Migration and Urbanization: Exploring the Factors of the Nexus in Nigeria

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Abstract

Urbanization is on the increase globally, as more and more people are migrating from rural to urban spaces, essentially due to the socio-economic inequality that exist between these two spaces, to the advantage of the urban space. The rise in the urban population is manifest, as it has risen from 10 percent in 1953 to 36 percent in 1991 and 50 percent in 2015. Though the migration-urbanization issue and/or the increasing flow of people from rural to urban centers in Nigeria is exacerbating and on the front burner of human development agenda in the country, there is paucity of works in the literature that focus on the drivers of the nexus between migration and urbanization. The paper is therefore aimed at examining the drivers and/or factors that facilitate the linkage between migration and urbanization, within the conceptual framework of migration and urbanization. The paper identified and examined quest for education, health, employment opportunities, transportation and communication, trade and commerce, social conflict and violence as driving factors of the nexus between migration and urbanization, within the concepts of migration and urbanization.

Key Words: Migration, Urbanization, Socio-Economic Development, Nigeria

1. Introduction

The geographical distribution of population globally has undergone major changes in the last century and will continue to experience significant transformations during the coming decades. The latter fact is essentially due to dynamic nature of migration. People continue to relocate from their usual place or region of residence (origin) to another (destination) in order to meet their desires and aspirations for good education and good health care (voluntary). However, other people are forced (involuntary) to relocate by environmental shocks, such as, floods, famine, desertification, and earthquake; and human induced shocks, such as, violent conflict, warfare and insecurity, slavery, child and human trafficking among others. The process of migration, involves the relocation people from one place (origin) to the other (destination); hence, it is essentially facilitated by the existence of transportation systems and/or connectivity. When migration takes within a country it is referred to as internal migration and international migration when the migration occurs across national borders. It is however, important to note that migration between regions and/or states, and between geo-political administrative zones, as is the case of Nigeria, is a form of migration, which can be classified as inter-state migration. The fact that relocation involves movement facilitated by transportation systems and/or networks is an indication of the significance of effective transportation system/connectivity in rural-urban migration.

Unequal opportunities, resources and the varying level of development between regions and states remains a major driver of migration stream between localities, states and regions, the class of which interstate migration also belong. This is particularly so as humanity's quest for greater socio-economic opportunities; for good education; access to good health care and generally improved wellbeing and good life is on the rise. These socio-economic opportunities and development are more in urban spaces; hence, the increasing rate of rural-urban migration with consequent regional development planning issues. The developed world became essentially urban about the 1950s; however, a greater proportion of the population of countries in most developing regions of the world, including Africa and Asia, are rural. However, it is estimated that more people will be living in urban areas than in rural areas in Less Developed countries by 2030 (UNDPF, 2011). For the first time in history, more people live now in urban than in rural areas. In 2010, urban areas are home to 3.5 billion people, or 50.5 per cent of the world's population. In the next four decades, all of the world's population growth is expected to take place in urban areas, which will also draw in some of the rural population through rural-urban migration.

Moreover, most of the expected urban growth will take place in developing countries, where the urban population is expected to double, from 2.6 billion in 2010 to 5.2 billion in 2050. In developed countries, the number of urban dwellers will grow more modestly, from 0.9 million in 2010 to 1.1 billion in 2050. During the same period, the world's rural population will decline by 0.6 billion (Corbridge, 2005; UNDPF, 2011 and Davey, 2012). The level of urbanization varies significantly across regions and countries. Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Northern America and Oceania are highly urbanized, with urban proportions ranging from 70 to 82 per cent in 2010. Africa and Asia remain mostly rural, with only 40 and 42 per cent of their population living in urban settlements, respectively. By mid-century, however, all regions will be mostly urban, indeed more than 60 percent urban, according to current projections (Fernadis, 2007). Studies by Heller (2006) also maintained that rate of urbanization is slower now than it was in past decades in all regions of the world particularly in the developed countries, largely because most of these countries have already reached high levels of urbanization. The rate of urban population growth is also declining and is expected to continue declining until 2050, although it is still very high in Africa, where the urban population was growing at an annual rate of 3.4 per cent in 2005-2010. In Asia, urban population growth averaged 2.8 per cent in the same period. Nevertheless, the absolute size of these increments is unprecedented: Africa gained an average 13 million additional urban dwellers per year in 2005-2010, and is expected to gain some 25 million per year in 2045-2050. Asia's urban population increased by 38 million per year in 2005-2010, and is still projected to grow by an annual 35 million in 2045-2050. During the same period, Africa and Asia will be losing 2.5 million and 27.3 million rural inhabitants per year, respectively (UNDPF, 2011).

Furthermore, the current level of urbanization is unprecedented and so is the number and size of the world's largest cities. In 1950, there were only two megacities, that is, cities with at least 10 million inhabitants, and five cities with populations ranging from 5 million to 10 million inhabitants. Today, there are 21 megacities, including 17 in the developing world United Nations, (2008). However, despite their visibility and dynamism, megacities account for less than 10 per cent of the world urban population. A majority of Africa's urban population lives in small cities (with fewer than half a million inhabitants) and so does Europe's. Urban dwellers in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and Northern America are more concentrated in large urban agglomerations, with about 20 per cent of their respective populations living in cities with at least 5 million inhabitants. Migration from rural to urban areas has historically played a key role in the rapid growth of cities and, together with the reclassification of rural localities into urban centres; it continues to be an important component of city growth. However, natural increase, that is to say, the difference between births and deaths on site, can contribute significantly to urban growth, particularly in countries where fertility levels remain high. Today, natural increase makes a larger contribution to urban population growth than internal migration and reclassification in the majority of developing countries, such as, Nigeria (United Nations, 2009). Urbanization as result of rural-urban migration influenced by interstate movement has brought a number of advantages to the national economies and opportunities for improving people's well-being, for poverty reduction and for the promotion of sustainable development, but it has also brought serious challenges in many countries, such as Nigeria. Information and analysis are essential to understand these challenges and to assist policy-makers define, formulate and evaluate policies and programmes that address them.

In Nigeria, the rate of urbanization is increasing at an alarming rate. According to Ogunbodede (2010) urbanization rate in Nigeria is growing at an annual rate of 2.65%, this however varies from one state to another, due to the variable nature of accessibility to socio-economic services and opportunities such as, education, medical and healthcare services as well as security to mention a few. For instance, it is estimated that states such as Lagos, Oyo, Rivers, Kano, Enugu, and the Federal Capital Territory would attain population of over 10 million by the year 2020. The resultant effect of this is that there will be pressure on urban social amenities such as water, health care and electricity and most importantly the increase in commuting distance from one location to another or from one state to another. As observed by Egunjobi (1999) and Filani (2004), one of major challenges of contemporary and future urbanization and its emerging urban trends, is the fact that though, practically greater proportion of all urban population growth will take place in developing countries, these counties are currently experiencing the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment. In Nigeria, rapid urbanization in the coming decades will have profound implications for human health, as immense pressure will be put on health care delivery system, thereby raising health risks in the already increasing and vulnerable urban population in the country.

In addition, rapid urbanization due to interstate migration does have implication for urban mobility and transport connectivity across the geo-political zones. It is on this background this paper examined interstate migration, transport connectivity, and urban development.

2.0 Conceptual Issues

The concepts of migration and urbanization are examined for better understanding and appreciation of the implications of the nexus linkages between migration and urbanization, in terms of education, health services, social conflict, communication, and/or transport systems/connectivity.

2.1 The Concept of Migration

Migration is the movement of people over defined space and over time, that is, relocation of people from their usual and/or current place of residence to another and residing in the new location (destination) for twelve calendar months or more. Most interstate migrations are circulatory in nature and involve temporary and usually repetitive movement of a migrant worker, trader between home (origin) and host (destination) areas, typically for the purpose of employment and trading among other purposes. It represents an established pattern of population mobility, whether cross-country or rural-urban. These movements are influenced by both exogenous and endogenous factors that predispose the migration process. Exogenous factors include economic differentials, decision-making process of individuals that shape their aspiration and perception of potential places to move to and social-economic networks that affect the migration dynamics. However, the endogenous factors, relates to the decision-making process of individuals that shape their aspiration and perception of potential places to move to and social-economic networks that affect the migration dynamics (Mabogunje, 1970; Afolayan, 1976; 2000; 2006 and Ikwuyatum 2006).

Migration is, therefore, one of many kinds of human mobility defined in large part by movement from one region to the other, within administrative states in a country or/and between contiguous countries or nation states. Even with this straightforward definition, variation of who moves and where they move creates many different classes of migration. Nevertheless, all of them share basic characteristics that contribute to general theories of migration. While there are many such theories, they can usefully be seen as comprising two general kinds: behavioral and economic. Both theories fall within the general Lee's "push-pull" model of migration where the relocation decision is affected by factors that push movers away from current locations and pull them to new places. More specific behavioral and economic theories focus on different individual, socioeconomic, market, and spatial mechanisms within this general model. Given the complexity of migration, there are many points of contact between behavioral and economic theories and the larger push-pull model of migration. Population migration is non-recurrent spatial movements among communities, states, or nations and constitutes one of the three components of population change, the other two being birth and death (Green and Pick 2006). The Drivers of contemporary migration encapsulate both old tendencies and new aspirations and constraints. While in the past Lee's "push-pull" model of migration of provided a framework for understanding the motives for movements, today we need to understand the dynamics of globalization and read different meanings into our old conceptualizations. No West African country is insulated from global trends and shocks. Our responses to these trends and shocks in terms of choice of livelihood options detail our aspirations, experiences, constraints, and opportunities. While urbanites are seeking opportunities and fleeing, abroad to fill labour vacuums, rural dwellers are replacing them and creating new urban concentrations of populations in globally induced opportunity zones (Yaro, 2006).

2.3 The Urban Concept

Urbanization, simply defined is the process by which urban population increases in absolute number and in proportion to rural population either through the increase in population of existing cities or through the growth of new ones. This definition is further amplified by Mabogunje (2005) who indicated that an urban settlement is as a large, compact, densely built-up area where open spaces are often in short supply except at the periphery. Mabogunje further stressed characteristics of an urban settlement as a settlement, where population tend to be heterogeneous and socially diversified, such that kinship relationship is of minimal importance; goods and services are largely commoditized such that everything tends to have a price tag to it, and interaction and interpersonal relations are virtually contractual in nature with the maintenance of law and order being rather formal and impersonal (Mabogunje, 2005; Olujimi, 2011). Urban centres are associated with the diversity of functions where all types of occupations, industries, and services are represented.

Urban centres are classified into types from small towns, big towns, cities, metropolitan cities, to mega-cities. This classification reflects the population. A small town has a population of 20,000 while the mega-city parades population in millions.

3.0 Urban Development Trend in Nigeria

Urban development in Nigeria has been very dynamic. The urban development history of Nigeria can be classified into the pre-colonial, colonial, post colonial/modern periods. These urban development periods form the sub-themes in the next section of the discourse.

3.1 Pre-colonial Period

Nigeria was one of the few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, during the Pre-colonial period, which had many large pre-industrial cities. During the period, the population of the traditional towns grew very slowly through natural increase of births over deaths. Incessant inter-tribal wars led to sudden and serious decline in the population of many settlements while some were completely destroyed by the enemy. In the South-Western part, there were few other towns and cities such as Ibadan, Benin, Ile-Ife, Oyo, and Ilesha, whose populations were swollen by the influx of refugees fleeing from war affected areas. Early explorers, missionaries and merchants estimates of population of towns show the existence of substantial human settlements in this part of the world in the 19th century During this period, the major factors crucial to the growth and development of cities were trading, marketing and administration. As far back as 1857, Hinder, a missionary estimated the population of Ibadan at 100,000; Abeokuta 60,000; Ogbomosho 50,000, and Ilorin 70,000 (Mabogunje, 1968: in Olujimi, 2011). In the Hausa-Fulani Empire of the North, there were large cities such as Kano, Zaria, and Sokoto which served as administrative, trade and religious centers of the Emirate. These towns became more popular as a result of their locations along the trans-Saharan trade routes. The allocation of land to individuals and groups within and outside the city walls for different uses and the supervision of the physical development of the allocated land which were strictly within the portfolio of the Obas ably assisted by their Quarter-Chiefs in the West; the Emir's in the North and the Obi's in the South-east (Olujimi, 2011).

Mining and transport development particularly the introduction of rail transport led to the creation of another category of new towns such as Enugu to house coal miners while Jos and Bukuru were established to serve the tin mining industry on the Jos Plateau. These factors produced significant increase in the population of the country as reflected in the 1952/53 population census that put the figure for the country at 30.4 million out of which 3.2 million were living in 56 urban centres. The growth rate was 1.9 percent. The urban population constituted 10.6 percent of the entire population of the country. There was a noticeable increase in the population of urban centres which was more than doubled the number recorded in 1931 (Olujimi, 1993, 2003b). The urban centres of Lagos, Port Harcourt, Warri, Jos, Kaduna and Kano have grown very fast. Abuja, the Federal Capital City and some of the new State capitals have also experienced phenomenal growth as a result of migration (Adepoju, 2006).

3.2 Colonial Period era

The Colonial period in Nigeria witnessed heightened trading activities by European Traders who penetrated more into the hinterland. This led to the establishment of more trading centres at places like Abeokuta, Iseyin and Oshogbo. The Obas and village-heads in settlements along the routes passed by the European traders arranged for the carrying of the European Traders from one settlement to the other (Dike, 1960). In addition, the administrative structure created by the colonial governments between 1900 and 1910 drastically changed the pattern of distribution of towns in Nigeria. Headquarters of administrative units were established in existing traditional towns while new towns were created to carry out the 'central place functions' of administration trade and culture in areas where there were scattered villages. The established government stations were made up of government offices, the houses of the Colonial Officers, European traders, and Missionaries built at locations outside the walls of the ancient town. The rapid rate of increase in the population of large urban centres through migration has been of great concern to successive governments in the country since the second half of the 1950s. Rapid urban growth has resulted in problems of urban congestion or overcrowding, poor housing, poor environmental sanitation, unemployment, crimes and other social vices which have come to characterize Nigeria's large urban centres.

3.3 Post-Colonial/Modern era

The Post Colonial is the most significant period in the history of urban development in Nigeria, as the period witnessed phenomenal urban growth. The number of urban centres rose from the few regional centres at independence, which were essentially regional headquarters, such as Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna, Benin, Lagos and Maiduguri among others. Nigeria currently has more than 500 urban centres including mega-cities and parades high level of planlessness among African countries, which calls for physical planning attention. In essence, urbanization is the process by which urban population increases in absolute number and in proportion to rural population either through the increase in population of existing cities or through the growth of new ones (Olujimi, 2011). The 1991 census in Nigeria gave 36 per cent of the proportion of the total population of the country as urban, which made Nigeria a predominantly rural society with over 60 percent of its total population living in small, remote, rural communities. The urban proportion of the total population of the country has changed significantly from 1911 to date. The 1911 population census put the country's population figure at 16 million; an annual growth rate of 1.5 percent; classified an urban centre as settlements with 5,000 people and identified 29 urban centres. The 1931 population census put the figure for Nigeria at 20.05 million with an annual growth rate of 0.7 percent, as urban centres increased in number. In 1991 the proportion of the urban population rose to 36 per cent and 51 per cent in 2012 (NPC, 1991; PRB, 2012).

A major determinant in the increase in urban population in Nigeria among many factors is the creation of new states, LGAs and development centres. The headquarters of the capitals and headquarters of these states and LGAs respectively became growth poles in their respective areas and rights, thereby pulling people to urban centres, through rural-urban migration. The diversification in occupation, functions and population make urban centres to serve as engine of economic development and to act as population magnet to surrounding rural dwellers (Egunjobi, 1999, Olujimi, 2005b). It is important to note that the south-western part of the country, which is essentially inhabited by the Yoruba, have over the last century established the culture of living in large population concentrations or settlements; hence, fact that it embraced urbanization much earlier than other parts of the country. Notable large cities in the region include: Ibadan, Oshogbo, Ondo, Abeokuta and Ilorin among others. These historic urban centres are largely traditional and pre industrial in nature with a mixture of the modern and the old. One other major determinant of urban growth and/or urbanization in Nigeria is rural-urban Migration (Udo, 1975; Adepoiu, 1976; Afolayan, Mabogunie, 1970; Ikwuyatum, 2006), Rural-urban migration which involves the relocation of people from rural to urban areas in the country is essentially an internal form of migration involving a large proportion of internal migrant in the country. However, a large volume of internal migration in the country is induced by scarcity of land, impoverished soil, declining crop yields, poor harvests, and soil erosion, among others. The acquisition of some level of education or skill is also an important factor that prompts migration. Rural-urban migration is responsible for the depopulation of some rural areas and the influx of people into towns and cities (Olorunfemi, 2005). In the face of biting economic crunch and political uncertainty, Nigeria has continued to experience unacceptable level of emigration, this is particularly worrisome, as often the best 'brains' and highly skilled are involved in process of emigration, popularly referred to as 'brain-drain" Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) though its policies of free movement of people and goods has significantly facilitated inter-regional and interstate migration between cities and urban centre within the Nigerian borderland, with countries such as, Benin and other contiguous countries.

4.0 The Driving Factors of the Migration-Urbanization Nexus

There are several socio-economic and environmental factors that facilitate the flow of people to urban centers; thereby cementing the nexus between migration and urbanization process in Nigeria.

4.1 The fundamental factor is the increasing development gap and existing inequity between rural and urban areas, in the provision of socio-economic services and facilities, such as, education, health care system, good housing, employment opportunities, transportation and communication services, social stability, social conflict, and transport systems/connectivity.

4.2 Quest for Education/Awareness

The level and spread of education is one of the indirect factors that influence the rate of urbanization. The level of awareness among Nigerians on the increase, for example, basic education and post literacy enrolment, 2001 – 2004, indicated an increase in enrolment, from 635,333(2001), 777,499(2002), 755,438 (2003) to 789,701 (2004), and this particular in rural areas (Federal Ministry of Education, 2005).

The consequence is increased awareness; the quest for modernization is heightened as people seek and migrate to urban centres where which have the potential to meet their aspirations as rural dwellers. Most of the features of modernity are significantly absent in rural communities; hence, educated rural dwellers, whose awareness have been raised by education, are often pulled from rural to urban centers via rural-urban migration to urban centers, where the features of modernity exist and the education rural dweller can actualize his/her dreams and aspirations. The latter situation is also application to the rural population in Nigeria, where the level of education is gradually rising with increasing socio-economic development of the country. A recent survey by the Federal Ministry of Education (2005) indicated there are more rural primary schools (53.4%) than urban ones; over half (51.8%) of secondary schools in located urban centers; and over 80.0 per cent of tertiary institutions in Nigeria are located in urban centers. The latter pattern reflect the skewed nature of distribution educational institutions to the advantage of urban centre; hence, there is a general drift of prospecting candidates from rural to urban centers, through interstate and rural-migration, consequently leading to urbanization in the country.

4.3 Quest for Health Care

Human health is very critical to human wellbeing and development; hence, the saying, health is wealth. It is in this context that people, who have the wherewithal, can afford to go to any length and place to get effective health care, which can sustain their wellbeing. The first recorded instance of people travelling to obtain medical treatment dates back thousands of years to when Greek pilgrims traveled from all over the Mediterranean to the small territory in the Saronic Gulf called Epidauria. This territory was the sanctuary of the healing god Asklepios. Factors that have led to the increasing popularity of medical travel include the high cost of health care, long wait times for certain procedures, the ease, and affordability of international travel, and improvements in both technology and standards of care in many countries. The avoidance of waiting times is the leading factor for medical tourism from the UK, whereas in the US, the main reason is cheaper prices abroad (Horowitz and Rosensweig, 2007). However, the scenario created above is essentially that of the developed world, when people seek medical care by moving to locations and cities that host the best available Medicare. The process of relocation in itself is migration and one which most often than not ends in an urban destination where health care is sourced. The latter fact is very central to our discourse of the influence access to health care system on urbanization, as the human flow (rural-urban and urban-urban migration) is inertia for growth and dynamics of urbanization.

Rural communities globally are characterized by poorer health status and increased problems of accessing health services compared with their metropolitan counterparts (Humphreys & Solarsh, 2008). Difficulties of accessing health services result from the need to overcome distance barriers and diminished local availability of health care due to the high costs of providing health services in sparsely populated areas (Hart, Larson, & Lishner, 2005). In the case of Nigeria, there is dearth of secondary and tertiary health care facilities in most rural localities, hence, significant percentage of rural dwellers often move to the nearest urban centre to secure health services. The inequality of health care system that tend to drive people to the urban space or centres is allude to by Adebanjo and Oladeji (2006), when they opined that health care system infrastructure and access to health services is skewed towards the urban people and vary between zones and regions. There is therefore interstate movement of people to states and regions with health care infrastructure that can significantly meet their health needs. The varying distribution of health infrastructure between the six geo-political zones of the country in 1999 is shown in table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of healthcare facilities by tiers in Nigeria's Geopolitical Zones in 1999

	Primary			Secondary			Tertiary		
	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total
South-West	1290	1848	3138	191	253	444	0	6	6
South-East+	1195	617	1812	515	36	551	0	6	6
South-South++	680	1259	1939	490	145	635	0	7	7
North-Central	1882	3099	4981	195	209	404	1	3	4
North-East	33	2126	2459	20	80	100	0	2	2
North-West	364	3235	3599	37	104	141	0	4	4
Total	5744	12,184	17,928	1448	827	2275	1	28	29

Source: (National Health Management Information System, in Erinosho, 2005)

- + Excluding data for Anambra and Ebonyi States.
- ++ Excluding data for Cross River state.
- +++ Excluding data for Kebbi state.

Table 1 show that secondary health institutions or General Hospitals are more in South-West (253) and North-Central Regions (209) respectively, than other geopolitical zones. Lagos, Ibadan, Abeokuta and Akure among others are notable urban centres in the south west and Kaduna, Jos, Ilorin, Makurdi and Abuja are urban centres with high concentration of secondary health centres which attract people, leading to interstate migration and consequently urbanization.

4.4 Employment Opportunities

The high deficit of employment opportunities in rural areas in most development countries is a major push factor and a driver of the increasing flow of people from rural to urban centres in Nigeria, in search of employment opportunities. Cities such as Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Sango Otta, which are part of the nation's industrial hop, are cities of attraction with the large employment opportunities that exist in this urban centres. Furthermore, number of urban centres has increased in number with the creation of states and local government areas in Nigeria since her independence in 1960. Today the country has 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory and 774 Local Government Areas. The capital and/or headquarters of each these states and LGAs have grown into urban administrative centres, with socio-economic services and sectors that provide employment opportunities

4.5 Transport and Communication Systems as Factors.

Transportation systems and/or connectivity are vital facilitators of the process and dynamics of migration and urbanization. Migration processes includes among other factors, who moves where, when, how, and under what conditions. These conditions are strongly influenced by pre-existing social and transportation networks between individuals in different locations. Such networks are often created by migration in the first place but they may also arise from institutional practices (for example, business contacts, or religious orders) and increasingly from links made in cyberspace.

Two-way dynamic relationships between networks and migration are central to understanding how key social-science concepts such as agency and social capital relate to mobility. The entire process is strongly hinged on the process and mode of transportation and/or communication between people and place. Recent migration patterns and their underlying motives are modeled along the new forces of globalization which are transforming economies the world over. Transportation systems and/or connectivity in Nigeria is a major facilitator of intermigration, as people relocate from their place of residence or localities (rural, urban and state) to the other. The second half of the 20th century witnessed rapid rate of urbanization and emergence of cities in various parts of Nigeria due to a number of factors among which are: introduction of wheeled transportation, particularly railway and road; categorization of settlement into hierarchical order of township; introduction of monetized economy and consequently production of cash crops and exploitation of mineral resources; continuous geopolitical restructuring, through creation of states and local governments in 1967, 1976, 1987, 1991 and 1996; and the industrialization process between 1960 and 1975, which was based on import substitution strategies and consumer market for imported goods and services (Oyesiku 2002).

In Nigeria, the pace of urbanization has been dramatic showing extraordinarily high rates of 5-10 percent per annum (Egunjobi 1999). Consequently, there has been rapid expansion of Nigerian cities' areal extent, which is now sometimes tenfold their initial point of growth (Egunjobi 1999; Ogunsanya 2002; Oyesiku 2002a). Historically, movements within cities tended to be restricted to walking, which made medium and long distance urban linkages rather inefficient and time-consuming (Rodrigue, 2013) Thus, activity nodes tended to be agglomerated and urban forms compact. Many modern cities have inherited an urban form created under such circumstances, even though they are no longer prevailing (Ayeni, 1994). As observed by Ipingbemi (2005) the dense urban cores of many cities in Nigeria, for example, enable residents to make between one third and two thirds of all trips by walking and biking and especially with the use of tricycles popularly referred as 'Keke-Napep' and by automobile. At the other end of the spectrum, the dispersed emerging urban centers which were built recently, encourages automobile dependency and are linked with high levels of mobility especially those that deals with inter-state movement.

The more radical the changes in transport technology have been, the more the alterations on the urban form. Among the most fundamental changes in the urban form is the emergence of new clusters, expressing new urban activities and new relationships between elements of the urban system (Olekesusi, 2012; Ahmed, 2012). In many cities, the central business district (CBD), which was once the primary destination of commuters and serviced by public transportation, has been changed by new manufacturing, retailing, and management practices.

The urban spatial structure shifted from a nodal to a multi-nodal character, implying new forms of urban development and new connections to regional and global economic processes. Initially, suburban growth mainly took place adjacent to major road corridors, leaving plots of vacant or farm land in between. Later, intermediate spaces were gradually filled up, more or less coherently. Highways and ring roads, which circled and radiated from cities, favored the development of suburbs and the emergence of important sub-centers that compete with the central business district for the attraction of economic activities, which make inter- state migration to be possible. As a result, many new job opportunities have shifted to the suburbs (if not to entirely new locations abroad) and the activity system of cities has been considerably modified. Evidence of this metamorphosis within context of internal migration was promoted, leading to enhanced rural-urban and interstate migration, as people moved over a relatively freer space, to work as either migrant tenant farmers, as farm labour and or as migrant traders. The items of trade and direction of their trade also changed, from local to imported goods, mostly in a south north and north-south direction (Udo, 1975). The seasonal movement of nomads that was noted for the precolonial era continued, the exception being movements towards viable locations in the south. Studies on internal labour migration also reveal that migrant labourers from different parts of the country, especially from rural areas moved into regional headquarters, administrative and market centers of Lagos, Kano, Zaria, Enugu, Ibadan, Sokoto, and Kaduna, among many others, in quest of trade and gainful employment (Udo, 1975; Shimada, 1993; Ikwuyatum, 2006).

Since, 1999, the pattern of migration has change in space, and there is now a change from rural -urban migration to inter- state migration. For instance, in south western Nigeria, many labour migrants have shifted from Lagos to Ibadan as a result of affordable standard of living. Thus while they work in Lagos, their family are based in Ibadan. Similarly, due to the transport connectivity, many urban settlers work in Lagos and reside in Abeokuta due to its affordable standard of living. Similarly, in the North-Central zone of the country, despite the availability of socio-economic opportunities, in terms of employment opportunities among others in Abuja, the Federal Capital, significant proportion of workers in the city, reside in cities of neighbouring states of Nassarawa and Niger and commute to work in the FCT, on daily basis in order to take care of the high cost of living in the FCT. This is as a result of the availability of transport connectivity and access to quality of life such as health care, security and communication available and accessible in Nassarawa, compared to Abuja that much more expensive. Thus, transport has not only linked social services together, but, it has changed the urban and state transport system. Invariably, facing the expansion of urban areas, congestion problems and the increasing importance of inter-state movements the existing structure of urban roads was judged to be inadequate, there by posing challenges to accessibility of social services in the city center. In essence, the place of transport system and connectivity in interstate migration and urbanization is not in doubt but significant.

There have been significant physical and significant policy achievements in the transport sector since political independence and most especially in the last thirty years, which, in turn, have effected changes in the nation's space-economy (Filani, 2012). The total road in kilometers increased from 114,768 km in 1980 to 193,200 kms in 1996 and about 200,000kms in 2000 (4th National Development Plan, Oduola, 1989 and MITI, 2002). By 2010, the length of the entire road network has increased to more than 205,000kms. Roads with bituminous surface increased from 11,000kms in 1962 to 40,000kms in year 2000 (Filani and Adesanya, 2011). This extensive road network has facilitated interstate, regional and interregional movement of people and goods in the country. Today, long distance interregional movements can be accomplished in less than one third of the time it took at independence. The pattern and state of Nigeria road network is as at January 1996 is shown in Table 2.

Federal Roads State Roads Local Govt. Roads Total Paved main roads 26,500 10,400 36,900 Unpaved main roads 5,600 20,100 25,700 Urban roads 21,900 21,900 Main rural roads 72,800 72,800 Village access roads 35,900 35,900 Total 32,100 30,500 130,600 193,200 % of Total 17 16 67 100

Table 2: Condition and Distribution of Road Network length (in km) as at January 1996

Source: Fadaka, B. (1996) 'The Need to Reform the Road Sector'; Lagos 26-27 June, 1996.

Ownership and administration of road transport are organized in a three-tier system of primary, secondary and tertiary road networks which are owned by the Local, State and Federal Government respectively. The main cities including the 36 state capitals and Abuja, the Federal Capital, are connected to one another by a network of two-lane highways and some main connections are four-lane dual carriage ways. The most important development in railway construction since political independence has been the 644km Borun extension which was opened in 1964. For about 30 years, the 3,505kilometers of narrow guage railway, network remained almost unchanged, until the third phase of rail construction began in the early 1990s, when work started on the Itakpe-Ajaokuta-Warri standard gauge rail line (Adesanya, 2002). In 2010, close to 295km of the standard guage line has been added (though not fully completed). Over the years, the original dominating role of the railways in moving traffic within Nigeria has declined due mainly to shortage of capacity, poor management and the intensive competition from road transport which is more flexible and more accessible to the populace. Since 1986, the railways carried less than 1 million metric tonnes per annum for 20 successive years, except the temporary break in 1998 (Ballast accounted for 92.8% of total freight in 1998, and the balance of regular cargo was less than 110,000 metric tonnes). The number of passengers carried has also been declining over time (Filani, 2012).

4.6 Trade as Driver of the Migration and Urbanization Nexus

Trade has become a major determinant and driver of both internal and international migration in Nigeria. The apparently large unemployed labour stock that cannot find employment in the formal sector of the economy, tend to find solace in trading, which is a form of self employment and a survival strategy in the informal sector of the economy. Commercial migrants have gradually evolved in Nigeria, as a new face or configuration of migration in the country. This form of migration is essentially driven by the high energy of demand, caused by the immense needs of the burgeoning population within most urban centres in Nigeria: Local Government headquarters, State Capitals, the Federal Capital Abuja and the commercial capital of Lagos in Nigeria (Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide, 2011). Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide in their study of traders in four international markets namely: Alaba, Balogun, Computer Village Ikeja and ASPMDA in Lagos metropolis, indicated that trade based or commercial migration, evolves in a step-wise process from rural-urban and urban-international/foreign destinations. The Ibo in Nigeria ethnic group from south eastern part of Nigeria dominate commercial migration in the country; their trading destinations include in Nigeria include the major urban centres; Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Kaduna, Kano, Calabar and Jos, among many others. Using Lagos urban metropolis as the case study, the survey commercial migration into the four sampled markets, by extension, into Lagos urban, is a major for the increasing growth of Lagos as a mega city. The pattern of movement of traders from the geo-political zones in the country is captured in Figure 1.

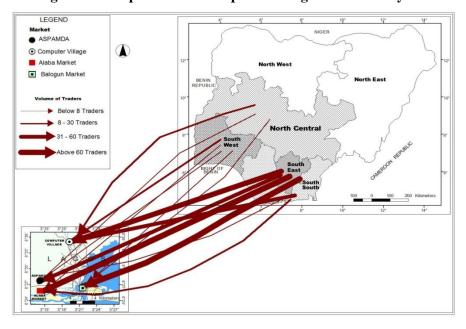


Figure 1: Geo-political zone of place of origin of traders by market

Source: Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide (2011)

Furthermore, the study showed that 84 per cent of the traders migrated into Lagos; the majority of international and internal traders, 78.9 and 81.2 per cent respectively, are from the South-East geo-political zone of Nigeria; followed by South-West (10.9%; 11.6%), South-South (8.4%; 5.8%) and North-Central (1.8%; 1.4%). In addition, the study by Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide (2011) (see Figure 2 and 3) indicated that the pattern of the region of destination of traders on their first international trading trip reflects the high volume of mobility of traders to the Asian sub-continent, as East Asia and West Asia destinations combined accounted for over three-quarters (77.1%) of traders on their first trip outside Nigeria. In addition, Nigerian Traders' international destinations have changed significantly from the hitherto traditional destinations of Western Europe, North America to oil-rich countries of the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Dubai among others), China, Taiwan, and South East Asian countries (South Korea etc- 'The Asian Tigers'). The change in destination tends be influenced by the liberal trade and immigration policies, the existence of Free Trade Zones (FTZ), the relative cheap prices of goods, and the immense diversity of products that are available for sale in these destinations. The surveyed further indicated that over 90 per cent of international commercial or trade driven migration ended up in urban destinations (Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide, 2011). The latter finding is a further allusion to the factor of trade in urbanization.

4.7 Social Conflict and Violence.

Conflicts and violence around the world also continue to displace people, moving them into temporary displacement or refugee camps, or to urban slums where access to quality reproductive health services is limited. In Africa, almost half of all countries are experiencing current or recent conflict. Forced migration due to conflict has a negative impact on developing economies and the government's ability to provide lifesaving services. Today, the average length of displacement from conflict for refugees is 17 years (Gettleman, 2010). The place of peace and social stability in the processes of migration and urbanization cannot be overemphasized, as human mobility facilitates migration and urbanization. When there is social conflict and eventually warfare and terrorism in any form, free movement of people is checked if not completely stalled or could result in forced migration. Urbanization which is essentially determined by rural-urban migration is often checked by the sudden shock of social conflict, terrorism, and war. The check on human mobility has both negative and positive effect on urbanization. When conflicts do not occur in urban areas, urban centres turn to major 'safe heavens' for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), who see urban centres as where their security is assured and the infrastructure of the state is often located. Under this circumstance, IDPs are pulled to urban centres, through rural-urban migration which consequently can leads to urbanization and sudden increase in urban population.

The flight of IDPs from rural to urban centres due to social conflict can be seen in parts of the middle belt states of Benue, Nassarawa and Plateau states of Nigeria currently experiencing social conflicts. In these states thousand of IDPs have been forced to relocates to their state capital such as Makurdi, Lafia and Jos, in search of safety.

The negative part of conflict on urbanization is that it could cause 'deurbanization'. When conflict occurs within any urban space, people are forced to out-migrate from those centres, thereby depopulating the urban centres. The case of Maiduguri and other urban centres in the North Eastern part of Nigeria, currently facing the scourge of Boko Haram are good examples. Urban centres in this conflict zone of the country are not only deserted but continue to 'push' people away from them, as these urban centres have become unsafe for actualizing the dreams and aspirations of migrants. In addition, under the scenario of conflict and social instability migrants are 'pulled' into areas of socio-economic opportunities, peace, and unity. In sum, an atmosphere of peace and unity is a vital ingredient for inter-state migration urbanization. Furthermore, terrorism, kidnapping, and militancy in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, in recent times have significantly affected interstate migration and urbanization. With unsafe rural water ways, interstate and rural-urban migration becomes less attractive thereby slowing the pace of urbanization. In addition, the violence and destruction of the Boko Haram terrorists group in North Eastern region of Nigeria, has significantly depopulated the region, killed over two thousand people since its inception in 2009, and forced over two million people from their usual places of residence. The movement is such that Maiduguri the state capital of Bornu state has become a safe haven for internally displaced persons (IDPs) there raising the population and increasing the urban challenges of Maiduguri. In 2013 for example, nearly 26,000 people fled Bama, the Nigerian Emergency Management Agency reported; and about 1.5 million people were forced from their homes since Nigeria declared a state of emergency in May 2013 (UN, 2013). In addition, a number of urban centres in the North Eastern region became 'ghost towns' until the recoveries by the Nigerian armed forces in collaboration with the Joint International armed forces of neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon.

5.0 Challenges of Rural-Urban Migration and Urban Development

The challenges of -urban migration are as varied as they are dynamic. A crucial aspect of this is that city growth and expansion in Nigeria has been largely uncontrolled (Agbola, 1989; Agbola and Agbola, 1997; Egunjobi, 1999; 2002; Oyesiku, 2002a; Olanrewaju, 2004; etc). Consequently, the scaring and unsatisfactory situations in the cities have been increasing at an alarming rate. Egunjobi (1999) noted that our cities in Nigeria are not only ailing, quite a majority of them are on the verge of breathing the last breath. Several studies have shown that inadequate planning of urban land uses in Nigeria and great intensity of use of land in the urban areas has exacerbated urban problems (Filani.1994; Egunjobi, 1999; 2002; Oyesiku 2002a). The current trend in the Nigerian cities is very frustrating. Mabogunje noted that whether we think of welfare services or employment opportunities, the urban system in Nigeria today is already proving inadequacies as a means of achieving the type of social order that the country desires (Mabogunje, 2005). Current projections indicate that at rate of urbanization since the history of humanity until the beginning of the 21st century, global urban would double in some 40 to 50 years. The environmental consequences of this increase are critical since most of this expected growth will occur in the world's poorest countries. For instance, 83 per cent of urban growth between 2000 and 2030 is expected to occur in Africa and Asia alone (UN Habitat, 2006).

Poor people represent between one-quarter to three-quarters of the urban population in those locations, depending on the region and on the way poverty levels are calculated. According to UN Habitat's *State of the World's Cities 2006-2007*, developing world slums contained 933,000 inhabitants (UN Habitat, 2006). This is equivalent to 41 per cent of the estimated urban population of less developed countries in 2005. The proportion of slum dwellers is largest in some of the sub-regions that are expected to experience substantial absolute urban growth in coming decades. Thus, 72 per cent of urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa and 57 per cent of those in Southern Asia are slum dwellers. Similarly, urban growth in developing countries tends to be made up of mostly poor people (UNFPA, 2007). The new urbanites—those who will double the urban population of Asia and Africa in the 2000-2030 period—will be made up, to an even larger extent, of poor people. This is because, on the one hand, rural-urban migrants, upon arrival, tend to have somewhat lower average socio-economic levels than the native urban population; on the other, since poor people have higher rates of natural increase; their relative contribution to urban growth tends to be higher than their present share of the urban population. Despite their over representation in existing urban areas and their even greater contribution to future growth, the presence of poor people seems to go largely unacknowledged in the formulation of city plans in developing countries. Seldom are the needs of these people contemplated realistically and explicitly.

On the contrary, to the extent that they are planned, cities are largely configured and redefined basically in accordance with the political influences of real estate capital, with large-scale infrastructure designed to fit the needs of economic activity, and in keeping with the demands and preferences of middle and upper-income groups. Thus, the real and crucial contributions of the poor to the economic life of the city tend to be overlooked and they tend to enter the picture only as a source of problems. In particular, their habitats are seen as eyesores and hindrances that policymakers wish would somehow disappear. Since governments will generally not service areas where land rights are unclear, informal settlements are provided, especially during their formative years, with water, sanitation, transport, electricity or basic social services (Olujimi, 2011).

Frequently, the pattern of occupation in informal settlements is haphazard and asymmetrical, making it difficult to provide vehicular transportation, or other types of services. It will be argued here that such difficulties not only exacerbate the miserable conditions of the poor in urban areas, but also ultimately have an impact on the quality of life and sustainability of the entire city. Nowhere is the neglect of the poor more blatant, and its broader repercussions more detrimental, than in the area of housing. Disregard for the needs of the poor for land and housing makes them fend for themselves as best they can; this generally means that their quest for housing. infrastructure and services is not only a constant struggle, but one that affects the entire range of urban dwellers in various ways. As has been pointed out repeatedly by analysts, the problems of most informal settlements are already determined by the way they come to life (Serra, 2003). Lack of access to land, for example, predetermines difficulties of access to shelter. This unnecessarily accentuates human misery and is the starting point for a vicious circle of poverty.

The poor live in environments that typically concentrate hazards and lack minimal access to clean water for drinking, cooking, washing, and bathing, as well as to serviceable toilets and garbage collection. These conditions increase the spread of disease-causing germs, frequently leading to chronic digestive tract illnesses. Crowded environments help promote such contact-related diseases as measles and tuberculosis, in addition to diarrhea. Under-nutrition due to high prices of nutritious food leads to severe child malnutrition (Stephens and Stair, 2007, p. 137). The sprawling haphazard settlement patterns that typify the invasion of urban lands by poor people also make it much more difficult to put basic infrastructure into place, including roads and pathways that would facilitate the free movement of residents. The sprinkling of such settlements throughout the city also creates hurdles for the design of effective mass transportation and increases the costs of implementing it. Continually adjusted improvisations that ineffectually attempt to accommodate the increasing flow of people and vehicles (and sometimes animals) through narrow winding streets that bypass these sprawling settlements, not only consume enormous resources, but also contribute to energy waste and pollution (Egunjobi, 1999). Perhaps even more telling in today's context of globalized economic competition is the fact that the lack of attention to the land and housing needs of the poor is ultimately bad for business; in a classic vicious circle, it helps to trigger a series of perverse effects that ultimately affect the very ability of a city to be competitive and thus to pursue economic and social development. For instance, it disorganizes the functioning of land markets, pushes up land prices, and increases the difficulties of providing infrastructure and services (Smolka and Larangeira, 2008). In turn, this affects the ability of the city to attract investments, to create jobs and to generate a better financial base for implementing improvements in the city.

The inadequate environmental management attached to the diverse and complex activities within the urban centres is resulting into environmental problems that are threatening urban dwellers (Filani, 1988; Olujimi, 2009a, 2009b). These include the haphazard locations of industries and emissions of hydrocarbon and poisonous gases that are depleting the ozone layer as well as causing climate change and global warming. Slum areas in towns and cities are characterized by inadequate housing, non-provision of functional infrastructural facilities such as portable water, electricity and motorable roads (Olujimi, 2007a). The levels of these problems in Nigeria prompted Agbola (2005) to describe Nigerian cities and towns as reputed to be the dirtiest most unsanitary, least aesthetically pleasing and dangerously unsafe for living which are characterized by non-functioning infrastructure facilities, most poorly governed and intensively dotted with illegal structures. The poor state of these urban infrastructure facilities is resulting into high rate of unemployment, increased crime rate and unimaginable poverty among the greater majority of the urban dwellers (Olanrewaju, 2004).

7.0 Conclusion

Urbanization globally is on the increase, as more and more people are either moving into the existing urban spaces and/or congregating into evolving population concentrations or new urban centres. Though rural-urban migration and natural increase are key determinants of urbanization, there are silent indirect factors that influence the process of urbanization and pull people into the urban space. These factors include: the quest for education, accessing health care and social conflict. Transport system and/or network is a major vehicle on which people move, in the process of relocating (pulled) between places in the populations desire for education, health care, and in relocating (pushed) when threatened by social conflict. The ongoing transformation of rural economies into modern societies and/or urbanization is significant and most visible in Developing Countries, such as Nigeria, with a large rural population. There is need to check rural-urban migration by developing development policies that provide for equitable development between rural and urban centres. This would go a long way in reducing negative consequences of urbanization such as: poverty, crime, poor housing, and unemployment among the legion of challenges of urbanization, caused essentially by the uncontrolled rural-urban migration in LDCs of the world. The challenges emanating from the nexus migration and urbanization notwithstanding, these human processes (migration and urbanization) are vital flows and interaction necessary for socio-economic development.

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