

The colonial drive into the hinterland was primarily for economic reasons. That economic imperialism was a dominant factor in the British bid for expansion in the 19th century, is a fact that has been substantiated repeatedly in many public policy statements. In a foreign policy speech on November 9, 1897, for example, the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, highlighted the major factors determining British motives to establish colonies and protectorates in Africa when he said:

MAP 4
EVOLUTION OF BRITISH COLONIAL RESIDENCY IN SELECTED YORUBA TOWNS, 1851-1917



Sources: Payne, J.A.O. (1893), *Table of Principle Events in Yoruba History*, Andrew M. Thomas Press, Lagos; *Colonial Annual Report*, 1905, 1916; *CMS Y.4/1/14*, 1939, National Archives, Ibadan.

"We do not wish to take territory simply because it may look well to paint it red upon the map. The objects we have in view are strictly business objects. We wish to extend the commerce, the trade, the industry and the civilization of mankind. We wish to throw open as many markets as possible, to bring as many producers and consumers into contact as possible; to throw open the great waterways of this great continent; we wish that trade should pursue its unchecked and unhindered course on the Niger, the Nile and the Zambezi" (The Standard, London, 1897, p. 1f).

The desire to secure and preserve markets in the colonies for British-made goods was echoed again in 1919 by Joseph Chamberlain as quoted in Leonard Woolf:

"The Foreign Office and Colonial Office are chiefly engaged in finding new markets and defending old ones" (Woolf, 1919, p. 7).

Over a period of forty-six years the underlying colonial economic and commercial policy remained almost unchanged (The Times of London, 1943; Burns, 1957). The overemphasis on trade produced a trade-dominated economic system that depended heavily on foreign imports and played down the development of local manufacturing. Local exports consisted principally of raw materials beneficial to British manufacturing companies in the United Kingdom. Many in the Colonial Office and most British firms believed that the establishment of manufacturing companies in the colonies would compete with their companies and thereby reduce the market for British-made goods (Liedholm, 1970).

From the beginning, the Royal Niger Company dominated the Nigerian trade. Through its agencies it controlled the export and import trade for many years. J. Mars'

(1948) paper on "Extra-Territorial Enterprises" provides valuable information on non-mining foreign companies that operated in Nigeria in 1921. Mars' study reveals that the majority of the companies were engaged primarily in some form of trading activity. According to his analysis, 95 (93.1 percent) of the 102 foreign non-mining companies operating in the country then were trading firms.

Until 1960, expatriate firms dominated the distributive and retail trade in Nigeria (Proehl, 1965). Among the expatriate firms, British firms predominated. The bulk of imports into the country came from the United Kingdom. Table 4.1 shows, in part, the dominance of the United Kingdom in sewing machine imports between 1910 and 1959. During the period over 75.0 percent of all sewing machine imports originated from the United Kingdom. With the demise of colonialism in 1960 came not only a sharp decline in the British share of sewing machine imports, but also the emergence of new and significant suppliers such as Japan, Taiwan and China.

Summarising the impact of colonialism on Yorubaland with respect to changes in the patterns of taste and production, Ojo (1966) notes that the joint activities of the missionaries, administrators and merchants laid the foundation of the taste for Western commodities. For him, it was this change of taste on the one hand, and the large scale introduction of the superior goods of Western factories on the other hand, that supplanted many of the indigenous craft industries of Yorubaland.

The economic and social developments that took place during the colonial period produced a considerable change in Yoruba society, modifying the patterns of their clothing

Table 4.1

**DISTRIBUTION OF SEWING MACHINE IMPORTS BY MAJOR
COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, NIGERIA, 1910-1987**
(Ten-Year Averages in Percentage)

Country	1910- 1919	1920- 1929	1930- 1939	1940- 1949	1950- 1959	1960- 1969	1970- 1979	1980- 1987
China	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.5	23.6	30.7
France	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	7.9	1.3	1.1
Holland	0.5	12.4	8.0	0.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7	15.7	7.5	1.4
Japan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	29.7	28.3	13.2
Taiwan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2	32.5
United Kingdom	78.8	58.9	70.5	90.1	80.5	24.9	7.3	5.5
United States	10.6	3.2	0.7	6.0	0.4	0.1	2.1	0.9
West Germany	10.0	25.5	20.7	0.4	3.3	4.3	6.1	4.7
Others	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.7	3.7	8.9	16.6	10.0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Computed from Blue Book, Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, (various years); Blue Book, Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, (various years), Government Printer, Lagos; Nigeria Trade Report, (various years); Nigeria Trade Summary, (various years), Federal Government Printer, Lagos.

production and consumption. In pre-colonial Yorubaland, industrial technology for the production of clothing was at an advanced stage (July, 1976). From when cloth was made from tree barks (Waine, 1895), clothing has been a well-established industry in Nigeria. With cotton and indigo as ancient crops in West Africa, all stages of the cloth manufacturing process were done locally in the different Nigerian kingdoms including Oyo, especially from the eighth century (Onimode, 1982).

But under the colonial influence, changes in styles of dress began to occur among the Yoruba. European trousers, shirts, coats, neck-ties, frocks and other clothing items were introduced, and circulated principally among the Westernised members of the society (Asiwaju, 1976; Atanda, 1980). Before the introduction of trousers, shorts, and longer and larger wrappers, the dress for man's lower body consisted of a simple shawl tied around the waist. A piece of cloth worn over the shoulder as a shawl and the head-tie were all that were worn above the waist by the women in pre-colonial and early colonial times. For the women also, a large rectangular cloth served as a wrap-around skirt (Bascorn, 1969). A picture of how the Yoruba dressed in the 1840s was painted by a young missionary to West Africa. Reporting in his journal, Waddell described the sight of a young man and a girl each in state of:

"semi-nudity... [having] on only the waist cloth, being from the waist upwards and from the knee downwards naked..." (Waddell, 1846, vol.I, p. 21).

For him, this manner of dressing was primitive and improper. His Victorian christian

virtue demanded that "nature's secret" be kept (Townsend, 1847).

The influence of European dress styles led to the development of characteristically Yoruba traditional forms of dress, which include agbada, buba, sokoto, dansiki, soro and fila for the men, and iro, gele, buba and iborun for the women. For dress materials, cheaper and lighter European cotton cloths began to compete seriously with the locally woven cloths. With the imported materials becoming increasingly popular among the new emerging elite, it did not take long before imported cloths replaced locally woven types of common materials for dressmaking. Also during the colonial era, as money rather than birth became accepted as the criterion for possessions, clothing materials like damask and velvet, originally meant for royalty, came to be used by commoners who possessed the means to obtain them (Asiwaju, 1976). The liberalisation of the use of all clothing materials for all broke down a long standing Yoruba tradition which restricted the use of certain clothing materials to certain classes of people.

Alongside the new styles in dress and clothes came a change in the method of dressmaking. In place of the manual tailors of the pre-colonial period, a modern tailoring profession emerged, with the introduction of the sewing machine. The two types of sewing machines introduced were the hand-operated and foot-operated machines [1]. Figure 1 shows male informal tailors working with foot-operated sewing machines.

Among the major features of the sewing machine that facilitated its adoption in dressmaking in Oyo state, are its simple technology, which makes it easy to use, its time saving component and the quality of its finished product. As reported by the Bale of the

Figure 1
MALE TAILORS AT WORK WITH FOOT-OPERATED
SINGER SEWING MACHINES



Source: Courtesy of SWAPO Literacy Campaign, Refugees, No. 75, Geneva, (May 1990), p. 16.

Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District (1989), the production time of a typical traditional dress that usually took thirteen days to sew by hand was reduced to merely two days using a sewing machine. This translates into a production saving time of nearly 550.0 percent. The time saved allowed the adopters to produce more clothes than would have been possible if done by hand over a given space of time. On product quality, the sewing machine produced a neater finished product than hand sewing. The stitches done with sewing machines were regular and more even than hand sewn stitches. Because the sewing machine demonstrated these capabilities over traditional hand sewing methods, and sold relatively cheaply (The Control of Merchandise Prices [Sewing Machines] Order, 1943, Public Notice No. 14 of 1943; The Price Control [Sewing Machines][Amendment] Order, 1945, Public Notice No. 245 of 1945), its adoption spread rapidly among the Yoruba tailors.

4.4 Factors Responsible For The Spatial and Socio-economic Changes That Favoured the Development and Diffusion of Informal Tailoring Industry in Oyo State Urban Areas

The discussion in this section focuses on the policies of the colonial system that induced new spatial and socio-economic orders, which likely supported the development of informal tailoring industry. Other factors discussed include the activities of Christian missionaries, availability of local raw material and the economic policies of post colonial governments of Oyo state.

4.4.1 Colonial Factors

Among the most prominent colonial factors that induced spatial and socio-economic changes are administrative, economic and social policies that resulted in some form of spatial reorganisation. These include the establishment of administrative headquarters, the development of communications and transportation networks, the introduction of salaried or wage employment, and the importation of sewing machines, cotton and rayon-piece goods.

4.4.1.1 Establishment Of Administrative Headquarters

The very imposition of colonial rule caused changes in the political systems and institutions of the Yoruba. Through the creation and establishment of administrative (divisional and native authority) headquarters, the colonial government altered or interfered with the spatial balance among the Yoruba towns. Towns that became administrative centres grew more rapidly than others less privileged, and this fact substantially reversed traditional relationships among some towns. Some towns became important during the colonial era for no reason other than the fact that they were the places selected for the headquarters of the British administration (Lowder, 1986). Also, all the native authority centres grew rapidly and generally at the expense of the surrounding towns and villages.

Among the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the administrative centres were the concentration of government jobs, improved facilities, greater contact with Europeans and their technology, and prospects for improving one's standard of living through

improved purchasing power. These advantages attracted both migrants and entrepreneurs to these centres. And in no time, some of the administrative headquarters also became important commercial centres.

The establishment of colonial administrative headquarters in the state occurred principally in two stages. Until 1921, there were only three divisional headquarters in Oyo province. These were Ibadan, Ife and Oyo (Talbot, 1926). Between 1921 and 1931, two more divisional headquarters were established, and by 1967, the total number of headquarters had risen to twelve. The new divisional headquarters included Eruwa, Igboora, Ikire, Ikirun, Ilesha, Iwo, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo and Shaki (Resident's Office, Oyo, Provincial Administrative Department, File No. 426, Vol. 1, (1936), NAI). Because of the commercial and other economic advantages, it is argued that the administrative headquarters more likely provided ideal locations for the informal tailoring industry than the non-administrative headquarters.

4.4.1.2 Development of Communication and Transportation Systems

In pre colonial Oyo state, transportation and communication systems were very rudimentary and in most cases limited to local circulation. Inter regional trade was conducted by means of caravan trade routes. Some of the principal caravan trade routes that linked North Africa with the Atlantic coast passed through Yorubaland (Asiwaju, 1976, p.24). Among the major Yoruba centres that constituted part of the caravan network were Badagry and Lagos on the coast, Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, Ibadan, Oyo, Ogbomosho,

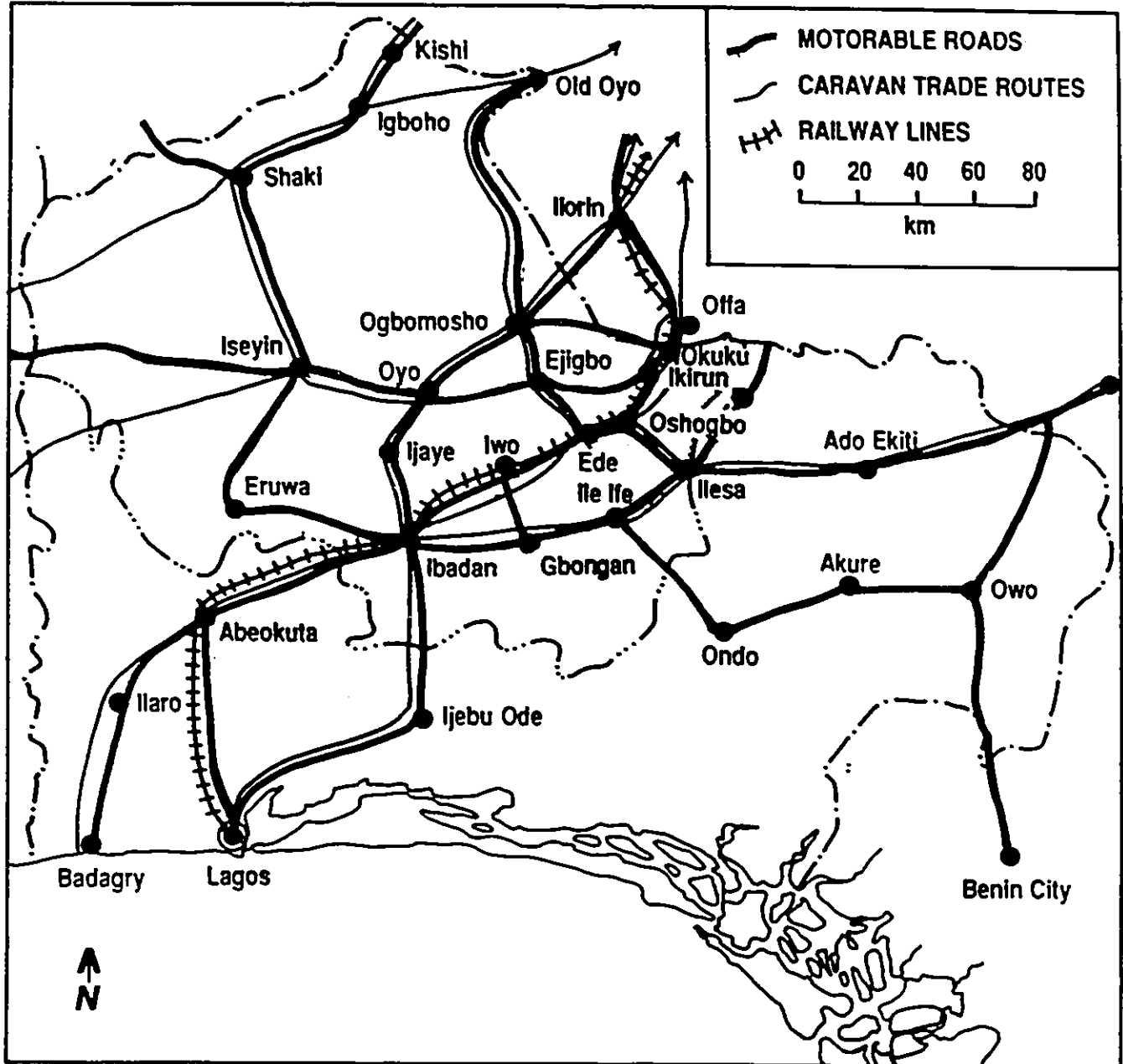
Oshogbo, Ife, Ilesha, Iseyin, Shaki and Igboho (Map 5).

One of the main trade routes, which linked Dahomey to Hausaland, passed through Shaki, Igboho, Kishi and Old Oyo. Both the Badagry and Lagos trade routes to North Africa through Hausaland converged at Ibadan. From Ibadan one of the routes went eastward through Ile Ife, Ilesha and Ado Ekiti to Kabba. The second route continued northward through Oyo, Ogbomosho and Ilorin. Iseyin was linked to both the Badagry and Dahomey to Hausaland trade routes at Oyo and Shaki respectively. Because they were located on the main caravan trade routes, these towns became important trading and commercial centres during the pre colonial era. Centres in the study area that occupied strategic positions in the trade routes network included Ibadan, Oyo, Ogbomosho, Iseyin, Shaki, Ile Ife and Ilesha.

During the colonial era, new transportation and communication systems were introduced into Yorubaland. The railway from Lagos to Ibadan, which started in 1896, pushed on to join the Northern Nigerian Railway at Minna. Soon after, broad main roads, some of which formed feeder networks to the railway system, spread in all directions of the country (Map 5). Also constructed during this era were telegraph lines between important centres. Through the extension of the railway lines and their feeder roads the penetration into Yoruba hinterland was nearly total by 1917. By this time places like Abeokuta, Ede, Ibadan, Ile Ife, Ikirun, Ilesha, Iwo, Lagos, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo and Oyo had been drawn into the colonial administrative and commercial network.

MAP 5

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS IN COLONIAL YORUBALAND.



Sources: Colonial Annual Report, 1925; Federal Surveys, Nigeria, (1969), Nigeria: Administrative Map; Asiwaju, 1976, op. cit., p. 24.

As new and improved transportation and communication systems were introduced, the pre colonial trade routes lost their importance in the circulation of trade and commerce. With the demise of the trade routes came the decline in importance of some of the centres of commerce on the trade routes. As the axes of the new communications and transportation systems, particularly the railway lines, differed from the general direction of pre colonial trade routes, new commercial centres developed at nodal points along railway and road networks. As centres like Ede, Oshogbo, Ikirun and Okuku gained commercial prominence because of their location on the railway line, others such as Ogbomosho, Oyo, Iseyin, Ile Ife and Ilesha stagnated relative to their pre colonial status because of their being bypassed by the railway line (Map 5). The primacy of Ibadan as a commercial centre was consolidated with the railway line routed via it.

Summing up the impacts of transportation and communication innovations introduced by the British Colonial administration on the natives of Nigeria, Burns writes:

"The influence of these public works on the African population was great. Apart from the civilizing effect of easier communication, there was a marked increase in trade and in the circulation of coin. Thousands worked for the government, and were paid in money with which they were able to purchase for themselves both necessities and luxuries, returning to their villages to boast of their adventures and show off their recently acquired finery to their less sophisticated brothers" (Burns, 1972, p. 217).

Among the most dominant socio-economic and spatial impacts of improved transportation and communications networks in Oyo state urban areas were the rise and decline of towns along the routes, increase in the amount of trade and ease of mobility of

people. As the improvements in transportation increased the transferability of goods and services from place to place, towns located on these new networks became the main points for collecting, processing, and transshipping of primary and imported products. Also by means of the transport connections that converge upon them, the nodal towns exercised administrative and commercial control over their surrounding interior. The degree of commercial control of each centre seems to be a function of how well the centre was connected with its hinterland and to other major centres and profitable markets within the system.

As accessibility to motor and railway transport came to be regarded as an important index of progress in the new era, towns that retained market functions and are served by the railways and major roads attracted migrants from the less endowed towns. Because of these advantages they became preferred locations for many economic activities. Based on the above assumption, Ibadan, Oshogbo, Ede, Ikirun, Oyo and Ogbomosho, were greatly favoured as potential points for industrial location. The least favoured towns were Eruwa, Shaki, Gbongan, Okuku and Igboho.

Based on the connectivity and accessibility theory, the number of ways each town may be reached from other towns in the system is a measure of its accessibility. In connection with location theory, it has been suggested that centres with greater connectivity and accessibility tend to have more economic activities located in them than in centres that are less connected and accessible. As a factor in the construction of probability of location model, a general notion of the accessibility of each town is

obtained by the summation of the edges of all transportation systems linking the place with other towns in the network. The calculation of the accessibility index is discussed later in the chapter.

4.4.1.3 Introduction of Salaried or Wage Employment (Boosting Purchasing Power)

The introduction of salaried or wage-employment was one of the important socio-economic impacts of colonialism on Yoruba society. Though not explicitly stated, the process of rural-urban migration in search of salaried-government and allied jobs was set in motion by the colonial administration (Ejimofofor, 1987). One of the ultimate consequences of this process was the development and concentration of population in few centres where these jobs were either available or the prospects of getting them were hopeful. Most of the colonial centres in Yorubaland have continued to function as important social and commercial towns to date. The second consequence of the rural-urban migration, particularly the return migration, was the dissemination of colonial ideas and innovations into rural areas and villages by returning migrants. As the returning migrants displayed their wage-assisted possessions and told their stories, the desire of the rural population for these goods and services introduced by the Europeans was aroused.

The colonial administration contributed significantly to the spatial variation in the distribution of purchasing power in Oyo state metropolitan areas. In pre colonial days there was little or no salaried or wage-employment among the Yoruba. With the

establishment of colonial administration, not only was salaried employment encouraged and given a new impetus, the colonial government became one of the major employing agencies of salaried labour. Among other things, the wage-employment ensured regular income and provided those thus employed with more money to spend on goods and services than those people not employed in salaried jobs.

As the salaried and wage-earners became increasingly dependent upon their occupational specialities and relatively wealthy, the demand for a more sophisticated range of goods and services was created. The necessity to effectively supply these goods and services resulted in formal and informal service sector jobs in the food, housing, clothing and transportation industry.

As a major employer of salaried and wage-earners, the colonial administration not only influenced the number of salaried and wage-earners but also their spatial distribution. By concentrating administrative duties at headquarter towns, the government drew the majority of salaried-workers to these locations. As the administrative centres also assumed commercial responsibilities, they became centres of activity for the new urban class of traders and merchants. It was only a matter of time that other service sector operations clustered in and around the immediate vicinity of the headquarter towns.

Since income is the principal factor influencing allocations in household budgets and level of purchasing power (Lowder, 1986), centres with high salaried-employment tended to show a higher concentration of quality and specialised goods and services than centres with low purchasing power. The argument can be stretched to include the

proposition that the level of purchasing power can differentiate centres most likely to adopt an innovation rapidly from centres not likely to do so. In designing the probability matrix, it is speculated that divisional headquarter towns serving both administrative and commercial functions, more likely adopted the informal tailoring innovation before non-headquarter towns in the Oyo state urban system.

4.4.1.4 Importation of Sewing Machines, Cotton and Rayon-Piece Goods by the Colonial Government

The colonial conquest of Yorubaland was partly through military and most importantly through economic intervention. The economic intervention was primarily in the area of commerce and trade. Through trade policies and practices, the colonial administration controlled both what were imported into and exported out of the country. Informal tailoring activity in Oyo state seems to have emerged not because of any direct or special government policies encouraging it. Yet, its continued growth and diffusion appear to have been brightened by the widening market created by the colonial socio-economic systems. In this section it is argued that the trade in sewing machines and imported clothing materials, in the main, positively contributed to the development of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state by making available important tailoring equipment and work materials.

Through trade not only are goods exchanged, but sometimes the technology that produced those goods are also exchanged. The British colonial government through trade

introduced into Yorubaland not only finished clothes, dresses and other clothing materials, but also the sewing machine technology. The introduction and subsequent adoption of the sewing machine innovation in dressmaking in Oyo state were at their peak during the colonial era. By the middle of the colonial period, dressmaking by sewing machine had basically replaced stitching clothes and dresses with needles by hand.

Approximately, over 1,490,566 sewing machines were imported into Nigeria at the rate of about 19,358 machines a year between 1910 and 1987 (Table 4.2). As many as 558,962 (37.5 percent) of these machines may have been distributed in Oyo state during the same period. In monetary terms, an estimated ₦144.9 million were spent on sewing machine and its spare parts imports in Nigeria between 1910 and 1987 (Table 4.2). This translates into an estimated annual expenditure of about ₦1.9 million over a 77-year period.

Viewed as a budgetary allocation indicator, it can be argued that the colonial government in Nigeria allocated at least ₦15.4 million to the development of tailoring industry through the provision of sewing machines and their spare parts between 1910 and 1959. Oyo state's share of the allocation may have been worth an estimated ₦5.8 million.

The importation of cotton and rayon piece-goods may have retarded the development of local cotton and weaving manufacturing industries, but it posed no such threat to the development of local tailoring industry. It seems to have promoted its development by the provision of a continuous supply of important work material. Between 1937 and 1971, the annual imports of cotton and rayon piece-goods in Nigeria averaged

Table 4.2

SEWING MACHINE AND SHIRTS IMPORTS, NIGERIA, 1910-1987
(Yearly Averages)

Year	Sewing Machines		Shirts	
	Quantity	Value (₦)	Quantity	Value (₦)
1910-19	3,112	17,744.4	n.a	n.a
1920-29	7,707	70,177.4	n.a	n.a
1930-39	4,522	49,032.2	139,626	31,124.3
1940-49	4,879	58,805.5	134,294	63,986.0
1950-59	28,292	472,628.1	991,356	590,406.0
1960-69	21,081	1,023,129.4	1,586,758	1,376,692.2
1970-79	45,239	5,327,809.7	3,488,193	5,461,497.3
1980-87*	40,032	8,035,135.7	43,405	136,357.1
Average	19,358	1,881,807.5	1,064,105	1,276,677.1
Total Import	1,490,566	144,899,178	60,653,985	72,770,587

Note: n.a = not available

* = This measure represents a seven-year interval.

Sources: Computed from Blue Book, various years, op. cit.; Department of Statistics, various years, Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria Trade Report, various years, The Government Printer, Lagos; Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, various years, Nigeria Trade Summary Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos.

161.6 million and 49.2 million square yards respectively. The total cost of cotton and rayon piece-goods during the colonial period (1900-1960) has been estimated at £1.3 billion (Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, various years). Though not all cotton and rayon piece-goods imports were used by the tailoring industry, but a significant proportion of the imports became work materials for Oyo state informal tailors.

Quality and low price accounted significantly for the switch from local dress materials to imported cotton and rayon piece-goods. The imported dress materials were a lot cheaper and of better quality than local materials. From all indications the imported goods were also readily available. In addition, they seemed easier to work with on sewing machines than some of the locally produced cloth materials (Ibadan Field Survey, 1989: An interview with the Bale).

4.4.2 Christian Missionaries and The Diffusion of Informal Tailoring Industry

The discussion on Christian missionaries and the diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state urban areas is divided into two sections. Section one examines the evolution of Christian missionary activity in Yorubaland. The purpose here is to identify the spatial distribution of missionary activity by historical sequence in the studied area. The historical sequence is important in comparing the evolution of missionary activity and the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state. The second section discusses the socio-cultural impacts of Christian missionary activity on the pattern of

Yoruba dress production and consumption.

4.4.2.1 The Evolution of Missionary Activity in Yorubaland

The evolution of Christian missions in Yorubaland pre dated the establishment of colonial rule. Yet the establishment of colonial administration opened a new era for the spread of Christianity in the region. The colonial authorities encouraged Christian missionaries to operate, first by establishing a public peace which enabled the missionaries to reach more areas without risking their lives at the hands of warring tribesmen. Secondly, colonial rule enforced freedom of worship and discouraged direct confrontations between Christianity and other existing religious groups. Consequent upon improved conditions, the rate of conversion to Christianity rose remarkably (Asiwaju, 1976). And by the end of colonial era, christians formed quite a considerable percentage of the local population.

Although earlier contacts with the Yoruba were made by Christian missionaries, the more effective and permanent contacts were established in the 1850s (Payne, 1893). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) opened its first house in Lagos in October, 1852 and built its first school in 1853. Later in 1852, Christian missionaries arrived at Ibadan from Abeokuta and Badagry (Lloyd, 1966). By February, 1855, the missionaries had established missions in Iseyin and Ogbomosho. They were in Ilorin in July, 1855 and Oshogbo in 1860 (Payne, 1893). The Oyo mission was founded in 1878 (CMS Y.17/3, NAI; Payne, 1893).

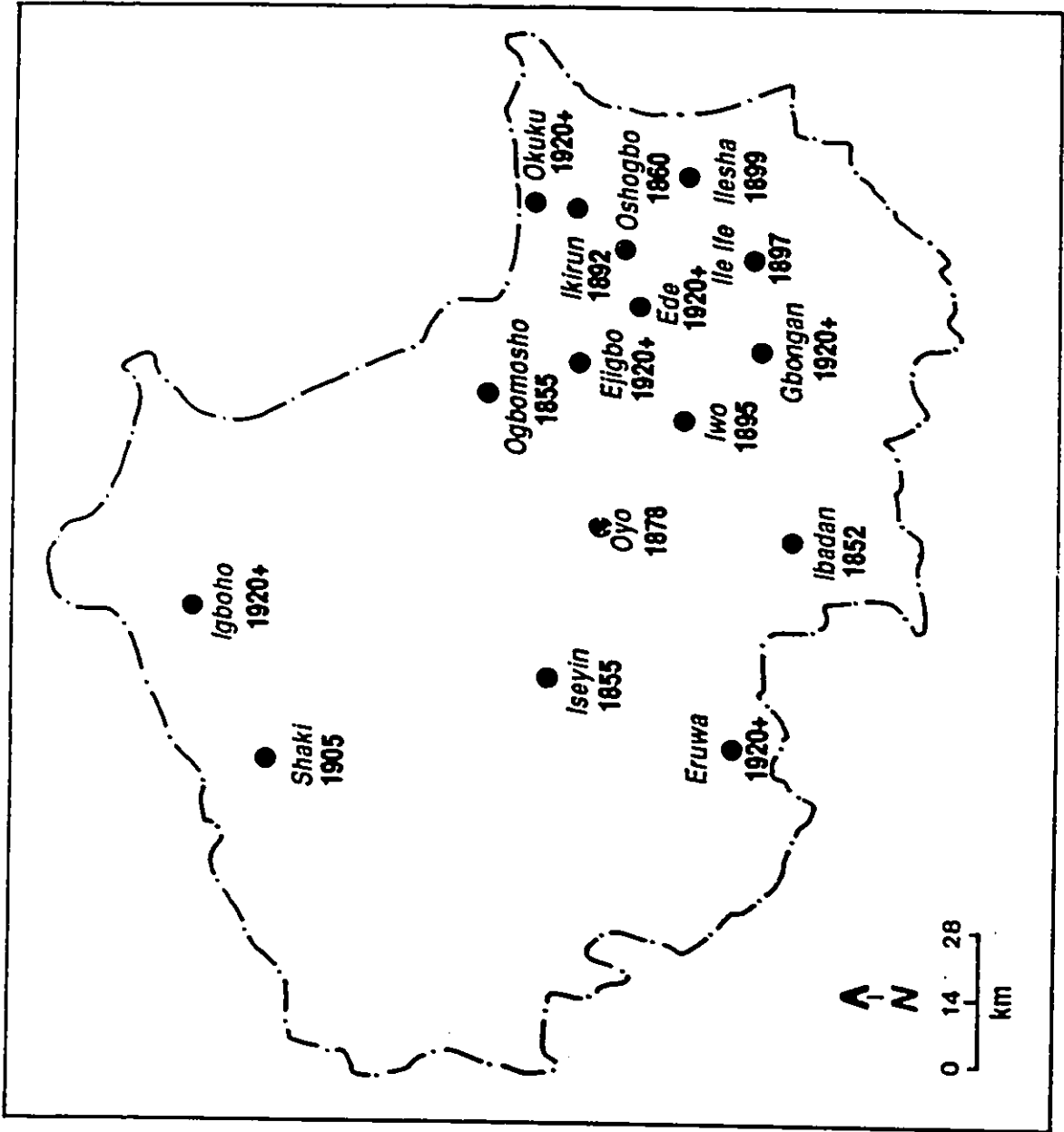
By the 1890s, Christian missionary presence had been established in Ikirun (1892), Iwo (1895), Ife (1897) and Ilesha (1899) (CMS Y.4/1/14, NAI; Asiwaju, 1976). The first Christian mission was opened in Shaki in 1905 (Colonial Annual Report, 1908). The spread of Christian missionary activity to Ede, Ejigbo, Eruwa, Gbongan, Igboho and Okuku occurred later in the period, after 1920. By 1925, there were as many as 45 mission stations in Yorubaland (Talbot, 1926; Maxwell, 1931). Map 6 shows the diffusion of Christian mission stations in Yorubaland between 1852 and 1925.

Judging from the above distribution, the centres with the longest missionary exposure and contact included Ibadan, Ogbomosho, Iseyin, Oshogbo and Oyo. Among the centres with the least exposure and contact were Igboho, Okuku, Eruwa, Gbongan and Ede. A statistical relationship between the spatial evolution of missionary activity and the spatial diffusion of the tailoring industry is yet to be determined. A determination of the exact relationship will be made later in the chapter through Spearman's rank order correlation. But the next section discusses the socio-cultural impacts of the missionary contact.

4.4.2.2 The Socio-cultural Impacts of Missionary Activity on The Pattern of Yoruba Dress Production and Consumption

The disruptive impact of colonial induced Western culture, especially its religious and educational aspects on traditional Yoruba society, is alluded to by Coleman (1958), Ejimofor (1987) and The Economist (1988). Coleman writes:

MAP 6
EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSION STATIONS IN SELECTED YORUBA TOWNS, 1852-1925



Sources: Payne, 1893, op. cit.; CMS Y.1/713, NAI; Colonial Annual Report, 1908; Talbot, 1926, op. cit.; Maxwell, 1931, op. cit.; Lloyd, 1966, op. cit.; Asiwaju, 1976.

"Unlike traders, they [Christian missions] did not limit their endeavours to port towns, rail or river lines, or commercial centres; rather, they undertook to penetrate the most remote areas in the interior. Unlike government administrators, Christian missions did not seek to preserve traditional society, but rather to transform it" (Coleman, 1958, p. 60).

And commenting on the relationship between religion and socio-cultural changes in colonial Africa, The Economist, notes:

"Protestant and Catholic Missionaries served the State, especially by providing schools... Missionaries took to Africa not just christian doctrine, but the social and cultural trimmings as well" (The Economist, 1988, p. 43).

The new morality and ethics preached by these religions repudiated the scanty dressing habit of Africans. They advocated and encouraged the wearing of clothes and the full covering of the body, especially when in public or present at religious ceremonies (Hinchliff, 1990) [2]. The introduction of new religions also increased the occasions for public outings - going to churches and mosques. This in turn increased the demand for clothes and dresses. With the missionaries came the mission schools and colleges. And with these came college and school uniforms. For most young Yoruba, besides "Sunday dresses", their wardrobe included, at least, a pair of school uniforms sewn in European styles. This tradition has survived till today, and has made the beginning of the school year a boom and busy period for most of the tailors in the state.

Also important in transforming the dressing styles of the Yoruba and fostering the development of informal tailoring industry, is the fact the missionaries enforced the

wearing of "proper attire" on the teachers and other workers in their employment. Tailors were employed by the missionaries in some cases to sew uniforms and dresses for the students and workers in their institutions. Tailoring and dressmaking were taught in some of the vocational schools ran by missionaries (Southern Nigeria Gazette: Supplement to Gazette, No.44 of 10th July, 1912, NAI; Walsh, 1952; Ajayi, 1965).

Through their extensive evangelical activity and long monopoly in the field of education, therefore, christian missionaries played a critical role in the development and spatial diffusion of informal tailoring activity. The aspects of the missionary enterprise which have a special relevance to this study are its timing and geographical incidence. The timing and geographic incidence of missionary activity are important in the context of exposure to an innovation. It is assumed that earlier exposure meant more protracted contact with an innovation. Similarly, places with earlier exposure and protracted contact with an innovation tend to adopt the innovation before places of later exposure and less protracted contact.

It is also worth noting that the propositions regarding causal relationships between missionary activity and the development of informal tailoring industry are advanced with the greatest tentativeness and caution, and then only at the highest level of generalisation. This is more so because they cannot be quantitatively substantiated.

4.4.3 Availability of Work Material (Raw Material)

In all discussions of industrial location theories, availability of raw material has featured as one of the significant factors determining the location of an industry. The significance of raw material availability in the location of an industrial activity varies according to industry types. Some are more dependent on it than others when choosing a location.

Like all industries, the operation of informal tailoring industry is subject to the availability of raw materials, but to what degree it affects the location of informal tailoring industry is yet to be determined. Instead of raw material, the term "work material" is used in our discussion for two main reasons. The first reason is to avoid a narrow definition of raw material, and secondly, "work material" accommodates equipment such as sewing machines, which would not fit into the category of raw material. Availability of work material is approached from two perspectives: local and exogenous sources of work material. The principal local source of work material is the weaving industry. The exogenous work materials include sewing machines and, imported cotton and rayon-piece clothing materials.

4.4.3.1 Local Textile Production (Weaving Industry)

Since woven cloth materials constitute an important work material for the informal tailoring industry, the location of local weaving industry assumes considerable importance in the discussion of the diffusion of informal tailoring industry. The main weaving centres

in colonial Oyo province were Iseyin, Oyo, Ibadan, Oshogbo and Shaki, in that order (Oyo Prof.1, No.426, Vol.2 (1946), NAI; DCI.1/1.404, NAI; DCI.1/1.421 (1947), NAI; Ojo, 1966). In calculating the probability of informal tailoring location index in the sample towns, the location of a weaving industry accounts for an extra point in the probability value.

4.4.3.2 Availability of Exogenous Work Materials

The availability of sewing machines and, cotton and rayon-piece goods during the colonial era, in terms of quantity, has been dealt with in section 4.4.1.4. What interests us here is the availability of these exogenous work materials within the Oyo state urban system.

Available evidence shows that the concentration of imported work materials followed the pattern of urban hierarchy. In other words, there were more work materials available in the larger commercial and administrative towns than in the smaller and non-administrative towns. As has already been mentioned in the chapter, most major European trading firms located their branch offices and retail outlets in the administrative centres. The security provided by the colonial administration was one of the reasons for locating at these centres. Also, because of population concentration, the large towns provided a better threshold for retail activities than the smaller towns.

As centres of intensive acculturation, it has been shown that it was in the cities, particularly the large ones, that the Yoruba came in daily and intimate contact with

Europeans, and also saw varieties of European-made goods on display (Coleman, 1958; Lowder, 1986). How some Yoruba came in contact with European dress styles was alluded to by an Ibadan District Officer in 1933. In his letter to the Resident, Oyo Province, in connection with an application from three tailors for a permanent appointment with the Ibadan Native Administration, the District Officer writes:

"In 1932/33, the Native Administration paid £74 for sewing 478 uniforms of police and akodas. If the uniforms of the Sanitary, Forestry, Warder, Dispensary and other staff were added, the Native Administration would undoubtedly save money by engaging the 3 tailors at a yearly cost in salary of £90" (District Officer, Ibadan Division, 1933, File 1156, p. 1).

It seems, like the Christian missionaries, the colonial administration not only imposed the wearing of "proper attire" and uniforms on its employees, but also employed tailors to sew the uniforms.

Also from the standpoint of purchasing power, the large towns were relatively in good positions to serve as locations of consumer-oriented establishments, including informal tailoring industry. The most favoured towns from this standpoint were Ibadan, Ogbomosho, Iwo, Oshogbo, Oyo, Ife, Iseyin and Ede, in that order.

4.4.4 Post Colonial Governments and the Development of Informal Tailoring Industry in Oyo State

4.4.4.1 Introduction

The impact of the post colonial Oyo state governments on the tailoring industry is examined under positive impacts only. The discussion focuses on post colonial governments' industrial development measures that have directly helped existing tailoring establishments to continue in existence.

Successive governments have, over the years since political independence in 1960, stressed the importance of small scale enterprises in national economic development because of the belief that through their promotion it will be possible to generate substantial indigenous entrepreneurship and employment, and facilitate effective mobilization of local resources. Governments' concrete acts of promotion range from trade practices beneficial to tailors to direct loans through designated banks and the establishment of institutions that directly or indirectly benefit small enterprises.

Among the institutions through which government assistance has reached tailors in the state include The Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme (SSICS), Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBCI), Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board (NEPB), and Industrial Development Centres (IDCs). Other state government-assisted programmes through which help reach tailors today are Entrepreneurial Development Programme (EDP), The Working-For-Yourself Programme (WFYP) and the Training/the Trainers Scheme (TTS).

The Oyo state government has been accused of being slow in pushing towards making optimum use of these existing financial arrangements for financing industries in the state. The state's share of only 3.18 percent of total Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBCI) investment loans in 1987 (Table 4.3), has been blamed on the lack of involvement by the highest level of state government functionaries at the national level where major decisions affecting the approval and disbursement of loans for industrial purposes are made (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ibadan, 1985).

The state government's budgetary allocation to small industries development indicates the level of direct assistance and promotion that tailors expect to get from the government. Over the years, the Oyo state government has made grossly inadequate budgetary allocations to the industrial sector. For example, in the 1975-80 Development Plan only 3.3 percent of the total plan budget was allocated to the sector. The state's expenditure in 1985 shows that the manufacturing sector represented an insignificant 0.03 percent of total expenditure (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ibadan, 1985).

The limited provisions are not necessarily the result of capital shortage, but rather an indication of the low-priority of the industrial sector on the list of successive state administrators, despite the perceived importance of the sector in the economy (Federal Ministry of Industries, 1977). Experience has also shown that even when government approved limited funds for the sector, the funds were often not released. And whenever government found itself in a tight corner financially, the votes approved for the industrial sector were almost invariably the first to suffer.

Table 4.3

**NIGERIAN BANK FOR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY:
SUMMARY OF APPROVED PROJECTS BY STATES
AS OF 31ST DECEMBER, 1987**

State	Number	Value (N'000)	% of Total
Anambra	42	34,501.2	6.23
Bauchi	19	42,815.8	7.73
Bendel	42	30,785.4	5.56
Benue	19	26,903.5	4.86
Borno	29	16,463.4	2.97
Cross River/Akwa Ibom	23	22,429.6	4.05
Gongola	11	8,272.0	1.49
Imo	51	54,803.4	9.89
Niger	35	31,000.0	5.59
Kaduna/Katsina	17	17,224.3	2.57
Kano	33	23,454.3	4.23
Kwara	18	14,818.8	2.68
Lagos	74	56,027.5	10.11
Ogun	23	21,472.8	3.88
Ondo	53	51,076.3	9.22
Oyo	31	17,615.5	3.18
Plateau	22	21,962.7	3.96
Rivers	20	19,549.0	3.52
Sokoto	20	24,959.8	4.50
Federal Capital Territory	7	20,938.2	3.76
Total	589	554,073.2	100.0

Source: Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry, Lagos, 1988.

Based on past experience, the informal tailor in Oyo state cannot depend on the government or the public sector for much financial assistance, especially in raising initial capital for a business. Out of the six main sources of initial investment capital available to most of the Nigerian small entrepreneurs less than 5.0 percent come from formal sources such as commercial banking systems or the government (Table 4.4).

Based on the above and as we shall show below, the expectation of what the government can do to directly promote the informal tailoring industry is anything but high and encouraging.

4.4.4.2 Availability of Government-Assisted Loans

In general, the government has contributed to the development of small scale industrial activities through loan assistance. During the 1970-74 Plan, the Federal Government set aside a sum of £1 million and the States, the sum of £2.26 million for loan assistance to small scale industries. Although the loan fund represented only 3.3 percent of the total industrial investments, since the 1946-55 Plan, this is the first time that specific provision has been made for loan finance to the small scale industries. During the same Plan period, in the Western State, in addition to the provision of £400,000 for loan assistance to the small industries, the Western Nigeria Development Corporation (WNDC) established a £100,000 Small Industries Development Bank. Also provided by the Western State government, were the £400,000 Matching Grants for self-help schemes most of which were for the establishment of small scale industries, and £201,000 provided for

Table 4.4

**SOURCES OF FINANCE FOR INITIAL INVESTMENT
IN SMALL ENTERPRISES
(% Of Initial Investment By Source)**

Source	Western State	Mid-West State	Kwara State	Lagos State
Own Savings	98.0	88.0	96.0	98.0
Relatives	2.0	10.0	x	2.0
Banks	x	x	2.0	x
Government	-	-	2.0	x
Money Lenders	x	1.0	-	x
Other	-	1.0	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: x = less than 1.0 percent.

Sources: Aluko et al., 1972; Liedholm and Mead, 1986, p. 313.

Co-operative Movements, including arts and crafts.

One of the tangible ways through which the Oyo state government has directly assisted the development of tailoring industry in the state is the granting of loans. Between 1978 and 1988, thirteen tailors benefited from the government-assisted Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme (Table 4.5). The thirteen represent 15.3 percent of all applications from tailors for loan and 5.9 percent of all loans approved by the Scheme for the entire period.

In financial terms, the loan granted to the tailoring industry was worth ₦344,540 and represented only 3.2 percent of all loans under the State's Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme between May 1978 and March 1988. In the context of the numerical size and total capital investment of the tailoring industry, the number of applications approved and the amount of loans granted are very insignificant. Even if the ₦6,800,000 requested by the eighty-five garment makers over a ten-year period were granted, it would have still represented a small proportion of the industry's total capital investment.

Though the loan recipient tailors are not categorised by size of investment, Table 4.6 outlines the distribution pattern to be expected, if they were so categorised. The distribution pattern indicates that the majority of the loan recipients would be tailoring establishments with higher investment value. In general, loans from banks tend to favour enterprises with higher investment capital rather than those with smaller investment value. This practice, in the main, tends to prove that establishments with better collateral get preferential treatment from financial institutions. In a way, also, the practice tends to

Table 4.5
**LOAN APPLICATIONS AND APPROVALS UNDER SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES
 CREDIT SCHEME BY INDUSTRY TYPE, OYO STATE,
 MAY 1978 - MARCH 1988**

Industries	Number		Total Cost (₦)	
	Applica- tions	Approval	Requested (₦000)	Approved
Auto repairs	64	10 (15.6)	5120	455421 (8.9)
Bakery	300	29 (9.7)	24000	1578036 (6.6)
Battery manufacture	3	2 (66.7)	180	128154 (71.2)
Block making	190	17 (8.9)	15200	551757 (3.6)
Candle making	19	1 (5.3)	1425	10000 (0.7)
Distilling	12	3 (25.0)	960	100000 (10.4)
Electrical/Electronics	19	2 (10.5)	1520	104278 (6.9)
Feed milling	111	7 (6.3)	8880	521932 (5.9)
Food processing	71	12 (16.9)	56800	515574 (0.9)
Foundry	11	2 (18.2)	1100	38975 (3.5)
Furniture/woodwork	65	9 (13.8)	5200	352689 (6.8)
Garment making	85	13 (15.3)	6800	344540 (5.1)
Jewellery	3	3 (100)	300	102690 (34.2)
Laundry services	11	1 (9.1)	880	80000 (9.1)
Mattress making (Foam)	9	4 (44.4)	720	240000 (33.3)
Metal & Steel works	65	14 (21.5)	6500	748912 (11.5)
Pharmaceutical	28	2 (7.1)	2240	118547 (5.3)
Photographic works	32	3 (9.4)	2560	178882 (7.0)
Plastic works	49	10 (20.4)	3920	675563 (17.2)
Printing works	132	20 (15.2)	13200	1201808 (9.1)
Quarrying	13	8 (61.5)	1000	451600 (45.2)
Record/Film production	10	3 (30.0)	790	151525 (19.2)
Sanitary wares	16	3 (18.8)	960	238908 (24.9)
Saw milling	80	20 (25.0)	8000	936033 (11.7)
Shoe/Leather works	24	3 (12.5)	1920	125744 (6.5)
Soap production	39	4 (10.3)	2340	135106 (5.8)
Wire/nail production	28	9 (32.1)	2800	396438 (14.2)
Others	134	6 (4.5)	10840	221747 (2.0)
Total	1623	220 (13.6)	186155	10704850 (5.8)

Note: In parentheses are the percentages of approved loan applications and amounts.

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Oyo State, 1989, Industries Division, Secretariat, Ibadan.

perpetuate the disparity between the "have" and "have not" tailoring establishments.

Also, informal tailoring industry failed to benefit directly from the Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme loans because the guidelines for the award of the SSICS loans discriminates against certain categories of small scale activities. Based on the requirements of legal registration and a minimum employment size of five workers, less than 5.0 percent of the tailoring activity in the state would qualify for the loan. The vast majority (about 99.0 percent) of tailoring units in the state are not registered (Tables 2.3 and 2.4), and over 76.8 percent are owner-operated and employ less than five workers (Table 2.1).

The state government with the help of the Central Bank, has been working to make the commercial banks provide more loans to small enterprises. Experience has shown that small enterprises generally have difficulties in obtaining credits through institutional channels. Table 4.6 shows the percentage allocation of all loans and advances by the banking sector to small scale enterprises over an eight year period. Despite the directives of the Central Bank of Nigeria in 1980 that at least 16.0 percent of the loans advanced to indigenous borrowers should be allocated to small scale enterprises, the commercial banks allocated less than 10.0 percent of their loans and advances to small enterprises between 1980 and 1986. Reacting to the poor response of the banks towards loaning to small enterprises, the Central Bank in 1987 directed that banks whose loans and advances fall short of the minimum requirement will be forced to deposit the shortfall to the Central Bank for on-lending to small and medium enterprises (Monetary Policy Circular No.22

Table 4.6

PERCENTAGE OF ALL LOANS AND ADVANCES BY THE BANKS
THAT WENT TO SMALL SCALE ENTERPRISES ACCORDING TO
SIZE OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT, 1980-1989

Category	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Up to ₦25,000	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.0	1.0	0.6	1.9
₦25,000-50,000	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.8	0.6	2.0
₦50,000-100,000	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.9	3.1	1.0	2.1
₦100,000-200,000	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	1.2	1.0	0.7	2.7
₦200,000-500,000	0.7	1.1	1.0	1.8	2.2	2.0	1.4	3.8
Not specified	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	5.0	8.0
All Small Entrep.	1.8	2.1	2.0	3.2	6.1	8.0	9.3	20.5

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos, 1988.

of 1987). The threat to disciplinary sanction precipitated a rise to 20.46 percent of all bank loans and advances going to the small scale enterprises in 1987.

4.4.4.3 Continuation of Sewing Machine and Cloths Imports

Although the post colonial administration established some textile mills through the import substitution policy, the importation of sewing machines, and cotton and rayon piece-goods started by the colonial government, was continued in the post colonial period. Through this trade policy the tailoring industry continued to enjoy the support of government.

Translated into monetary figures, the expenditure on sewing machine imports alone was worth about ₦129,474,660 investment in the tailoring industry between 1960 and 1987 (Table 4.2). Though we cannot say exactly what proportion of this investment went to the informal tailors of Oyo state, but it is certain that the tailors in the state had their fair share of the investment. Through diversification of the origin of sewing machine imports, the government provided tailors access to new and competitive sewing machine markets.

The continuous flow of cotton and rayon piece-goods insures that tailors have a good supply of materials to work with. Between 1961 and 1972, the cotton and rayon piece-goods imports amounted to nearly £195.7 million (₦391.4 million). A significant proportion of these cotton and rayon piece-goods imports were made into clothes and dresses by informal tailors.

4.5 Designing the Probability of Location Model

4.5.1 Introduction

From our discussions thus far on the studies explaining spatial diffusion of innovation, the following conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, innovation diffusion is a complex process and involves many factors or variables. Among the variables highlighted are population, urban rank size, relative location, accessibility to better transportation and communications systems, availability of raw (work) material and proximity to market. Other explanatory variables suggested include willingness to adopt innovation, the economic and technical feasibility of the innovation, the presence of potential entrepreneurs and deliberate government policy.

Secondly, no single factor or variable has been able to explain adequately all the variations observed in any innovation diffusion. Some variables have been more significant than others in explaining the spatial diffusion of certain innovations.

Thirdly, since it has been demonstrated by many of the studies that many variables contribute variously in the adoption of an innovation, and that no individual variable can adequately account for all the variations, perhaps, future studies should focus on an aggregate measurement of relevant variables most likely to explain the spatial diffusion of particular economic activities. The thesis explores this alternative approach. Part of the contribution of the thesis is the development of a probability of location model for testing the spatial diffusion of an informal activity, through a case study of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan system (Table 4.7).

In developing the probability of location model it is not possible to consider all the suggested variables because of two principal reasons. The first reason is the lack of relevant data on some of the variables. The other reason is that only variables likely to contribute to the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring innovation are included in the probability matrix. The variables considered relevant are urban size (USV), colonial presence (CPV), the establishment of administrative headquarters (AHV), accessibility to improved transportation and communications systems (TAV), contact with Christian missionaries (CMV), proximity to centre of first adoption (PLV), presence of other small business activities (SBV), and availability of local and exogenous work materials (AWV).

The Probability of Location Model, therefore, consists of a matrix in which sixteen selected towns in the Oyo state metropolitan system are scored according to the incidence of eight factors or variables most likely to promote the diffusion of informal tailoring industry. The sum of the variable scores for each town is its probability of location index. The towns are arranged in a rank order according to the probability of location index value. The index value rank order is compared with the observed adoption rank order in chapter 5, in order to evaluate the correlation between the expected and the observed diffusion pattern of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo State. The three basic components of the model are the selected towns, relevant variables, and the probability index. The reasons for the selection of the towns have been discussed in chapter 1. The other two components are discussed below.

Table 4.7

**PROBABILITY OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY
LOCATION MODEL, COLONIAL OYO STATE
(Nominal)**

Towns	Nominal Variable Scores								PLI	LRO
	USV	TAV	CPV	CMV	PLV	AWV	AHV	SBV		
Ede	x	x@	x		x	x		x	7	11
Ejigbo	x	x			x	x		x	5	13
Eruwa	x	x@			x	x	x	x	7	11
Gbongan	x	x			x	x		x	5	13
Ibadan	x	x@	x	x	x	x+	x	x	10	1
Igboho	x	x			x	x		x	5	13
Ikirun	x	x@	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	3
Ile Ife	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	7
Ilesha	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	7
Iseyin	x	x	x	x	x	x+		x	8	7
Iwo	x	x@	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	3
Ogbomosho	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	7
Okuku	x	x			x	x		x	5	13
Oshogbo	x	x@	x	x	x	x+	x	x	10	1
Oyo	x	x	x	x	x	x+	x	x	9	3
Shaki	x	x	x	x	x	x+	x	x	9	3

LEGEND

- USV = Urban Size Variable
- TAV = Transportation Accessibility Variable
- CPV = Colonial Presence Variable
- CMV = Christian Missions Variable
- PLV = Proximity to Lagos Variable
- AWV = Availability of Work Material
- AHV = Administrative Headquarters
- SBV = Small Business Variable
- LRO = Location Rank Order
- PLI = Probability of Location Index
- @ = Railway Function
- + = Local Textile Industry

4.5.2 Verification of the Relevance of Matrix Variables

The first task is to establish that there is a significant positive correlation between each of the identified relevant variables and the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry. This is necessary to justify their inclusion in the construction of the probability of location model. To achieve this, Spearman's rank order correlation technique has been used, primarily for its simplicity. Techniques for the calculation of variable scores are discussed in section 4.5.3.

4.5.2.1 Urban Size (Population)

The geographic evolution of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo state seems to suggest some relationship with urban size. In other words, what is being suggested is that the tailoring innovation was first adopted in the town with the largest population, and from there spread to the towns with smaller population concentration, until it reached the smallest town in the hierarchy.

Matching the tailoring industry adoption rank order with the population rank order of the selected towns in 1856, shows that there is nearly a perfect positive correlation between the two variables (Table 4.8). Beginning with Ibadan, the primate city, the adoption of the innovation seemed to have spread to Oyo, Ogbomosho, Ede and Iwo. But bearing in mind that the 1856 population estimate is about 44 years earlier than the first possible date of innovation adoption, the conclusion that the tailoring industry innovation diffused hierarchically, calls for some caution. However, the importance of the 1856

Table 4.8

DIFFUSION OF INFORMAL TAILORING INNOVATION BY
ADOPTION AND POPULATION RANK ORDER, OYO STATE,
1856 - 1911

Date	Town	Adoption Rank Order	Population Rank Order	
			1856	1911
1900	Ibadan	1	1	1
1904	Oyo	2	2	5
1905	Ogbomosho	3	2	2
1906	Ile Ife	4	-	6
1906	Oshogbo	4	-	4
1907	Ede	6	3	8
1907	Iwo	6	3	3
1907	Iseyin	6	-	7
1908	Ilesha	9	-	10
1908	Shaki	9	-	11
1913	Ikirun	11	-	9
1915	Ejigbo	12	-	13
1916	Eruwa	13	-	14
1918	Gbongan	14	-	12
1920	Okuku	15	-	16
1923	Igboho	16	-	15

Sources: Colonial Annual Report: Southern Nigeria, 1905, 1909; Talbot, 1926; Murray and Hunt-Cooke, 1936; Resident's Office, Oyo Province, 1936; Mabogunje, 1962; Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1963; Ojo, 1966; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972; Onimode, 1982; Ejimofor, 1987; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989.

population figure as the only pre innovation indicator of the size of the adopting towns cannot be ignored.

Based on the 1911 population rank order, which is more contemporary to the dates of innovation adoption, the "large town to small town" theory partially explains the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring innovation. Based on Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation, the coefficient of determination (r^2) shows that a significant positive relationship exists between population size and the diffusion of informal tailoring innovation in the state. The proportion of the relationship accounted for by population size is 0.872 (Table 4.9). In other words, 87.2 percent of the relationship is explained by population size alone. This leaves only 12.8 percent of the spatial diffusion of the innovation in Oyo state metropolitan areas unaccounted for.

Admittedly the urban size theory of innovation diffusion provides significant and valuable explanation to the diffusion process of the informal tailoring innovation in Oyo state. With a coefficient of determination (r^2) of 0.872, the diffusion of informal tailoring industry seems an urban size phenomenon. However a search for supplementary explanations in this case is necessary for two main reasons. First, population concentration at any location is a function of many variables. And these account for the concentration of population at some locations more than others. Second, in the absence of regular and reliable population figures, as the Nigerian experience has shown, other variables or combinations of them can be relied upon to offer some explanations for the informal sector diffusion process.

Table 4.9

TAILORING INDUSTRY ADOPTION AND POPULATION IN
RANK ORDER FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1911

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d ²
Ede	8	6	+2	4
Ejigbo	13	12	+1	1
Eruwa	14	13	+1	1
Gbongan	12	14	-2	2
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Igboho	15	16	-1	1
Ikirun	9	11	-2	4
Ile Ife	6	4	+2	4
Ilesha	10	9	+1	1
Iseyin	7	6	+1	1
Iwo	3	6	-3	9
Ogbomosho	2	3	-1	1
Okuku	16	15	+1	1
Oshogbo	4	4	0	0
Oyo	5	2	+3	9
Shaki	11	9	+2	4

N = 16

SS=45

$$R_s = 1 - [(6 \times 45) / ((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16)] = 1 - [270 / 4080] = 1 - 0.07 = 0.93$$

$$r = 0.93 \quad r^2 = .872$$

Notes: X = Population Rank Order

Y = Innovation Adoption Rank Order

d = Difference between X and Y variables

d² = Square of the differences

SS = Sum of the squares of the differences

r² = Coefficient of determination

N = Size of sample population

Source: Table 4.8

4.5.2.2 Colonial Presence by Date of Settlement

The major underlying assumption of the thesis is that the tailoring industry innovation in Oyo state has a colonial origin. In other words, contact with the tailoring innovation was established through colonial presence and trade. If contact with European colonisation was responsible for the adoption of the tailoring industry, towns in which the British settlement or contact was established early, will tend to adopt the innovation before towns where contact was established late.

Based on the date that a British colonial settlement was established in the towns, Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation shows that there is a significant positive correlation between the date of colonial residency and the diffusion of the tailoring industry innovation. The coefficient of determination (r^2) shows that 0.624 of the variation observed in the diffusion process is explained by colonial presence or residency (Table 4.10).

4.5.2.3 Accessibility to Improved Transportation Systems

The role of transportation in location studies is almost axiomatic and the test of its relevance in this study seems superfluous. However, since the degree of its relevance varies from activity to activity, the test for significance can be justified. A simple measure of the accessibility of each town is obtained by summing the number of road and rail line connections to it.

Table 4.10

**COLONIAL SETTLEMENT AND TAILORING INNOVATION ADOPTION
IN RANK ORDER FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1851-1920**

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d ²
Ede	4	6	-2	4
Ejigbo	12	12	0	0
Eruwa	13	13	0	0
Gbongan	14	14	0	0
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Igboho	16	16	0	0
Ikirun	4	11	-7	49
Ile Ife	9	4	+5	25
Ilesha	3	9	-6	36
Iseyin	10	6	+4	16
Iwo	4	6	-2	4
Ogbomosho	2	3	-1	1
Okuku	15	15	0	0
Oshogbo	4	4	0	0
Oyo	4	2	+2	4
Shaki	11	9	+2	4
N = 16			SS=143	

$$R_s = 1 - [(6 \times 143) / ((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16)] = 1 - [858 / 4080] = 1 - 0.210$$

$$r = 0.7897 \quad r^2 = .624$$

Notes: X = Colonial Settlement Rank Order
 Y = Innovation Adoption Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d² = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r² = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Table 4.11

ACCESSIBILITY AND TAILORING INNOVATION ADOPTION
IN RANK ORDER FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d ²
Ede	3	6	-3	9
Ejigbo	5	12	-7	49
Eruwa	5	13	-8	64
Gbongan	11	14	-3	9
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Igboho	16	16	0	0
Ikirun	5	11	-6	36
Ile Ife	11	4	+7	49
Ilesha	5	9	-4	16
Iseyin	5	6	-1	1
Iwo	11	6	+5	25
Ogbomosho	3	3	0	0
Okuku	11	15	-4	16
Oshogbo	2	4	-2	4
Oyo	5	2	+3	9
Shaki	11	9	+2	4
N = 16			SS=291	

$$R_s = 1 - [(6 \times 291) / (16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16] = 1 - [1746 / 4080] = 1 - 0.4279$$

$$r = 0.572 \quad r^2 = .327$$

Notes: X = Accessibility to Transportation Rank Order
 Y = Innovation Adoption Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d² = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r² = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Spearman's coefficient of determination shows that access to improved road and rail line transportation systems accounted for 0.327 of the observed variation in the diffusion of informal tailoring industry innovation in the metropolitan areas of Oyo state (Table 4.11). The degree of variation attributable to accessibility to transportation is positive and fairly significant to justify the inclusion of the transportation variable in the construction of the probability of location model.

4.5.2.4 Presence of Christian Missionaries

The test for the relevance of the Christian missionaries factor in the diffusion of informal tailoring innovation is based on the date of establishment of the first christian mission in each town. As shown in Table 4.12, an explanatory value of .657 (or 65.7 percent) of the variation observed in the diffusion of tailoring industry in the state, is attributable to the presence of Christian missions. The explanatory value is both positive and very significant in the context of our analysis.

4.5.2.5 Proximity to Centre of First Adoption

The main thrust of the British colonisation process in Yorubaland was from Lagos, a coastal town. Based on the contagious theory of innovation diffusion, towns closest to Lagos, the first centre to adopt the tailoring innovation, are expected to adopt the innovation before the towns farthest from it. If the hypothesis were true and the only determining factor, the expected order of the tailoring innovation spread in the state would

be Ibadan, Eruwa, Iwo, Oyo, Gbongan, Ile Ife, Ede, Ejigbo ... Shaki and Igboho (Appendix 4).

The test of the relationship between informal tailoring industry diffusion and the distance from the centre of initial adoption, using Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation, shows that there is a statistically low positive correlation between the variables. The coefficient of determination shows that only 0.178 (or 17.8 percent) of the diffusion is explained by the distance factor (Table 4.13). Inferred from the low correlation are the facts that distance is only part of the explanation, and that the bulk of the factors (variables) responsible for the spatial diffusion, still remains unexplained. Though the correlation is low, the distance factor is significant enough to be included in the probability of location matrix.

4.5.2.6 Presence of Other Economic Activities

The presence of other economic activities is assessed according the size of small scale enterprise employment in 1946. Prior to this, neither records of formal nor informal economic activities were available at the aggregate town level in all the locations under review.

A test of the degree of the relationship between size of small scale business employment and the diffusion of informal tailoring industry, using Spearman's rank-order correlation, shows that 0.603 (or 60.3 percent) of the diffusion is explained by the presence of small scale business employment. See Table 4.14. Based on the fairly high

Table 4.14

**PRESENCE OF SMALL SCALE ENTERPRISES AND THE SPATIAL
DIFFUSION OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY RANK ORDER
FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1946**

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d ²
Ede	8	2	+6	36
Ejigbo	11	9	+2	2
Eruwa	16	16	0	0
Gbongan	12	11	+1	1
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Igboho	14	15	-1	1
Ikirun	9	5	+4	16
Ile Ife	7	7	0	0
Ilesha	3	3	0	0
Iseyin	2	10	-8	64
Iwo	13	12	+1	1
Ogbomosho	6	4	+2	4
Okuku	15	14	+1	1
Oshogbo	5	6	-1	1
Oyo	4	8	-4	16
Shaki	10	13	-3	9
N = 16			SS=152	

$$R_s = 1 - \frac{(6 \times 152)}{(16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16} = 1 - \frac{912}{4080} = 1 - 0.2235$$

$$r = 0.7765 \quad r^2 = 0.603$$

Notes: X = Small Scale Enterprises Rank Order
 Y = Informal Tailoring Industry Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d² = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r² = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Source: Senior Resident, Oyo Province, "Census of Tradesmen, Oyo Province, 1946", Oyo Prof.1, No. 426, Vol. II, p. 268, National Archives, Ibadan.

positive correlation between the variables, the presence of other small scale enterprises is considered as a factor in the probability of location matrix.

4.5.2.7 Availability of Raw (Work) Material

The relevance of the raw material is taken as given. The distribution of exogenous raw materials is not broken down to town level. Also, in the case of local textile production -- weaving, even though the production centres are identified, production figures are not available. In any case, the centres with a local textile industry are scored an extra point higher than centres without such an advantage.

4.5.3 Techniques For Weighting Variable Scores

The primary purpose of weighting variable scores is to approximate reality and show how much the intensity of the factors varied from town to town. Where it is not possible to measure the intensity of a variable because of lack of data, the variable score is even and usually a unit at all locations where it is registered. Various formulae have been used to calculate the variable values or scores. The choice of formulae is based on what the researcher considers the best way to highlight intensity differences.

The Urban Size Variable (USV) is calculated by the formula

$$USV = 1/P * P_i * 10$$

where P = Total population of all the towns;

P_i = Population of the town i;

and 1, 10 = constants.

The data is based on the 1911 census as shown in Appendix 5.

The **Transportation Accessibility Variable (TAV)** score is made up of two units: the railway system (R) and the road network. The road network is subdivided into two units: **Principal routes (M1)** and **Secondary routes (M2)**. The accessibility score for each town, therefore, is the sum of $M1 + M2 + R$.

The railway factor (R) is scored even, 1 point for each of the towns located on the rail line. Though some locations on the line, at the time, were more important than others, but relevant data to make such a judgement statistically are not available.

For the road factor, $M1 = 1/E * Ei * 10$,

and $M2 = 0.5/E * Ei * 10$,

where E = Total number of edges in the system;

Ei = Number of edges linking town i ; and

10, 1, 0.5 = constants.

The constant 0.5 is assigned to M2 on the assumption that M1 routes are more important than M2 routes. The data for the calculations are found in Appendix 6.

The **Colonial Presence Variable (CPV)** is weighted according to presence and the time at which presence was established. The time of presence is important because of the premise that early exposure to or contact with an innovation tends to promote its adoption in the centre or area thus exposed. So, the probability of adoption is higher in the towns where colonial presence was first established.

Hence, the formula for $CPV = P + Ti$,

where $P =$ Presence per se;

$T_i =$ Time lag between the first and last colonial presence in
the urban system.

P is valued as 1. T_i is calculated by $1-(i/T)$, where T is the total lag time between the first and last presence; and i is the lag time at town i . Appendix 7 provides the data source for the calculation of the CPV.

The calculation of the Christian Missions Variable (CMV) is similar to that of the CPV. In place of the CPV data, CMV data are substituted. Sources for the CMV data are contained in Appendix 8.

The Proximity to Lagos Variable (PLV) is weighted to simulate distance decay as mileage from Lagos increases. The weighted PLV score is calculated by the formula:

$$PLV = [1-(D_i/D)] * 10,$$

where $D =$ Total Distance from the towns to Lagos,

$D_i =$ Distance from town i to Lagos; and

1, 10 = Constants.

The constant 10 helps to keep the scores within two decimal points, while at the same time highlighting the score differences that would have been lost if they had been rounded to two decimal points. The data on distance by road from Lagos to the towns are summarised in Appendix 4.

Availability of Work Material Variable (AWV) is made up of two components: local textile production and imported textile materials. Admittedly the quantity of both

locally produced and imported textile available at the centres varied, the scores could not be weighted because of the lack of textile production and distribution figures. In the absence of a more precise scoring technique, a simple nominal score has been used. The presence of a local textile industry and exogenous textile materials distribution function at any location attract 1 point each.

For the **Administrative Headquarters Variable (AHV)**, administrative headquarter towns are scored 1 point each, while the non-administrative headquarters are not scored.

The **Small Business Variable (SBV)** is calculated by the formula

$$SBV = 1/S * T_i * 100,$$

where S = Total Small Business Employment,

T_i = Tailoring Industry Employment in town i , and

1, 100 = Constants.

The constant 100 controls the number of decimal places. Table 1.3 contains the necessary data for the computation of the scores.

The outcome of the weighted Probability of Location Index (PLI) and the expected Location of Adoption Rank Order (LRO) of the informal tailoring industry in the Oyo State metropolitan system, is illustrated in Table 4.15. The predicted order of tailoring industry innovation adoption in the selected towns is as follows: Ibadan, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Ilesha, Oyo, Ikirun, Ile Ife and Iwo. Others are Ede, Iseyin, Shaki, Eruwa, Gbongan, Ejigbo, Okuku and Igboho.

Table 4.15

**PROBABILITY OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY
LOCATION MODEL, COLONIAL OYO STATE
(Weighted)**

Towns	Weighted Variable Scores								PLI	LRO
	USV	TAV	CPV	CMV	PLV	AWV	AHV	SBV		
Ede	0.46	1.37	1.77	-	9.39	1.00	-	3.35	17.34	9
Ejigbo	0.15	0.49	-	-	9.38	1.00	-	0.96	11.98	14
Eruwa	0.07	1.24	-	-	9.62	1.00	1.00	0.20	13.13	12
Gbongan	0.17	1.55	-	-	9.47	1.00	-	0.89	13.08	13
Ibadan	2.98	4.10	2.00	2.00	9.63	2.00	1.00	13.61	37.32	1
Igboho	0.06	0.24	-	-	9.05	1.00	-	0.34	10.69	16
Ikirun	0.30	1.24	1.77	1.41	9.31	1.00	1.00	2.64	18.67	6
Ile Ife	0.62	1.55	1.65	1.34	9.40	1.00	1.00	1.36	17.92	7
Ilesha	0.28	1.67	1.81	1.31	9.32	1.00	1.00	3.31	19.70	4
Iseyin	0.47	0.49	1.39	1.96	9.37	2.00	-	0.95	16.63	10
Iwo	1.03	1.37	1.77	1.37	9.50	1.00	1.00	0.81	17.85	8
Ogbomosho	1.37	1.79	2.00	1.96	9.36	1.00	1.00	3.18	21.66	2
Okuku	0.04	0.37	-	-	9.24	1.00	-	0.38	11.03	15
Oshogbo	1.02	1.49	1.77	1.88	9.34	2.00	1.00	2.61	21.11	3
Oyo	0.78	1.67	1.77	1.62	9.48	2.00	1.00	1.09	19.41	5
Shaki	0.19	0.37	1.00	1.22	9.15	2.00	1.00	0.65	15.58	11

LEGEND

- USV = Urban Size Variable (1911 Census)
TAV = Transportation Accessibility Variable (1910 and 1946)
CPV = Colonial Presence Variable (1886-1917)
CMV = Christian Missions Variable (1851-1925)
PLV = Proximity to Lagos Variable (1926)
AWV = Availability of Work Material (1936)
AHV = Administrative Headquarters (1900-1952)
SBV = Small Business Variable (1946)
LRO = Location Rank Order
PLI = Probability of Location Index

Sources: See Maps 4-7 and Tables 4.8, 4.13 and 4.14.

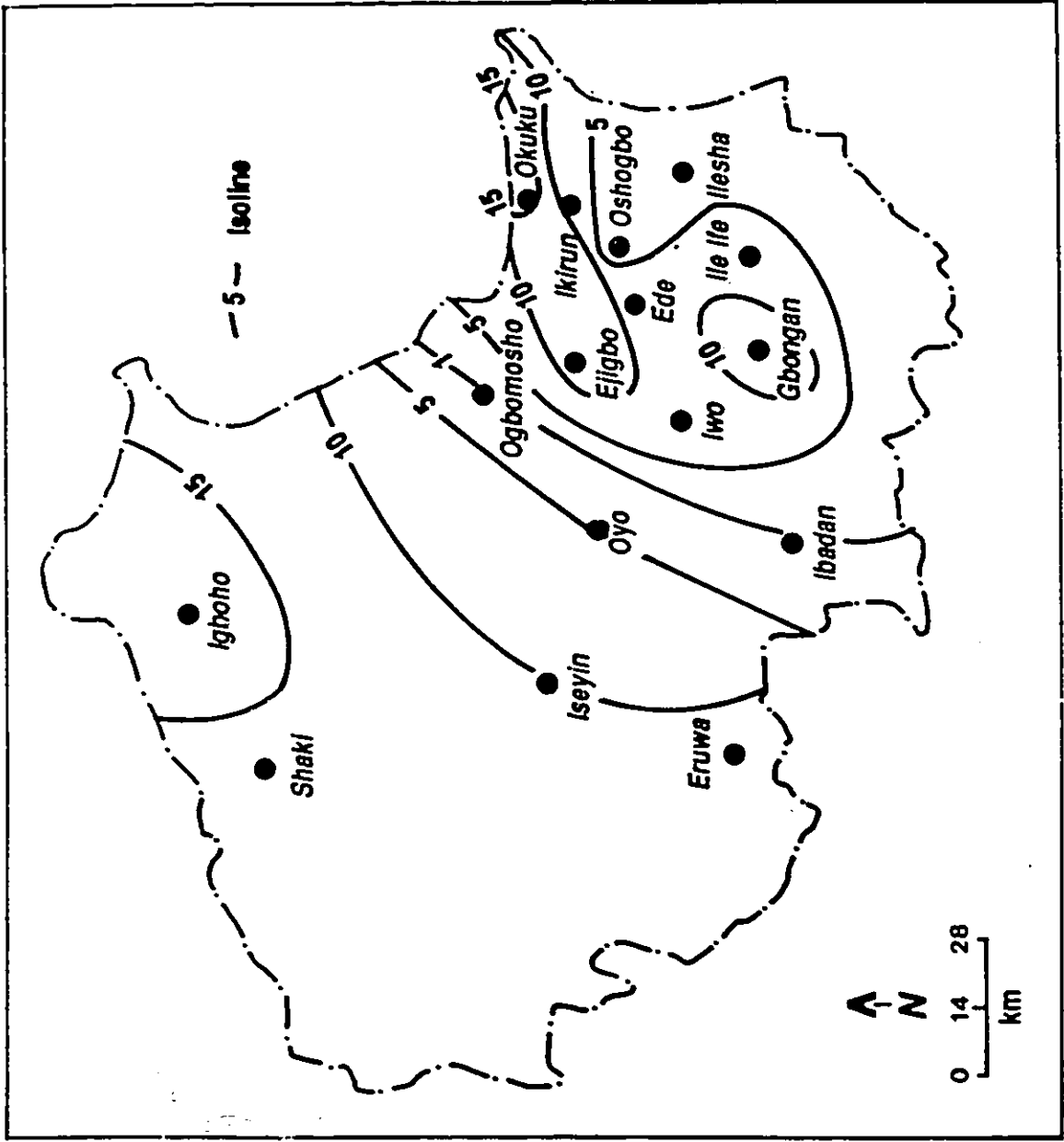
The distribution of weighted Location Rank Order (LRO) shows two general patterns: a north-east to south-west trend and a trough of early adopters extending from Ogbomosho through Oyo and Ibadan to the extreme eastern towns of Ilesha and Oshogbo. Three pockets of late or low ranked adopters are located in the extreme north around Igboho, in the east around Ejigbo and Okuku, and east-central in the Gbongan area (Map 7).

4.6 Conclusion

The two versions of the probability of location model presented in Tables 4.7 and 4.15, summarise the expected pattern of the spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo State. Of the two versions, the weighted probability of location model (Table 4.15) is chosen as a better prediction measure for the spatial diffusion of the innovation in the state. A comparison of the correlation between the rank order of tailoring industry adoption and the location rank orders (LRO) in Tables 4.7 and 4.15, shows that the weighted LRO accounts for a higher explanatory value of 0.705 of the diffusion variation. The nominal LRO (Table 4.7) accounts for only 0.513 of the variation. See Appendix 9 and Table 5.1 for details.

Based on the weighted PLI and LRO in Table 4.15, the subsequent chapter (5) analyzes the observed pattern of the spatial diffusion and development of the informal tailoring industry in the metropolitan system of Oyo State.

MAP 7.
DISTRIBUTION OF WEIGHTED LOCATION RANK ORDER OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY IN
SELECTED TOWNS, COLONIAL OYO STATE



Source: Table 4.15, column LRO.

NOTES

[1]. The hand operated sewing machine, which is the lighter and less complicated of the two, is dominantly used by the women. Because of its light weight, it is regularly used by male itinerant tailors. On the other hand, the foot operated sewing machine is primarily used by the men and in workshops. But nowadays more women are using the foot-operated sewing machines in their workshops. The reason for the switch over may not be unrelated to the fact that the foot operated machines are better suited for industrial production than the hand operated ones.

[2]. The Victorian missionaries' determination to put their converts into clothes has been laughed at for generations as an example of narrow prudishness. In fact, it probably followed from notions of what constituted civilized behaviour rather than from sexual obsession.

Chapter Five

THE ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY UNDER THE COLONIAL AND POST COLONIAL SYSTEMS IN OYO STATE METROPOLITAN AREAS

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter (4), based on episodic historical data and theories of innovation diffusion, a probability of location model for predicting the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in the Oyo state metropolitan system, is designed. One of the two principal questions examined in the chapter is: How is the actual spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring industry correlated with the probability of location model? The second major question addressed in the chapter involves how the informal tailoring industry has continued to develop in the Oyo state metropolitan system after the initial adoption stage.

In discussing how the innovation spread, the first section traces the historical and geographical (spatial) distribution of informal tailoring innovation in Yorubaland, based on the sixteen selected towns. Section two compares the observed diffusion pattern of informal tailoring industry with the hypothesized probability model. The third section discusses the inter urban development of informal tailoring industry since the completion of the initial diffusion stage. In the discussion on innovation, emphasis is placed on finding explanations for the variations between the expected and actual diffusion patterns of the tailoring innovation in the Oyo state urban areas.

5.2 The Evolution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Yorubaland

The task of reconstructing precisely the origin of the tailoring industry innovation and its status in Oyo state during the early part of colonial rule is complicated by the nature of secondary sources available. The chief difficulty has been that nearly all these sources, especially on the pre-colonial period, have been very fragmentary and sketchy. This is due in large part to scanty documentation of events in a society that relied heavily on oral traditions. As with most oral traditions, the explanation of an event varies from place to place and even within identical cultural groups. And with each passing generation, the details of the original story grow fuzzier and fuzzier. Because of the limitations of oral tradition little emphasis is placed on it in the reconstruction of the historic origin of informal tailoring industry innovation in the state.

Similarly, official documents on manufacturing industries during the first two decades of colonial era in Nigeria, are scanty and incomplete. Primarily responsible for this is the fact that the Commercial Law of Nigeria, which was contained in the Companies Ordinances of 1922, did not require companies to be registered in Nigeria before doing business (Mars, 1948) and no company income tax existed until 1939 (Liedholm, 1970). There was therefore, little or no incentive for the government to keep track of the number of establishments, especially the very small and local ones.

Based largely on archival sources, the section reconstructs, as best as it possibly can, the beginning of the dressmaking industry based on sewing machines - tailoring - in Oyo state. The exact date of adoption of the sewing machine innovation by some towns

is not known. In such cases the earliest available references to the innovation have been assumed as dates of innovation adoption.

The discussion on the evolution of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state is approached from two critical perspectives. The first perspective focuses on a descriptive presentation of the historical evolution of informal tailoring innovation in Yorubaland, of which Oyo State is a significant part. The second perspective traces the geographical (spatial) evolution of the innovation within the sixteen towns, which constitute the study locations. An analytical explanation of the observed patterns of distribution and growth/decline of the tailoring industry in these metropolitan areas is later presented.

5.2.1 The Historical Evolution of Informal Tailoring Industry

The origin of tailoring industry innovation in Yorubaland, though suggested but not explicitly stated by the sources, is traceable to exogenous and colonial sources. Also suggested by the sources is the active role played by early missionaries and traders in the introduction and spread of the innovation. The impact of the colonial administration and early missionaries on the development and spread of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state has been extensively discussed in Chapter Four.

The earliest available evidence suggesting the existence of informal tailoring activity in Yorubaland is found in the descriptive analysis of the social and economic life of the Yoruba by W.H. Clarke. Writing about his journeys to Yorubaland between 1854 and 1858, Clarke described the role of the sexes in some economic activities of the

Yoruba society. Concerning dressmaking, he noted that:

"The females never cut or sew garments but sell all articles of merchants....
Conversely the males use the needle entirely but never or at least, very
seldom engage in the art of selling" (Atanda, [ed.], 1972, p. 245).

The above evidence is not very conclusive of the existence of tailoring activity in Yorubaland between 1854 and 1858 for two main reasons. First, the concept of "cutting and sewing of garments" does not necessarily imply tailoring - making dresses and clothes with a sewing machine. In this context it seems that the concept refers more to traditional dressmaking by hand than by tailoring. Also, the sentence "the males use the needle entirely" is more expressive of traditional dressmaking. Second, considering the recency of the sewing machine innovation in Europe (1830) and the facts that the first sewing machines were designed primarily for factory use, and that it was only in 1851 that the first Singer Home sewing machine was patented in England (The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XXIV, 1961), one wonders how the innovation could have spread to Yorubaland so soon.

More conclusive evidence of the existence of tailoring in Yorubaland began to appear by the mid 1860s. Reporting to Ford Fenn in June 1863 about the Yoruba Mission, Harrison identified one Ribiero, a Brazilian emigrant, as the master tailor at Abeokuta, a Yoruba town located north of Lagos and south-west of Ibadan. By 1867, the first Yoruba trained tailors were beginning to return from abroad to Yorubaland to practice. Both Walsh (1952) and Ajayi (1965) recall the case of the first of the twenty four Yoruba boys,

brought to Wydah after their capture by Dahomey in 1862 and 1865, who returned to West Africa from Bouffarick near Algiers, where they have been trained in carpentry, shoe making, masonry, tailoring and iron works.

By 1889, the tailoring innovation had become wide-spread in Lagos colony (Colonial Annual Report: Lagos, 1889). In 1891, there were as many as 524 tailors and thirty seamstresses in the Colony of Lagos (Colonial Annual Report: Lagos, 1891).

In Ibadan, by 1908, the tailoring/sewing machine innovation had not only spread to the city but it was flourishing. In a letter written on August 28, 1933 by three Ibadan tailors requesting permanent appointment with the Ibadan Native Administration, Salami Akanni, Momodu Ayinla and Rawufu Akande petitioned the Bale and Council:

"This humble petition is from your sons, whom you have kindly appointed to sew the uniforms the Ibadan Native Administration Police and Akodas. This your kindness in having appointed us out of the great number of tailors in town, we sincerely appreciate.... We have been doing this job for the past 25 years.... What we would wish you to do for us... is that we be appointed permanently as tailors for the Ibadan Native Administration...." (Native Administration Department, Oyo Province, Oyo Prof.1, No. 1156, 1933, pp. 3-4).

Evidently, from the above source these tailors were practising in Ibadan, long before 1908.

Also evident is the fact that there were many tailors in Ibadan at the time, because the three tailors were appointed "out of the great number of tailors in town."

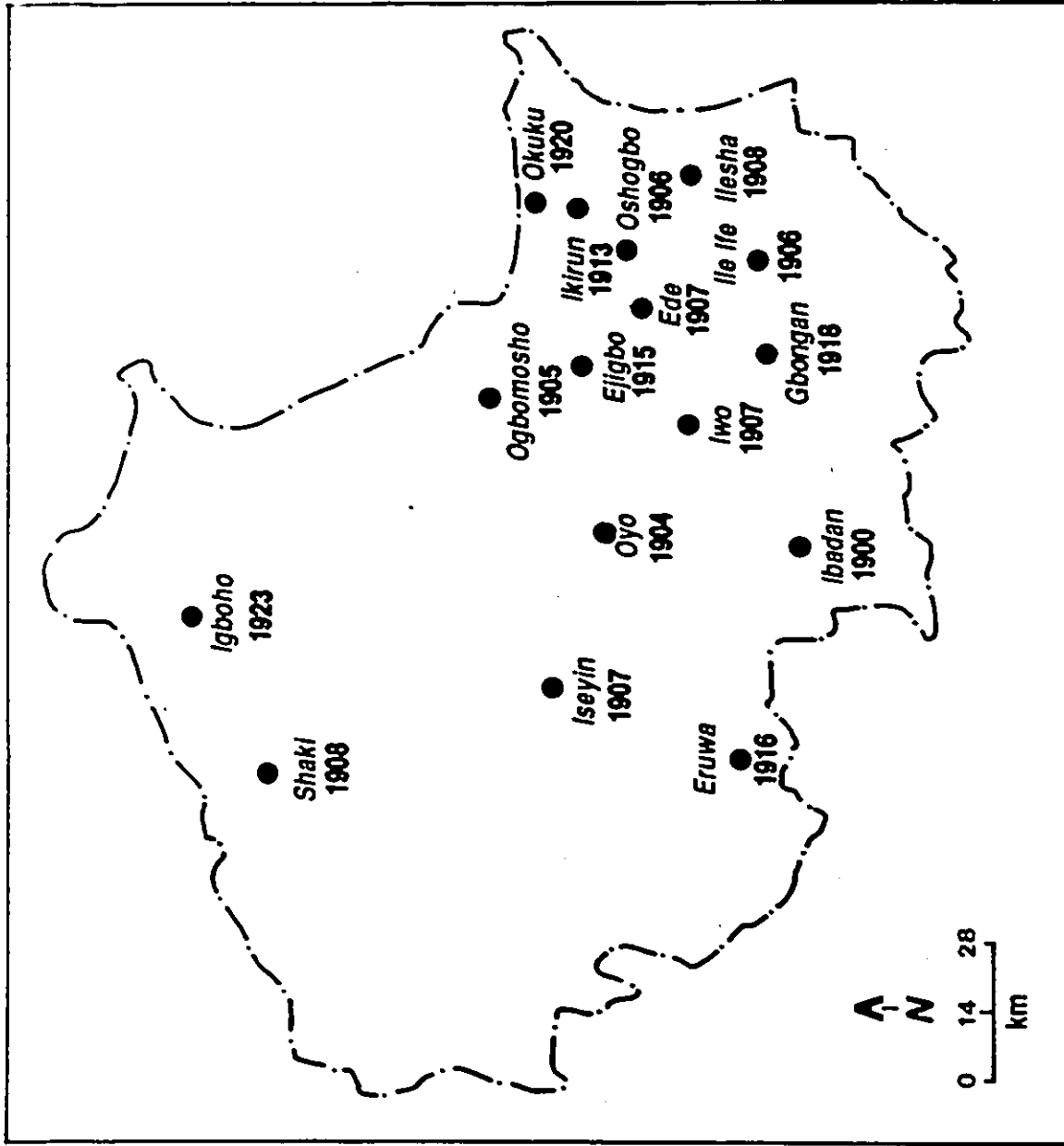
Based on an interview with the current Bale of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, it is most likely that the tailoring/sewing machine innovation

was adopted in Ibadan by 1900 (Ibadan Field Survey, 1989). The Bale recounted how, in 1911 at the age of twelve, he joined his master, Alhaji Salami Adebola, who had been in business for about eight years, for a three-year apprenticeship in tailoring. Deducing from the above, Alhaji Salami Adebola started a tailoring business around 1903. If he too completed a three-year apprenticeship in Ibadan, it is possible that tailoring innovation had been adopted in Ibadan as early as 1900. And by 1923, the innovation had spread to most of the important centres in Yorubaland.

5.2.2 Spatial Evolution of Informal Tailoring Activity

By the end of the 1920s, the tailoring/sewing machine innovation had become a household name in most of Yorubaland. From a few centres in the south, it had spread to almost every nook and corner of Yorubaland. Besides Ibadan, informal tailoring activity had been reported in the following towns: Oyo (1904), Ogbomosho (1905), Ile Ife and Oshogbo (1906), Ede, Iwo and Iseyin (1907), Ilesha and Shaki (1908). Others are Ikirun (1913), Ejigbo (1915), Eruwa (1916), Gbongan (1918), Okuku (1920) and Igboho (1923) (Colonial Annual Report: Southern Nigeria, 1905, 1909; Talbot, 1926; Murray and Hunt-Cooke, 1936; Resident's Office, Oyo Province, 1936; Ojo, 1966; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972; Onimode, 1982; Ejimofor, 1987; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989). Map 8 shows the geographic diffusion of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo state between 1900 and 1923. In general, the south-central and east-central portions of the state adopted the innovation before the western, northern and south-eastern parts.

MAP 8
DIFFUSION OF TAILORING INDUSTRY INNOVATION IN SELECTED YORUBA TOWNS, 1860-1923



Sources: Colonial Annual Reports: Southern Nigeria, 1905, 1909; Tabot, 1926, op. cit.; Murray and Hunt-Cooke, 1936, op. cit.; Resident's Office, Oyo Province, 1936, op. cit.; Mabogunje, 1962, op. cit.; Ojo, 1966, op. cit.; Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, op. cit.; Onimode, 1982; Ejiufor, 1987; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989.

The towns that adopted the tailoring innovation early were key centres in the state. They were centres of active and intensive inter urban interaction during the colonial period. Ibadan, Oyo, Ile Ife, Oshogbo and Ogbomosho became important commercial and administrative headquarters very early in colonial Nigeria. The degree of interaction between these towns through colonial administrative personnel and traders, was higher than elsewhere in the region at the time. The presence of colonial personnel and the intensity of interaction and exchange among the towns seem to have been partly responsible for the rapid spread of the tailoring/sewing machine innovation in the area. Within ten years of its introduction in Ibadan, the centre of Yorubaland, the innovation had spread to Oshogbo, Ilesha and Shaki. These towns are located 113, 120 and 186 kilometres away from Ibadan respectively.

The zones of latest incidence of adoption, on the other hand, were outside the areas of high inter urban interaction. The absence of permanent colonial residence in the fringe towns diminished their importance and interaction with the main centres. Because they lacked colonial government workers, there was no immediate pressure to adopt European styles of dress nor the sewing machine technology. However, as has been discussed elsewhere in the thesis, the time and labour saving advantage of the sewing machine made its adoption very attractive even in these remote and less populated towns.

5.3 An Analysis of the Diffusion of Informal Tailoring Industry in Oyo State Metropolitan System

The observed pattern of the spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring industry, as discussed above, ranks the adoption order as follows: Ibadan, Oyo, Ogbomosho, Ile Ife, Oshogbo, Iseyin, Iwo and Ede. Others are Ilesha, Shaki, Ikirun, Ejigbo, Eruwa, Gbongan, Okuku and Igboho.

Compared with the predicted or expected pattern of the informal tailoring diffusion, the observed pattern shows a significantly high positive correlation, with a coefficient of determination value of 0.705 (Table 5.1). Seven towns, Ibadan, Igboho, Okuku, Eruwa, Gbongan, Ogbomosho and Oshogbo, very highly correlated to the predicted pattern of spatial diffusion. Ibadan, Igboho and Okuku, fitted exactly as predicted. Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Eruwa and Gbongan varied very slightly from the expected pattern of diffusion. The variations at Shaki, Iwo and Ejigbo are moderate.

The distribution of the Expected and Observed Location Rank Correlation Residuals (Map 9) shows two distinctive belts of earlier than expected adopters of the informal tailoring industry. The primary belt of these earlier than expected adopters is located in the mid section of the state, which comprises the areas around the towns of Ede, Ejigbo, Ile Ife, Iseyin, Iwo and Oyo. The secondary belt of this category of adopters is found in the north-western corner of the state around the town of Shaki. Clearly visible from the distribution map, also, is a belt of later than expected adopters in the southern and eastern sections of the state consisting of areas around Eruwa, Gbongan, Ikirun, Ilesha and

Table 5.1

**OBSERVED AND EXPECTED PATTERNS OF THE SPATIAL DIFFUSION
OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY IN SELECTED TOWNS IN
THE OYO STATE METROPOLITAN SYSTEM**

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d ²
Ede	9	6	+3	9
Ejigbo	14	12	+2	4
Eruwa	12	13	-1	1
Gbongan	13	14	-1	1
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Igboho	16	16	0	0
Ikirun	6	11	-5	25
Ile Ife	7	4	+3	9
Ilesha	4	9	-5	25
Iseyin	10	6	+4	16
Iwo	8	6	+2	4
Ogbomosho	2	3	-1	1
Okuku	15	15	0	0
Oshogbo	3	4	-1	1
Oyo	5	2	+3	9
Shaki	11	9	+2	4

N = 16 SS=109

$$R_s = 1 - \frac{(6 \times 109)}{((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16)} = 1 - \frac{654}{4080} = 1 - 0.160$$

$$r = 0.8397 \quad r^2 = .705$$

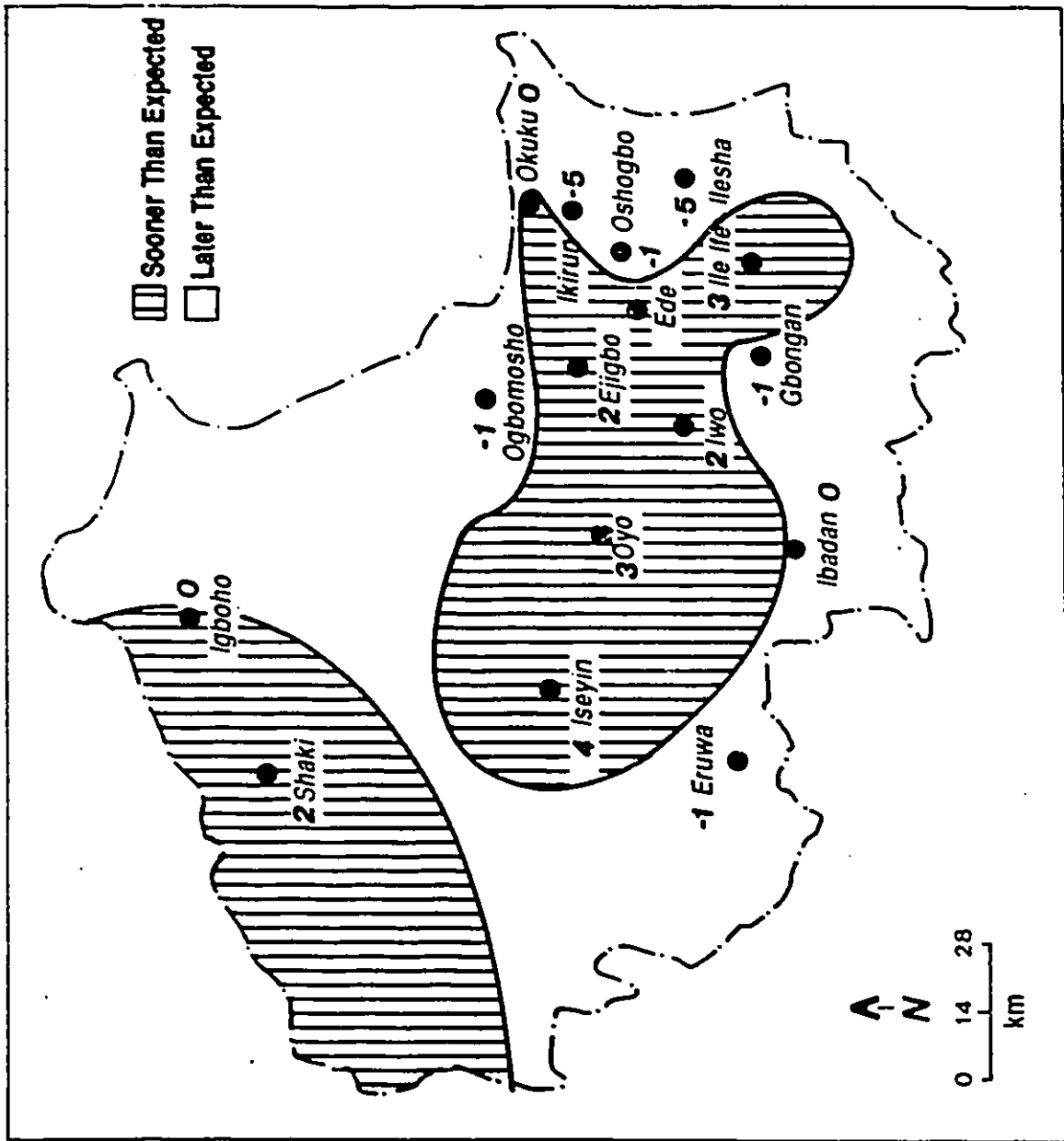
Notes: X = Expected Diffusion Rank Order
 Y = Observed Diffusion Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d² = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r² = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Oshogbo. One other zone in this belt is located in the north-east between Igboho and Ogbomosho.

One of the things that the belts of earlier than expected adopters share in common is the belt of traditional/local weaving industry. Similarly all the towns of later than expected adopters, with the exception of Oshogbo, are located outside the belt of traditional/local weaving industry. It is possible that the presence of a local weaving industry may have accounted significantly for the timing of tailoring industry adoption. However, other factors that may have also contributed to the early or late adoption of the innovation at the different locations are discussed subsequently.

The variation between the predicted and observed diffusion patterns of informal tailoring industry in Oyo town may be explained by four main factors. First, with the desertion of the Old Oyo on account of the constant Yoruba-Fulani wars, the new Oyo, which is located further south and away from the border of Hausaland (Map 5), became the centre of the Oyo kingdom and the seat of Oyo king. The innovation may have spread from Oyo rather than Ibadan to the surrounding towns of Iseyin, Iwo and probably Ede. Second, an early adoption of the tailoring industry may have resulted from the presence of weavers and traditional dressmakers, of which Oyo town had a good reputation. Third, an early colonial contact may have induced an early adoption of the innovation. Fourth, the absence of a railway function contributed to Oyo's lower PLI, which in turn contributed to its lower weighted LRO. The low PLI reflected in the variation between the expected and observed diffusion rank orders.

MAP 9
 CONCENTRATION OF EXPECTED AND OBSERVED DIFFUSION RANK ORDER CORRELATION
 RESIDUALS OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY, OYO STATE



Source: Table 5.1, column d.

In the case of Ile Ife, most of the variables suggest a lower LRO than the observed LRO. The observed higher LRO may be attributed to data error. Ile Ife is one of the towns whose exact date of innovation adoption is not known. But, the possibility of an individual tailor starting a tailoring business early in Ile Ife cannot be ruled out.

The most significant variations are found in Ilesha, Ikirun and Iseyin. Late Christian missionary contact and distance from Lagos may have accounted for the relatively late adoption of the tailoring industry at Ilesha, contrary to other variables that would support an earlier adoption. The late adoption of the innovation at Ikirun could be explained by its proximity to Oshogbo, a much bigger town than Ikirun. Oshogbo's commercial influence extended beyond Ikirun. Ikirun's initial tailoring requirements may have been supplied by Oshogbo tailors. The industry may have been adopted later when there was enough local threshold to support its establishment. Also, though Ikirun had an early colonial and missionary contact, it was for a long time under Oshogbo divisional administration and mission. It became a full-fledged administrative centre much later than Oshogbo.

The variation observed at Iseyin may be accounted for, principally, by the fact that the local textile industry variable is not weighted. This may have undermined the significance and possible role of the availability of local textile industry in the early adoption of the tailoring industry at Iseyin. No doubt, Iseyin was one of the Yoruba centres with very significant numbers of weavers and weaving industries, at the time (Talbot, 1926; Resident's Office, Oyo Province, 1946). As suggested in the literature of

innovation diffusion, the large numbers of weavers would presuppose the presence of potential entrepreneurs ready to try the sewing machine innovation in dressmaking. Other factors that accounted for the low PLI at Iseyin and thus increased the variation between the expected and observed patterns of diffusion, are the absence of administrative headquarter and railway functions.

An earlier than expected adoption observed in Shaki may be explained by an early direct trade or contact with western Dahomeans. Shaki is one of the major centres that changed hands many times during the Yoruba-Hausa-Dahomey inter-tribal wars. Its location on an important old caravan route may have accounted significantly for an earlier than expected adoption of the tailoring industry innovation.

In summary, the fact that there is no perfect correlation between the predicted and observed patterns of informal tailoring industry diffusion in the state calls for an explanation. Partly responsible for the variation are the limitations of the probability of location model. Although eight variables are built into the matrix of the model, the list is not exhaustive.

The significance and interpretation of some of the variables in the context of the study, call for a critical reappraisal. One of the variables that calls for a critical examination is Urban Size (population). The designation of traditional towns as large or small on the basis of population alone, has some serious implications for the hierarchical organisation of traditional towns. Among the Yoruba, the hierarchical structure of traditional towns is not based on population size but usually on the rank of their chiefs

and traditional rulers. Also, the socio-economic structure of the traditional society differs from the economic structures and practices of modern society. The application of a modern economic framework in the analysis of an economic activity in a highly traditional society calls for caution and a critical review.

The failure of the hierarchical theory based on population alone to explain a significant proportion of the diffusion can be attributed to the fact that other factors besides population size, also influenced the diffusion of the innovation. There is strong evidence that early trade protection treaties signed between the British traders and the traditional rulers and local leaders, depended on the disposition and good will of the traditional ruler towards the traders and their goods, rather than on the size of cities (Ejimofor, 1987). It has been also observed that often the locale of first trade exchanges between the Europeans and the natives was the traditional ruler's compound or within the palace grounds or walls. It is most likely that the diffusion of the tailoring/sewing machine innovation followed the traditional hierarchy of towns rather than the population hierarchy.

Secondly, the weighting technique has its own shortcomings. Also, significantly accountable for the non perfect correlation are the imperfections of the available data. Data limitations have been discussed extensively in Chapter Three.

The limitations notwithstanding, the researcher thinks that the model provides a useful tool for identifying locations most likely to adopt the informal tailoring innovation on the basis of aggregate variables. It is possible that the predictability of the model could improve significantly with good quality and more reliable data.

5.4 Inter Urban Growth of Informal Tailoring Industry in Oyo State Metropolitan System

The informal tailoring industry achieved a phenomenal growth within a relatively short period after the initial diffusion stage. From a handful of initial adopters around the early 1900s, the number of tailors in the state grew to an estimated 1,379 in 1921, 2,715 in 1946 and 8,216 in 1971. This represents a growth of 495.8 percent in 51 years or an annual growth rate of 9.7 percent. Currently, the number of practising tailors in the state may be as high as 12,000 or more.

Not all the towns experienced phenomenal growth of the tailoring industry. Four of the sampled towns: Ede, Gbongan, Ikirun and Okuku, witnessed a significant decline ranging from -36.5 to -84.3 percent between 1946 and 1971 (Table 5.2). Twelve of the towns, on the other hand, experienced an increase in the number of tailors. The most significant of the growth rates occurred in Ile Ife (440.6 percent), Iwo (436.8 percent), Eruwa (207.1 percent) and Ilesha (143.8 percent). Significant growth was also recorded in Shaki (102.2 percent), Ibadan (101.1 percent) and Oyo (98.7 percent).

Over the years, the principal towns accounting for the greater proportion of all tailoring growth in the state have been Ibadan, Ilesha, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Ile Ife and Oyo, in that order. Together the six towns accounted for over 69.0 percent (1946) and 82.0 percent (1988) of the state's total tailoring industry growth (Table 1.7).

Numerically, the tailoring activity developed and grew in Ibadan more than in any other city in the study area. Table 1.7 shows that 37.4, 39.7 and 49.9 percent of all

Table 5.2

SUMMARY OF TAILORING INDUSTRY STATISTICS,
OYO STATE, 1946-1971

Towns	Number of Tailors		% Growth or Decline	Coefficient of Localisation	
	1946	1971		1946	1971
Ede	236	37	-84.3	4.72	0.31
Ejigbo	68	87	27.9	3.85	2.09
Eruwa*	14	43	207.1	1.52	1.78
Gbongan	63	40	-36.5	2.76	1.51
Ibadan*	959	1929	101.1	1.87	3.44
Igboho	24	28	16.7	3.23	3.30
Ikirun*	186	76	-59.1	6.41	1.07
Ile Ife*	96	519	440.6	0.78	4.47
Ilesha*	233	568	143.8	2.91	3.84
Iseyin	67	92	37.3	1.21	1.08
Iwo*	57	306	436.8	0.51	2.16
Ogbomosho*	224	364	62.5	1.44	1.27
Okuku	27	6	-77.8	7.48	0.28
Oshogbo*	184	303	64.7	1.34	1.62
Oyo*	77	153	98.7	0.79	1.53
Shaki*	46	93	102.2	1.79	1.44

Note: * Divisional Headquarter towns.

Sources: Table 1.3; Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos,
Population Census of Nigeria, 1952/53 and 1963, Vol.
III, pp. 3-6.

tailoring activity in the state in 1946, 1971 and 1988 respectively, were located in Ibadan. Ilesha, the second town to Ibadan in importance with respect to tailoring industry concentration, accounted for 9.1, 13.0 and 11.6 percent of all tailoring establishments during the same periods. Ogbomosho and Oshogbo accounted for 8.7, 8.4, 3.4 percent, and 7.2, 7.0 and 9.0 percent respectively in 1946, 1971 and 1988. The least important were Eruwa with 0.5, 0.6 and 1.2 percent, and Okuku with 1.1, 0.1 and 0.5 percent during the same periods.

In terms of divisional and non-divisional headquarter towns, proportionally, more non-divisional headquarter towns experienced a decline in the tailoring activity than the divisional headquarter towns between 1946 and 1971 (Table 5.2). The only divisional headquarter town that experienced a decline in the tailoring activity during the period was Ikirun. Ede, Gbongan and Okuku were the non-divisional headquarter towns that also experienced a decline.

An analysis of the inter urban growth of the tailoring industry, using coefficient of localisation indices based on population size, reveals that the towns with the highest number of tailors did not always reflect the highest concentration. The coefficient of localisation's rank order when compared to the frequency rank order of the towns shows significant variations between 1946 and 1971 (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). A comparison of both rank orders in 1946 shows, for example, that Ibadan, which ranks first on the frequency order, is eighth on the coefficient of localisation rank order, while Okuku, which is fourteenth on the frequency rank order, is first on the coefficient of localisation rank order.

The degree of variation between the two rank orders is significantly reduced in 1971. Of the first ten towns on the frequency rank, eight were among the first ten on the coefficient of localisation rank order (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). In fact the first three towns on both rank orders are the same, but not necessarily in the same order. Ibadan, Ilesha and Ile Ife had clearly established themselves as the dominant centres with the highest concentration of tailoring activity in the state by the end of the colonial era.

5.4.1 Explaining the Inter Urban Growth of Informal Tailoring Industry in Oyo State Metropolitan System

The establishment and growth of informal tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan areas owe much to several related factors, as we have seen from our discussion so far. Of these, the following have been most decisive factors in encouraging a continuous spatial growth of the tailoring industry: the creation of divisional headquarters, expanding population, improved purchasing power, localised markets, availability of work material, improved infrastructure, female participation and the presence of other economic activities.

The creation of divisional headquarters provided new growth centres and introduced new economic opportunities in these towns. The number of divisional headquarter towns grew from three in 1921 to five in 1931 and twelve between 1952 and 1967 (Talbot, 1926; Federal Office of Statistics, 1953; Ministry of Trade, Industries and Co-operatives, Ibadan, 1978). The impact of expanding population on the towns' economy was

Table 5.3

INTER URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING CONCENTRATION
BY FREQUENCY AND COEFFICIENT OF LOCALISATION RANK
ORDER, OYO STATE, 1946-1971

No.	1 9 4 6		1 9 7 1	
	Frequency	C. L.	Frequency	C. L.
1	Ibadan*	Okuku	Ibadan*	Ile Ife*
2	Ede	Ikirun*	Ilesha*	Ilesha*
3	Ilesha*	Ede	Ile Ife*	Ibadan*
4	Ogbomosho*	Ejigbo	Ogbomosho*	Igboho
5	Ikirun*	Igboho	Oshogbo*	Iwo*
6	Oshogbo*	Ilesha*	Iwo*	Ejigbo
7	Ile Ife*	Gbongan	Oyo*	Eruwa*
8	Oyo*	Ibadan*	Shaki*	Oshogbo*
9	Ejigbo	Shaki*	Ejigbo	Oyo*
10	Iseyin	Eruwa*	Iseyin	Shaki*
11	Gbongan	Ogbomosho*	Ikirun*	Gbongan
12	Iwo*	Oshogbo*	Ede	Ogbomosho*
13	Shaki*	Iseyin	Eruwa*	Ikirun*
14	Okuku	Oyo*	Gbongan	Iseyin
15	Igboho	Ile Ife*	Igboho	Okuku
16	Eruwa*	Iwo*	Okuku	Ede

Notes: * Divisional Headquarter towns.
C.L = Coefficient of localisation.

Source: Table 5.2.

immediate. The phenomenal growth of population at the observation centres has been traced by Talbot and the Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos (1934, 1954, 1964). As more and more people, especially from the rural areas, poured into the new centres, more food, shelter and clothes had to be provided. This led to the phenomenal expansion of the crafts industry, including tailoring.

One of the most probable explanations of the growth of the tailoring activity in Iwo, Eruwa, Shaki and Oyo between 1946 and 1971, is the elevation of these towns to the status of divisional headquarters. Arising from the creation of divisional headquarters were the relocation of some government offices and jobs, and the development of some public facilities in these places. Also observed because of this action was the flight of the rural population and crafts people to the new towns. It is possible that Gbongan lost some of her tailors to Iwo and Ile Ife, when these became divisional headquarters and presented better economic environments than Gbongan. For the same reason, some tailors from Ede may have migrated to the new and growing divisional headquarter towns in the region. For example, 5.9 percent of the inter urban migration of tailors from Oyo state to Ibadan between 1921 and 1989 came from Ede (Ibadan Field Survey, 1989).

The decline of Ikirun began when it ceased to be an important collection centre on the railway line around 1965. As some of the railway and allied jobs declined, the town experienced a general decline in its economic activity. The decline in the number of tailors is closely related to the loss of railway trade. The ripple effect of Ikirun's loss of railway collection centre status was also felt at Okuku, a feeder town to Ikirun railway station. The

tailoring activity here declined nearly as much as it did at Ikirun.

The phenomenal growth at Ile Ife during the period between 1946 and 1971, is linked to population increase and improved purchasing power of the town. The establishment of the University of Ife, tremendously improved the economic opportunities of the town. The University not only employed a significant proportion of the inhabitants, but it also led to the creation of new jobs in the service sector, which catered to the needs of the new migrant elites - the University staff and students. Meeting the clothing needs of the fashion-conscious academic community seems primarily accountable for the tremendous growth of the tailoring industry witnessed in Ile Ife. As has been indicated already, some tailors from Gbongan and other surrounding villages seem to have moved to Ile Ife to take advantage of the new economic opportunities and thus contributed to the decline of informal tailoring activity in these towns and villages.

The high concentration of tailors (based on the coefficient of localisation) in the non-divisional headquarter towns of Okuku, Ede, Ejigbo and Igboho in 1946 is largely influenced by the localised markets that the tailors serviced. An analysis of the operating habits of tailors in similar environments today, provides clues to past practices. Being predominantly rural towns, the degree of specialisation in any particular occupation was lower than in urban areas. Many tailors may have combined tailoring with other economic activities such as farming and trading. As Table 5.4 shows, this practice is also found in the large towns, though to a lesser degree than in the small and rural towns. Because the clothing demands of these rural communities were highly concentrated at certain periods

Table 5.4

**DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES COMBINED WITH
INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY, IBADAN, 1989**

Activity	Frequency	% of Total
Artwork	1	0.97
Baking	1	0.97
Catering	2	1.94
Civil Servant	1	0.97
Contracting work	2	1.94
Driving	2	1.94
Evangelising	1	0.97
Farming	7	6.80
Laundry Service	1	0.97
Painting	1	0.97
Pepper milling	1	0.97
Shoe making	1	0.97
Teaching	3	2.91
Trading	75	72.82
Tying and Dying	1	0.97
Welding	1	0.97
Unspecified	2	1.94
Total	103	100.00

Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, Qs. 5.6.

of the year, it required an unusually large number of tailors to meet the seasonal surge in a timely fashion. During the off-peak periods, most of the tailors worked as farmers, while others ran small provision stores or drapery shops.

In these rural towns, also, most tailors were women who combined tailoring with housekeeping duties. From all available records, except W.H. Clarke (Atanda, ed., 1972) who claimed that women never cut or sewed garments among the Yoruba, women have played a significant role in the development and growth of the tailoring industry not only in Yorubaland, but also in many other communities in Nigeria. From its introduction, women have constituted a significant proportion of the tailoring labour force. In 1921, they constituted about 40.6 percent of all the tailors in Southern Nigeria (Table 5.5). Among some of the ethnic groups, women have dominated the informal tailoring trade.

Judging from the Ibadan figures (Table 5.6), the percentage share of the female labour force in the tailoring business has increased from 40.6 percent in 1921 to 60.0 percent in 1989. The tailoring industry is one of the few non-traditional economic activities in which men and women have an equal opportunity of participation. And, the fact that men and women participate in the enterprise is significantly responsible for its numerical strength relative to total small scale industrial activities in the state. Numerically, it is second only to trading among small scale business operations.

In addition to the exploitation of local market theory, the economies of scale (agglomeration) theory offers some explanation for the concentration of tailoring activity in Ibadan, Ile Ife and Ilesha in 1971. The decentralisation of administrative power through

Table 5.5

DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORS BY SEX AND ETHNICITY
IN MAJOR TOWNS, SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1921

Ethnic Groups	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Groups	3,681	2,185	59.4	1,496	40.6
Bafumbum	1	0	0.0	1	100.0
Bantu	4	0	0.0	4	100.0
Edo	38	29	76.3	9	23.7
Ekoi	11	5	45.5	6	54.5
Ibibio	184	54	29.3	130	70.7
Ibo	149	89	59.7	60	40.3
Ijaw	19	7	36.8	12	63.2
Non Natives	464	110	23.7	354	76.3
Northern Provinces	287	276	96.2	11	3.8
Popo	13	3	23.1	10	76.9
Yoruba	2,511	1,612	64.2	899	35.8
% Yoruba	68.2	73.8	-	60.1	-

Source: Adapted from Talbot, 1926, op. cit., Tables 7 and 8, pp. 166 - 169.

Table 5.6
DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING ACTIVITY BY BRANCHES
AND SEX, IBADAN TOWN, 1989

Branches	Total	Men		Women	
		No.	%	No.	%
Adekile	110	40	36.4	70	63.6
Agbowo	273	95	34.8	178	65.2
Agodi	108	50	46.3	58	53.7
Aiyekale	67	11	16.4	56	83.6
Aliwo (Agodi)	132	77	58.3	55	41.7
Aram-La	192	64	33.3	128	66.7
Atipe	133	48	36.1	85	63.9
Ayeye	80	46	57.5	34	42.5
Babanla	91	16	17.6	75	82.4
Challenge	103	45	43.7	58	56.3
Felele	96	34	35.4	62	64.6
Idi Arere	167	88	52.7	79	47.3
Idi Aro	233	79	33.9	154	66.1
Ifelodun	119	77	64.7	42	35.3
Inalende	160	78	48.8	82	51.2
Irepodun	174	104	59.8	70	40.2
Irepodun Moslem	83	26	31.3	57	68.7
Kobomoje	80	51	63.8	29	36.2
Ode Aje	125	61	48.8	64	51.2
Odinjo	499	131	26.3	368	73.7
Ogbere-Ti-Oya	130	50	38.5	80	61.5
Oke Aje	344	139	40.4	205	59.6
Oke Ola	130	54	41.5	76	58.5
Olomi	134	39	29.1	95	70.9
Olorunsogo	83	32	38.6	51	61.4
Oniyanrin	72	35	48.6	37	51.4
Oremeji	170	44	25.9	126	74.1
Oriaje	125	65	52.0	60	48.0
Oritamerin	71	53	74.6	18	25.4
Orogun	90	21	23.3	69	76.7
Sango	217	84	38.7	133	61.3
Total	4591	1836	40.0	2755	60.0

the creation of divisional administrative headquarters was not followed by a corresponding decentralisation of economic activities. Rather over the years, the concentration of economic activities has continued to occur at some favoured centres.

To illustrate the above point reference is made to the findings of the Ministry of Trade, Industries and Co-operatives (1979) in Directory of Business Enterprises in Oyo State of Nigeria. The findings show the concentration of business enterprises in six major towns in the State. The six towns: Ibadan, Ile Ife, Ilesha, Oshogbo, Ogbomosho and Oyo, accounted for 79.0, 76.0 and 85.0 percent of commerce, manufacturing and services respectively. The average for the three sectors is 78.0 percent. Also highlighted is the relative importance of Ibadan in the summary of enterprises by business category. Of the total for commerce, manufacturing and service sectors, Ibadan accounted for 56.0, 51.0 and 59.0 percent respectively. Ibadan is even more dominant when the distribution of enterprises by size categories among the towns is considered. In respect of commerce, Ibadan alone accounted for 81.0 percent of the large enterprises and 66.0 percent of the medium-size enterprises. In the case of manufacturing, Ibadan accounted for 49.0 percent of the large enterprises and 63.0 percent of the medium-size ones. In the service sector, it accounted for 89.0 percent of the large enterprises and 73.0 percent of the medium-size enterprises. The primacy of Ibadan today is connected to its initial advantage as a colonial administrative and commercial centre. The continued concentration of economic activities at few centres of initial advantage, particularly by the private sector, is both economically and socially motivated.

The presence of other economic activities significantly explains the high coefficient of localisation indices of informal tailors recorded at some divisional headquarter towns in 1971. A Spearman's rank order correlation test of the relationship between the presence of other economic activities (small scale industries) and the concentration of informal tailoring activity in 1971, shows that 0.95 (95.0 percent) of the variation is explained by the presence of small scale industries (Table 5.7).

5.5 Conclusion

Subject to being challenged on the strength of new evidence to the contrary, on or before the year 1900, the tailoring/sewing machine innovation was making significant inroads into the traditional mode of dressmaking in Oyo state. By 1923, the innovation had spread from Ibadan to more than sixteen other important towns in the state. Also, from a handful of initial adopters in Ibadan, the number of tailors in the state grew phenomenally over the years to nearly 12,000 in 1989.

The evaluation of the geographic evolution of the informal tailoring industry under the probability of location model tends to suggest that the innovation diffused hierarchically rather than contagiously. From Ibadan, the town with the highest weighted PLI, the tailoring innovation diffused to the other towns in the hierarchy, and reaching Igboho town with the least weighted PLI last. There is a clear demarcation between Ibadan, the primate town, and the rest of the cluster. Although towns like Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Oyo and Ilesha did stand out at times, a clear distinction or hierarchy did not exist among them

Table 5.7

**TAILORING INDUSTRY AND SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES IN
RANK ORDER FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE, 1971**

Towns	X Rank Order	Y Rank Order	d	d2
Ede	4	4	0	0
Ejigbo	7	7	0	0
Eruwa	5	3	+2	4
Gbongan	3	5	-2	4
Ibadan	16	16	0	0
Igboho	2	2	0	0
Ikirun	6	6	0	0
Ile Ife	14	14	0	0
Ilesha	15	15	0	0
Iseyin	8	9	-1	1
Iwo	13	11	+2	4
Ogbomosho	12	13	-1	1
Okuku	1	1	0	0
Oshogbo	11	12	-1	1
Oyo	10	10	0	0
Shaki	9	8	+1	1
N = 16			SS=16	

$$R_s = 1 - [(6 \times 16) / ((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16)] = 1 - [96 / 4080] = 1 - 0.024 = 0.976$$

$$r = 0.976 \quad r^2 = .95$$

Notes: X = Small Scale Industries Rank Order
 Y = Tailoring Activity Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d2 = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r2 = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Source: Table 1.2

then. Also, the small towns were not necessarily controlled by the medium sized towns as in a normal hierarchical structure.

Since the adoption of the tailoring innovation, 75.0 percent of the towns have continued to record significant growth in the number of informal tailors. Numerically, Ibadan has had more tailors than any other town in the state. The distribution of the growth centres into divisional and non-divisional headquarter towns shows that the divisional headquarter towns, in general, have done better than the non-divisional headquarter towns. The economic and social advantages enjoyed by the divisional headquarter towns demonstrate the power of external and political factors in influencing the socio-economic development of a place.

Admittedly the probability of location model provides significant and valuable explanation to the diffusion process of the informal tailoring innovation in Oyo state metropolitan areas. But the proportion of the variation it leaves unexplained is so significant that a search for alternative and supplementary explanations became necessary. Part of the supplementary explanation may be accountable by the limitations of the model. Without doubt, from the above discussion some knowledge into the nature of the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring activity in Oyo state has been gained.

Chapter Six

INTRA URBAN DIFFUSION AND GROWTH OF THE INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY IN IBADAN

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have examined the evolution and spatial diffusion of the informal tailoring activity in Oyo state metropolitan areas from a macro perspective. The present chapter discusses the issue from a micro perspective, focusing the discussion on the city of Ibadan.

The primacy of Ibadan as the most likely town in the Oyo State metropolitan system to adopt the tailoring industry first, has been clearly demonstrated by the probability of location model. Also evident from the discussions is the dominant role of Ibadan in the socio-political activity of the Yoruba society and Oyo state. The choice of Ibadan as a regional administrative centre gave it an economic and administrative advantage which none of the competing towns had. The economic and social developments that followed attracted more migrants to Ibadan than elsewhere in the metropolitan system. Meeting the clothing requirements of the growing population contributed significantly to the development of the informal tailoring industry in the town. By the end of the colonial rule in Nigeria, Ibadan had the highest concentration of public sector jobs, christian mission establishments, and educational institutions in the Yoruba metropolitan system, with the exception of Lagos. Also, second to Lagos, Ibadan had the highest concentration of public and private facilities that favour the development of economic activities.

Ibadan has other important characteristics which qualify it as the appropriate city for this micro analysis. The city preserves in an almost unadulterated form all those characteristics of the typical traditional Yoruba city: a central market, a remarkable social structure and a strong pattern of rural-urban interaction (Mitchell, 1953; Morgan, 1953; Mabogunje, 1968; Ojo, 1972; Ayeni, 1982). As has been indicated elsewhere in the thesis, Ibadan city has identifiable geographical divisions within which some discussion on the evolution and diffusion of the informal tailoring industry is possible.

The purpose of the micro analysis is to provide a better understanding of the internal structure of the informal tailoring industry in a typical Yoruba city. Secondly, we believe that this knowledge is essential in predicting and planning the future of the informal tailoring industry in other Nigerian cities.

Following the lead of the probability of location model, the presence or concentration of certain factors that favour the growth of informal tailoring industry in any part of Ibadan town, contributes to a higher probability for the area to have more informal tailoring activity. The chapter identifies these factors within the Ibadan urban system. Since the city is a living system, the presence or concentration of these factors has not remained static, in the same area and over time. Discussed, as part of an understanding of the spatial structure of the informal tailoring industry at an intra urban scale, is how the changing availability and concentration of the factors in time and space influenced the spatial evolution of the informal tailoring activity in Ibadan town.

In section 2.2.4 of the literature review, key factors which explain the intra urban location of industry, have been discussed in detail. Also discussed is the spatial organisation of informal activity at the intra urban level. Painted is a vivid picture of workplace environment from which informal sector entrepreneurs operate. These factors are summarised in this chapter with a view to identify the special factors that are significant to the spatial development of the informal tailoring industry in Ibadan town. The spatial evolution of the industry in the town is then analyzed in the framework of the distribution of these factors in time and space. The temporal framework consists of the colonial period (before 1960), and post colonial periods: 1963, 1971 and 1989. These are the periods for which some comparative data are available. The spatial framework for analysis is provided by the Oja Iba traditional core and the Gbagi commercial centre of the colonial period, and the forty five Wards and sub-wards of the post colonial era. The merits of these spatial units have been discussed elsewhere in the thesis.

The organisation of the chapter is as follows. Section 6.2 examines briefly the structure of the tailoring industry in Ibadan, in terms of its total size, employment characteristics, work patterns and equipment size. Section 6.3 reviews the factors which explain the spatial distribution of industry. Emphasis is placed on the internal structure of small enterprise in developing countries. In section 6.4, factors that contribute to a higher probability for certain areas of Ibadan to have more informal tailoring activity, are discussed. In section 6.5, the spatial evolution of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan is analyzed. Section 6.6 summarises the conclusions of the chapter.

6.2 The Structure of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan

An analysis of who the Ibadan informal tailors are, is important to our understanding of the informal tailoring activity in the city. Who they are, where they come from, how much they earn, the size of their operations in terms of the number of sewing machines they have, and how many hours per day they work, contribute significantly to where they may most likely locate in the city. These concerns are addressed concisely in this section.

The employment structure of the informal tailoring industry in Ibadan reveals that the majority of the tailors are women. Of the estimated 4,591 tailors operating in the city in 1989, 1,836 (40.0 percent) were men and 2,755 (60.0 percent) were women (Table 6.1). An analysis of the distribution of informal tailoring employment by self-employment and wage-labour shows that the majority of the tailors are self-employed. In 1971, the wage-labour accounted for only 15.2 percent of all tailoring employment, while self-employment accounted for nearly 85.0 percent. This indicates that the wage-labour capacity of informal tailoring is relatively low. But compared to the state's average of 8.8 percent (Table 2.1), Ibadan's informal tailoring industry offers a significant wage-labour employment.

Also, in comparison to other non-traditional informal sector activities, the capacity of tailoring industry to absorb part of the mass of the urban unemployed is relatively high. Its dynamic apprenticeship system maintains a steady flow of new tailors. Although over half of the establishments had no apprentices in 1989, Table 6.1 shows that there were about 11,290 apprentices at various stages of completion in the system at the time.

Table 6.1

**EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY,
IBADAN, 1989**

Category	Total	Men		Women	
		No.	%	No.	%
Total Employment	4,591	1,836	40.0	2,755	60.0
Apprentices					
- Survey Figures	1,387	470	33.9	917	66.1
- Estimated Figures*	11,290	3,827	33.9	7,463	66.1

Note: * Estimated figures are calculated by multiplying the number of tailors by the number of apprentices per tailor (4,591 x 2.45). The number of apprentices per tailor is calculated by dividing survey apprentices figure by the survey sample tailors (1,387/564).

Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, Qs. 5.5.

With so many tailors in the making, the Ibadan informal tailoring industry seems to have a bright future. It promises to provide jobs for many people, though some of these jobs may be part-time. There is, also, a strong indication that surrounding villages and towns will benefit from Ibadan's growing informal tailoring apprenticeship. When questioned as to where they would establish their workshops after training, 83.5 of the apprentices expressed the desire to remain in Ibadan. About 10.0 percent would try to establish their business in other towns while 6.5 percent reported that they would return to their villages. The decisions were based on perceived job opportunities these places would offer.

A distribution of the tailors in 1989 by place of origin and training, shows that 66.9 percent of the tailors were indigenous while the remaining 33.1 percent came from outside Ibadan. More than 83.0 percent of all the tailors practising in the city were trained in Ibadan. Of the 16.6 percent who were trained outside Ibadan, a large proportion received their training in Lagos (Table 6.2).

Judging from the size of initial capital investment, the majority of the tailoring units are very small operations. In 1971, 95.4 percent of the tailors in the city had an initial investment of ₦100.00 or less. Of this figure, 76.8 percent (or 73.3 percent of the total) were accounted for by establishments with initial investments of ₦50.00 and less. Only 0.2 percent of all tailoring establishments in the town had an initial capital investment of ₦500.00 and more in 1971 (Table 2.2).

A great part of the initial investment was spent on sewing machine acquisition. Very little was spent on rent as most people operated from their family homes or temporary shelters attached to family homes or buildings. The operating cost was also low because customers usually bought the materials for their clothes or dresses, and the tailors charged only for labour or workmanship. This practice eliminates the necessity for tailors to stock dress materials and cuts down their operating cost considerably.

Based on the number of sewing machines per unit of informal tailoring establishment, most of the tailoring operations in the town are very small. On the average, there were 2.35 sewing machines per tailoring unit in 1989. But the actual distribution shows that as many as 31.7 percent of the tailors had only one sewing machine.

At an average of 2.35 sewing machines per tailoring unit, there were about 10,802 sewing machines in Ibadan in 1989. Out of that number, 8,685 (80.4 percent) were manually-operated sewing machines while the remaining 2,117 (19.6 percent) were electrically-operated machines. The cost and unreliability of electricity supply in Nigeria, seem to dictate the high reliance of the informal tailors on manually-operated sewing machines. Lukman's (1985) study of a Lagos-based Textile Company, highlights the dire consequences which incessant power cuts and blackouts can exert on an industrial establishment. Between 1982 and 1983, the company lost a total of 5,890 man-hours from power failures, an average of 8.1 man-hours per day over a two-year period. With a record that bad, most informal tailors would be out of business in no time if they were to depend totally on electrical appliances and the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) for

Table 6.2
DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORS TRAINED OUTSIDE IBADAN BY
TOWNS OF TRAINING, IBADAN, 1989

Towns	Numbers	Percentage
Aba	1	1.1
Abeokuta	4	4.6
Abidjan*	2	2.3
Akure	3	3.4
Benin City	2	2.3
Ede	2	2.3
Ekwere (Bendel)	3	3.4
Fiditi	1	1.1
Ghana*	2	2.3
Ijebu Ode	4	4.6
Ikere-Ekiti	1	1.1
Ikire	2	2.3
Ilaro	1	1.1
Ile Ife	2	2.3
Ilesha	3	3.4
Ilorin	1	1.1
Iwo	1	1.1
Kaduna	1	1.1
Lagos	28	32.2
London*	2	2.3
Nsukka	1	1.1
Ogbomosho	1	1.1
Ondo	1	1.1
Orile Owu	1	1.1
Oshogbo	3	3.4
Owo	1	1.1
Oyo	6	6.9
Sapele	1	1.1
Shaki	2	2.3
Sepeteri	1	1.1
Sokoto	1	1.1
Ughelli	2	2.3
Total	87	100.0

Note: * International locations. Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989.

power supply to operate their business.

Contrary to popular expectation, over 59.2 percent of the informal tailors in Ibadan have set hours of work. The majority of those without set hours of work are women, who squeeze in some tailoring work between family and household duties. Of the number with set hours of work, more than 85.0 percent are flexible and will work longer hours to satisfy customers' needs. For most of them too, the set hours of work is operative only during the off peak seasons.

At an average of ten hours a day, the informal tailor in Ibadan works two hours longer than the formal sector worker. Among the tailors themselves the number of work-hours per day varies from five to fifteen (Table 6.3). The bulk of the tailors (62.4 percent) work for between ten and twelve hours a day. The majority of those who work for between five and seven hours a day are women and those who combine tailoring with other economic or household activities. In Ibadan in 1989, 18.3 percent of the tailors combined tailoring with other economic activities. Over 95.0 percent of these were women. Trading is the most prominent of these other economic activities. It accounted for 72.8 percent of all. Farming accounted for 6.8 percent. Appendix 8 summarises the list of other economic activities which Ibadan tailors combined with the tailoring activity in 1989.

The guild system has a long tradition in Yorubaland. It was practised by various groups of Yoruba craftsmen and women long before the colonial era. Today, similar forms of organisation and association exist among various groups engaged in the different forms

Table 6.3

**DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING WORK HOURS PER DAY,
IBADAN, 1989**

Number Of Hours	Number of Tailors	Percentage of Total
5	19	4.1
6	10	2.2
7	14	3.1
8	58	12.7
9	33	7.2
10	124	27.1
11	57	12.4
12	105	22.9
13	15	3.3
14	18	3.9
15	5	1.0
Total	458	100.0
Average	10 Hours a day	

Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, Qs. 3.3

of economic activities. Among the Ibadan tailors, the most prominent of these associations is **The Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District [1]**. Membership in the association guarantees some social and economic benefits. Among the social benefits are moral support in times of sorrow and joy, mediation between the members and landlords, and intervention in disputes both among the members themselves and with their customers. The economic benefits include participation in local and zonal revolving loans organised by the members through individual and local contributions, purchasing some tailoring materials at discount prices, and guaranteed prices for various products of the industry (Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, n.d.).

Granted, the association offers its members some social and economic benefits, but these are not strong enough to induce all the tailors in the area to join the association. It has been observed that through other social and economic networks, these benefits are available to non-members of the tailoring association. This is more so among the non-Yoruba and to some extent, some Yoruba tailors who are big enough to stand on their own, without the benefits and support of the association.

As an organisation, the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, has constituted the informal tailors in Ibadan and surrounding areas into a more visible and tangible group. As a target group, any governmental assistance aimed at helping informal tailors could be successfully channelled through the association. The internal organisation of the association is better structured to handle the local politics of informal tailors than any government agent or department. In the context of statistical information

and knowledge about informal tailoring activity in the town, the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, has been largely responsible for what is further known through this study about informal tailoring activity in the Oyo state metropolitan areas. More could be known about informal sector activities if they were all organised after the pattern of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors.

6.3 Factors Explaining The Spatial Distribution of Industry

From the literature of industrial location theory the following factors have played a significant role in explaining the location of an industrial activity: labour, market, raw material (including land), capital, transportation, rent and agglomeration. Over time, the role of social, cultural and political factors in the spatial organisation of industry has received a considerable attention in the literature.

Concerning the informal sector in particular, the proximity theory highlights population (city size) and a central market as important factors accounting for the spatial organisation of informal sector activity. The complementary generative theme singles out presence of formal activity, relative location and profit maximisation as important explanatory factors for the distribution of informal sector enterprise.

At the intra urban level, the factors identified as key to explaining the spatial organisation of industry include accessibility to transportation route (Hoyt, 1939), need for specialised services, need for agglomeration, incompatibility of certain industries and rent (Harris and Ullman, 1945). Other factors are availability of raw material (Isard, 1956) and

nature of the industry (Orlove, 1974; Schmitz, 1982; Moser and Marsie-Hazen, 1984; Dwyer and Sit, 1986). For example, the location of some categories of small enterprises on domestic premises has been opposed on the basis of environmental and health reasons.

Therefore, until the mid-1970s, most explanations of the intra urban location of industry have been made in terms of transport costs, land costs and external economies of scale and the way in which the availability of these items varies systematically away from the city centre. Locational trends through time, especially decentralisation, have been explained through the changing use that producers make of these transport, external economies and land items owing to technological change, innovation and progress (Taylor, 1979). This conventional approach has elevated decentralisation to the standing of being the only process of locational change within urban areas.

However, later studies, following the lead of Pred (1964) and Murphy (1966), have demonstrated that industry is not necessarily confined to any one section of the city and that industrial districts are spread throughout the urban fabric. In the context of the developing countries' urban areas, Lowder (1986) and Roberge (1989) have argued that what is observed in the distribution of industrial activities is usually a heterogeneous collection of enterprises, operating from an assortment of locations (buildings) distributed throughout the city in varying concentrations.

Still in the context of the developing countries, intra urban factors explaining the distribution of informal sector activities range from proximity to specialised market

(Wendorff, 1985; Lowder, 1986; Roberge, 1989) to affordable residential site (Sit, 1980, Gana, 1984; Dwyer and Sit, 1986; Roberge, 1989) and income distribution (Schmitz, 1982; Sanders, 1984; Vasconcelos, 1985; Dwyer and Sit, 1986; Lowder, 1986; Roberge, 1989). Among the factors contributing to the operation of small enterprises from domestic buildings and converted premises are shortage of space, high rent and limited financial resources (Taylor, 1979; Sit, 1980; Healey, 1981; Gana, 1984; Dwyer and Sit, 1986). Other factors mentioned in this connection are use of family hands or labour (Portes and Walton, 1981), proximity to market (Wendorff, 1985), proximity to family and laxity of zonal regulations or laws (Gana, 1984; Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ibadan, 1985).

Summarising from this brief review, the spatial organisation of informal sector activity at the intra urban scale is influenced by a complex of socio-economic and political factors. The two modes of explanation, one proposing decentralisation as the only process of locational change within a city and the other proposing a multitude of movement components, are complementary rather than contradictory. They represent the same issue viewed at different scales and with differing degrees of realism. The scale and realism of the spatial structure of the informal tailoring industry in Ibadan Town are explored in the next section.

6.4 Factors Responsible For The Spatial Organisation Of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Town

An analysis of the locational characteristics of the informal tailoring industry in Ibadan town over the years, shows that the following factors were paramount in location decisions. The factors include availability of residential site, proximity to market, accessibility to good transportation system, rent and proximity to acquaintances and relatives.

With regard to the availability of residential site, the dependence of informal tailors on residential buildings for business operation is overwhelming. Experience has shown that over 89.6 percent of all informal tailoring activity in Ibadan are operated from residential buildings. Of the 10.4 percent that operate from other buildings, many are from stalls located in market places around the town. In most cases, especially where the stalls are not "lock-up" types, valuable work materials and equipment are moved and stored in residential buildings for safe keeping at the close of work each day. Among the factors responsible for the concentration of informal tailoring activity in residential buildings in Ibadan are high rent, shortage of housing supply, and lack of strict zoning regulations.

In Ibadan, the rent for available workshops and spaces is usually high and above the means of most informal tailors. In 1989 in Ibadan, workshops of 8x10 feet rented for between ₦30.00 and ₦45.00 per month, depending on the location. In general, tailors whose net monthly income is slightly higher than the going rent do not usually operate their business from rented workshops. They tend to "double-up".

"Doubling-up" is widely practised by the informal tailors in Ibadan. Over 27.8 percent of the tailors surveyed in 1989, had some kind of "doubling-up" arrangement. About 73.9 percent of the "doubling-up" or 20.6 percent of all the tailors had a residence-cum-workshop arrangement. The remaining 26.1 percent (or 7.3 percent of all tailors) shared workshop with other businesses. The majority of those who "doubled-up" were women.

Among the principal reasons for "doubling-up" are economic and social. Many of the tailors are forced by high rent to either share workshop with others, or to maximise the use of their residence by using part of it as a workshop. Women, who are traditionally required to stay close to their families and homes, have by and large operated their business from their residences.

Another factor accounting for the high incidence of informal tailoring activity in residential building is the shortage of housing stock. The limited availability of housing stock resulted in high rent and congestion. In Ibadan in 1985, about 45.0 percent of the households lived in one bedroom accommodation with an average of 3.2 persons per room without separate toilet and kitchen facilities (Braithwaite, 1985). To date, private real estate developers have concentrated their efforts on residential buildings. Little attention has been given to developing industrial estates or commercial buildings. In most cases, the few available public industrial estates are constructed without the informal and very small businesses in mind. Either the spaces are too big or the costs too high for small scale business operators. Most importantly, the industrial estates are located away from resi-

dential areas. Such locations have been found not ideal for small scale operators for whom proximity to their customers is critical for survival. Many informal contacts healthy for the development of informal tailoring activity are more likely to be established in residential areas than in industrial estates.

The lack of strict zoning regulations and/or the enforcement of existing zoning bylaws have encouraged the informal tailors in Ibadan to maximise space utilisation. Many informal tailoring units have saved cost and remained operational by converting part of the residential house into a workshop [2]. Over the years and in many parts of the town, some tailors have taken advantage of the laxity of zoning regulations, to expand their workshops by erecting illegal structures such as attachment of shades to residential buildings and installing kiosks on verandas of these buildings. Although many of these were dismantled during the implementation of the Environmental Sanitation Exercise of 1985, many of them have long since been rebuilt.

From the reasons given by the informal tailors in 1989 for locational changes, it is obvious that informal tailoring activity in Ibadan is governed by some of the traditional factors that explain the intra urban location of industrial activities. Economic factors accounted for 82.5 percent of the locational changes. Among the economic factors, accessibility to customers and large market accounted for 43.3 percent, business expansion 23.5 percent, poor facility 11.5 percent, change of economic status 11.5 percent and high rent 10.1 percent. From the above, one can conclude that accessibility, quality of facility and rent play a primary role in the spatial organisation of tailoring activity in Ibadan.

Social reasons are equally important in the distribution pattern of the informal tailoring industry. They accounted for 15.6 percent of the distribution in 1989. Prominent among the social factors was the need to stay close to the family and relatives. It accounted for 73.2 percent of the social factors. Many of the female tailors are located where they are principally for this reason. Also, an analysis of the distribution of the non-Yoruba and non-Ibadan-born tailors, shows that in general they are located outside the traditional core of the city and in pockets reflecting ethnic concentrations in the city. The concentration of migrant tailors in certain ethnic areas of the city is explained principally by two factors. The initial dependence of the migrant tailor on relatives and tribesmen and women already living in the city, in order to find a workshop and first customers, is partly responsible for the observed distribution pattern [3]. The second factor that seems to force this pattern of concentration is the need to avoid direct confrontation and competition with the highly organised Ibadan-born tailors who dominate the traditional core of the city.

The direct impact of political factor on the spatial structure of informal tailoring industry is not easily visible in all cases. However, the implementation of government social policies was responsible for 17.1 percent of all the locational changes for social reasons in 1989. A case in point here was the Municipal Government's demolition exercise of 1985 which left many small businesses without workshops for sometime. Most of the demolition was in the planned areas of the city rather than in the traditional core.

Another way through which political factors may have influenced the spatial distribution of informal tailoring industry is the zoning policy. The location of residential areas and other urban land uses are a function of government policy. Since there is a strong correlation between residential site and the distribution of informal tailoring industry, and since the informal tailoring industry seems to be the dependent variable, it can be argued that the government zoning policy, at least in part and indirectly, controls the spatial organisation of the industry in Ibadan town.

On the issue of zoning and land use policy in Ibadan, it is worth noting that until recently the pattern of urban land use was not clearly defined. Ibadan was the only major Nigerian city that was allowed for a long time to grow without a masterplan. This has led to a great mix of activities such as residential and commercial, and sometimes residential and industrial as in the case of small and medium sized industrial establishments. However, residential land use has shown significant increase over the years and in 1982 it was the largest land user, consuming about 61.4 percent of the total land in the metropolitan area. Industrial land use accounted for 16.6 percent while commercial land use accounted for only 0.34 percent. Land for educational and health services took 3.5 percent of the total land. Other land uses, including transportation and agriculture, accounted for the remaining 18.3 percent (Ayeni, 1982).

On the basis of the proximity to work/raw materials theory, one would expect some level of concentration of informal tailoring industry in the Wards with weaving and spinning activities. A close examination of the spatial organisation of informal tailoring

activity in the principal weaving and spinning Wards in Ibadan (S6A, N3, N4, N6, NW5 and E6), shows in general that there is no significant relationship between the spatial structure of both activities. The lack of a significant correlation between the two can be partly explained by the fact that the weaving activities are small and informal operations, which dispose their products through a central market system. The Oje and Gbagi markets are notable for serving this central market function. Therefore, the location of a tailoring business next to a weaver who sells his products in a central market, is of no economic and locational advantage to the informal tailor.

Based on the concentration of the above identified factors that seem to explain the spatial location of informal tailoring industry, the spatial evolution of the industry in Ibadan, over time, is discussed and analyzed.

6.5 Spatial Evolution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan

As we have seen from the beginning of this chapter, Ibadan has experienced rapid informal tailoring industry growth since the introduction of the innovation. Accompanying this major absolute growth have been important changes in the distribution of tailoring activity in the city. At an aggregate level, the changing distribution of informal tailoring within the city is analyzed within the context of the forty-five Wards and sub-wards, and the traditional versus the modern cores of the city. One of the trends which emerges from this examination is the striking decentralisation of tailoring units from the traditional core and older suburbs to the modern and fringe sections of the city.

The discussion on the spatial evolution of informal tailoring activity in Ibadan metropolitan area is approached from two perspectives. The first perspective takes a historical approach by discussing the initial spatial diffusion of the industry in the city. The second perspective examines, under four historical time segments, the spatial distribution pattern of the informal tailoring industry based on the concentration of tailoring industry promoting factors in the city.

6.5.1 Spatial Diffusion of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Metropolitan Area

Tracing accurately the diffusion pattern of the informal tailoring activity in Ibadan is almost as complicated as determining exactly its spread in the state. The difficulty is caused by lack of consistent information on tailors and their trade in pre and early colonial periods. Also, being principally a self-employed business, the history of a particular tailoring unit usually ends with the death of the owner.

However, from few fragmentary information and interviews, it seems that the tailoring industry first located in the traditional city core of Oja Iba and Mapo Hill, areas covered by Wards C1, C2, and parts of S1 and SW1. Interviews with some of the oldest surviving tailors in the city are vital to the reconstruction of the locational pattern of early tailoring activity. The interview with the Bale of the Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, reveals that both he and his master had their workshops in Oja Iba area around 1914 and 1903 respectively. Mr. J. Gbadamosi (currently located at

E2/17), who took over the family tailoring business in 1975, attested to the fact that his father had operated the business from a location in the traditional core (Ward C1) since 1921. Also, Alhaji Olufemi Aroye, one of the oldest living tailors in the city, had his first workshop in 1925 beside Iba market located south of Ward C1. He later moved to Isale Ijebu (Ward SW1) when he built his own house in 1953. Studies on the organisation of Yoruba towns have shown that a central market is an integral part of the urban core (Mabogunje, 1962, 1968; Atanda, 1980; Ayeni, 1989). Since Oja Iba market is the oldest market in the Ibadan urban structure, it is reasonable to assume that it was part of the traditional town core.

One other piece of evidence pointing to the location of first tailoring activity in the traditional core is the address of the three tailors: Salami Akanni, Momodu Ayinla and Rawufu Akande, who petitioned the Ibadan Native Administration Department in 1933 for permanent appointment as tailors with the administration (Native Administration Department, Oyo Province, 1933). Their Mapo Hill address placed them in Wards C1 and C2, which correspond with the core of the traditional city.

The traditional core location hypothesis is very plausible considering the fact that the central market was located there and that most social and traditional activities were organised around the market system. The market place, among many African societies, is not just a place for buying and selling, it is also a place where social and political ideas are shared and exchanged. As is still common in most rural markets, new products are demonstrated by producers' agents to the public in these market places on market days.

As the market place is a meeting point for people from both the urban and rural areas, it serves as an important link in the dissemination of new ideas and goods. A location in or near a central market area basically tends to ensure easy access to rural and urban customers. Although we cannot statistically prove it, it is logical to think that the tailoring innovation benefited from such central and market locations.

Through the process of elimination the possibility of the informal tailoring industry diffusing from the traditional core of Oja Iba and Mapo Hill is reinforced. Two other sections of Ibadan town from which the informal tailoring activity could have diffused are Agodi Hill (established in 1893) and Gbagi business area (established post 1903). Informal tailoring activity could not have diffused from the Agodi Hill settlement, which was a government reservation area (GRA). Not only was it a highly exclusive area but it was also a home for the earliest European migrants to the city, most of whom were government officials and company representatives. The possibility that one of the residents might have engaged in informal tailoring activity is very remote.

Similarly, the first tailoring industry could not have been located in the Gbagi business area if we accept the hypothesis that the innovation was adopted in Ibadan about 1900. The Gbagi business area was founded sometime after 1903 as attested by Ayeni:

"By 1903 various European firms were given leasehold to settle in the city [Ibadan] and this led to the establishment of a modern business centre [Gbagi] and a European reservation area" (Ayeni, 1982, p. 88).

The domination of the traditional city core as the ideal location for tailoring activity was unbroken for more than two decades. Even with the completion of Gbagi, a modern business centre, located West of the traditional city by the railway station, around 1910, Oja Iba and Mapo Hill areas remained the heart of residential concentration and home for most of the tailors. While the new core, Gbagi, was attracting many wholesale and retail business activities, informal tailoring activity remained concentrated in the Oja Iba and Mapo areas of the city.

6.5.2 Analysis of The Spatial Evolution of Informal Tailoring Industry In Ibadan Metropolitan Area, 1900-1989

To understand better some of the evolutionary and spatial characteristics of informal tailoring industry, the recent inter and intra ward locational changes by tailors in Ibadan are discussed below.

On the average, over 66.5 percent of all the tailors in the city have shifted location at least once since their businesses were first established (Ibadan Field Survey, 1989). A break down of the locational shifts, identifies five main directions of movement and relocation. Short distance moves within any one of the Wards (intra ward relocations) accounted for about 19.7 percent of all the locational shifts (Table 6.4). The majority (51.4 percent) of the intra ward relocations occurred in the Wards located to the east and north of the traditional core and its older suburbs. These Wards include N3, N4, N5A, E4, E5B, E6, E7, E8, S4, S6A, SW3 and SW4.

Table 6.4

DISTRIBUTION OF INTRA AND INTER WARD RELOCATION
OF TAILORS, IBADAN, 1989

Ward	Intra Ward	Inter From	Ward To	Net Gain or Loss
S7	4	24	2	22
N6A	9	23	2	21
E7	15	26	9	17
E4	10	18	3	15
S5	9	13	2	11
N5A	1	7	1	6
NW8	6	8	3	5
C2	0	4	1	3
S6B	1	3	1	2
E6	0	2	1	1
N5B	0	2	1	1
NW1	0	1	0	1
NW2	0	1	0	1
SW4	1	1	0	1
E9	0	4	4	0
N3	1	3	3	0
N6B	1	1	1	0
NW5	1	3	3	0
E2	1	2	3	-1
E8	0	0	1	-1
NW3	3	0	1	-1
S2	1	0	1	-1
S3	0	0	1	-1
S6A	6	3	4	-1
E3	0	1	3	-2
N1	0	0	2	-2
N2	0	0	2	-2
N4	0	0	2	-2
SW5	0	0	2	-2
SW3	0	0	3	-3
S4	4	2	6	-4
C1	0	0	5	-5
SW8	0	1	8	-7
NW4	0	0	7	-7
Total	74	153	88	-

Other zones accounting for a significant proportion of intra ward relocations are the fringe areas around the traditional core and the modern core, consisting of Wards S5, S6B, S7, SW8, SW9, NW6, NW7, NW8, N6A, N6B, N5B and E9. Together these Wards accounted for 40.5 percent of the intra ward relocations in 1989. The area of least intra ward relocation is the traditional core and its older suburbs. It accounted for only 2.7 percent. The remaining 5.4 percent of the intra ward movements took place in the modern central business district and its suburbs, that is, Wards NW2, NW3, NW4, NW5, SW5, SW6 and SW7.

Radical relocations outwards away from the centre or traditional core were also recorded. These decentralising moves were responsible for 5.3 percent of all the relocations in the city. Most of the decentralising moves were from Ward C1 to Wards E2, E4, E5, N6A and S5. Others include moves from Wards C2, N1 and N2 to Wards E4 and E9 (Table 6.4).

There were very few centralising relocations, that is radical moves inwards towards the traditional core. These moves accounted for only 1.9 percent of all the tailoring relocations. Nearly all the centralising relocations occurred in Ward C2. Forty percent of the relocations to Ward C2 were first time migrant tailors from other states. The remaining 60.0 percent were inter ward relocations from Wards N2 and S5 to Ward C2. Ward C1, the oldest part of the traditional city core, experienced no in-migration of tailors.

Responsible for 57.0 percent of all the relocations are circumferential moves. About 51.6 percent of the circumferential moves were inter ward in-migration while 27.3 percent

were inter ward out-migration. The remaining 21.1 percent were intra ward circumferential relocations. Of all the zones, the periphery of both the traditional core and the colonial business district recorded the highest net gain (24.3 percent) of informal tailors during the period (Table 6.4).

The in-migration of tailors from elsewhere in the state and nation accounted for 16.0 percent of all the relocations of tailoring activity in Ibadan in 1989 [4]. The distribution of the in-migrating tailors by Wards, shows that the migrant tailors, in general, did not settle in the traditional core and its older suburbs. Rather they settled in the Wards situated in the southern, eastern and northern fringes of the city, with the highest concentration in the southern and eastern Wards (Map 10). Ward S7 alone received 21.7 percent of the migrants, while 13.3 percent settled in Ward E7 (Table 6.5). Four Wards: C2, E2, NW2 and SW4, in the traditional core of the city, in all absorbed only 6.8 percent of the migrant tailors.

The above analysis of the inter and intra ward relocations identifies both the type and intensity of locational changes. It also identifies the places (Wards) where the locational moves occurred. From the proportion of tailors who made locational changes, it seems that informal tailors in Ibadan are a highly mobile or "foot-loose" group. But judging from the average time of 7.2 years it took a tailor to move from one location to another, it is obvious that the decisions to change locations were not hastily made in most

Table 6.5

**DISTRIBUTION OF INTER STATE IN-MIGRATING TAILORS
BY ABSORBING WARDS, IBADAN, 1989**

Ward	Number	% of Total
S7	13	21.7
N6A	10	16.7
E7	8	13.3
E4	5	8.3
NW8	5	8.3
E9	3	5.0
NW5	3	5.0
S5	2	3.3
S6B	2	3.3
C2	1	1.7
E2	1	1.7
N3	1	1.7
N5	1	1.7
N5B	1	1.7
NW2	1	1.7
S4	1	1.7
SW4	1	1.7
SW8	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, Qss. 2.1 and 2.3.

Table 6.6

**DURATION OF STAY AT PREVIOUS LOCATION BY IBADAN
INFORMAL TAILORS BEFORE RELOCATION**

Duration (Years)	Tailors		Total (Years)
	No.	%	
1	9	4.1	9
2	24	10.9	48
3	17	7.7	51
4	19	8.6	76
5	24	10.9	120
6	23	10.4	138
7	20	9.0	140
8	21	9.5	168
9	8	3.6	72
10	15	6.8	150
11	8	3.6	88
12	11	5.0	132
13	1	0.5	13
14	5	2.3	70
15	2	0.9	30
16	4	1.8	64
18	2	0.9	36
19	1	0.5	19
20	1	0.5	20
21	3	1.4	63
23	2	0.9	46
29	1	0.5	29
Grand Total	221	100.0	1,582
Average (years)			7.2

Source: Ibadan Field Survey, 1989, Qs. 2.4.

cases (Table 6.6).

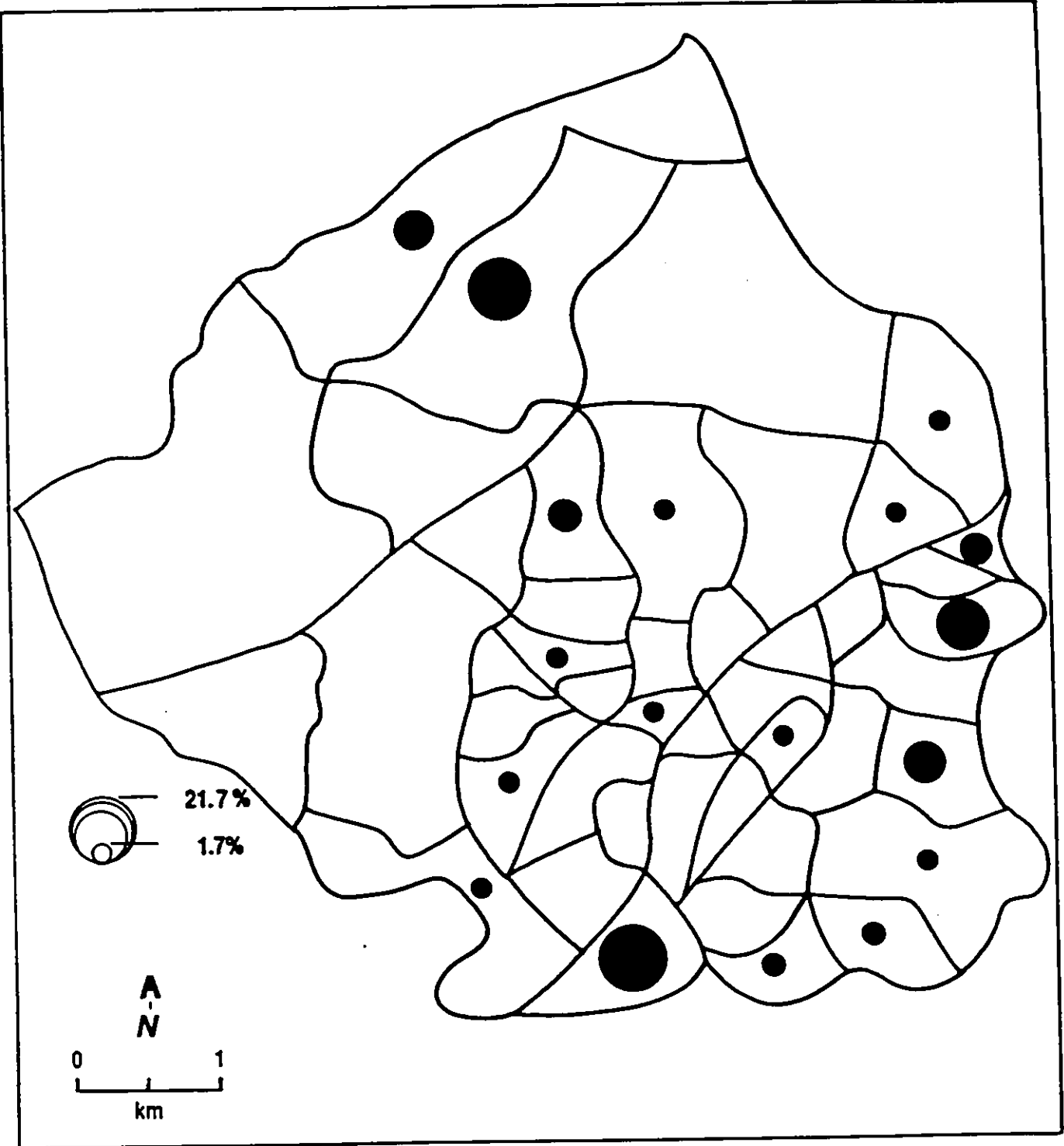
Over 24.4 percent of the tailors operated their business from the same location for more than 10 years before making locational changes. Also important in not labelling Ibadan informal tailors "foot-loose" is the fact that 95.2 percent of the changes were single moves and only 4.8 percent were two or more locational changes. Some of the changes were forced on the tailors such as during the implementation of the Environmental Sanitation Policy of 1984/85 and the Ogunpa flood disasters in the city (1956, 1963, 1978, 1980).

The argument presented above notwithstanding, the fact remains that locational changes occurred over time. Consequent upon this fact, the rest of the chapter discusses in detail, under four historical time frames: colonial period, 1963, 1971 and 1989, the intra urban distribution of informal tailoring industry in the Ibadan metropolitan area. Also discussed is how the distribution and concentration of previously identified informal-tailoring-promoting factors influenced the spatial organisation of informal tailoring activity during each period.

6.5.2.1 Intra Urban Distribution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Metropolitan Area, Colonial Period (1900-1960)

As indicated earlier, an accurate account of the development of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan is not possible because of data problem and the nature of the industry. From fragmentary evidence, an attempt has been made to describe and explain the spatial

MAP 10
DISTRIBUTION OF IN-MIGRATING TAILORS FROM OTHER TOWNS BY WARDS, IBADAN, 1989



MAP 10
Source: Table 6.5.

distribution of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan during the colonial period. Since it has been shown that a strong positive relationship exists between residential buildings and the distribution of informal tailoring activity, a close attention is paid to the pattern of settlement development in the city. Also closely watched is the population distribution of the city.

Ibadan as a city experienced a phenomenal growth. From an area of nearly 40.9 square kilometres containing over 120,000 people in 1890, Ibadan had spread over an estimated area of approximately 103.8 square kilometres, with a population of about 605,000 by 1960 (Millson, 1891; Mabogunje, 1962b; Abumere, 1982; Afolayan, 1982). Accompanying the overall spatial growth of the city was the expansion of residential land use. From the oldest settlements around Mapo Hill, Oja Iba, Isale Ijebu and Yeosa (Mabogunje, 1968), the residential districts of Ibadan had grown to include the newer eastern, western, post-1952 suburbs and residential estates (Map 11).

The development of various residential types began early in colonial Ibadan. By 1903 various European companies were given leasehold to settle in the city. This led to the establishment of a modern business centre, Gbagi, located west of the traditional city by the railway station, which extended to Ibadan in 1901 from Lagos. Also established at this time was a European reservation area, located west of Gbagi. Thus, with the coming of the British colonial administration to the city, emerged the twin centres, the Iba market - the traditional centre and the Gbagi business district. The Gbagi core incorporates the modern day northern section of Ward SW7 and the southern half of Ward NW4.

The extension of the railways to Ibadan as well as the arrival of the Europeans to Ibadan, marked the beginning of large scale immigration of other ethnic groups into the city and the expansion of the city. While a significant proportion of the migrants found abode among the Ibadan people, a considerable number were located on new sites. Thus began other settlements in the town, such as Mokola, Sabon Gari, Oke Ado and Oke Bola. More rapid development occurred in the town soon after it became the headquarters of Western Region of Nigeria in 1946. With this, Ibadan became a major centre for the attraction of many more expatriates and other Yoruba sub-ethnic groups both into the civil service and other economic opportunities in the city. As a result, more residential areas were developed, mainly outside the city walls. Between 1946 and 1959, the colonial administration established more government reservation areas (GRA): Jericho and Links to north-west, at the outskirts of the city, and expanded the Agodi Hill GRA to the east. Modern residential layouts were established outside the traditional core of the city to serve the flood of migrants to the city. The Bodija Housing Estate was established by the government in 1959 to relieve pressure on the GRAs and cater to the needs of the growing number of Nigerian professionals.

Until the end of the colonial period, Ibadan was divided into six administrative zones, namely Central (C), North (N), North-West (NW), South (S) and South-West (SW). The two cores of the city remained the Oja Iba traditional core and the Gbagi business centre. The concentration of population, the distribution of residential areas and other land use forms during the colonial era in these zones, suggest the following pattern in the

spatial distribution of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan.

The highest concentration of informal tailoring industry would be in the eastern zone (E) of the traditional city. The population density in this part of the city was higher than elsewhere (Table 6.7). Also, the location of Oje market, the main market for weavers and sellers of traditional costumes (aso-oke), in this section may have accounted, in part, for the concentration of the industry. The proximity to raw/work material theory supports the speculation.

Another area with a significant concentration of informal tailoring activity during the colonial period was the Gbagi-Dugbe zone, comprising the North-West (NW) and north of the South-West (SW) of the city. The population density in the area was fairly high (Table 6.7). In addition to population size and density, proximity to market and source of work materials seems to have contributed significantly to the high intensity of informal tailoring industry in these areas. The Gbagi market, which has grown over the years and specialised in both bulk and retail sales of both imported and home-made textiles, is located in the extreme northern section of the South-West (SW) zone. An added locational attraction to the area was the location of Dugbe market in the south-western corner of the North-West (NW) zone. Dugbe is one of the largest markets in Ibadan metropolis and has an estimated 5000 stalls (Filani and Iyun, 1982).

Some level of agglomeration partially explains the pattern of informal tailoring distribution in the city. Locating an informal tailoring business next to markets specialising in textile products makes economic sense. Consumers of textile products did not have to

Table 6.7

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY ZONE, IBADAN, 1952

Zone	Population Size	Population Density
Central	20,612	2,431
East	103,258	3,336
North	78,097	2,498
North-West	45,662	1,483
South	82,706	2,065
South-West	78,288	2,350

Source: Census Superintendent, Lagos, (1954), Population Census of Western Region of Nigeria 1952: Bulletin No. 7, Ibadan Province, Table A, Government Printer, Lagos.

travel long distances to find tailors to make their clothes and dresses. The Gbagi and Oje market areas had this type of attraction and agglomeration.

The distribution of residential facilities played a major role in the spatial organisation of informal tailoring activity in colonial Ibadan town. In terms of numbers, the traditional core and the eastern zone had more residential houses than most of the other zones of the city (Mabogunje, 1962b; Abumere, 1982). The availability of affordable residential accommodation offers some explanation for the concentration of informal tailoring in these zones. On the other hand, the Agodi, Jericho and Links reservations, and the Bodija and Oluyole estates, were upper class and low density residential areas, occupied mainly by top civil servants and top business executives and professionals. High residential costs in these residential types seem to have accounted significantly for the low concentration of informal tailoring activity. Also, being directly under the authority of the colonial administration, it was easier to enforce zoning regulations to keep the reservations and estates strictly residential.

The land use designation of the area directly north of the traditional core was primarily responsible for the very low concentration of informal tailoring industry in and around it. When Ibadan became the headquarters of the Western Region of Nigeria in 1946, the area was designated as Government Area (Map 11). Today it is known as the Secretariat and houses government offices and other public utilities. Over the years, lack of accommodation has forced informal tailors to stay away from the zone.

6.5.2.2 Intra Urban Distribution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Metropolitan Area, 1963

Since independence in 1960, Ibadan has continued to grow in all directions especially along the major routes to Lagos in the south, Ile Ife to the east, Abeokuta to the west and Oyo to the north. Among the post-1960 residential developments are Molete, Oluyole Estate, Lagos Road, Ring Road, Odo Ona, Ojoo, Agbowo and Apata Ganga. But still, by 1963 most of the developed areas of Ibadan centred around Oja Iba-Mapo and Gbagi-Dugbe (Areola, 1982).

Some of the factors that explained the spatial distribution of informal tailoring industry in the colonial period continued to influence the spatial organisation of the industry in the post colonial era. Of the major land use types that explained the concentration of informal tailoring in the past, residential land use has continued to predominate. The very high positive correlation that existed between the industry and residential sites in the colonial time, was evident still in 1963. But in general, the tailoring distribution was lighter in the upper class or high cost residential areas such as Bodija (N) and Oluyole (SW) estates, and the reservations: Agodi (NE), Jericho and Links (NW).

A breakdown of the intra urban distribution of the activity by Ward, shows that the highest concentration of informal tailoring industry is found in Wards SW7, NW6 and NW4 (Table 6.8). In other words, Gbagi and its surrounding areas to the north (Wards SW7, NW4 and NW6), had taken over from the traditional city core (Wards C1 and C2) as the principal areas of tailoring concentration by 1963 (Map 12). The number of

Table 6.8

DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORING INDUSTRY BY WARD,
IBADAN, 1963 - 1989

Ward	1963	1971	1989
C1	61	10	50
C2	48	23	70
E1	27	37	60
E2	9	12	59
E3	19	28	130
E4	13	128	341
E5A	16	42	89
E5B	9	9	*
E6	12	13	136
E7	27	80	347
E8	11	29	63
E9	21	16	108
N1	15	46	80
N2	17	33	**
N3	15	69	90
N4	16	105	92
N5A	15	22	132
N5B	15	25	***
N6A	16	89	217
N6B	15	20	90
NW1	29	12	87
NW2	39	32	87
NW3	49	155	89
NW4	97	113	121
NW5	49	97	53
NW6	114	22	170
NW8	-	-	273
S1	31	39	85
S2	18	7	80

.... continued.

Table 6.8 contd.

Ward	1963	1971	1989
S3	29	32	133
S4	31	43	175
S5	9	102	307
S6A	22	5	125
S6B	-	-	130
S7	47	95	203
SW1	15	26	n.a
SW2	17	25	n.a
SW3	27	26	60
SW4	32	14	51
SW5	30	22	40
SW6	43	53	84
SW7	200	143	164
SW8	64	124	103
SW9	21	19	30
Total	1,410	2,042	4,591

Notes: * E5B is grouped with E5A in the association of tailors.

** N2 is grouped with N1.

*** N5B is grouped with N5A.

n.a Figures not available.

Source: Callaway, 1967, Table 8.1; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989.

informal tailors per Ward in the Dugbe-Gbagi area ranged from 81 to 140 and above. While the concentration of informal tailoring activity increased in the Dugbe-Gbagi area, the traditional core of Oja Iba and its older suburbs continued to decline. The number of tailors here by Ward ranged between twenty-one and eighty.

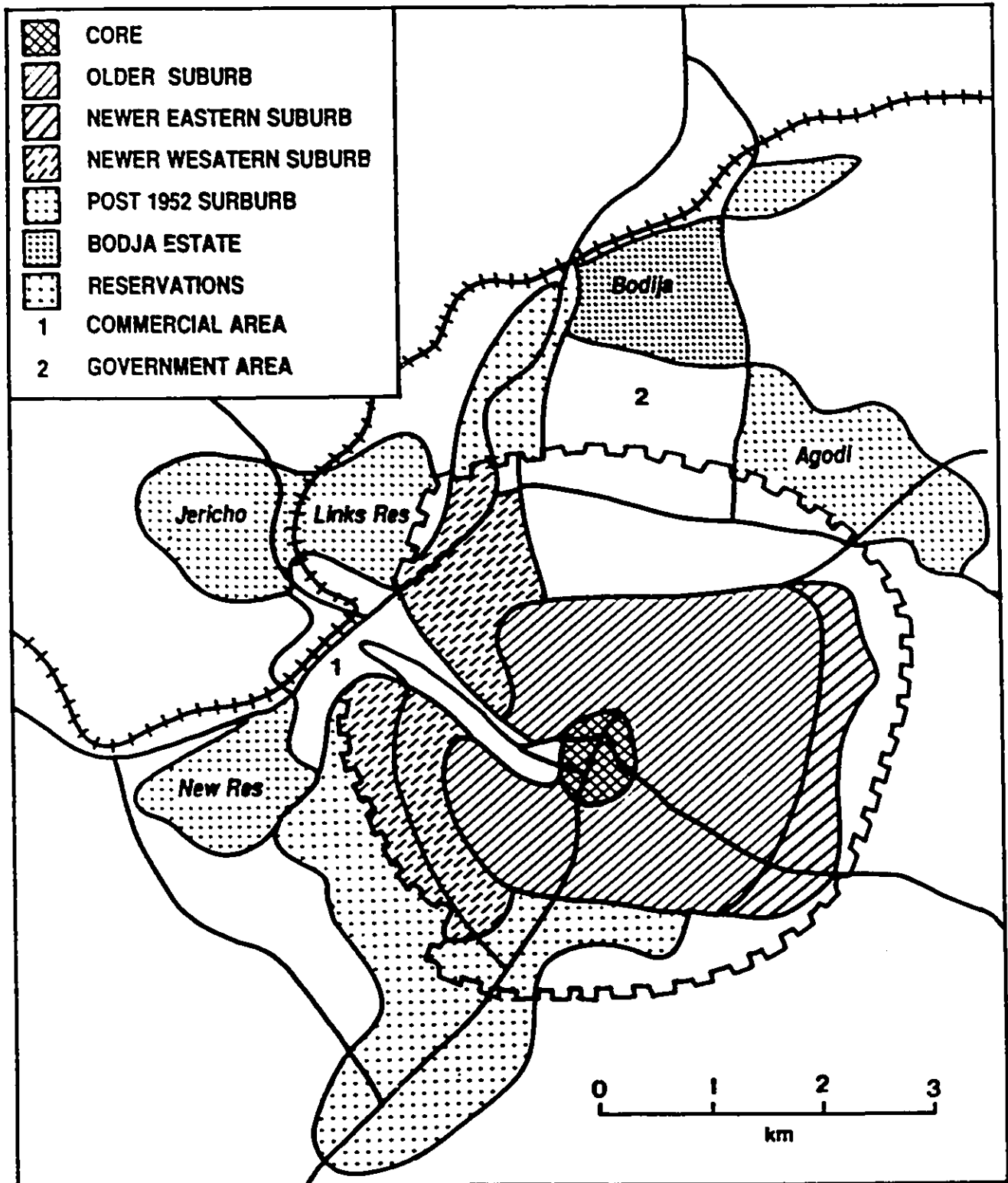
The explanatory factors for the concentration of tailoring in the Dugbe-Gbagi area are proximity to work/raw materials, accessibility to market (customers) and agglomeration. The economic and commercial functions of the zone have remained very strong since the colonial days. As a centre for bulk and retail sales of both home-made and imported textile products, Gbagi has no rival in the Ibadan market system.

From the distribution pattern, the Wards north and north-west of the city had very low concentration of informal tailoring activity. These include the Secretariat (N6B and parts of N3 and N4), Moor Plantation (NW7) and part of the University of Ibadan property (NW8). Again the land use designation of these Wards did not encourage the development of many residential buildings and in a way did not provide a favourable environment for the growth of informal tailoring industry. The number of tailors here was about twenty per Ward.

By 1963, informal tailoring activity was showing some concentration in the south of the city especially along the Ibadan-Lagos road. Found in this area are Molete, Kudeti and the surrounding settlements that make up Wards S3, S6A, S7 and SW8. The presence of informal tailors in this growing area seems to have been motivated by proximity to new market and better residential accommodation. Some of the informal tailors moved south

MAP 11

THE RESIDENTIAL REGIONS OF IBADAN, 1962



SOURCE: MABOGUNJE, 1962B.

with the population from the congested traditional core. With the congestion of the inner city core, the problem of residential accommodation became more acute. This resulted in some informal tailors seeking alternative locations outside the old city core area. The concentration of tailoring activity in the zone was between twenty-one and eighty tailors per Ward.

6.5.2.3 Intra Urban Distribution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Metropolitan Area, 1971

The urban landscape of Ibadan had spread over about 103.8 square kilometres by 1971. By this time, the former farmlands and river floodplains within the city had been built up; and the forest reserves had become part of the recreational resource system of the city. Non-urban land uses were largely confined to the urban fringes (Areola, 1982). The new residential areas established at this time included Agbowo (a low to medium income area opposite the University of Ibadan), Sango and Ojoo (along Oyo Road), all located north of the old city, and Felele-Challenge-Ring Road to the South-West. The residential areas along Ife (East), Abeokuta (West) and Ijebu Ode (South-East) roads, had expanded greatly since their establishment in the early 1960s.

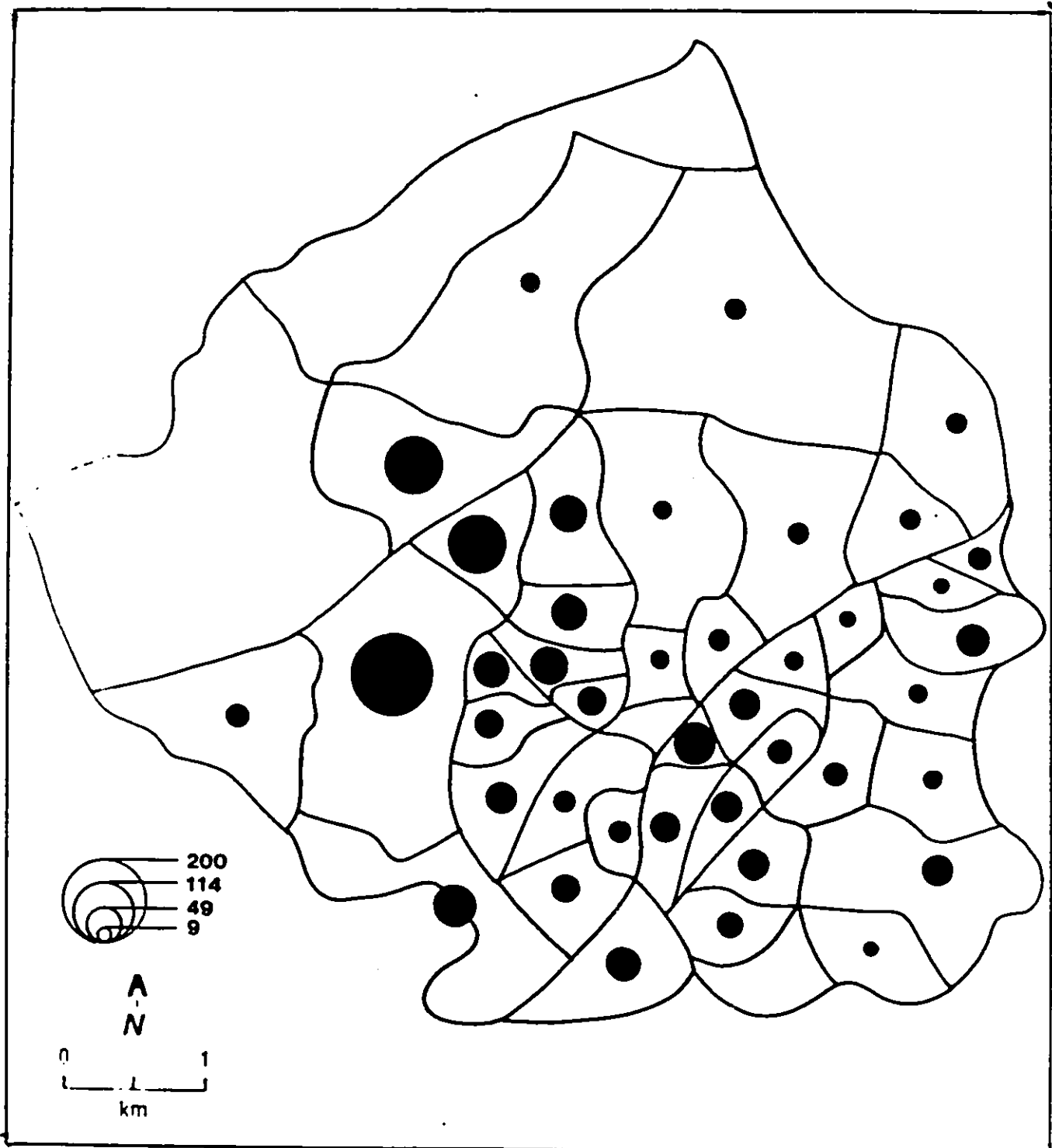
Contrasted with the traditional core and its older suburbs, the quality of residential accommodation and other facilities in the new residential areas were far more superior. The new residential areas included planned streets, drainage systems and public conveniences (Asiwaju, 1976; Abumere, 1982). The transportation system of the town

improved very significantly in the 1970s, as the country in general experienced massive development generated by surplus revenue from oil export. Improved transportation meant easier and quicker accessibility to most areas of the city, and the reduction of distance factor. An implication for the tailoring industry is the possible reduction in the degree of relationship between the industry and proximity to work/raw materials. For example, customers can shop in Gbagi market for their dress materials and easily travel to Agbowo for a tailor.

In any case, the intra urban distribution of informal tailors shows that Gbagi-Dugbe and the surrounding areas: Wards SW7, NW3, NW4 and NW5, had continued to dominate in the concentration of the industry (Map 13). The number of tailors per Ward ranged between 111 and over 140. Also significant from the distribution is the rise of new Wards with strong tailoring activity to the south, east and north of the traditional city. Wards SW8, S5, S7, E4, E7 and N6A are noteworthy (Table 6.8 and Map 13). Some of these had little or no tailoring activity in 1963.

The growth of informal tailoring activity in Ward N6A is associated with a number of related factors. The siting of the main campus of the Ibadan Polytechnic and the temporary Site of the University of Ife between 1963 and 1971 in the Ward, led to a significant expansion of Sango village and the development of Sango market and motor park. The new market and economic opportunities created by the educational institutions, attracted new businesses into the area. Among these new businesses were informal tailoring establishments from some of the older settlements in the city, particularly from

MAP 12
DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TAILORS BY WARD, IBADAN, 1963



Source: Table 6.8; Appendix 14

the south (Ward NW6).

The development of Felele-Challenge market and the Felele-Challenge-Ring Road residential facilities accounted for the growth of the industry in Wards SW8 and S7. The growth of Agugu and Agodi markets, in part, seems to explain the concentration of informal tailoring activity in Wards E4 and E7 respectively. The proximity to Oje market, which handles a significant proportion of the trade in local and imported textile products, seems to account for the growth observed in Wards N4, N2, E5A and E5B. The residential and economic developments occurring around the University of Ibadan and Agbowo have continued to attract tailors into the area. From a concentration of under twenty tailors per Ward in 1963, Ward NW8 had risen to between twenty-one and fifty (Map 13).

The paucity of residential sites and low population density limited large scale development of informal tailoring establishments in Wards N6B, SW9, NW7, E2 and S2. Wards NW7 and SW9 are predominantly plantations and forest reserves while N6A continues to house government offices and public utilities.

6.5.2.4 Intra Urban Distribution of Informal Tailoring Industry in Ibadan Metropolitan Area, 1989

From the distribution of informal tailoring activity in Ibadan in 1989, by Wards (Map 14 and Table 6.8), four broad areas with varying degrees of tailoring concentration are visible. Moving from the east to the west of the city, the eastern Wards are

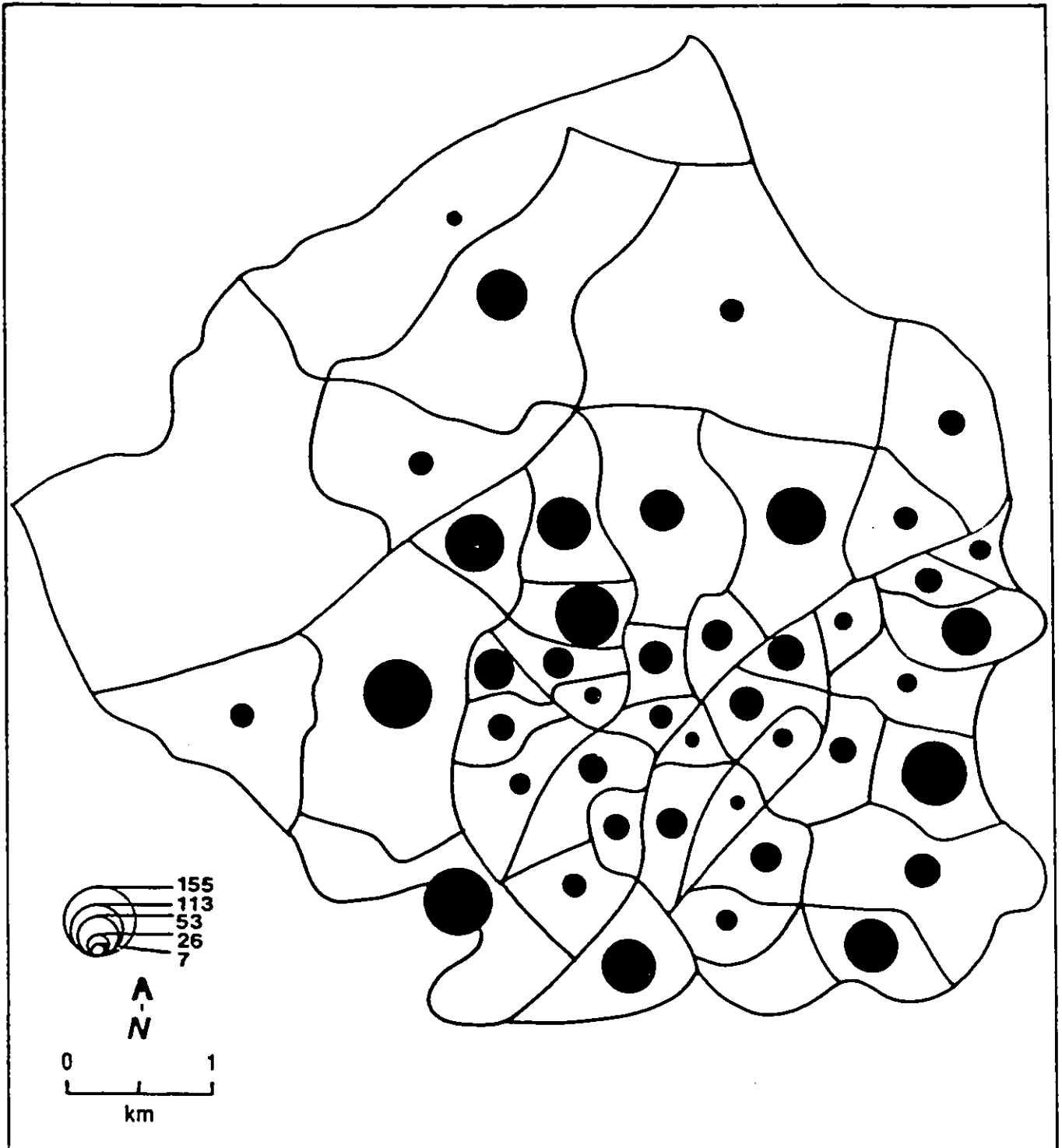
characterised by very high concentration of informal tailoring activity. Next to these are the central Wards with low to fairly high concentrations, ranging from twenty-one to 110 tailors per Ward. To the south and west of the central Wards are Wards with high and fairly high concentrations, ranging from 111 to over 140 units per Ward. And to the north of this zone are found three Wards with very high concentration of over 140 units per Ward. Also found in this northern sector of the city are three Wards with a tailoring concentration of between eighty-one and 110 units per Ward.

Located in the western margin of the city is a zone with very low concentration of tailoring activity. The number of tailors per Ward here is not more than fifty. Prominent among these Wards are NW7 with a concentration of twenty and under, and SW9, which falls under the category of twenty-one to fifty units per Ward.

Based on Table 6.8, among the Wards with very high concentration of tailoring industry, Wards E7, E4 and S5 are the most prominent. Other Wards of very high concentration are NW8, N6A and S7. Together, the six Wards of very high concentration accounted for 1,688 (or 36.8 percent) of all tailoring establishments in the city in 1989. Three Wards, S4, NW6 and SW7, had relatively high concentration and together they accounted for 11.1 percent of all informal tailoring establishments.

Ten Wards, located principally in the eastern strip of the town, constituted the zone of moderate concentration. The number of informal tailors per Ward in this zone ranged from 101 to 150. Together the ten Wards accounted for 1,118 (24.4 percent) of all the establishments in 1989. The zone of low concentration is made up of eighteen Wards,

MAP 13
DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TAILORS BY WARD, IBADAN, 1971



Source: Table 6.8; Appendix 14

located primarily in the central section of the city. The range of tailoring units per Ward here is fifty-one to 100. The zone accounted for 1,204 (26.2 percent) of the town's total informal tailoring establishments. Among the Wards in this zone are E1, E2, E5A and B, E8, C2, N1 and 2, N3, N4 and N6B. Others are NW1, NW2, NW3, NW5, SW3, SW4 and SW6.

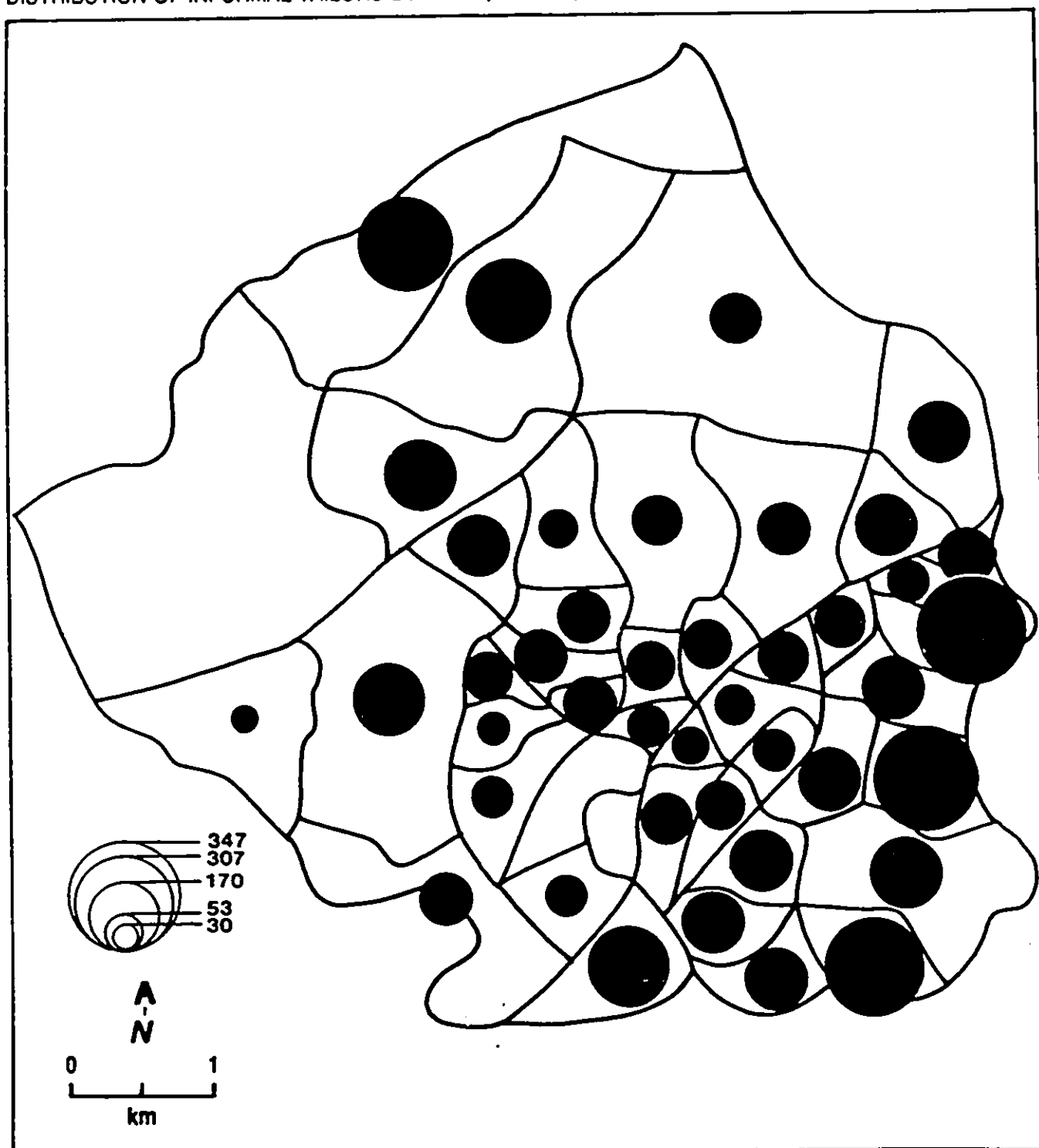
The intra urban distribution shows that five of the Wards (S5, S7, E4, E7 and N6A) had become major centres of tailoring activity. Although Gbagi and surrounding areas have continued to be very significant zones of tailoring industry, the overall concentration of activity had shifted to the eastern and south-eastern parts of the city, with the highest concentration in Wards S5, E4 and E7. Also significant is the growth occurring in the extreme north of the city (Ward NW8). Agglomeration, proximity to market and work/raw materials, accessibility to large population and affordable residential site, were primarily responsible for the spatial organisation of informal tailoring observed in the five Wards. From all indications, by 1989, the traditional city core had become a marginal area with respect to total informal tailoring industry growth.

Compared to the 1963 and 1971 distributions, the 1989 distribution shows more areas with very high tailoring concentration (Over 140 units per Ward). Also, there was only one Ward with a concentration of twenty and under in 1989, while there were twenty-one and eleven Wards in 1963 and 1971 respectively, belonging to this category. The pattern reflects a growth in the concentration of tailors per Ward over the period under study.

A test of the locational shifts of informal tailoring industry in the city between 1900-1989, using the Mean Centres or Centres of Gravity technique [5], shows that very little shift has occurred during the period. Despite the growth of tailoring activities at the periphery of the city, the Mean Centres have clustered around the central part of the city. Principally explaining the clustering of the Mean Centres is the fact that the peripheral growth of the industry has been concentric and not in any one section of the city over a ninety-year period. However, in terms of the general direction of the locational shift, two main patterns are identifiable from Map 15. Between 1900 and 1963, the direction of the locational shift was north-westerly, from C1 in 1900 to NW1 in 1963. The second pattern of locational shifts observed among the informal tailoring population in Ibadan occurred between 1963 and 1989 in a north-easterly direction. From NW1 in 1963, the centre of gravity shifted to N1 in 1971 and, between N2 and E5A in 1989.

As has been already indicated, the pull of the modern business centre and big market in the Gbagi-Dugbe area (NW4, NW6 and north of SW7), seems to explain the initial north-west locational shift experienced in the city during the colonial period. On the other hand, population concentration, the location of Oje market and, the residential and transportation developments, in particular, that took place in the city in the post colonial era, seem to account for the north-east direction in the locational shift observed between 1963 and 1989. In other words, the informal tailoring industry is tied to the existing needs of the population. As the population moved to new locations in the city it attracted the movement of some tailors to these new locations. Also, the new residential facilities

MAP 14
DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TAILORS BY WARD, IBADAN, 1989



Source: Table 6.8; Appendix 14

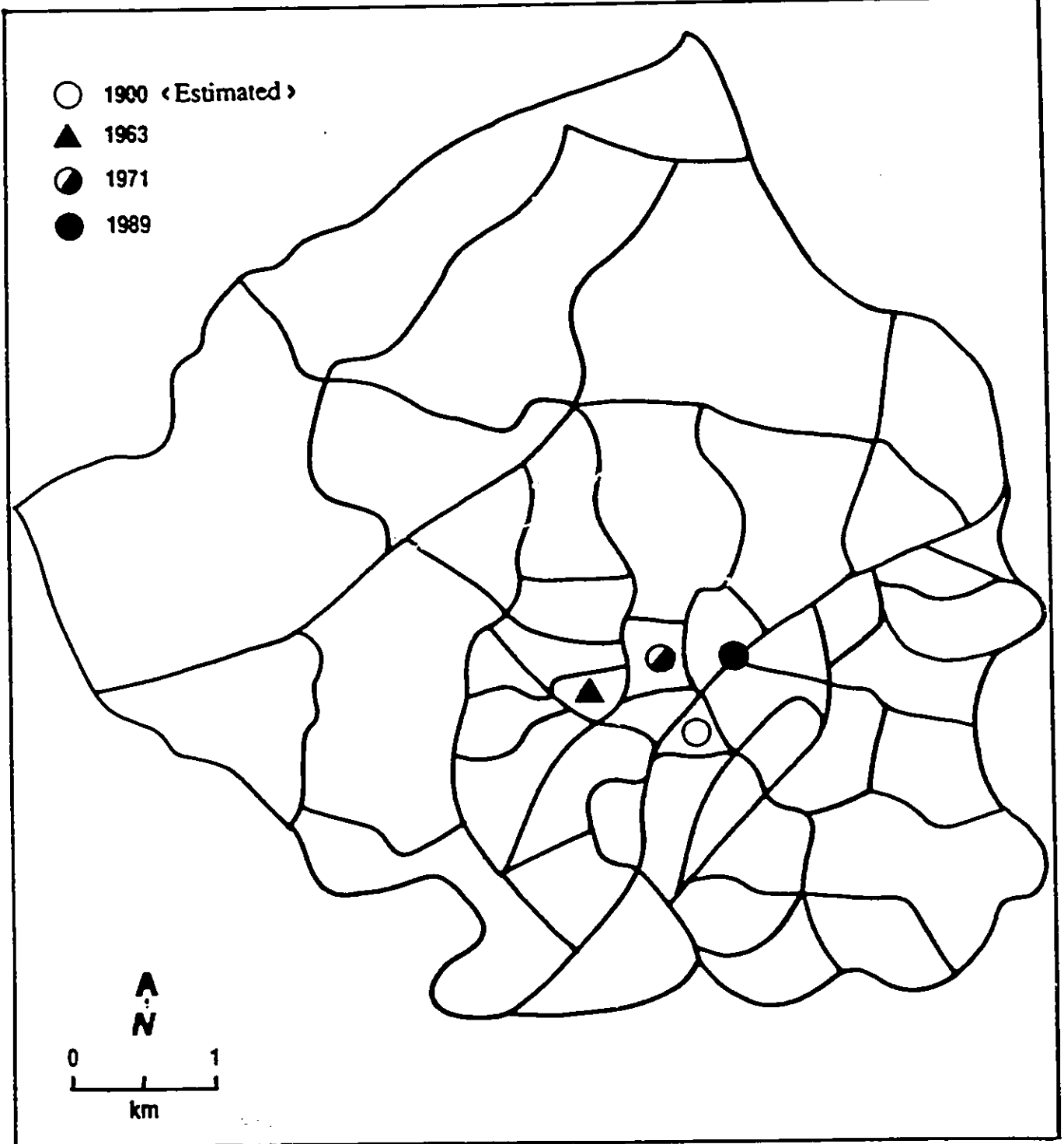
developed by the expanding population provide ideal workshops for the tailors.

Over the years, five Wards have consistently recorded a low concentration of informal tailoring activity. The Wards include SW9 and NW7 to the West of the city, N6B to the North, and E2 and S2 to the East of the traditional core. The low concentration of tailoring industry in the Wards is related to the land use of these Wards. Wards SW9 and NW7 are basically woodlands and plantations with limited residential settlement. The eastern and south-eastern half of Ward N6B is occupied by the State government offices (Secretariat), the University Teaching hospital and other public facilities. Since residential buildings, which provide the bulk of all tailoring workshops, are few in these sections of the city, lack of accommodation seems to explain the low concentration of informal tailoring activity. For Wards E2 and S2, except for the fact that they have no traditional markets, and most of the area is located in a floodable plain and wedged between the traditional core and its eastern suburbs, it is hard to find any other explanation for their low tailoring activity.

The progressive decline of the traditional core and the phenomenal growth of the fringe areas of the city in the concentration of tailoring industry can be explained in the context of accessibility and quality of available facility, including residential accommodation. Among the major reasons given by Ibadan tailors for locational changes in 1989 are accessibility and good or poor facilities. In terms of facility, the traditional core area lacks modern facilities and infrastructure. Most of the buildings in the area are still traditional Yoruba homes. Many of them do not face on the roads or streets since they are at the

MAP 15

LOCATIONAL SHIFTS OF INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY MEAN CENTERS, IBADAN, 1900 - 1989



Sources: Table 6.8 and Appendix 10.

back of other buildings. Therefore many of the buildings are not suitable for commercial purposes, particularly for an industry that depends heavily on shop front display of its products in order to attract customers. Also where roads are available, they are usually narrow and not properly drained. During rains transportation, especially on foot, is temporarily difficult.

These physical as well as some social characteristics of the traditional city core contributed in two major ways to the decline of informal tailoring industry in the area. Firstly, migrant tailors from other towns generally avoided the traditional core because it is dominantly Yoruba. On account of the close knit system of traditional Yoruba society, newly arriving immigrants, particularly those who are not fluent in the Yoruba language, find the traditional core a difficult place to start a business. Secondly, the lack of modern buildings and facilities is also forcing some of the Ibadan-born tailors to relocate their business outside the traditional core of the city.

The new and fringe areas of the city, on the other hand, for nearly a decade and a half, have been areas of intensive new developments which seem to attract tailoring tenants away from older buildings in the city core. The peripheral areas, also are better planned and have more modern facilities, even though they are located in residential buildings, than the traditional city core. Population shifts have also occurred as a result of these new developments outside the traditional city. Although the population concentration still remains high in the traditional city core and its older suburbs, this population is highly traditional and indigenous. The elite, the working class and the

wealthy dominate the modern and fringe areas of the city. The type of population found in the modern and fringe areas of the city tends to have more purchasing power and the propensity to consume more tailoring products per person than the indigenous population of the traditional city core.

Although rent is cheaper in the traditional core than in the modern parts of the city, some informal tailors have chosen to pay higher rents in exchange for better accessibility to market and facilities. This, in the main, explains the growth of tailoring industry in these zones, especially in Ward NW8 where the University of Ibadan is located. Other Wards with similar advantages are N6A, SW8, S5, S7, E4, E7, N5A and N5B. These are the fastest growing areas of the city.

Theoretically, the deterioration of the traditional city of Ibadan fits the general hypothesis which holds that as cities grow, conditions in the indigenous nuclei often tends to deteriorate under the pressure of over-crowding and lack of physical repair. However, what is not happening in the Ibadan case as expected theoretically, is redevelopment in the nuclei and the squeezing out of small entrepreneurs from profitable locations. Rather, many of the tailors have fled the traditional core on their own in search of better locations within the city and its fringes.

Among the factors explaining locational changes are social factors. In 1989, proximity to family and relatives was one of the social factors responsible for the high mobility of female tailors in Ibadan. Female tailors making locational changes because of husband's transfer or change of workplace accounted for 7.9 percent of all the locational

changes. This, in part, accounted for the distribution of informal tailors in Wards S7, N6A, E7, E4 and NW8.

6.6 Conclusion

From the evidence presented in the discussion, the spatial diffusion of informal tailoring industry in Ibadan metropolitan area, started from the traditional city core of Oja Iba and Mapo Hill (Wards C1, C2, and parts of S1 and SW1) to the colonial core around Gbagi and Dugbe market, and the modern suburbs (fringes) to the north, south and east of the present city. Some of the first informal tailors to settle in Ibadan around 1900 seem to have trained in or migrated from the south and Lagos areas.

With regard to spatial organisation, most of the informal tailors operate from residential buildings located in various parts of the city with varying degrees of concentration. Over the years, in the inter and intra ward distribution and relocation of tailoring activity, some Wards such as SW9, NW7, N6B, E2 and S2, have shown a low concentration of tailoring activity, while other like SW7, NW4, NW6, SW8, N6A and E4 have been generally characterised by high concentration. The variations in concentration are explained in part by accessibility to market, availability of suitable and affordable residential accommodation, land use type, and socio-cultural reasons.

Also emerging from the examination of the inter ward relocations is the striking decentralisation of informal tailoring units from the traditional core and older suburbs to the modern and fringe sections of the city. A lot of the relocations occurred because of

the trends in the economy and the new development going up in the fringes and attracting tenants away from older buildings in the traditional core.

The operational characteristics of informal tailoring in Ibadan indicate an industry with low initial capital investment and very few but manually-operated sewing equipment per unit of establishment. Also remarkable is the way the informal tailors in Ibadan have bound themselves into a self-help organisation, in which members pool money together at regular intervals to be given to members in rotation for development purposes. Such an association has made them a more visible and tangible group, an organisational unit that can easily be used for planning and development purposes.

From a few self-employed tailors in the early 1900s, the number of Ibadan's informal tailors grew to more than 4,500 in 1989, and the majority of these are women, who have operated their business from family homes. Low employed-labour opportunity notwithstanding, a vibrant apprenticeship indicates the popularity of the informal tailoring industry as a viable economic activity among the people.

Notes

[1] The Nigerian Association of Master Tailors, Ibadan and District, is legally registered under the Land [Perpetual Succession] Act, Cap. 98 Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It was founded in the later half of the 1960s. The membership of the association has grown in proportion to total tailoring population from 27.04 percent in 1967 to 84.51 percent in 1989. In absolute terms, in 1989 the association had over 3,880 members (Table 1.6). It had fifty-six local branches and thirty-eight of these were located in the Ibadan Municipal Government Area.

As an association, the members are well organised both at the central and local branch levels. The officers are democratically elected. The groups meet regularly once a week at set venues, but the central meeting is always held at the Bale's compound. Although it is not stated in the association's constitution, Yoruba is the official language. All the meetings both at the zonal and branch levels are conducted almost entirely in Yoruba. This practice tends to exclude non-Yoruba speaking tailors in the city from participating in the activities of the association.

[2] At an average of ₦40.00 a month on workshop rent in 1989, "doubling-up" can save an informal tailor between ₦240.00 and ₦480.00 a year.

[3] Commenting on the relationship between migration and the social structure of an African town, Leslie (1963) remarks that the African who comes to town rarely arrives as a complete stranger.

"It would be difficult to find a single African who arrived in Dar-es-Salaam knowing not a soul.... Almost every African who decides to come [there] comes to a known address, where lives a known relation; this relation will meet him, take him in and feed him and show him the ropes, help him seek a job... until he considers himself able to launch out for himself and take a room of his own" (Leslie, 1963, p. 33).

[4] Though the migration of tailors plays an important role in the growth and distribution of the informal tailoring industry in Ibadan, its significance has substantially declined over the years. The subsequent growth of the industry seems to have resulted from natural increases rather than migration from elsewhere outside the city. For example, while in-migration accounted for only 12.0 percent of all the informal tailors in Ibadan in 1989, the bulk, 88.0 percent, is explained by natural increases.

[5] In calculating Mean Centres, an approximated mean geographic centre of the Wards is used, because the exact knowledge regarding informal tailoring population distribution within the Ward area is not available for all the units. For further details regarding the calculation of Centres of Gravity or Mean Centres, see R.E. Murphy, (1966), The American City: An Urban Geography, McGraw-Hill, New York, pp. 175-176.

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The issues discussed in this thesis are inexhaustible and, as new evidence emerges, revisions will doubtless be necessary. Still, the author thinks it is essential to pass on to readers some basic conclusions he has reached as a result of this primary study into the informality of tailoring industry in Oyo state metropolitan areas. At best, the conclusions will serve to guide future research or analysis and, at worst, to field criticism and perhaps refute some prejudices. In any event, the author thinks they provide an important starting point for a discussion which has yet to take place with respect to the informal sector economy in Nigeria.

The conclusions are divided into three sections. The first two sections are devoted to the two major thrusts of the thesis: the historical evolution and the geographical diffusion of the informal tailoring industry in the Oyo state metropolitan areas. The third section summarises other conclusions arising from the research.

7.2 Historical Evolution of Tailoring Industry

Until new evidence to the contrary is available, the author holds that the tailoring/sewing machine innovation was introduced into the Oyo state urban system through Ibadan, about 1900 A.D. He also holds that by 1923, more than sixteen towns and over 1,380 tailors in the state had adopted the innovation. Since its adoption, the tailoring

industry has continued to grow both numerically and geographically in the state. However, the growth and diffusion pattern has been spatially selective for a number of social, economic and political reasons.

The British Colonial Administration in Nigeria brought with it many changes in the social and economic lives of the Yoruba of Oyo state. Prominent among these changes were the patterns of Yoruba clothes production and consumption. Before the establishment of colonial administration and the introduction of sewing machine innovation, Yoruba clothes and dresses were made by hand from local cloth materials. The clothes and dresses were very simple and covered practically only the lower part of the body. Soon after the introduction of sewing machine and the establishment of colonial government, European clothes styles and cloth materials gained popularity, particularly among the Westernised Yoruba elite. By the end of the 1930s, great fascination for European dress styles and materials had so promoted the tailoring industry in the state that the traditional dressmaking by hand and local weaving industry were almost squeezed out of the list of local economic activities.

The economic environment in which informal tailoring activity was introduced and developed in Oyo state metropolitan areas was dominated by trade on imported goods. It was also an environment in which the local manufacturing and small scale industrial production sectors of the economy received very little attention, especially during the colonial administration. Since political independence in 1960, very little has changed for the local small scale producers. Although import-substitution policies have been pursued

to develop the local manufacturing sector and to reduce dependence on imports, low priority on government development plans has continued to plague the Oyo state small scale and informal sector of the economy.

With respect to the informal tailoring industry, in as much as the industry has benefited directly and indirectly from the economic environments created by both the colonial and post colonial governments, it has suffered some developmental setbacks under these environments. The fact that the sector has continued to grow under these adverse and sometimes harsh economic environments points, in the first place, to the reality and origin of its existence, and secondly to the ability of the operators to develop alternative means of survival in varying economic and political conditions.

Based on the level of direct assistance and promotion given to the informal tailoring industry by both the colonial and post colonial administrations in the state and in the light of the growth of the industry over the years, the author concludes that the informal tailoring industry developed primarily on its own with very little direct government assistance. If the past history of the industry's development in the state were to serve as a guide in predicting the future of the industry with respect to government assistance, it is almost certain that the informal tailoring activity will continue to prosper without much government assistance.

In dealing with the issue of informality in the Nigerian economy, there is a limit to what the government can do to control the operations of the informal economy. Enforcing formal legalisation procedures without adequate incentives, in my opinion, will

serve to drive more of the operators of the sector underground. On this point, de Soto observes in Peru that:

"These migrants want to engage in the same activities as formals but, since the legal system prevents them from doing so, they have had to invent ways of surviving outside the law. As their numbers and the obstacles they face increase, their institutions and extralegal norms proliferate, creating a massive breach through which an increasingly large proportion of even the traditionally formal population has been escaping from the oppressive world of legality" (de Soto, 1989, p. 232).

If revenue generation through taxing registered enterprises is the government's primary objective to have informal sector activities legally registered, it should consider other options to make the informal sector contribute more to the local and national economy. One of these options is to make good and more effective its existing small scale enterprises promotion programmes, such as the Small Scale Industries Credit Scheme and Working-For-Yourself Programme. For example, if more small scale and informal sector operators had benefited from these programmes, the response to government business registration programme would have been much higher than it is now.

Another option open to the government is the promotion of the products of the sector in the national and international markets. Such accessibility to a wider market will tend to encourage the sector to produce more and better quality products, which translate to more revenue for the producers and government.

One other option and probably the most important, is the recognition and incorporation of some institutions and extralegal norms of the informal sector into the

national economy. Through the recognition and integration of these institutions and norms, the government has a better chance of not only winning the confidence of informal sector entrepreneurs, but also of achieving more socio-economic goals than setting up parallel institutions to control them.

De Soto (1989), has referred to the informal sector in Peru as a revolution that "can easily result in violence, either in complicity or relative indifference to it" when frustrated by legal and political obstacles. Neither the Oyo state nor the Nigerian informal sector has reached that level of revolution yet, because the legal and political situations in the state and country are not that bad in comparison to the situation described by de Soto. But effort must be continued to narrow the differential accessibility to public financial and legal facilities between the formal and informal sectors of the Nigerian economy.

7.3 Geographical Diffusion of Tailoring Industry

The evaluation of the geographical evolution of the informal tailoring innovation in the state, using the probability of location model, tends to suggest a hierarchical rather than a contagious diffusion process. In general, the informal tailoring innovation diffused hierarchically from the town with the highest probability of location index (PLI) to the town with the lowest PLI. In other words, the innovation spread from Ibadan, the primate and first order town, to Igboho, the smallest town in the urban hierarchy.

Although the hierarchical diffusion hypothesis is accepted, the author thinks that the reservations and concerns expressed are legitimate. And by way of emphasis, he repeats what has been echoed before in the thesis that the application of modern economic framework and concepts in the analysis of an economic activity in a highly traditional society should be done critically and with caution. Such concepts should be critically defined before a universal application. Also, as an analytical tool, the probability of location model has obvious limitations, which can influence the interpretation of relationships. These limitations are recognised and some ways of reducing their impacts in future researches have been suggested in the text.

Concerning the objectives of incremental testing or adding more variables to the PLI, both objectives have a measure of success. With regard to the improvement of predictive power, the LRO, based on the PLI involving many variables, has a high correlation of 0.705 with the actual diffusion of the informal tailoring innovation (Table 5.1). With the exception of the USV, the LRO from combined variables has a higher coefficient of determination when compared with Rank on Actual Adoption than any single variable. In a way, adding more variables seems to improve the predictive power of the PLI. In the case of providing an alternative measure to urban size (population) variable, the LRO without the population variable has a high coefficient of determination of 0.705 (Appendix 11). The coefficients of determination (r^2) of the other variables are as follows: USV (0.872), CMV (0.657), CPV (0.624), SBV (0.603), TAV (0.327) and PLV (0.178). See Tables 4.9 - 4.14 and Appendix 11. From the above list one can safely

conclude that the LRO provides the best alternative measure in the absence of the USV (urban size or population variable).

The intra urban distribution of informal tailoring activity in Ibadan was very much influenced by the availability and concentration of certain factors, among which the availability of affordable residential site, work material, proximity to market, relatives, accessibility to good transportation system, and land use pattern are the most prominent. The spatial structure of the informal tailoring industry contrasts somewhat with the pattern of informal activity distribution observed in Brazil by Roberge (1989), particularly in the urban fringe. While the Brazilian urban fringe is characterised by informal activities that cannot afford sites in and near the core, in the Ibadan metropolitan fringe is found most of the informal tailors who are fleeing the traditional core and its older suburbs because of poor facilities. Unlike the Brazilian urban fringe which is in most part not yet integrated into the metropolitan administrative and service structure, most of the recent developments in Ibadan are occurring at the urban fringe. Because of the political and economic clout of most of the owners and developers of these properties, more than basic infrastructure and services for urban communities are available at the urban fringe.

Concerning workplace, nearly 90.0 percent of all the informal tailors in Ibadan carry out their business from residential or domestic buildings. The state average may be higher than the Ibadan figure because most of the smaller towns in the state have no other accommodation arrangements for industrial production than residential buildings. Besides lack of the development of commercial workshops in most of these towns, laissez faire

zoning regulations make it possible for landlords and residents to use their residential premises for additional purposes. Economic reasons also play a very significant role in the location of informal tailoring industry in residential buildings in the town. The prevalence of informal tailoring industry in residential buildings and in certain areas of the urban system seems, in part, attributable to the need to locate close to market and family. The numerical concentration of the tailoring industry in Ibadan and within certain areas of the town tends very strongly to support this hypothesis.

The phenomenon of "doubling-up" the same premises to serve both as a residence as well as a workshop, is a feature common to over 20.6 percent of the informal tailors in the Ibadan metropolitan area. Another 7.3 percent of them have a shared workshop arrangement with other informal business activities. The primary reasons for "doubling-up" or sharing workshops are social and economic.

Assessed in the context of urban system effects, the concentration of informal tailoring industry in the state, in general conforms to the theoretical assumption that the spatial concentration of economic activity results from increased local demand for goods and services. The socially and culturally-induced high consumption of clothing materials by the Yoruba, contributed significantly to the high concentration of informal tailoring industry in Yoruba towns more than any other Nigerian towns.

Also, based on the relationship between informal activity and city size, the expectation by the urban effects theory that informal activity would concentrate in large densely populated urban areas and decrease in a systematic fashion as one moves further

down the line, is somehow justified in the Oyo state urban system, as long as concentration is interpreted in absolute numbers. But, if concentration is interpreted as coefficient of localisation, the pattern of informal tailoring concentration deviates significantly from the expected relationship. Smaller towns like Okuku, Ikirun, Ede and Igboho exhibited higher coefficient of localisation indices than larger towns such as Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Oshogbo and Ilesha in 1946. However, biases resulting from imperfections and inaccuracies of data at source cannot be ruled out.

In terms of stability and sustainable development, larger towns seem to provide a more suitable environment for the informal tailoring activity than smaller towns. The larger towns seem to have maintained stable coefficient of localisation indices over the years than the smaller towns that have showed wide variations in the coefficient of localisation scores (Table 4.1). The large towns, in general, recorded more informal tailoring industry growth than the small towns, some of which recorded very significant declines between 1946 and 1971.

An attempt to evaluate the threshold of a unit of informal tailoring activity by towns in the Oyo state urban system was frustrated by imperfections and inaccuracies of census estimates and enumerations. Appendix 12 shows the distribution of population per tailor, and tailoring and population growth rates by towns, in Oyo state between 1946 and 1971. The annual growth rates of population of some towns are unrealistic and therefore unacceptable. These extremely high rates of growth are due principally to overestimation of census and enumeration figures to secure political and economic advantages. However,

for lack of better data, the thresholds per unit of tailoring activity for Oyo state towns are estimated at 399 in 1946 and 559 in 1971. These figures are derived from the averages of population per tailor for those years, excluding the very high and unacceptable figures. Again, in general, the larger towns seem to provide better threshold options to tailors than smaller towns.

Regarding the urban multiplier effect, the Ibadan example demonstrates that informal sector activity can lead to the development of a new business. Based on the 1989 list of sewing machine repairshops in Ibadan, the informal tailoring industry generated at least forty eight full-time and probably an equal number of part-time employment in the service sector (Appendix 13). These employment opportunities in sewing machine repair jobs would not have existed in Ibadan without tailoring activity. Therefore, it can be argued that the informal tailoring industry in Oyo state is capable of producing a notable backward linkage effect. The argument can be developed in another research, particularly in the context of the relationship between informal tailoring activity and other economic activities in the Oyo state metropolitan areas.

7.4 Other Conclusions

Most of the informal tailoring establishments in Ibadan are doing well because of the size of the operation. The author is afraid that if they were allowed to grow very large, many of them would very likely have management problems that will tend to force some of them out of business. It is advisable that while encouraging them to improve their

performance, care must be taken to ensure that they do not grow beyond the managerial capabilities of the operators.

In the context of African development programmes, it has been argued and validly so, that development projects generally target men and that women are terribly neglected (Njau, 1990). In other words, development projects involving women receive little attention. Based on the number of women actively involved in the tailoring industry, targeting the informal tailoring activity for special help will certainly be one of the ways to prioritise, though indirectly, the funding of women's projects.

In suggesting the way forward to African development, Woods (1990) has argued that development projects should be small scale and sustainable in terms of resources available. In planning the development of a sustainable Nigerian clothing industry, it will be a serious development planning mistake if the contributions of the informal tailors are not seriously considered. The invisible social and economic contributions of the sector to the Nigerian society and economy to date have been enormous. It is important to emphasize that the informal tailoring industry can play a double role in the development of the metropolitan economy. Its passive role consists in absorbing a significant proportion of the urban population and manpower unable to find formal sector employment. It also plays an active role by using capital-saving labour-intensive techniques to produce goods and services complementary to those of the modern and formal sector. If the Nigerian development planners are in touch with the current blueprints on policies to sustain or restore economic growth (UNDP, 1990), the informal tailors should be given the freedom

to participate in the market according to their talents and preferences. This seems to be one of the best vehicles for the productive use of human capabilities.

On the issue of accessibility to public finance, although not all informal tailoring activities require loans from the government or public financial institutions, a modified loan's criteria, which will accommodate the tailoring units that are currently excluded from financial help, will benefit the industry immensely. Although this conclusion is drawn in respect of the informal tailoring industry in Oyo State, its interpretation and application have some national and universal perspective. The recognition, promotion and the use of the informal sector to achieve development goals does not imply stagnation or the abandonment of technological progress. Therefore, it should be one of the aims of policy makers, both at the local and national levels, to assist the informal sector to overcome some of its problems, particularly the difficulty of raising loans from governmental and financial institutions. As has been suggested by Lewis (1974), it is not enough to give the enterprises in the informal sector easier access to funds without simultaneously ensuring that the entrepreneurs appreciate the importance of efficient utilisation of capital. It is equally important that the policy makers create and ensure favourable conditions for the free operation and development of legitimate informal sector activities.

Regarding the role of infrastructure in the development of informal tailoring industry in the state, the Ibadan study has shown how the availability or non-availability of some infrastructural facilities influenced the spatial distribution of the activity in the

city. Based on that experience, the author thinks that the tailoring industry in the state will benefit greatly from an improved supply of infrastructure, particularly in the smaller and rural towns. Infrastructure improvement should be part of a planning objective to stem off massive rural-urban migration and, to reduce the overcrowding and congestion of the primate and larger towns.

Finally, in dealing with the phenomenon of informal sector in Nigeria, more attention should be paid to the understanding of the characteristics of individual informal activities, particularly their institutions and norms. These individualised studies will reveal not only the peculiar characteristics of certain informal economic activities, but also the institutions and norms which all informal sector activities share in common. This knowledge of the informal sector institutions and norms is essential in planning the incorporation of the sector into the state or national economy.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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Appendix 1

**TAILORING EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SMALL SCALE
INDUSTRIES' EMPLOYMENT IN IBADAN, IWO AND OYO,
OYO STATE, NIGERIA, 1967**

Towns	Total	Self Employed	Employees	Unpaid Apprentices
Ibadan	46.5	47.8	10.0	52.1
Iwo	33.8	31.7	19.4	37.2
Oyo	29.4	34.6	15.9	26.9
Average	36.6	38.0	15.1	38.7

Source: Ministry of Economic Planning and Reconstruction, 1970, Interim Report on the Survey of Small-Scale Industries in Selected Towns in the Western State, (Ibadan, Iwo, and Oyo), M.E.P.R. (Statistics Division), Ibadan.

Appendix 2

PROPORTION OF TOTAL SMALL SCALE INDUSTRY CAPITAL
INVESTMENT THAT IS TAILORING, BY TOWNS, OYO STATE,
1971 (Pound Sterling*)

Towns	All Industries	Tailoring	Tailoring as % of All
Eruwa	9,098	2,459	27.0
Ibadan	1,501,657	139,837	9.3
Ijebu Jesha	3,099	1,399	45.1
Ikirun	7,177	3,546	49.4
Ile Ife	132,346	32,012	24.2
Ilesha	191,346	35,047	18.3
Iwo	70,309	19,977	28.4
Ogbomosho	75,570	23,132	30.6
Oshogbo	51,453	18,038	35.1
Oyo	26,794	8,587	32.0
Shaki	20,021	6,611	33.0
Total	2,088,870	290,645	13.9

Note: * Before 1972, Nigeria used the old British system of pounds, shillings and pence. Until the British devaluation of 1967, £1 Sterling = N£1. In 1972, a decimal system was introduced, in which ten shillings became one Naira (N1), divided into 100 kobo. At the time of writing (1990), £1 (pound sterling) = N13.70 (approximately) and US\$1.00 = N8.00.

Source: Computed from The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972, op. cit.

Appendix 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESEARCH (A)

THE EVOLUTION OF SMALL SCALE TAILORING ENTERPRISE IN COLONIAL AND POST COLONIAL ERA, OYO STATE OF NIGERIA (A SPATIAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS)

1.0 General Information

- 1.1 Name of owner(s).....and/or operator(s) if different from owner(s).....
- 1.2 Sex of owner and/or operator
- 1.3 Age of owner and/or operator
- 1.4 Town of owner and/or operator
- 1.5 Date of Establishment.....

2.0 Location Characteristics

- 2.1 Location of business (street name and number)
- 2.2 How long have you operated from the present location?.....
- 2.3 Any previous locations? (list towns, street names and numbers).....
- 2.4 How long did you operate from your previous location(s)?.....
- 2.5 Why did you change your location?

.../Continued.

Appendix 3 contd.

2.6 If you had an opportunity would you like to move from your present location?..... If yes, why?.....

3.0 Degree of Informality

3.1 Where did you train to be a tailor?.....

3.2 Why did you choose to be a tailor?.....
.....

3.3 Do you have set hours of work?.....How many hours do you work in a day?

3.4 When is the busiest season in the tailoring business?

3.5 On the average, how many clothes do you make or mend in a week? (Total).....(Make)..... (Mend).....

3.6 How much do you charge (basic) for making a new clothes and/or for mending an old one?

3.7 Does your residence (family room) serve also as your workshop? (Residence-cum-workshop or "doubling-up").....

3.8 Do you share a workshop with another tailor(s)..... or with another business?..... Please specify business

3.9 If yes to Qss 3.7 and 3.8, why did you choose to "double-up" or share a workshop?

3.10 Would you like your business to be registered if you have not done so already? If yes, please indicate why?.....
.....
.....

.../Continued.

Appendix 3 contd.

3.11 Do you think that a registered business has disadvantages?
.....
.....

4.0 Support Services

4.1 Where do you repair your sewing machine when it breaks down?
(address of repair shop)
.....

4.2 What other businesses do you think promote your tailoring enterprise
and how?.....
.....
.....

4.3 What facilities (amenities) would you like to have in your place of
work and why?
.....
.....

4.4 Have you ever received any assistance from the government in your
business?..... If yes, what form of assistance?
.....

4.5 What other forms of assistance do you think that the government should
provide to promote your business?
.....

5.0 Employment Characteristics

5.1 Total employment Male..... Female.....

5.2 Full-Time (total)..... Male..... Female.....

5.3 Part-time (total)..... Male..... Female.....

.....\ continued.

Appendix 3 contd.

- 5.4 Paid employees Male..... Female.....
- 5.5 Apprentices..... Male..... Female.....
- 5.6 Do you combine tailoring with any other business?
 If yes, please specify what business(es).....

6.0 Tailoring Inventory

- 6.1 Total number of sewing machines
- 6.2 Number of sewing machines (manual).....(electric).....
- 6.3 Would you like to have more sewing machines than you currently have?
 If yes, how many more? and why?
- 6.4 Where did you buy your current sewing machine(s)?
- 6.5 If you were to buy a new or more sewing machines today, where would
 you go for them?

 and why?

..**..

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESEARCH (B)

**NIGERIAN ASSOCIATION OF MASTER TAILORS, IBADAN
AND DISTRICT: BRANCH INFORMATION**

Instruction: Questionnaire to be completed by Branch Chairman or Secretary.

- 1. Name of Branch
- 2. Branch's Local Government Area
- 3. Date of Branch's Formation
- 4. Branch Membership: 4.1 Total
- 4.2 Men
- 4.3 Women
- 5. Approximate number of tailors in your Branch area who are not members
of your association:
 - 5.1 Total
 - 5.2 Men
 - 5.3 Women

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR KIND CO-OPERATION.

Appendix 4

DISTANCE FROM LAGOS BY ROAD IN KILOMETRE

Town	kilometre
Ede	234
Ejigbo	240
Eruwa	146
Gbongan	205
Ibadan	142
Igboho	367
Ikirun	267
Ile Ife	231
Ilesha	262
Iseyin	241
Iwo	193
Ogbomosho	247
Okuku	291
Oshogbo	255
Oyo	202
Shaki	328

Sources: Federal Surveys, Nigeria, 1969, Nigeria: Administrative Map; Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, 1986, "Road Distance in Nigeria", Diary 1986, King & George (Nigeria) Limited, Lagos.

Appendix 5

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SELECTED TOWNS,
OYO STATE, 1911

Town	Population Size
Ibadan	175,000
Ogbomosho	80,000
Iwo	60,000
Oshogbo	59,821
Oyo	45,438
Ile Ife	36,231
Iseyin	27,420*
Ede	26,577
Ikirun	17,786*
Ilesha	16,310*
Shaki	11,175*
Gbongan	10,246*
Ejigbo	8,850*
Eruwa	3,900*
Igboho	3,619*
Okuku	2,080*

Notes: * Estimated population in 1911 based on 1931 Census figures less 25.5 percent growth rate between 1911 and 1931.

Sources: Talbot, 1926; Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1932.

Appendix 6

DISTRIBUTION OF CONNECTIVITY INDEX IN SELECTED
TOWNS OF COLONIAL OYO PROVINCE

Town	Number of Road Edges		Number of Railway Edges (R)
	M1	M2	
Ede	-	3	2
Ejigbo	-	4	-
Eruwa	-	2	2
Gbongan	2	1	-
Ibadan	4	2	2
Igboho	-	2	-
Ikirun	-	2	2
Ile Ife	2	1	-
Ilesha	2	2	-
Iseyin	-	4	-
Iwo	-	3	-
Ogbomosho	2	3	-
Okuku	-	3	-
Oshogbo	-	4	2
Oyo	2	2	-
Shaki	-	3	-

Notes: M1 = Main Trunk Roads (National Highways)
M2 = Secondary Roads (Regional Roads)

Source: Federal Surveys, Nigeria, 1969, Nigeria: Administrative Map.

Appendix 7

EVOLUTION OF COLONIAL RESIDENCY IN SELECTED
YORUBA TOWNS, 1886 - 1917

Town	Date	Lag Time	Rank Order
Ibadan	1886	0	1
Ogbomosho	1886 April	0	2
Ilesha	1892	6	3
Oyo	1893 Feb.	7	4
Oshogbo	1893	7	4
Ede	1893	7	4
Iwo	1893	7	4
Ikirun	1893 March	7	4
Ile Ife	1897	11	9
Iseyin	1905	19	10
Shaki	1917	31	11

Sources: Payne, 1893, op. cit.; Colonial Annual Report, 1905, 1918; CMS Y.4/1/14, 1939, NAI, op. cit.

Appendix 8

**EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY
IN SELECTED TOWNS, YORUBALAND, 1852 - 1925**

Town	Date	Lag Time	Rank Order
Ibadan	1852	0	1
Ogbomosho	1855	3	2
Iseyin	1855	3	3
Oshogbo	1860	8	4
Oyo	1878	26	5
Ikirun	1892	40	6
Iwo	1895	43	7
Ile Ife	1897	45	8
Ilesha	1899	47	9
Shaki	1905	53	10
Eruwa	1920+	68	11
Okuku	1920+	68	12
Ede	1920+	68	13
Ejigbo	1920+	68	14
Gbongan	1920+	68	15
Igboho	1920+	68	16

Notes: + = Post 1920 Missionary activities

Sources: Payne, 1893, op. cit.; Colonial Annual Report, 1908; Talbot, 1926, op. cit., Maxwell, J.L. (1931), Nigeria, the Land, the People and Christian Progress, World Dominion Press, London; CMS Y.1/7/3, NAI; CMS Y.4/1/14, 1939, NAI, op. cit.; Lloyd, 1966, op. cit.; Asiwaju, 1976, op. cit.

Appendix 9

**INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY ADOPTION AND
PROBABILITY OF LOCATION IN RANK ORDER
FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE
(Nominal)**

Towns	X	Y	d	d ²
Ibadan	1	1	0	0
Ogbomosho	3	7	4	16
Oshogbo	4	1	3	9
Ilesha	9	7	2	4
Oyo	2	3	1	1
Ikirun	11	3	8	64
Ile Ife	4	7	3	9
Iwo	6	3	3	9
Ede	6	11	5	25
Iseyin	6	7	1	1
Shaki	9	3	6	36
Eruwa	13	11	2	4
Gbongan	14	13	1	1
Ejigbo	12	13	1	1
Okuku	15	13	2	4
Igboho	16	13	3	9
N = 16			SS=193	

$$R_s = 1 - [(6 \times 193) / ((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16)] = 1 - [1158 / 4080] = 1 - 0.2838 = 0.716$$

$$r = 0.716 \quad r^2 = 0.513$$

Notes: X = Innovation Adoption Rank Order
 Y = Probability of Location (Nominal) Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d² = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r² = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population

Sources: Tables 4.4 and 4.7.

Appendix 10 (A)

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPUTATION OF MEAN CENTRES OF
INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY BY WARD, IBADAN,
1963 - 1989
(Y Quotient Values)

Ward	Distance+ From Y to Centre	1963		1971		1989	
		POP	PROD	POP	PROD	POP	PROD
C1	11.2	61	683.2	10	112.0	50	560.0
C2	10.5	48	504.0	23	241.5	70	735.0
E1	12.3	27	332.1	37	455.1	60	738.0
E2	12.7	9	114.3	12	152.4	59	749.3
E3	13.7	19	260.3	28	383.6	130	1781.0
E4	15.1	13	196.3	128	1932.8	341	5149.1
E5A	12.9	16	206.4	42	541.8	89	1148.1
E5B	13.8	9	124.2	9	124.2	*	*
E6	14.8	12	177.6	13	192.4	136	2012.8
E7	15.7	27	423.9	80	1256.0	347	5447.9
E8	15.3	11	168.3	29	443.7	63	963.9
E9	16.0	21	336.0	16	256.0	108	1728.0
N1	10.6	15	159.0	46	487.6	80	848.0
N2	11.6	17	197.2	33	382.8	**	**
N3	10.8	15	162.0	69	745.2	90	972.0
N4	13.0	16	208.0	105	1365.0	92	1196.0
N5A	14.7	15	220.5	22	323.4	132	1940.4
N5B	15.6	15	234.0	25	390.0	***	***
N6A	8.4	16	134.4	89	747.6	217	1822.8
N6B	12.1	15	181.5	20	242.0	90	1089.0
NW1	9.6	29	278.4	12	115.2	87	835.2
NW2	8.9	39	347.1	32	284.8	87	774.3
NW3	9.3	49	455.7	155	1441.5	89	827.7
NW4	7.8	97	756.6	113	881.4	121	943.8
NW5	9.1	49	445.9	97	882.7	53	482.3
NW6	6.7	114	763.8	22	147.4	170	1139.0
NW8	7.5	-	-	-	-	273	2047.5
S1	10.9	31	337.9	39	425.1	85	926.5

.... continued.

Appendix 10 (A) contd.
(Y Quotient Values)

Ward	Distance+ From Y to Centre	1963		1971		1989	
		POP	PROD	POP	PROD	POP	PROD
S2	11.8	18	212.4	7	82.6	80	944.0
S3	12.4	29	359.6	32	396.8	133	1649.2
S4	15.2	31	471.2	43	653.6	175	2660.0
S5	14.2	9	127.8	102	1448.4	307	4359.4
S6A	11.9	22	261.8	5	59.5	125	1487.5
S6B	12.7	-	-	-	-	130	1651.0
S7	10.1	47	474.7	95	959.5	203	2050.0
SW1	9.1	15	136.5	26	236.6	n.a	n.a
SW2	10.0	17	170.0	25	250.0	n.a	n.a
SW3	9.2	27	248.4	26	239.2	60	552.0
SW4	8.2	32	262.4	14	114.8	51	418.2
SW5	8.1	30	243.0	22	178.2	40	324.0
SW6	8.1	43	348.3	53	429.3	84	680.4
SW7	6.2	200	1240.0	143	886.6	164	1016.8
SW8	7.7	64	492.8	124	954.8	103	793.1
SW9	3.7	21	77.7	19	70.3	30	111.0
Total		1,410	13,535.2	2,042	21,913.4	4,591	55,554.5
Y Quotient		9.6		10.7		12.1	

Notes: POP Number of Informal Tailoring Units

PROD Product of Distance from Ward Centre to Y axis multiplied by the number of informal tailoring units in the Ward.

* E5B is grouped with E5A in the association of tailors.

** N2 is grouped with N1.

*** N5B is grouped with N5A.

n.a Figures not available.

+ Distance is measured in centimetres (cm)

Source: Callaway, 1967, Table 8.1; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972; Murphy, 1966, op. cit.; Ibadan Field Survey, 1989.

Appendix 10 (B)

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPUTATION OF MEAN CENTRES OF
INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY BY WARD, IBADAN,
1963 - 1989
(X Quotient Values)

Ward	Distance+ From X to Centre	1963		1971		1989	
		POP	PROD	POP	PROD	POP	PROD
C1	4.9	61	298.9	10	49.0	50	245.0
C2	5.3	48	254.4	23	121.9	70	371.0
E1	5.6	27	151.2	37	207.2	60	336.0
E2	4.8	9	43.2	12	57.6	59	283.2
E3	4.7	19	89.3	28	131.6	130	611.0
E4	4.3	13	55.9	128	550.4	341	1466.3
E5A	6.5	16	104.0	42	273.0	89	578.5
E5B	7.0	9	63.0	9	63.0	*	*
E6	5.8	12	69.6	13	75.4	136	788.8
E7	6.7	27	180.9	80	536.0	347	2424.9
E8	7.6	11	83.6	29	220.4	63	478.8
E9	8.2	21	172.2	16	131.2	108	885.6
N1	6.2	15	93.0	46	285.2	80	496.0
N2	6.6	17	112.2	33	217.8	**	**
N3	8.8	15	132.0	69	607.2	90	792.0
N4	8.7	16	139.2	105	913.5	92	800.4
N5A	8.9	15	133.5	22	195.8	132	1174.8
N5B	10.2	15	153.0	25	255.0	***	***
N6A	12.9	16	206.4	89	1148.1	217	2799.3
N6B	12.2	15	183.0	20	244.0	90	1098.0
NW1	5.7	29	165.3	12	68.4	87	495.9
NW2	6.3	39	245.7	32	201.6	87	548.1
NW3	7.2	49	352.8	155	1116.0	89	640.8
NW4	8.4	97	814.8	113	949.2	121	1016.4
NW5	9.0	49	441.0	97	873.0	53	477.0
NW6	9.8	114	1117.2	22	215.6	170	1666.0
NW8	14.4	-	-	-	-	273	3931.2
S1	3.7	31	114.7	39	144.3	85	314.5

.... continued.

Appendix 10 (B) contd.
(X Quotient Values)

Ward	Distance+ From X to Centre	1963		1971		1989	
		POP	PROD	POP	PROD	POP	PROD
S2	3.6	18	64.8	7	25.2	80	288.0
S3	3.1	29	89.9	32	99.2	133	412.3
S4	2.6	31	80.6	43	111.8	175	455.0
S5	1.9	9	17.1	102	193.8	307	583.3
S6A	1.9	22	41.8	5	9.5	125	237.5
S6B	1.0	-	-	-	-	130	130.0
S7	0.9	47	42.3	95	85.5	203	182.7
SW1	4.1	15	61.5	26	106.6	n.a	n.a
SW2	3.5	17	59.5	25	87.5	n.a	n.a
SW3	2.4	27	64.8	26	62.4	60	144.0
SW4	4.2	32	134.4	14	58.8	51	214.2
SW5	5.3	30	159.0	22	116.6	40	212.0
SW6	6.1	43	262.3	53	323.3	84	512.4
SW7	5.8	200	1160.0	143	829.4	164	951.2
SW8	2.4	64	153.6	124	297.6	103	247.2
SW9	5.5	21	115.5	19	104.5	30	165.0
Total		1,410	8,477.1	2,042	12,363.1	4,591	29,354.3
X Quotient		6.0		6.1		6.4	

Notes: POP Number of Informal Tailoring Units

PROD Product of Distance from Ward Centre to X axis multiplied
by the number of informal tailoring units in the Ward.

* E5B is grouped with E5A in the association of tailors.

** N2 is grouped with N1.

*** N5B is grouped with N5A.

n.a Figures not available.

+ Distance is measured in centimetres (cm)

Source: Callaway, 1967, Table 8.1; The Industrial Research
Unit, Unife, 1972; Murphy, 1966, op. cit.; Ibadan Field
Survey, 1989.

Appendix 11

**INFORMAL TAILORING INDUSTRY PREDICTED AND ACTUAL
DIFFUSION RANK ORDER FOR SELECTED TOWNS, OYO STATE**

Towns	PLI*	X	Y	d	d2
Ibadan	34.34	1	1	0	0
Ogbomosho	20.29	2	3	-1	1
Oshogbo	20.09	3	4	-1	1
Ilesha	19.42	4	9	-5	25
Oyo	18.63	5	2	+3	9
Ikirun	18.37	6	11	-5	25
Ile Ife	17.30	7	4	+3	9
Iwo	16.82	9	6	+3	9
Ede	16.88	8	6	+2	4
Iseyin	16.16	10	6	+4	16
Shaki	15.39	11	9	+2	4
Eruwa	13.06	12	13	-1	1
Gbongan	12.91	13	14	-1	1
Ejigbo	11.83	14	12	+2	4
Okuku	10.99	15	15	0	0
Igboho	10.63	16	16	0	0
N = 16				SS=193	

$$R_s = 1 - \frac{((6 \times 109) / ((16 \times 16 \times 16) - 16))}{16} = 1 - \frac{654}{4080} = 1 - 0.160$$

$$r = 0.8397 \quad r^2 = 0.705$$

Notes: X = Predicted Innovation Adoption Rank Order
 Y = Actual Innovation Adoption Rank Order
 d = Difference between X and Y variables
 d2 = Square of the differences
 SS = Sum of the squares of the differences
 r2 = Coefficient of determination
 N = Size of sample population
 PLI* = Probability of location index without Urban Size Variable

Source: Table 4.15.

Appendix 12

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION PER TAILOR, AND TAILORING
AND POPULATION GROWTH RATES BY TOWNS, OYO STATE,
1946 - 1971**

Town	Population Per Tailor		Annual Growth Rates	
	1946	1971	Tailors	Population
Ede	190	3,638	-3.2	20.0
Ejigbo	233	533	1.1	19.3
Eruwa	582	628	8.0	23.1
Gbongan	325	743	-1.4	4.5
Ibadan	479	325	3.9	3.7
Igboho	275	339	0.6	4.4
Ikirun	140	1,046	-2.3	20.6
Ile Ife	1,154	251	16.9	1.7
Ilesha	308	292	5.5	13.1
Iseyin	741	1,035	1.4	9.2
Iwo	1,754	518	16.8	5.9
Ogbomosho	623	879	2.4	12.9
Okuku	120	3,950	-3.0	63.3
Oshogbo	667	690	2.5	7.0
Oyo	1,139	734	3.8	2.8
Shaki	500	777	3.9	21.5
Average	896	633	3.1	11.4
Adjusted Average	399	559	-	-

Sources: Senior Resident, Oyo Province, 1946, op. cit.;
Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1963, op.
cit.; The Industrial Research Unit, Unife, 1972,
op. cit.

Appendix 13

LIST OF SEWING MACHINE REPAIRSHOPS, IBADAN, 1989

1. Ade, Doctor of Repairing Machines (Challenge)
2. Ade Sewing Repairing Centre (Isale-Alfa)
3. Adebowale Electronics Limited (Ogunpa)
4. Adegbenla Sewing Machine Repairer (Gbenla)
5. Ade's Popson Repairs (Challenge)
6. Adetunjoye Industries (Nigeria) Limited (Ogunpa)
7. Adonis Stores (Ogunpa)
8. Alade, Doctor of Sewing Machine (Inalende Market)
9. Alhaji Alabere Agbe Born Photo (Ibadan)
10. Alhaji Irelojasi Machine Shop (Owode Market)
11. Alhaji Opo Sewing Machine Services (Gbagi)
12. Baba Bideen Machine Repair Workshop (Dugbe)
13. Bolade Balogun Tailoring Services (Oke Offa)
14. Bukola Machine Mechanical Repairs (Oremeji)
15. Dr. of All Sewing Machines (Oke Ado)
16. Dr. Of Sewing Machines (Eleta)
17. General Servicing Centre (Ogunpa)
18. Ire-Lojasi Workshop (Academy)
19. Jimoh Sewing Machine Repair Services (Isale Osi)
20. Ken International Machine Repairs (Orogun)
21. Leventis Stores (Oke Bola)
22. Local Machine Repairer (Academy)
23. M. Olabiyi Sewing Workshop (Oremeji)
24. Mikky Machine Repairer (Ode Aje)
25. Mr. Laide's Repair Workshop (Oremeji)
26. Mr. Lateef Sewing Machine Repair Shop (Ile Tuntun)
27. Mr. Ola Machine Repair Shop (Kudeti)
28. Mr. Tijani Sewing Machine Workshop (Oke Ado)
29. Mr. Yinusa, Doctor of Sewing Machines (Sango)
30. Mrs. S. Babalola Sewing Mistress (Idi-oro)
31. Olaiwola Mogaji Technical Centre (New Bodija)
32. Olatunbosun, Dr. of Machines (Ogunpa)
33. Oluyemisi Nigeria Enterprises (Idi Arere)
34. Omilakin Sewing Machine Engineer (Oke Ado)
35. P. Z. (Nigeria) Limited (Bere)

..... Continued.

Appendix 13 contd.

36. S. B. Adeola and Sons Machine Services (Ibadan)
37. S. O. Taiwo Trading Company (Ogunpa)
38. Segelu Experienced Machine Repairer (Isale Alfa)
39. Sewing Machine Mechanics (Idi-oro)
40. Sewing Machine Servicing Depot (Oremeji)
41. Singer (Nigeria) Limited (Oke Ado)
42. Singer Representative (Ogunpa)
43. Singer Representative (Dugbe Market)
44. Singer Machine Workshop (Molete)
45. Sunday, Doctor of Machine (Orita)
46. Sunny, Doctor of Sewing Machines (Agbowo)
47. Titilayo Sewing Machine Repairer (Ile Tuntun)
48. Tumbo Tailoring Service (Ogunpa)

**CALCULATION OF PROPORTIONAL CIRCLES SHOWING THE
DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TAILORS IN IBADAN USING
FLANNERY FACTORS**

(A)
1963

Ward	Tailors	F.Factor	C3/0.5*4	D3/12.5
IC1	61	10.49	83.92	6.7136
IC2	48	9.15	73.2	5.856
IE1	27	7.88	63.04	5.0432
IE2	9	3.51	28.08	2.2464
IE3	19	5.39	43.12	3.4496
IE4	13	4.33	34.64	2.7712
IE5A	16	4.88	39.04	3.1232
IE5B	9	3.51	28.08	2.2464
IE6	12	4.14	33.12	2.6496
IE7	27	7.88	63.04	5.0432
IE8	11	3.94	31.52	2.5216
IE9	21	5.7	45.6	3.648
IN1	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
IN2	17	5.05	40.4	3.232
IN3	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
IN4	16	4.88	39.04	3.1232
IN5A	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
IN5B	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
IN6A	16	4.88	39.04	3.1232
IN6B	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
INW1	29	6.86	54.88	4.3904
INW2	39	8.12	64.96	5.1968
INW3	49	9.26	74.08	5.9264
INW4	97	13.68	109.44	8.7552
INW5	49	9.26	74.08	5.9264
INW6	114	15	120	9.6
INW8	0	0	0	0
IS1	31	7.12	56.96	4.5568
IS2	18	5.22	41.76	3.3408
IS3	29	6.86	54.88	4.3904
IS4	31	7.12	56.96	4.5568
IS5	9	3.51	28.08	2.2464
IS6A	22	5.86	46.88	3.7504
IS6B	0	0	0	0
IS7	47	9.04	72.32	5.7856
ISW1	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
ISW2	17	5.05	40.4	3.232
ISW3	27	6.58	52.64	4.2112
ISW4	32	7.26	58.08	4.6464
ISW5	30	6.99	55.92	4.4736
ISW6	43	8.59	68.72	5.4976
ISW7	200	20.69	165.52	13.2416
ISW8	64	10.78	86.24	6.8992
ISW9	21	5.7	45.6	3.648

Notes: F.Factor = Flannery Factors

C3/0.5*4 = Conversion of Flannery Factors into millimeters.

D3/12.5 = Plotting Value derived by dividing millimeters by a constant (12.5).

Source: Table 6.8

(B)
1971

Ward	Tailors	F.Factor	C3/0.5*4	D3/12.5
C1	10	3.73	29.84	2.3872
C2	23	6.01	48.08	3.8464
E1	37	7.88	63.04	5.0432
E2	12	4.14	33.12	2.6496
E3	28	6.72	53.76	4.3008
E4	128	16.03	128.24	10.2592
E5A	42	8.48	67.84	5.4272
E5B	9	3.51	28.08	2.2464
E6	13	4.33	34.64	2.7712
E7	80	12.25	98	7.84
E8	29	6.86	54.88	4.3904
E9	16	4.88	39.04	3.1232
N1	46	8.93	71.44	5.7152
N2	33	7.38	59.04	4.7232
N3	69	11.26	90.08	7.2064
N4	105	14.31	114.48	9.1584
N5A	22	5.86	46.88	3.7504
N5B	25	6.3	50.4	4.032
N6A	89	13.02	104.16	8.3328
N6B	20	5.55	44.4	3.552
NW1	12	4.14	33.12	2.6496
NW2	32	7.26	58.08	4.6464
NW3	155	17.88	143.04	11.4432
NW4	113	14.93	119.44	9.5552
NW5	97	13.68	109.44	8.7552
NW6	22	5.86	46.88	3.7504
NW8	0	0	0	0
S1	39	8.12	64.96	5.1968
S2	7	3.04	24.32	1.9456
S3	32	7.26	58.08	4.6464
S4	43	8.59	68.72	5.4976
S5	102	14.08	112.64	9.0112
S6A	15	4.7	37.6	3.008
S6B	0	0	0	0
S7	95	13.52	108.16	8.6528
SW1	26	6.44	51.52	4.1216
SW2	25	6.3	50.4	4.032
SW3	26	6.44	51.52	4.1216
SW4	14	4.52	36.16	2.8928
SW5	22	5.86	46.88	3.7504
SW6	53	9.68	77.44	6.1952
SW7	143	17.08	136.64	10.9312
SW8	124	15.74	125.92	10.0736
SW9	19	5.39	43.12	3.4496

Notes: F.Factor = Flannery Factors

C3/0.5*4 = Conversion of Flannery Factors into millimeters.

D3/12.5 = Plotting Value derived by dividing millimeters by a constant (12.5).

Source: Table 6.8

(C)
1989

Ward	Tailors	F.Factor	C3/0.5*4	D3/12.5
C1	50	9.36	74.88	5.9904
C2	70	11.35	90.8	7.264
E1	60	10.39	83.12	6.6496
E2	59	10.29	82.32	6.5856
E3	130	16.17	129.36	10.3488
E4	341	28.07	224.56	17.9648
E5A	89	13.02	104.16	8.3328
E5B	89	13.02	104.16	8.3328
E6	136	16.59	132.72	10.6176
E7	347	28.35	226.8	18.144
E8	63	10.69	85.52	6.8416
E9	108	14.54	116.32	9.3056
N1	80	12.25	98	7.84
N2	80	12.25	98	7.84
N3	90	13.1	104.8	8.384
N4	92	13.27	106.16	8.4928
N5A	132	16.31	130.48	10.4384
N5B	132	16.31	130.48	10.4384
N6A	217	21.68	173.44	13.8752
N6B	90	13.1	104.8	8.384
NW1	87	12.85	102.8	8.224
NW2	87	12.85	102.8	8.224
NW3	89	13.02	104.16	8.3328
NW4	121	15.52	124.16	9.9328
NW5	53	9.68	77.44	6.1952
NW6	170	18.85	150.8	12.064
NW8	273	24.72	197.76	15.8208
S1	85	12.68	101.44	8.1152
S2	80	12.25	98	7.84
S3	133	16.38	131.04	10.4832
S4	175	19.17	153.36	12.2688
S5	307	26.43	211.44	16.9152
S6A	125	15.81	126.48	10.1184
S6B	130	16.17	129.36	10.3488
S7	203	20.87	166.96	13.3568
SW1	0	0	0	0
SW2	0	0	0	0
SW3	60	10.39	83.12	6.6496
SW4	51	9.47	75.76	6.0608
SW5	40	8.24	65.92	5.2736
SW6	84	12.6	100.8	8.064
SW7	164	18.47	147.76	11.8208
SW8	103	14.16	113.28	9.0624
SW9	30	6.99	55.92	4.4736

Notes: F.Factor = Flannery Factors

C3/0.5*4 = Conversion of Flannery Factors into millimeters.

D3/12.5 = Plotting Value derived by dividing millimeters by a constant (12.5).

Source: Table 6.8