

THE ROLE OF CITIES IN NATION BUILDING

**Onyishi Anthony O.
Eme, Okechukwu I.**

*Public Administration and Local Government
University of Nigeria, Nsukka*

Abstract

Cities in Nigeria, as elsewhere, have historically exerted potent influences on the countryside. The northern city-states for instance played a major role in the distribution of human population and economic activity throughout the savanna region. As citadels and centers of power and conquest, they caused depopulation in some regions, notably those subject to conquest and raiding, and population concentration in other areas. The low populations of the middle belt savanna probably resulted from the raiding and the conquests of the Hausa and Fulani city-states. The subsequent regrowth of bush land is thought to have led to a resurgence of tsetse flies and other disease vectors, which inhibited attempts to repopulate the region. The complementary effect was to increase population in zones of relative security, either areas under the protection of the dominant political states or areas of refuge, such as hill masses, which were difficult for armed horsemen to conquer. Among the most important interactions between rural and urban areas through the 1980s till date in Nigeria and most other parts of Africa were the demographic impacts of urban migration on rural areas. This is because the great majority of migrants were men of working age, the rural areas from which they came were left with a demographically unbalanced population of women, younger children, and older people. This phenomenon was not new to Nigeria and had been evident in parts of the country since long before independence. The paper discusses the major conceptual issues in a thematic form by identifying the factors that led to the growth of cities, and concludes by positing that we are not saying that cities were absent in pre-industrial, pre-capitalist or pre-nation state societies. Rather, it was the combination of those influences that gave rise to accelerated urbanization, a new role for the city within the larger society and, hence, the city as we know it today.

Keywords: City, Nation-Building, Urbanization, Socio-economic & Political Interactions & Demography

Introduction

Nation-building is a normative concept that means different things to different people. The latest conceptualization is essentially that nation-building programs are those in which dysfunctional or unstable or "failed states" or economies are given assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure, civil society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability. Nation-building generally assumes that someone or something is doing the building intentionally (Stephenson, 2005).

But it is important to look at the evolution of theories of nation-building and at the other concepts which it has both supplanted and included. Many people believe that nation-building is evolutionary rather than revolutionary, that it takes a long time and is a social process that cannot be jump-started from outside. The evolution of the Italian city-states into a nation, the German city-states into the Zollverein customs union and later a nation, the multiple languages and cultural groups in France into the nation of France, the development of China from the warring kingdoms, took a very long time, and were the result, not only of political leadership, but of changes in technology and economic processes (the agricultural and then industrial revolutions), as well as communication, culture and civil society, and many other factors.

In Nigeria, the population growth of cities has assumed an alarming proportion with the result that land is being used up will-nilly. The main problem is the number and density of population in urban areas and the way in which land is being taken up to supply new houses, new jobs and new facilities for an expanding population. These are the major forces behind the problems of physical development and environmental pollution, which are apparent in any Nigerian city. Many development projects have been carried out without regard to the environment and these pose potential health problems and other hazards such as flooding, congestion, confusion and noise.

The concept of the "city" is notoriously hard to define. The aim of this essay is to present the city historically as the resultant and symbol of a "revolution" that initiated a new economic stage in the evolution of society. (Child, 1977). The word "revolution" must not of course be taken as denoting a sudden violent catastrophe; it is here used for the culmination of a progressive change in the economic structure and social organization of communities that caused, or was accompanied by, a dramatic increase in population, an increase that would appear as an obvious bend in the graph were vital statistics available. Just such a bend is observable at the time of the industrial Revolution in England.

Though not demonstrable statistically, comparable changes of direction must have occurred at two earlier points in the demographic history of Britain and other regions. Though perhaps less sharp, and less durable, these too should indicate equally revolutionary changes in economy. They may then be regarded likewise as marking transitions between stages in economic and social development which are aspects of the role of cities in Nation building.

Contextualizing Nation Building and City

Nation Building

According to Deutsch (1966: 3), the process of nation-building could be seen as an architectural design or a mechanical model that could be built based on authority, needs, and plan of the designer. To achieve unity, Emerson (1967: 91-98) believes that at this stage, nation-building involves the citizens' loyalty towards their country of residence, and reduces their prioritizing towards their own ethnic. There are researchers that refer to them as a community that

is formed historically through the sharing of similar territories, economy and traditional elements that embody language, culture and name. Most countries involved in the process of nation-building are former colonies.

Originally, nation-building referred to the efforts of newly-independent nations, notably the nations of Africa but also in the Balkans, (Harris, 2012) to reshape territories that had been carved out by colonial powers or Empires without regard to ethnic, religious, or other boundaries (Deutsch & Foltz, 2010). These reformed states would then become viable and coherent national entities (Walker, 2011). Nation-building includes the creation of national paraphernalia such as flags, anthems, national days, national stadiums, national airlines, national languages, and national myths (Hippler, 2005 & Anthony, 1986). At a deeper level, national identity needed to be deliberately constructed by molding different ethnic groups into a nation, especially since in many newly established states colonial practices of divide and rule had resulted in ethnically heterogeneous populations (Harris, 2012).

However, many new states were plagued by "tribalism", rivalry between ethnic groups within the nation. This sometimes resulted in their near-disintegration, such as the attempt by Biafra to secede from Nigeria in 1970, or the continuing demand of the Somali people in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia for complete independence. In Asia, the disintegration of India into Pakistan and Bangladesh is another example where ethnic differences, aided by geographic distance, tore apart a post-colonial state. The Rwandan genocide as well as the recurrent problems experienced by the Sudan can also be related to a lack of ethnic, religious, or racial cohesion within the nation. It has often proved difficult to unite states with similar ethnic but different colonial backgrounds. Whereas successful examples like Cameroon do exist, failures like Senegambia Confederation demonstrate the problems of uniting Francophone and Anglophone territories (James, Jones, Crane, and Cole DeGrasse, 2007). The process of nation-building is an effort to develop the spirit of patriotism and solidarity to create a country whose people share a common identity. The major aim is to foster national unity by developing a new nation and an integrated race (Hippler, 2002:1-3).

A 2003 study by James Dobbins and others for the RAND Corporation defines nation-building as "the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy (James, Jones, Crane, and Cole DeGrasse, 2007). Comparing seven historical cases: Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, "in which American military power has been used in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin democratization elsewhere round the world since World War II," they review the lessons learned. This definition of nation-building is substantially different than those which see nation-building as the province of people within a nation. The definition centers around the building of democratic processes, but many argue that the use of the military to bring about democracy may be inherently contradictory. Whether nation-building can be imposed from outside is one of the central questions in this field, and whether that can be done by the military is a further part of the question (Stephenson, 2005).

According to Wikipedia (2013) Nation-building refers to the process of constructing or structuring a national identity using the power of the state. This process aims at the unification of the people within the state so that it remains politically stable and viable in the long run. Nation-building can involve the use of propaganda or major infrastructure development to foster social harmony and economic growth. It is also the development of behaviors, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate history and culture, concretize and protect the present, and insure the future identity and independence of a nation. For the purpose of this paper the following definition of nation-building is provided: Nation-building is the intervention in the

affairs of a nation state for the purpose of changing the state's method of government. Nation-building also includes efforts to promote institutions which will provide for economic well being and social equity.

City

A city is a special combination of a place and its people. City is broadly defined here to include the totality of natural, social and artificial components aggregated in populous places. This population has a highly organized culture including varied skills but lacks self-sufficiency in the production of energy (including food). The city may also be thought of functionally as an open ecosystem for perpetuating urban culture by exchanging and converting great quantities of materials and energy. These functions requires a concentration of workers, an elaborate transport system and a hinterland that can supply the resources required by the city and absorb some of its products. (Detwyler, 1972). These definitions purposely avoid arbitrarily defining a city on the basis of a minimum number of inhabitants.

Modern urbanization in most African countries has been dominated by the growth of a single primate city, the political and commercial center of the nation; its emergence was, more often than not, linked to the shaping of the country during the colonial era. In countries with a coastline, this was often a coastal port, and in Nigeria, Lagos fitted well into this pattern. Unlike most other nations, however, Nigeria had not just one or two but several other cities of major size and importance, a number of which were larger than most other national capitals in Africa. In two areas, the Yoruba region in the southwest and the Hausa-Fulani and Kanuri areas of the north, there were numbers of cities with historical roots stretching back considerably before the advent of British colonizers, giving them distinctive physical and cultural identities. Moreover, in areas such as the Igbo region in the southeast, which had few urban centers before the colonial period and was not highly urbanized even at independence, there has been a massive growth of newer cities since the 1970s, so that these areas in 2000 were also highly urban.

Cities are not only independent centers of concentrated human population and activity; they also exert a potent influence on the rural landscape. What is distinctive about the growth of cities in Nigeria is the length of its historical extension and the geographic pervasiveness of its coverage.

Human beings have probably lived on the earth about 2 million years. But they began to live in permanent settlements only about 10,000 years ago (The World Book Encyclopedia 1991). Men and Women who established these settlements are called Newstone Age or Neolithic, people. Before people began living in permanent settlements, they wandered from place to place to hunt animals and gather plants for food. Neolithic people were the first farmers. As farmers they no longer had to wander to find food, and they began to settle in villages.

By about 3500 B.S., a number of Neolithic villages had developed into small cities. Ever since the first city appeared, many people have founded many cities in many places and for many reasons. These cities have differed in size and layout, and they have had a variety of economic, governmental and social systems. But all permanent settlements from Neolithic village to giant city needed four main features to begin and to grow. These features were

- (1) Advances in technology.
- (2) A favourable physical environment.
- (3) Social organization
- (4) Population growth.

Advances in Technology

The word technology refers to the discoveries and inventions that help people change and improve their way of life. The development of farming skills was the technological advance that led to the founding of cities. Neolithic people learned how to grow crops and invested in tools that improved farming methods. They also domesticated animals, which they used to do work and as a source of food. All these developments helped many Neolithic families produce more food than they needed.

Because of this surplus food, a number of people switched to jobs other than farming. Some became skilled at crafts and made baskets, cloth, leather goods, tools, or other products. Others became miners and dug for flint, metal and stone. The non farm workers got their food by trading the things they made to the farmers for surplus crops. Though the years, technological advances in agriculture enabled more people to become non farm workers. These people founded and populated the cities of the world.

Technological advances have influenced city life throughout history. For example, the development of steam engine in the 1700's gave people the power source they needed for large scale manufacturing.

Toward Nation building, advance in technological development in cities is an instrumental means to diminish rapidly the discrepancies between the industrial nations and our own society. This approach is made concrete by the city being node of activities for accelerated economic growth and industrialization (Jason L. Finkle/Richard W. Gable 1971). When every body is gainfully employed, income disparities will be minimal, resulting to few extremes of wealth and poverty. This internal social revolution eliminating social imbalances and benefiting all elements of society will enhance building a stable nation.

Physical Environment

This includes its location and climate and the availability of water and food. Cities have been founded in many kinds of environments, but their development has depended on certain favourable environmental restores. All cities must have enough food and drinking water to enable its residents engage in education and learning. Faith in the power of education is a foundation for Nation Building. According to one democratic ideals, widespread participation in politics does not necessarily ensure good government. The quality of government depends on the quality of participation. Well informed and well-educated citizens are able to participate more intelligently.

Nation building needs educated citizens who can think for themselves. Citizens have a duty to take part in public affairs, to keep informed on public issues and to vote intelligently. Nation building requires leaders worthy or public and responsibility. For this reason cities have become citadels of learning and a strong hold of education for their residents.

Nigerian urbanism, as in other parts of the world, is a function primarily of trade and politics. In the north, the great urban centers of Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Sokoto, the early Borno capitals (Gazargamo and Kuka), and other cities served as entrepôts to the Saharan and trans-Saharan trade, and as central citadels and political capitals for the expanding states of the northern savanna. They attracted large numbers of traders and migrants from their own hinterlands and generally also included "stranger quarters" for migrants of other regions and nations. In the south, the rise of the Yoruba expansionist city-states and of Benin and others was stimulated by trade to the coast, and by competition among these growing urban centers for the control of their hinterlands and of the trade from the interior to the Atlantic (including the slave trade). The activities of European traders also attracted people to such coastal cities as Lagos, Badagri, Brass, and Bonny, and later Calabar and Port Harcourt. Overlying the original features of the earlier cities were those generated by colonial and postcolonial rule, which created new urban centers

while also drastically altering the older ones. All these cities and peri-urban areas generally tended to have high population densities.

The northern savanna cities grew within city walls, at the center of which were the main market, government buildings, and the central mosque. Around them clustered the houses of the rich and powerful. Smaller markets and denser housing were found away from this core, along with little markets at the gates and some cleared land within the gates that was needed especially for siege agriculture. Groups of specialized craft manufacturers (cloth dyers, weavers, potters, and the like) were organized into special quarters, the enterprises often being family-based and inherited. Roads from the gates ran into the central market and the administrative headquarters. Cemeteries were outside the city gates.

By 1990 the inner close settled zone around Kano, and the largest of its kind, extended to a radius of about thirty kilometers, essentially the limit of a day trip to the city on foot or by donkey. Within this inner zone, there has long been a tradition of intensive interaction between the rural and urban populations, involving not just food but also wood for fuel, manure, and a range of trade goods. There has also been much land investment and speculation in this zone. The full range of Kano's outer close settled zone in 1990 was considered to extend sixty-five to ninety-five kilometers from the city, and the rural-urban interactions had extended in distance and increased in intensity because of the great improvements in roads and in the availability of motorized transport. Within this zone, the great majority of usable land was under annual rainy season or continuous irrigated cultivation, making it one of the most intensively cultivated regions in sub-Saharan Africa.

In the south, there were some similarities of origin and design in the forest and southern savanna cities of Yorubaland, but culture, landscape, and history generated a very different character for most of these cities. As in the north, the earlier Yoruba towns often centered on the palace of a ruler, or *afin*, which was surrounded by a large open space and a market. This arrangement was still evident in older cities such as Ife. However, many of the most important contemporary Yoruba cities, including the largest, Ibadan, were founded during the period of the Yoruba wars in the first half of the nineteenth century. Reflecting their origins as war camps, they usually contained multiple centers of power without a single central palace. Instead, the main market often assumed the central position in the original town, and there were several separate areas of important compounds established by the major original factions. Abeokuta, for example, had three main chiefly families from the Egba clan who had broken away from and become important rivals of Ibadan. Besides these divisions were the separate areas built for stranger migrants, such as Sabo in Ibadan, where many of the Hausa migrants resided; the sections added during the colonial era, often as government reserve areas (GRAs); and the numerous areas of postcolonial expansion, generally having little or no planning.

The high population densities typically found in Yoruba cities--and even in rural villages in Yorubaland were among the striking features of the region. This culturally based pattern was probably reinforced during the period of intense intercity warfare, but it persisted in most areas through the colonial and independence periods. The distinctive Yoruba pattern of densification involved filling in compounds with additional rooms, then adding a second, third, or sometimes even a fourth story. Eventually, hundreds of people might live in a space that had been occupied by only one extended family two or three generations earlier. Fueling this process of densification were the close connections between rural and urban dwellers, and the tendency for any Yoruba who could afford it to maintain both urban and rural residences.

The colonial government, in addition to adding sections to existing cities, also created important new urban centers in areas where there previously had been none. Among the most important were Kaduna, the colonial capital of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and Jos in the central highlands, which was the center of the tin mining industry on the plateau and a recreational town for expatriates and the Nigerian elite. These new cities lacked walls but had centrally located administrative buildings and major road and rail transport routes, along which the main markets developed. These routes became one of the main forces for the cities' growth. The result was usually a basically linear city, rather than the circular pattern largely based on defensive needs, which characterized the earlier indigenous urban centers.

The other ubiquitous colonial addition was the segregated GRA, consisting of European-style housing, a hospital or nursing station, and educational, recreational, and religious facilities for the British colonials and the more prominent European trading community. The whole formed an expatriate enclave, which was deliberately separated from the indigenous Nigerian areas, ostensibly to control sanitation and limit the spread of diseases such as malaria. After independence, these areas generally became upper income suburbs, which sometimes spread outward into surrounding farmlands as well as inward to fill in the space that formerly separated the GRA from the rest of the city. New institutions, such as university campuses, government office complexes, hospitals, and hotels, were often located outside or on the fringes of the city in the 1980s. The space that originally separated them from the denser areas was then filled in as further growth occurred.

Social Organization

Certain rules of behaviour are needed to maintain order, peace and security in any community. Since Neolithic times most people have agreed that it is wrong to harm or steal from others in their group. In turn, people expect that their own rights to safety and property will be respected by other members of the group. People also have duties toward their group as a whole. They have often fought to protect their group from enemies.

The maintenance of order in groups also requires some system of authority. In the family, the most basic social group, parents have authority over their children. In larger social groups, including cities, citizens must accept the authority of government. Neolithic villages had a simple social organization. People were required to respect each others rights and children had to obey their parents. But most villages had few government officials as we think of such officials today. Someone probably took care of the surplus food and there may have been a chief planner for defence against outsiders. As cities grew, the duties of family members and neighbours towards each other remained basically the same. But to keep order in cities, governments took on a greater role in managing community affairs and providing services for the people. Today, many cities need thousands of government workers. These workers include councilors, Mayors, Chairmen, City Planners, Clerical employees, fire fighters, garbage collectors, health officials, police officers and teachers. The foregoing is a democratic ideal of working with and for the people which is another tenet of a democratic government.

Population Growth

Only about 10 million people existed during the Neolithic period (World Book Encyclopedia 1991). The population of the world reached about 500 million by A.D. 1650 and about 4¹/₃ billion by 1980. (World Book encyclopedia 1991). This population led to an increase in both the size and number of cities.

Two other trends also have aided the development of cities. One trend sometimes called the population implosion or population urbanization is the ever increasing concentration of people in small parts of the earth. These parts are the cities and the surrounding areas. The other trend sometimes called the population dispersion or population diversification is the movement to cities by people of a variety of cultural backgrounds.

Through the years, cities came to include people of different racial religious, nation and language groups. This mixing of people brought about cultural diffusion, a process by which people of different backgrounds learn from each other by exchanging ideas. Cultural diffusion ranks among the most important factors in the development of civilization and nation-building.

The concentration of wealth, prestige, political power, and religious learning in the cities attracted large numbers of migrants, both from the neighboring countryside and from distant regions. This influx occasioned the building of additional sections of the city to accommodate these strangers. In many of the northern cities, these areas were separated between sections for the distant, often non-Muslim migrants not subject to the religious and other prohibitions of the emir, and for those who came from the local region and were subjects of the emir. The former area was designated the "Sabon Gari," or new town (which in southern cities, such as Ibadan, has often been shortened to "Sabo"), while the latter was often known as the "Tudun Wada," an area often quite wealthy and elaborately laid out. To the precolonial sections of the town was often added a government area for expatriate administrators. The result was that many of the northern cities have grown from a single centralized core to being polynucleated cities, with areas whose distinctive character reflected their origins, and the roles and position of their inhabitants.

Surrounding many of the large, older northern cities, including Kano, Sokoto, and Katsina, there developed regions of relatively dense rural settlement where increasingly intensive agriculture was practiced to supply food and other products to the urban population. These areas have come to be known as close settled zones, and they were of major importance to the agricultural economies of the north.

Spurred by the oil boom prosperity of the 1970s and the massive improvements in roads and the availability of vehicles, Nigeria since independence has become an increasingly urbanized and urban-oriented society. During the 1970s Nigeria had possibly the fastest urbanization growth rate in the world. Because of the great influx of people into urban areas, the growth rate of urban population in Nigeria in 1986 was estimated to be close to 6 percent per year, more than twice that of the rural population. Between 1970 and 1980, the proportion of Nigerians living in urban areas was estimated to have grown from 16 to more than 20 percent, and by 2010, urban population was expected to be more than 40 percent of the nation's total. Although Nigeria did not have the highest proportion of urban population in sub-Saharan Africa (in several of the countries of francophone Central Africa, for example, close to 50 percent of the population was in the major city or cities), it had more large cities and the highest total urban population of any sub-Saharan African country.

In 1990 there were twenty-one state capitals in Nigeria, each estimated to have more than 100,000 inhabitants; fifteen of these, plus a number of other cities, probably had populations exceeding 200,000. Virtually all of these were growing at a rate that doubled their size every fifteen years. These statistics did not include the new national capital, Abuja, which was planned to have more than 1 million inhabitants by early in the twenty-first century, although that milestone might be delayed as construction there stretched out. In 1990 the government was still in the process of moving from Lagos, the historical capital, to Abuja in the middle belt, and most sections of the government were still operating from Lagos. Since 1976 there had been dual

capitals in both Lagos and Abuja. If one added the hundreds of smaller towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants, which resembled the larger centers more than the many smaller villages throughout the country, the extent of Nigerian urbanization was probably more widespread than anywhere else in sub-Saharan Africa. Many of the major cities had growing manufacturing sectors, including, for example, textile mills, steel plants, car assembly plants, large construction companies, trading corporations, and financial institutions. They also included government-service centers, large office and apartment complexes, along with a great variety of small business enterprises, many in the "informal sector," and vast slum areas. All postsecondary education installations were in urban centers, and the vast majority of salaried jobs remained urban rather than rural.

Although cities varied, there was a typical Third World urban approach that distinguished life in the city from that in the countryside. It emerged from the density and variety of housing--enormous poverty and overcrowding for most, and exorbitantly wealthy suburbs and guarded enclaves for the upper classes. It also emerged from the rhythm of life set by masses of people going to work each day; the teeming central market areas; the large trading and department stores; the traffic, especially at rush hours; the filth that resulted from inadequate housing and public services; the destitution indicated by myriads of beggars and unemployed; the fear of rising crime; and the excitement of night life that was nonexistent in most rural areas. All these factors, plus the increased opportunity to connect with the rich and powerful through chains of patron-client relations, made the city attractive, lively, and dangerous. Urban people might farm, indeed many were trying to do so as food prices soared in the 1980s, but urban life differed vastly from the slow and seasonally defined rhythm of life in rural areas.

Generally, even with all its drawbacks, it was seen as more desirable, especially by young people with more than a primary education. The most notorious example of urban growth in Nigeria has undoubtedly been Lagos, its most important commercial center. The city has shot up in size since the 1960s; its annual growth rate was estimated at almost 14 percent during the 1970s, when the massive extent of new construction was exceeded only by the influx of migrants attracted by the booming prosperity. Acknowledged to be the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa (although an accurate count of its population must await census results), Lagos has become legendary for its congestion and other urban problems. Essentially built on poorly drained marshlands, the city commonly had flooding during the rainy season, and there was frequent sewage backup, especially in the poorer lowland sections. As in other Nigerian cities, there was a constant problem of garbage and waste disposal. Housing construction had boomed but rarely seemed to keep pace with demand. The city's main fame, however, came from the scale of its traffic jams. Spanning several islands as well as a large and expanding mainland area, the city never seemed to have enough bridges or arteries. The profusion of vehicles that came with the prosperity of the 1970s seemed often to be arranged in a massive standstill, which became the site for urban peddling of an amazing variety of goods, as well as for entertainment, exasperation, innovation, and occasionally crime. By 1990 Lagos had made some progress in managing its traffic problems both through road and bridge construction and traffic control regulations. This progress was aided by the economic downturn of the late 1980s, which slowed urban migration and even led some to people return to rural areas.

Aside from Lagos, the most rapid recent rates of urbanization in the 1980s were around Port Harcourt in the Niger Delta region, which was at the heart of the oil boom, and generally throughout the Igbo and other areas of the southeast. These regions historically had few urban centers, but numerous large cities, including Onitsha, Owerri, Enugu, Aba, and Calabar, grew

very rapidly as commercial and administrative centers. The Yoruba southwest was by 1990 still the most highly urbanized part of the country, while the middle belt was the least urbanized. The problems of Lagos, as well as the desire for a more centrally located capital that would be more of a force for national unity, led to the designation in 1976 of a site for a new national capital at Abuja.

Conclusion

Cities as we know them today (i.e. large scale agglomerations of people concentrated in social space for the accomplishment of economic and administrative functions) are a relatively recent development in human history. About all their creation was the result of changes in the economic organization of modern society, particularly the advent of industrial capitalism which required, on the one hand, a concentration of labour and productive facilities and on the other, the commercialization of agriculture which forced many small farmers off the land.

Yet, if industrialization was a fundamental causes of urbanization, it was by no means the only one. As Weber pointed out, the political and administrative apparatus of the nation state both required and contributed to consolidation of the urban population. (Walton and Carns 1977). Note here that we are not saying that cities were absent in pre-industrial, pre-capitalist or pre-nation state societies. Rather, it was the combination of those influences that gave rise to accelerated urbanization, a new role for the city within the larger society and, hence, they city as we know it today.

References

- Anthony, J. C. and Snyder J.C. (1988), (eds), *Urban Planning*,. (Rev. ed.), London: McGraw 1988.
- Anthony, S. (1986), "State-Making and Nation-Building," in Hall, J. (ed.), *States in History*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 228–263.
- Child, V. C. (1977), *The Urban Revolution" in Cities in Change 2nd edition Studies on the Urban Condition*, Boston Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Deutsch, K. W. & Foltz, W. J. (2010), *Nation building in comparative contexts* New Brunswick [N.J.]: AldineTransaction..
- Deutsch, K.W. (1963), (ed.), *The Study of Nation-Building, 1962-1966, Nation-Building*, Chicago: Adline Atherton.
- Emerson, R. (1963), *Nation-Building in Africa*, di dalam buku *Nation-Building*, diedit oleh Chicago: Adline Atherton Press.

Emerson, R. (1967), *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African People*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts.

Harris, M. (2012), *The Politics of Nation-Building : Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hippler, J. (2005), (ed.), *Nation-Building : A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation*,. London: Pluto.

Hodge, N. (2011), *Armed Humanitarians: The Rise of the Nation Builders*, New York City: Bloomsbury USA.

James, D., Jones, S.G., Crane, K. and Cole DeGrasse, B. (2007), *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation.

Seymour, L.M.(1979). *The First New Nation*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc.

Stephenson, C.(2005), "Nation Building," in *Beyond Intractability*. Burgess G. and Burgess H. (eds.), Boulder, University of Colorado, Boulder.

The World Book Encyclopedia (1991), C1-02 Volume 4, Chicago: World Book Inc.

The World Book Encyclopedia (1991), D. Volume 5, Chicago: World Book Inc.

Taylor, L. (1982), *Cities: The Forces that Shape Them*, (Rev. ed.), Rome: Rizzaoli.

U.S. Library of Congress (2007), *Country Profile: Nigeria*, Washington D.C: U.S. Library of Congress.

Walker, C. (2011), "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?". *World Politics* **24** (03): 319–355

Walton, J. and Carns, D.E. ed.(1977), "Politics of Nation, Building" in Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable (eds); *Political Development and Social Change*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.