

Ife Social Sciences Review

Faculty of Social Sciences,
Obafemi Awolowo University Ile Ife, Nigeria
Journal homepage: www.issr.oauife.edu.ng/journal
ISSN:0331-3115 eISSN:2635-375X



Official Maps in Local Administration: A Brief Look at Inner and Outer Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Ibadan, Southwest Nigeria

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Abstract

Official maps in the state and local administrations are integral in the definition of administrative geographies. I argue that place-making through the ontogenetic status of maps might contribute to the lack of eagerness to update official maps used in local administrations in Southwest Nigeria. The case of Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Ibadan city and its immediate hinterland exemplifies this situation. In this study, I employed maps and ethnographic data in ethnohistorical and iconographic approaches to explore briefly the conditions of state cartography and to have a closer look at the visualised space of the LGAs. The findings show that the represented space of LGAs is based on earlier large-scale state maps and mapping. Nonetheless, in the inner and outer LGAs of Ibadan, these outdated official maps continue to trigger place sense-making that seems indifferent to the need for updated maps. The paper concludes that although the map currency of local geographies is a challenge for local administration, the local map culture highlights that cartographic materiality and performance have a considerable impact on the continued use of the outdated map.

Keywords: Official Map, Local Government Area, Place-making, Ibadan

Introduction

A statutory requirement and an important aspect of territorial administration is the graphical definition of the bounded space of the territory (Blacksell, 2006; Movik et al. 2021). Whereas state cartography at national and subnational levels in Nigeria has been concerned with digitalisation and updating old maps, official maps at the local government level rarely have consideration. that Indeed, some local government administrations (LGAs) lack maps. This challenge is evident in Local Government (LG) publications that often lack cartographic illustrations. For instance, a handbook introducing the Ibadan North East Local Government Areas (LGA), produced by the LG Information Unit at Idi-Ape, does not have a visual illustration for the wards listed and discussed (INELG, nd). Although present in the most local level of territorial governance, maps are not receiving due attention.

Nonetheless, the cartographic representation of LGAs in southwest Nigeria remains an important part of everyday administration. Rather than consider the need for map currency the outdatedness of these official maps has become a taken-for-granted everyday experience by local administrative personnel and the citizenry. Hence, in what ways did official maps represent the geographic space of LGAs? How did LG personnel respond to the outdatedness of these place identities on these maps? How does the ensuing place-making practice reflect the conditions of state cartography?

This paper aims to explore official cartography in Oyo State as exemplified by Local Governments of Ibadan city and its immediate hinterland. I argue that place-making through the practices of making and remaking the cartographic map – its ontogenetic becoming - might contribute to the lack of eagerness to revise and update official maps used in local administrations. Indeed, this process of the remaking of the official map in local geographies reflects a broader social norm that makes the need for formal maps a mere showpiece of state legitimacy. The argument is presented in the following sections: the next examines theoretical section the methodological background of maps and local administration. The third section engages state cartography in Nigeria and southwest Nigeria exploring the past and current trends of mapmaking, map use and circulation. The fourth section explores the selected official maps of LGAs in the Inner and Outer LGAs of Ibadan. The fifth section discusses the implications of materiality and performance for the continued relevance of these outdated maps. The final section presents the concluding remarks.

Maps, Official Cartography and Local Administration

Cartography refers to a set of techniques for spatial knowledge production "and also a form the map - for representing that knowledge" (Biggs, 1999, 374). The definition of a local administration in the modern state is integral with bounded spaces. Several official instruments including maps administratively or legally represent the territorial identity of this bounded space (Blacksell, 2006). There is also a role for maps as instruments of political control in local administrations. For instance, Balogun (1989, 329) highlighted the use of maps in Oyo State in the bureaucratic administration of education and economic planning. Maps and geographic information are also essential practical tools in the everyday rendering of local services. For example, Uluocha (2000) highlight the value of digitised geographic information in property rate administration in Lagos Mainland LGA, including the timely updating of reliable tax maps. Local Governments use different geographic information in local administration but often they have specific maps as an official spatial representation of the administrative geography.

Maps are primary instruments of the geographical knowledge of the modern political state. Maps are a two-dimensional graphic representation of the earth's surface (Balogun, 2001, 31). Representation as used here refers to the graphic depiction of the earth's surface in maps that suggests a resemblance between the image and the actual material space. The technical perspective emphasised the map form as constituting a mathematical base, graphical system and communication purpose. In contrast, Harley & Woodward (1987, xvi) define the map as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, processes or events in the human world". In other words, the map is integral to social and cultural processes, highlighting the social construction of maps (Harley, 2001).

Nonetheless, there has been a shift to a processual understanding of maps. Perkins (2010, 350, original emphasis) notes, "mapping is a process reflecting a way of thinking". Indeed, Kitchin & Dodge (2007, 335) insisted maps do not have ontogenetic stability but "an inscription in a constant state of re-inscription". Although fixed materially but every time a cartographic representation is employed by individuals for place-making it is transformed into a map. This ontogenetic character or continuous remaking of maps reveals they are of-the-moment, contextdependent and relational (Ibid, 340). In recent times, object-oriented approaches highlight the materiality of maps as an object (Edney, 2019; Rossetto, 2019). In this study, I bring together the map as an object and practice in exploring local official maps.

Official or authoritative maps are the official representation of biophysical space depicting the distribution and characteristics of geographical features. These official maps are usually presented objective, as an representation of the landscape while maps that emerge from informal circumstances are often deemed sketch maps. State cartography reflects authoritative knowledge, which strengthens the legitimacy of the modern political state. Authoritative knowledge refers to geographical knowledge production by experts dictated within the top-down scheme of the modern political

state. Hence, maps are visual technologies produced and organised by or for the state (Movik et al. 2021).

A fundamental critique of official maps in Nigeria is the outdatedness of their geographic data (Akinyemi et al. 2013, 2). For example, several types of official topographic maps in Nigeria are largely outdated (Ejikeme et al. 2014). This outdated condition of official maps was impacted by the liberalisation of the public service, which reduced state financing of mapping services over the decades (Dodge & Kitchin, 2013, 35). Although outdated, the spatial information on official maps continues to be relevant in the aforementioned processual context. For instance, LGA officials express the spatial discourses of LGAs often intensely in several spheres of local services. This map practice highlights a material engagement of the map contents within everyday social practices in geographical knowledge production.

On one hand, the outdated official maps used in local administration require updating and particularly technical improvement, digitalisation, as emphasised by the state cartographic establishment (Dada, 2012). For example, in Nigeria, Ejikeme et al (2014) highlighted this challenge of outdated national topographic maps (NTM). The larger-scale maps of the NTM provide the most detailed information on the local landscape. This challenge is primarily understood as a lack of political will but also hinged on high cost and lack of funds (Dada, 2012; Obateru, 2005) On the other hand, there is a continuous re-inscription of the biophysical space through cultural practices in local administration (Perkins, 2010). For instance, occasionally LG personnel consult a map to aid this cognitive mapping in local spatial discourses. This map use culture seems reliant on the familiarity of the local landscape to citizens. However, Balogun (1989, 321) observes, "many Nigerians do not see the need for [updated] maps as they can always" rely on their cognitive mapping for wayfinding and navigation.

Therefore, beyond political and administrative problems, I argue that place-making through the cultural practices of making and remaking the cartographic map – its ontogenetic becoming – might account for the lack of eagerness to revise official maps or the local support to obtain

updated maps in local administration. As Wood (1982, 73, original emphasis) notes, "meaning is *not* carried by maps, but triggered or released by them", which manifests in the cultural reinscription of administrative geographies through outdated cartographic representations. The case of Maps of Local Government Areas in Ibadan illustrates the inattention to updating official maps by local administrative personnel owing to the cultural practices of re-inscribing the depicted space.

In this study, I employed an ethnohistorical approach to explore the conditions of state cartography in local administration (Movik et al. 2021). Additionally, I apply an iconographic analysis to have a closer look at the visualised space of the LGAs (Harley, 2001). This method involved the analyses of technical sign production, place identities on the map and ideologies of place-making exemplified in remaking maps. The study focuses on Ibadan city and its immediate hinterland, which consist of five Inner and six Outer LGAs. I examine two maps from the inner LGAs and one map from the outer LGAs. The maps used as data in this study were collected in July-October 2010 and November-December 2020 during fieldwork, that was part of larger research exercises. Again, interview data collected during these and other fieldwork provided ethnographic information. The 24 participants (14 male and 10 female), all personnel of the LGs, were involved in individual or collective discussions on the maps.

State Cartography in Nigeria

State cartography evolved in the territorial administration of Nigeria since the nineteenth century. State mapping of the biophysical landscape commenced in the Colony of Lagos in the 1870s. Between 1914 and 1955, the Nigerian Survey was responsible for the official mapping of the colonial state (Balogun, 1989). This Department began a more detailed mapping of the country in 1949 by introducing intensive topographic mapping. In 1955, there was regionalisation of the Nigeria Survey, which became Federal Surveys. Since the beginning of the post-independence administration in 1960, the department has been under the control of several government ministries. In the 1960s and the 1970s, there was an expansion of state

topographic mapping, which has not yet covered the whole country (Ibid, 1989). There was reflection of economic challenges of the 1980s and 1990s in the problems of state maps and mapping. In 2005. the state-surveying organisation embodied in the Office of the Surveyor-General, in both the central and subnational administrations, became independent government parastatal. In the early 2000s, the securing of geospatial information through advanced remote sensing techniques commenced (Uluocha, 2012).

In Southwest Nigeria, map production, use and circulation were very evident in local administration since the commencement of the modern political state (Crowder, 1978). In the colonial period, maps and mapping were central to the collection of spatial information in the implementation of administrative and professional work. For example, district officers in the Native Administration often produce rough

sketches of their districts at a time when state mapping of local areas was not a consideration of the colonial state (Potts, 1941, 87). These sketch maps were especially useful in tax collection. Likewise, personnel of the Agricultural and Forestry Department of the Colonial Government often produce maps of land use and forest areas during the execution of their duties (Prothero, 1954, 63). These visualised geographies are often included in administrative correspondence of the colonial government. A case in point was Figure 1 produced by an Officer of the Agricultural Department in February 1950 as part of the correspondence with other administrative officers in Oyo Province. This sketch map of the Jabata area emerged during the search for suitable farmland for the establishment of a Farm Settlement Scheme. Although not formally produced, these maps were crucial to the very art of grassroots administration by the colonial state.

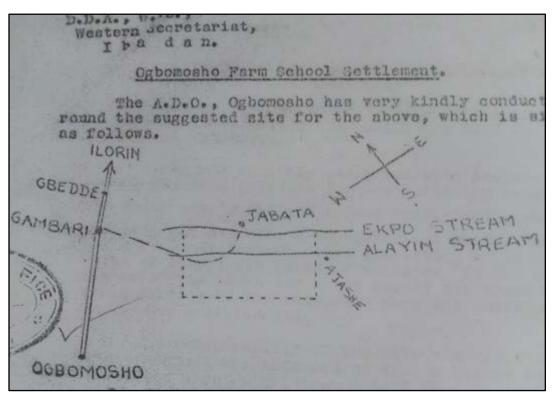


Figure 1 Sketch Map of Jabata village, Ogbomoso sub-district, Oyo Province, 1950 (Source: National Archives, Ibadan, 2020)

In the 1950s, the Western Regional Government of Nigeria began a vigorous drive for socio-

physical development (Crowder, 1978). This developmental effort involved the production of

maps utilised in socio-economic development projects. For instance, in the 1960s, the regional government produced plans and maps for the Western Nigeria Land Settlement Scheme (WNLSS). Similarly, in the 1970s, the Western State Government produced several regional maps and urban plans (Figure 2). During this early post-independence period, there were variations in the condition of maps and mapping in local administration. For instance, it was given

due regard by some urban district governments but it was a rudimentary concern in the rural district administrations. However, the situation had not improved in both urban and rural districts before political challenges set in with a military takeover in 1966 (*Ibid*, 1978). After the creation of more administrative states in southwest Nigeria in 1976, state governments continued producing maps with urban bias.

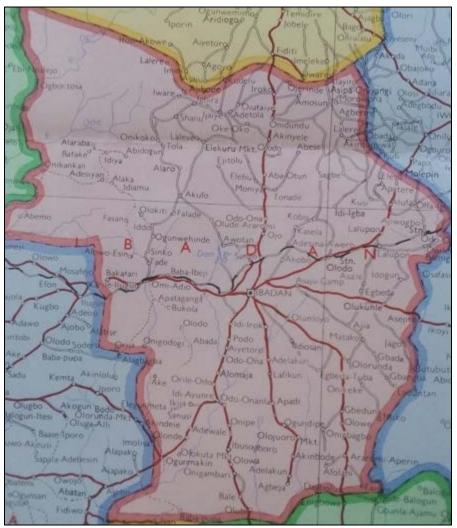


Figure 2 Western State of Nigeria, 1975 Scale: 1:500,000 or 1.014 Inches to Eight Miles, Survey Division, Ministry of Lands and Housing, Ibadan

(Source: Map Depot, Office of the Surveyor-General, Oyo State, Ibadan, 2020)

However, there were evident problems in the production and use of maps in the state administrations (Balogun, 1989). This situation echoed the effect of authoritarian administration in the Nigerian state. For instance, in 1976, the

map illustrating the official publication of the commencement of a state, *The Birth of Oyo State*, authored by Brigadier David Jemibewon, was a sketch map (Figure 3). State mapping organisations and services has remained largely

static from the 1980s and 1990s until recently. In 2006, the Oyo State Government adopted the new organisational model of the state-surveying department as a parastatal. In the 2000s, the situation of updating official maps in Oyo State has not improved, but the state administration has switched to opportunities offered by neoliberal reforms in cartographic production. The state has

been producing small-scale maps and infographics for promotional purposes. Besides, there has been an attempt to provide statewide digital geospatial information to the state government, but it has become inactive owing to irregular funding (State Surveyor, Personal Communication, 2019).

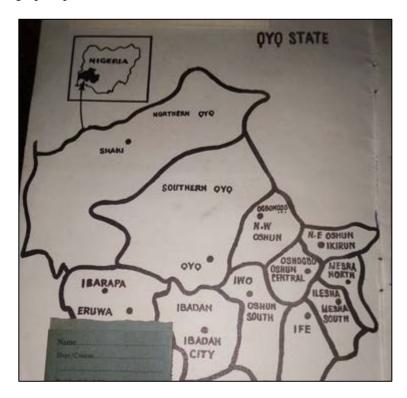


Figure 3 Oyo State, *The Birth of Oyo State*, Information Division of the Ministry of Local Government and Information, Ibadan, 1976

(Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development, Ibadan, 2020)

This political-economic situation had an impact on map production and use in local administrations. Indeed, the local government system in Western Nigeria was still undergoing structural development when the authoritarian rule set in to undermine the democratic experiment in 1966 (Crowder, 1978). The subsequent autocratic regimes have always introduced new local reforms. For example, the Local Government reform of 1976 ushered in the present system of LGAs, which have continuously encountered administrative challenges in the art of local government in urban and rural areas. However, there were also reforms to local administration since the return of civil rule in 1999 (CLGF, nd). This era of civil administration has not had a desirable impact on local administration in terms of map services. For instance, there is still confusion regarding where in the LG bureaucracy to access LGA maps – the town planning or the general administrative departments. Recently, in the 2000s, there was an increasing use of privately produced state maps, which seems to fill in the gap, but its employment has been limited to state government-driven LGA partnership programmes. Yet map usages are still evident in local state activities such as census exercises, electoral conduct and public health campaigns.

Maps in the Local Administration of Ibadan LGAs

Ibadan Southeast LGA

The town planning department of the LG produced Figure 4. However, LG staff could not provide any information regarding the time of production and the mapmaker. Nevertheless, I suggest the probable production of the map was in the mid-1990s since the LG emerged from the

Old Ibadan municipal LG in 1991. The drawing suggests that the production technique was tracing from a possibly large-scale map or aerial photograph of the city. Hence, probably a LG staff conducted the free-hand drawing without any mechanical aid. A distinguishing feature of the map was the wards, which suggests it was primarily utilised for political administrative purposes.

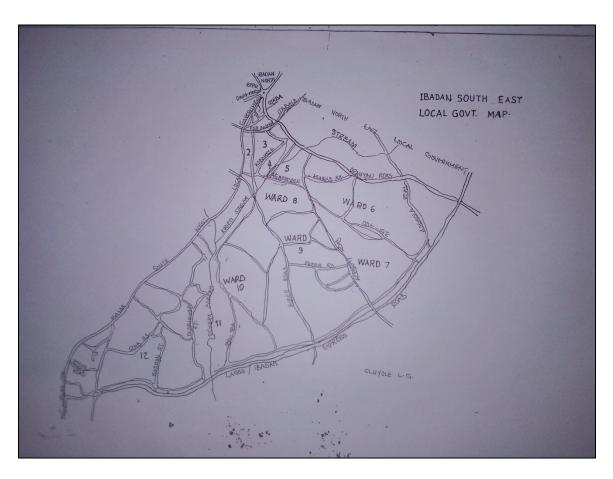


Figure 4 Ibadan South-East LGA (Source: Town-Planning Department, Ojaba, 2010)

The sign production was almost devoid of a map layout, and the map figure comprises almost a single sign – a linear sign except for an obscure but significant point sign. The single line bordered the map while the title 'Ibadan South East Local Govt. Map', placed at the upper right-hand side, served as the layout. The figure consists of double and single linear signs. The lone point sign drew attention to a network of

lines on the upper left-hand corner of the map. Typography also served to construct the LG area. As indicated, the typographic labels Ibadan Southwest LGA, Ibadan Northeast LGA, Oluyole LGA and Lagos/Ibadan Express Road functioned as boundaries. In addition, it provided place names for the geographical features.

The linear signs that conceptualise the geographical space denote natural and cultural

features. The natural feature depicted was the stream. As illustrated, to the south and north of Figure 4 were the Ogunpa and Kudeti streams. The cultural features represented were streets, roads and the LG wards. Indeed, the road network framed this geographical landscape. Numbers indicate the LG wards on the map. There are twelve of these political administrative wards.

The mapmaking employed basic linear symbols of lines and double lines to express streams and roads, which gave form to the bounded space of the LGA. This production of space, regardless of the bounded units, effectively highlights the local knowledge production at the heart of Ibadan. At the upper left-hand corner are closely packed streets and roads indicated as Ojaba, Bere, Orita-Merin, and Ita-Bale. These streets represent the actual town founded in 1829 (Crowder, 1978). From here, the original settlement expanded to the current area of the LGA. Indeed, the Ibadan SELG is one of the oldest administrative divisions in the city.

Why would a LG offer such a sketch map as its available official geographical information in the age of digital geospatial technologies? It was apparent that this map was a result not only of a lack of funds in the town-planning department as complained but of a general administrative character to spatial information by decisionmakers at the local administration. There seems to be a general view amongst participants that the barest minimum of spatial knowledge required was often for the location and extent of the political wards. Nonetheless, the LG personnel, as they interrogate the map manifested a thorough knowledge of the immediate neighbourhood. For example, two men and two women, from the storied building of the LG pointed to the places around Ojaba depicted in Figure 4. Besides, they thoughtfully highlighted the roads to take towards the farther places depicted on the map with a gestural performance of their hands. This suggested they were residents of these places as interview data later affirmed. This engagement with the outdated map released individual renderings of place knowledge.

Nevertheless, few LG officials could engage the map information meticulously, particularly in places farther from the Ojaba locality. Indeed, several of these middle-aged LG personnel were seeing the administrative map for the first time. This is attributable, I contend to the secrecy attached to the securing of the map. This outdated map is still mostly inaccessible because of restrictive practices highlighting the difficulty of accessing official maps within the urban local governments. The secrecy attached to maps, I suggest is much more bureaucratic than the additional sensitivity to map information manifested at the state and federal survey offices.

Ibadan North LGA

The Ibadan North Local Planning Authority produced Figure 5. There was no indication of either the time of production or the mapmakers on the map. It can be suggested that draftsmen of the local planning authority constructed the map. Considering the technique of production, I suggest the production of the map was in the 2000s. The drawing rendering the linear signs in mechanical edges suggests an automated cartographic production. Besides, the map lettering and legend affirm that it was computer work. Digitisation in the mapping process became common in the government and public domain in the 2000s (Dada, 2012). Figure 5 was probably based on a previous map or aerial photograph of that part of the city. The LG employed the map for administrative purposes.

The sign production comprises the map layout and the map figure. The layout included a title, orientation, legend and scale. The title 'Map Showing Ibadan North Local Govt.', was placed at the head of the map. The orientation, at the lower left-hand corner, included a label and a triangle beneath it. The legend at the upper righthand corner informed the reader about the meaning of the six signs on the map. There was a placement of the scale beneath the map at the lower right-hand corner but almost blurred. The map figure contained primarily linear signs. These linear signs include single and double lines of varied widths, which made an intense network. Like in Figure 4, these lines eventually make up polygonal features. Such a polygonal feature includes a shaded space at the lower centre of Figure 5. Varied forms of typography also served to construct the LG space. Similar to Figure 4, the typographical labels of neighbouring LGAs suggest and affirm the bounded space. These geographical place names gave the administrative landscape a lively mood.

The abstraction of the geographical space by linear signs essentially denotes cultural features, but there was also a natural feature. The natural feature portrayed was a stream. As indicated, the Ogunpa streams flowed from the north to the south into Ibadan Southeast LGA. This stream passed through a shaded feature at the map centre, which is identifiable as the Agodi Gardens, a nature reserve in the city. The cultural features included boundaries, roads, railways, LG wards and areas. The black and white [monochrome]

nature of the map has blurred the boundary line. The road network like in Figure 4, dominates the landscape. The thick dark line illustrated the railway across the LGA. As in Figure 4, there is an indication of the LG wards on the map with a numbering system. There are also twelve of these political administrative wards. The rectangular feature, near Ward 4, illustrated with the label 'IBN LG HORT AGODI', referred to the LG Headquarters at Agodi.

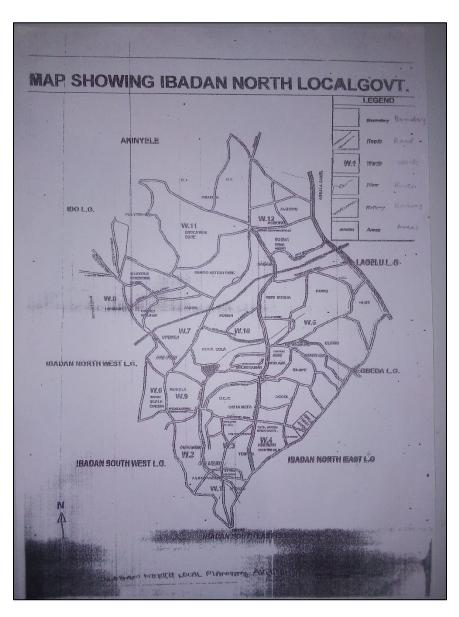


Figure 5 Ibadan North LG Area (Source: Ibadan North Planning Authority, Agodi, 2010)

The blurred appearance of the map manifested the repetitive reproduction by a photocopy of this map. For example, there was a blurring of marginal information such as the producing authority, the scale and the boundary on the map. Hence, there was a need to employ hand-written aid to highlight some features/symbols like the orientation. The map rarely fascinates some visitors around the Agodi local secretariat. Indeed, many had no clue about administrative geography of the LGA. However, there was a different perspective on the administrative geographic space by LG officials. For instance, I had enquired from a physical planning official about further information concerning a particular quarter, but he responded by requesting I produce my map of the locality. The middle-aged man decided against sketching further information on the map but made a descriptive statement about the enquired neighbourhood.

The interest in the immediate Agodi neighbourhood was equally manifested amongst two male customary court officials of the LGA but they had some descriptive knowledge of some places and in particular, the wards depicted on the map. Interestingly, the personnel of the public health department had a richer knowledge of several depicted places. A male healthcare clerk, aided with a copy of Figure 5 pasted on a noticeboard, described the local geography of health facilities. Indeed, I saw six female health officials involved in immunisation exercises producing several sketch maps of these localities and neighbourhoods to aid their work (Ogundiwin, 2010). Hence, the sight of the outdated map kept triggering local knowledge of places.

Lagelu LGA

The General Administrative Department of the LG distributes Figure 6 to citizens that request it. Indeed, the town planning department displayed a copy of this map on a noticeboard. The department has no other map of the LGA, and it was, as the staff explained, currently under the control of the state urban planning board. Like the previous two maps, there was no indication of the date of production on the map nor could the LG staff suggest the time of production. However, I suggest the map production was in the Old Oyo

State in the late 1980s or early 1990s owing to the reference to Osun Division and General Redevelopment. A private drafting firm, FAF Planners at Agodi, Ibadan, produced this map. In addition, the map identified as Plan Number FAFP/LM 5, suggests it was created by town planning or architectural draftsmen. The graphic portrayal reveals a combination of free-hand and mechanical drawing.

The sign production included a clear map layout and an elaborate map figure. The map layout comprises a border, title, graticules, legend and scale. A single neat line bordered the map. At the top of the map was the title, "Lagelu Local Government Map". Single horizontal and vertical lines, gridded the map. There was the placement of an elaborate legend, titled "Action Area Plan for General Redevelopment", on the left-hand side outside the map border. Beneath the map was the placement of two forms of scale – an RF and a graphic scale. The figure consists of varied types of double and single linear signs. Different colours such as yellow, purple and black further distinguished these linear signs. Indeed, this linear network was a fundamental element of the depicted landscape. Although the bright colours on the map are visually engaging, the viewer's attention was also drawn to the bold numbers on the map face. Similarly, there are varied circular signs representing several geographical features. The typography on the map, as in the previous maps, indicated place and feature names as well as suggested the LGAs bordering Lagelu LGA. As illustrated, the place names of Oluyole LGA, Akinyele LGA, Iwo LGA and Irewole LGA functioned as boundaries.

The graphic construction in Figure 6 denotes natural and cultural features. As in the previous map, the hydrological system was the only natural feature depicted. There was the portrayal of several river systems including the River Osun and its tributaries as well as Ogbere and Omi, which are tributaries of the Ona River. The cultural feature predominated the map face with primarily road networks. Other cultural features included LG development areas, sub-territorial boundaries and social welfare facilities such as a market, dispensary, borehole water system, etc. Bold numbers indicate the LG development areas, which are five in number.

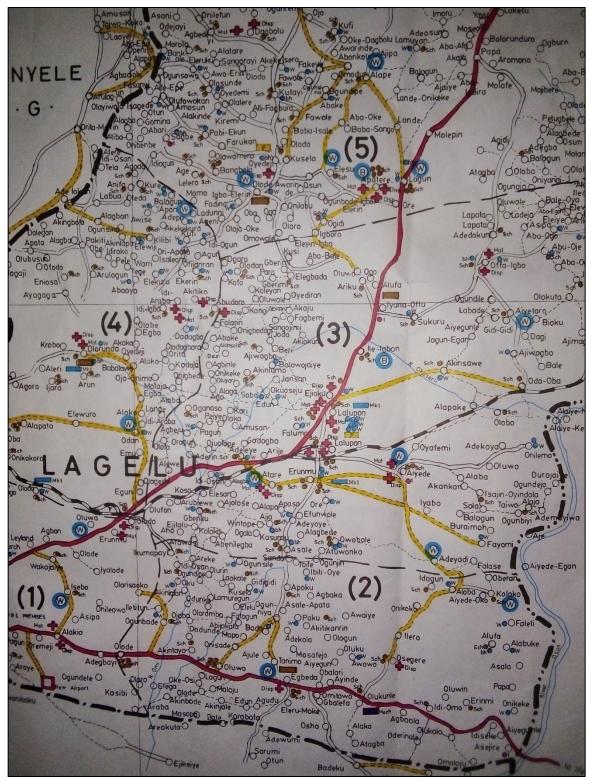


Figure 6 Detail of Lagelu LGA Map

(Source: General Administration Department, Iyana-Offa, 2020)

There are varied responses from government personnel to this visual representation of the

administrative space. For example, three male officials of the General Administration

department had a descriptive knowledge of towns and villages aided or not aided by the map. Similarly, the two male and two female officials of the Physical Planning department engaged the map more thoroughly but could not show the meticulous knowledge of individual settlements in the LGA as the main secretarial personnel. The attribution of this difference of knowledge was probably because the latter were indigenes and residents of the LGA, whilst discussions with the former suggest that they were residents in the city of Ibadan and some might not be indigenes of the LGA. Again, the male dominant personnel of the Agricultural department gave a profound knowledge of the places in the LGA with or without the aid of the official map. Indeed, the middle-aged officer in charge of the department employed sketching of places in further explanation of agricultural development in the LGA.

The Cartographic Challenge of Official Geographies in Local Administration

Exploring local official maps highlights the challenge of map currency but also emphasises the role of materiality and performance that seems to subsume the idea of map outdatedness in the local state bureaucracy. Geographical features on local maps in Nigeria are reductions from the large-scale maps of the central and subnational states, which still lack map currency (Dada, 2012). Map currency emphasises the use of up-to-date spatial information, which an outdated map cannot provide. Local maps focus on the internal territorialisation within the bounded space, which has not changed for some time. Although there are geographical changes in these local areas, the small-scale nature of these maps continues to hide this situation. From the above discussion, official maps in the local administration of urban and rural areas remain outdated but their updating seems irrelevant to local state bureaucracy because they are still integral to place-making. This confirms the contention of Edney (2019, 75, 87) that cartographic convention assumes whenever there is geographical change updating the map is required to maintain map currency but he highlights the difference between the periods of map making and map use, the latter been the fundamental period in which geographical consciousness of people are disciplined regardless of the maps' currency. Hence, the outdated local official map continues to be (re)produced, circulated and consumed.

The outdated official map as an object highlights the importance of its materiality in everyday engagement with the local administrative geographies. Cartographic materiality refers to the physicality of the resemblance of the earth's surface to a material object. For example, the photocopying of the manually traced Ibadan SE LGA map highlights the continued material reproduction of the map regardless of its outdatedness. Similarly, the continuous photocopying of the Ibadan North LGA map reinforces the value of the geographic image as part of the local material culture. Besides, the admonishment of the local town planner that I could re-author the traced official map reflected the value attached to the materiality of the cartographic document. This affirms the observation of Rossetto (2019, 6) that the map, as a thing-in-themselves, does take centre stage in the mapping process.

The performances of place-making through continuous engagement with the map emphasise relationality and practice revealing the peculiarity of geographical knowledge held by individuals and groups of individuals. For example, the geographical knowledge of people Mapo/Oiaba highlights the restricted understanding of the local administrative space. Likewise, there is a relation between the knowledge of remaking local official maps and the sort of local services rendered by these administrative personnel. The court bailiff, healthcare workers and agricultural officials involved in everyday practices of local administration have broader opportunities to remake the maps of the local administrative geographies (Ogundiwin, 2010). Hence, this supports the argument of Kitchin & Dodge (2007, 338-339, original emphasis) that "each person engaging with a spatial representation beckons a different map into being", because each remaking is, "framed by that individual's knowledge, skills and spatial experience."

Conclusion

Administrative geographies represented on maps are integral to the local administration. A

statutory requirement of a local administration is its territorial definition usually represented by a graphic medium. A particular challenge of official maps in the LGAs of Nigeria is their outdatedness, which has become taken-forgranted. However, I argue that place-making through the ontogenetic status of maps might contribute to the lack of eagerness to revise and update official maps used in local administrations in Southwest Nigeria. The study reveals that state cartography in Nigeria emerged from the encounter with the British colonial experience but was lesser state investment commitment to map revision and updating in local administrations. Nonetheless, in the inner and outer LGAs of Ibadan, the outdated official maps continue to trigger place sense-making. Although a clear challenge to map currency of local geographies, this local map culture highlights that cartographic materiality and performance have a considerable impact on the continued value of the outdated map. There is a need to examine further the conditions of map use and mapmaking in local areas.

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