PATRONS AND POWER

CREATING A POLITICAL COMMUNITY IN METROPOLITAN LAGOS

Sandra T. Barnes



MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS for the INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE, London

CONTENTS

	Lists of maps, tables and figures Preface	viii ix
1	Introduction	
-	The distribution of power in contemporary Africa	2
	Patterns of political activity	4
	The client paradigm	7
	The setting	11
	Plan of the book	15
2	The making of Mushin	
	The eve of colonial takeover: 1850-61	19
	Early colonial administration: 1861-1927	23
	Administrative neglect	29
	Unofficial authorities: the village Baale and the Baba Isale	31
	Late colonial administration: 1927–55 First steps toward unifying Mushin villages	36 39
	Unofficial authorities: the emergence of settler leaders	43
3	Land and housing as sources of power	
	Competition for urban land	47
	The legal background to competition for urban land	50
	The economics of land and housing	55
	The case of Timothy Abiola	56
	The case of I. A. Adeyemi	57
	The social benefits of owning urban property	61
	The descent group The nuclear and extended families	61 65
	The nuclear and extended families The community	66
	The status of owners	67
4	The residential basis of leadership	
	Neighbourhood interaction	71
	Patterns of neighbourhood support	71 75
	Bases of neighbourhood power	76
	Leadership roles	78
	Dimensions of the dispute-settler role	85
	Dimensions of the patron and middleman roles	88

vi Contents

	Leadership skills Converting non-political resources into political capital	· 93 95
5	The chieftaincy system	
	The birth of a chieftaincy system	98
	Chieftaincy politics in the party era	103
	Chieftaincy politics under the military government	105
	The structure and function of the chieftancy system	109
	The problems of urban chiefs	120
	The contemporary meaning of chieftaincy	122
6	The consolidation of leadership	
	Community leadership: the institutional route to the top	126
	Local government	128
	Political parties	130
	The pyramiding of power	135
	The role of the public in political processes	143
	The emergence of a political machine Responses to the contraction of power	145 147
	Explanations for survival	147
	Expanations for Survival	133
7	The role of factions in the struggle for power	
	The local response to military rule	157
	The political importance of markets	159
	Factionalism in markets	163
	Market conflict: episode one	163
	Market conflict: episode two Market conflict: episode three	167
	Market conflict: episode four	171 177
	Factionalism in Mushin	180
		100
8	The institutionalisation of power	
	Title-giving and title-receiving in the mobilisation of support	184
	Chieftaincy conflict: episode one	186
	Public legitimation of unofficial authority	192
	Chieftaincy conflict: episode two	192
	Shifting alliances Bureaucratic legitimation of unofficial authority	194 196
	Durcauctane regionished of unotherst authority	190
9	Conclusions	
	Political problems of urban settlers	202

Contents	vii
Particular and universal aspects of clientelism	204
Political advantages of individually-contracted ties	205
Political advantages of instrumental and moral ties	207
Political advantages of reciprocity	210
The organising powers in client relationships	213
Organising diversity	213
Centralising power	215
The perpetuation of power	216
Epilogue	220
Appendix: Methods of research	223
Notes	227
Bibliography	243
Index	2 13 252
max	637

.