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# PROBLEMS OF HOUSING IN LAGOS

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSION OF THE PROVISION OF HOUSING  
FOR THE URBAN POOR IN LAGOS

This thesis is submitted to  
Glasgow University for Ph.D. study at the Mackintosh  
School of Architecture from Oct. 1980 to Dec. 1985

S.MOHSEN ABOUTORABI

# CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	I
Abstracts	II
Introduction	V
List of Tables	XI
List of Figures	XII
List of Plates	XVI

## CHAPTER 1: WEST AFRICA

Boundaries of West Africa	1
Population distribution	2
Settlement Pattern and House Type	12
Nigeria-The People and their Ways of Life	22

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

History of Lagos	47
The Development of Lagos, 1800 - 1850	53
Traditional Urban Structure	61
The Development of Lagos, 1850 - 1900	67

<b>CHAPTER 3: CONTEMPORARY LAGOS</b>	
Classification of Colonial Towns	80
Growth of Economy	83
Development of Lagos since 1900	88
Urban Structure	98
Population	103
Environmental Sanitation	113
Traffic	116
Conclusion	122
Appendix 1,3	123
<b>CHAPTER 4: HISTORY OF HOUSING</b>	
Traditional Housing	133
Space Organization, Architectural Elements and Functions in Traditional Housing	140
Modification in Traditional Housing, (Brazilian Style)	148
<b>CHAPTER 5: CONTEMPORARY HOUSING</b>	
Government Intervention in Housing	170
Public Housing: Surulere Estate	184
Surulere Rehousing Schemes	189
The Structure of Residential Neighbourhoods	197
Housing Stock	206
Residential Space and Crowding	211
Dwelling Structure	213
Cost of Housing	214

## **CHAPTER 6: THE PATTERN OF LIFE**

Social Life in Lagos	220
Low-income Families	224
Study of Low-income People in their Homes	229
Life in a single Room House	236
Life in Estate Housing Surulere	247
Creation of Slums	260
Evaluation of Slums	262

## **CHAPTER 7: ENVIRONMENTAL EVALUATION**

Housing and its Effect	267
Residential Environment	276
Environmental Problems	279
Underlying Factors Affecting Housing and Settlement Form	287
Residential Layout Planning in Lagos	290
Open Spaces and Residential Layout	298
Appendix 1,7	306

## **CHAPTER 8: THE IMPROVEMENT OF RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT IN LAGOS**

Case Study 1: Rehousing Scheme, Surulere	310
Case Study 2: Slum Areas of Lagos	321
Socio-economic Considerations	329
Architectural Considerations	331

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## ABSTRACTS

Since the middle of this century, many cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America have experienced rapid growth and fundamental transformations of their socio-economic structure. Changes in international trade, especially since the Second World War, affected the internal structure of national economies of developing countries and consequently resulted in a massive influx of migrants to the existing small cities. This phenomenon has had tremendous effect on their historical and traditional economies. Urban spacial forms have had to absorb new needs and pressures on an increasing scale. This transformation of social economy has happened in such a short period of time that the societies had no time to plan for their needs in order to adapt to their fast changing life style. The result is that many bursting cities of Third World countries are now facing serious problems of insufficient urban services.

Rapid increase in population due to intensive rural-urban migration resulted in an acute shortage of housing stock in the cities and since there has not been any provision for housing, the bulk of population have been left on their own to house themselves according to their abilities. Therefore, the shanty towns and massive spontaneous slum areas or transitional settlements characterise most large cities of the developing countries.

Proposals for resolving the problems of housing and urban growth of Third World countries have always been, to a large scale, based on Western context. Most of the efforts of developing nations in solving their urban problems, during the

1960s and 1970s were based on Western concepts of planning. The theory, which was introduced primarily by the planners who saw urbanization as a universal process, derived from modernization and therefore should follow the same pattern in different societies. It was based on this concept that universal standards and planning guidelines were provided and applied in most of the developing countries over the last three decades, irrespective of their lack of cultural or architectural suitability. The application of Western concepts of design, focused on the theories of form, structure and aesthetics - and also planning theory based on mathematical modelling and defining factor of the density, took residential building away from indigenous and traditional values into high-rise buildings and low-density neighbourhoods. This unfortunate situation is prevalent in the majority of Third World countries where most ideas about housing layouts are imported wholesale from alien structures. Underlining this important factor is an implicit belief in the universal style of planning and design, as well as a desire on the part of politicians to score quick political points by providing numerically impressive statistics of dwelling unit completions.

Judging from observations and a variety of studies on failure and success of housing schemes in Third World countries, it appears that settlement planning in developing countries presents a multitude of new problems that arise out of differences in culture and time and that cannot be solved by transferring pre-established styles, form, methods and rules where they may be economically and culturally irrelevant. It reveals that the design concept should respond to social, economic, political, technological, geographical and cultural factors of each society. The cultural aspects of housing, which are important factors



in setting housing policy, have not been given any attention in developing nations in the past. This is understandable because of immense pressure and rush to provide shelters, but it should not be excusable any more, because these problems are now recognised.

Thus the core of this study is the understanding that: housing should be related to the social values, means, needs and resources of the people to be housed.

The study is based on the survey study carried out in Lagos, Nigeria from November 1981 till September, 1983. In order to understand the needs of people, their aspirations and expectations, it is necessary to understand their cultural background, traditions and life style, together with the existing setting of the environment they are living in. And since the majority of the population of Lagos belongs to three ethnic groups in West Africa, the study has been expanded to cover a brief history of the people of West Africa.

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## INTRODUCTION

In Nigeria, like in most of the Third World Countries, the expectations of industrialization in terms of creating employment opportunity and income generation have not been met, but on the contrary, it has created many social and urban problems. Socio-economic change led to the fast rural-urban drift which resulted in rapid increase of urban population. This fast increase in population together with socio-economic changes has affected urban and social life, erasing most of the physical features and social values of the old traditional life and inflating the urban expansion of the cities out of proportion.

Moreover, the rapid expansion of the economy, especially since the 1960s, and new lifestyles have brought about fundamental changes in the concept of the living environment. Family organization and communal life no longer exist in their traditional forms. Extended family life has lost its character and the formation of the nuclear family, as it exists in the West, is yet to be established. This means that Nigeria is in a period of social confusion. Time is needed to pass through this confused period, as well as political and economic stability, but in the case of Nigeria, the outlook is not bright.

Lagos, the major social, financial and industrial centre of Nigeria is undoubtedly an outstanding example among the cities of developing countries, experiencing enormous growth and rapid urbanization. It was at the beginning of this century, that the city shed its traditional, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-physical characteristics in order to cope with the norms of modern life

and new ideas. This trend was accelerated during the last two decades, transforming the modest organism of a trading town into a vast sprawling metropolis. Socio-economic changes led to the concentration and growth of business centres, the development of many high grade residential areas, as well as the fast growth of unplanned low-income residential neighbourhoods in almost every district of the city and expanded it out of proportion. Unfortunately, this spectacular expansion and the increase of population have been accomplished in such a short period, that the city as a whole, did not provide adequate compensation in the form of necessary infrastructure. The result is that a high percentage of the population are living in the areas with minimum provision of infrastructure. In such circumstances, as one would expect, those with financial stability, middle to high-income people, are the beneficiaries of the change; they live in a better environment and can afford the cost of a better lifestyle and better housing, the poor being the victims of the change and the type of modernization. Unfortunately, the situation seems bound to worsen, considering the increased rate of population, unemployment and under-employment of labour and the unstable economic and political situation.

The existing situation in Lagos is not a simple natural phenomenon, but rather a complicated historical process caused by the change in the means of production introduced by the British Colonial administration and encouraged in general by contact with the Europeans. Before the invasion of the Europeans, Lagos was a small farming settlement of the Yoruba ethnic group which is one of the urbanized societies in Africa. The primary urban structure of the city, like other Yoruba towns, was organized on the basis of the relationship that depended on the

localisation of 'central' power. In other words, the city was made of dwellings, the distribution of which was subordinate to the existence of one 'central' headquarters of almost absolute power, called the 'Afin' (Palace of the King/Oba). The houses were built in the form of a compound to accommodate an extended family which was the basic social element in Yoruba society. An important characteristic of a residence was its dual function; the activities within the house were productive rather than consuming. These activities were dispersed inside the compound without altering its symbolic or particular character. This characteristic structure of Lagos in pre-colonial times was modified in the course of time.

The invasion of the Europeans and the economic change and the changes in the means of production were the important factors that damaged the homogeneity of Yoruba architecture and the urban components of Lagos and affected the life style of its people. The introduction of Christianity by British missionaries brought about a new principle of family organization - the nuclear family, that affected the concept of the traditional extended family. Therefore, existing urban space was modified according to the new model of family organization: the whole compound was no more necessary for living.

The cultural pressure increased during the nineteenth century, based on the economy and demand for raw materials in European markets. The new economy required the exploitation of raw materials and the importation of manufactured goods for internal consumption. In this way Lagos, like the rest of Africa, became a colony of European empires, dependent on a central capitalistic system,

The system that initially dictated the areas of production and consequently the character of produced goods had no relations whatsoever with local needs; a transformation of the traditional concept of necessity to one of the utility.

Neo-colonialism, which is a more sophisticated version of traditional imperialism and which coupled with mismanagement of local administration, remains the cause of under development. The advanced technology of industrial nations became the new instrument of colonialism, rather than the mean to resolve the appalling life conditions in the Developing World. On these bases, all modification of traditional architecture and urbanisation has taken place. Therefore, the conflict between urban growth and people's needs grew and resulted in significant changes and new modes of life. This disturbed the established traditional pattern of social order and shattered the living space into a series of sub-elements which prevented the functioning of the organic whole.

Rapid increase of population with all its conflicts and new modes of life has brought about a fundamental change in the concept of the living environment, with no possibility for the exercise of customary life. This fact is most obvious in the newly developed housing schemes, where the value of traditional space organization has been neglected and new concepts of planning have been implemented to solve the urban problems. A departure from traditional concept of settlement pattern to an alien concept of planning rules. The underlining factor in such a sharp contrast was the belief that changes in the physical environment would affect the social behaviour, increase happiness and social interaction. (Rapoport, 1977) Based on this belief the Rehousing Scheme of

Surulere was developed to accommodate the displaced families from slum areas of central Lagos. The consequences were considered as a failure (Marris, 1961). Among the various factors affecting the success of the scheme, the most important is believed to have been a break in cultural continuity. The result was that a majority of families in the slum areas rejected the move to the new estate, and those who moved there utilized the space to suit their former life style.

Quantitative study of housing has shown that failure to incorporate socio-cultural factors may not only disturb social life, but may also change physical and social health (Calhoun, 1962; Hall, 1966; Hammond, 1975). It became therefore clear that without adequate knowledge of determining cultural factors, planning for better housing and environments was becoming increasingly superficial and irrelevant.

In such circumstances the primary concern of this study is to evaluate the cultural aspects of housing in Lagos and their impact on settlement planning and house form. It is obvious that culture is not the only determining factor in housing form, but it is only a part of the overall set of forces like cost, climate, technology, etc., that shape human living space.

In terms of cost and finance, we advocate self-financing policies and believe that in the poor nations like Nigeria, resources should be diverted to generate employment rather than being spent on providing shelter for people without any income. This will help people to earn the minimum cost of living and maximize

their capacity to spend more in improving their living condition.

To understand the culture of the people and their way of life, there is a need to know the way that they used to live and the way that they are living now. The only way to know about their needs was to meet them, see how they live, discuss with them their problems and ask their opinions about the best ways of improving their life, their house and their environment. Based on this close study, guidelines were developed which would provide a pattern in design for meeting the housing needs of the people. On the way there were of course some difficulties, since most Lagosians, especially in slum areas, did not like to show their houses to a stranger or discuss their problems with non-Nigerians.

In this research emphasis is on the cultural dimension of housing and trying to reconcile modern approaches to architecture and planning with traditional forms and patterns in Lagos, and it is shown that to achieve the best results some compromise is inevitable.

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## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 - Countries, Areas and Population of West Africa	9
Table 2 - Annual Rates of Population Growth of Nigeria	43
Table 3 - Urban Land Use in Lagos, 1975	101
Table 4 - Land Area and Population Growth of Lagos in the Twentieth century	104
Table 5 - Annual Crude Birth and Death in Lagos from 1940 to 1960	106
Table 6 - Lagos Vital Statistics	106
Table 7 - Proportion of Immigrants in Lagos, 1911 to 1950	107
Table 8 - Non-Yoruba Native Immigrants, from 1911 to 1950	108
Table 9 - Non-Nigerian (African) Immigrants in Lagos, 1911-1950	109
Table 10 - The Nature of Household Amenities in Slum Areas of Lagos	114
Table 11 - Percentage Distribution of Employed People in Lagos, according to the Place of Residence and Place of Work, 1975	119
Table 12 - Housing Characteristics in Lagos, 1976	200
Table 13 - Housing Characteristics in Slum Areas of Lagos, 1982	205
Table 14 - Types of Dwelling in Metropolitan Lagos, 1972	208
Table 15 - Types of Dwelling, Distribution by Areas, 1972	208
Table 16 - Plot Allocation in Metropolitan Lagos, 1972	209
Table 17 - Dwelling Unit Size in Metropolitan Lagos	212
Table 18 - Occupancy rate (average number of persons per room) in parts of Metropolitan Lagos.	212
Table 19 - Income group classification in some states of Nigeria	225
Table 20 - Households' Attitudes towards Dwelling Units and neighbourhoods	285



## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig.- 1	Boundaries and Countries of West Africa	3
Fig.- 2	Seasonal Rainfall in West Africa	4
Fig.- 3	Mean Annual Rainfall in West Africa	5
Fig.- 4	Temperatures in Africa in Months January and July	7
Fig.- 5	Population Distribution by Cercles and Divisions	10
Fig.- 6	Crop Dominance Regions in West Africa	11
Fig.- 7	Location of People in West Africa	13
Fig.- 8	Location of Major Ethnic Groups in West Africa	15
Fig.- 9	Type of Village Settlement, in West Africa	16
Fig.- 10	Types of Family Compound	18
Fig.- 11	Internal Compound's Organization	19
Fig.- 12	Trade Routes in the Sixteenth Century	21
Fig.- 13	Ethnic Composition of Regions of Nigeria	23
Fig.- 14	Housa land, approximate limits	24
Fig.- 15	Housa Town Walls, Kano, Northern Nigeria	26
Fig.- 16	Plans of Kano City in 1851 and 1903	26
Fig.- 17	Plan of Ibo Village, Oko, Southern Nigeria, 1960	32
Fig.- 18	Abstract Diagram of Classical Yoruba Town	34
Fig.- 19	Map of Owo Town, Western Nigeria, 1966	35
Fig.- 20	Abstract Diagram of evolution of Compound	39
Fig.- 21	Abstract Diagram of evolution of Compound	40
Fig.- 22	Map of Lagos Island, showing its swampy areas	48
Fig.- 23	Lagos Island and its Early Settlements, before the Arrival of the Europeans	49

Fig.- 24	Location of Original Settlers, before moving to the Island	52
Fig.- 25	Location of Early Settlements on the Island	52
Fig.- 26	Extension of Settlements on Lagos Island in 1850	55
Fig.- 27	Plan and Elevations of the Oba's Palace, in 1960s	58-9
Fig.- 28	Lagos in the 1850s	62
Fig.- 29	Lagos in the 1900s	69
Fig.- 30	Government Buildings in late 18th century	72
Fig.- 31	Map of Ebute-Metta in 1966	74
Fig.- 32	Industrial Structure of Lagos	86
Fig.- 33	Lagos in the 1920s	90
Fig.- 34	Map of Reclaimed areas of Lagos	91
Fig.- 35	Lagos in the 1940s	93
Fig.- 36	Lagos in the 1960s	94
Fig.- 37	Lagos in the 1980s	95
Fig.- 38	Epetedo Area in the 1960s	97
Fig.- 39	Land Use in Lagos, 1979	99
Fig.- 40	Road Network in Lagos, 1979	118
Fig.- 40a	Pattern of Interactions on the Journey to Work in Lagos	118
Fig.- 41	Traditional Yoruba Mud House	134
Fig.- 42	Traditional Yoruba Bamboo House	135
Fig.- 43	Traditional Yoruba Village	135
Fig.- 44	Plan and Section of a Traditional Compound	138
Fig.- 45	Courtyard in a Compound	143
Fig.- 46	The Development of Brazilian Single Storey House	158
Fig.- 47	Space Organization in Brazilian Two Storey House	161

Fig.- 48	Plan of Surulere Area	185
Fig.- 49	Floor Plan of One Room Unit, Surulere Rehousing Estate	191
Fig.- 50	Floor Plan of One Room Unit, Surulere Rehousing Estate	192
Fig.- 51	Floor Plan of Two Rooms Unit, Surulere Rehousing Estate	193
Fig.- 52	Floor Plan, Surulere Rehousing Estate	194
Fig.- 53	Plan of House No.14, Somolu Bale Court, Lagos	233
Fig.- 54	Plan of One Room House (Karim's family), Mushin, Lagos	238
Fig.- 55	House at No.23 Imoru Street, Mushin, plan and section	240
Fig.- 56	Plan of a Compound at Ogidan Street, Mushin, Lagos	243
Fig.- 57	Plan and Cross Section of Akala Street, Mushin, Lagos	246
Fig.- 58	Outdoor Space Utilization for Business Activities, Suenu Road, Surulere	255
Fig.- 59	Outdoor Space Utilization for Business and Domestic Activities	256
Fig.- 60	Living Arrangement of One Room House in Estate Housing, Surulere	259
Fig.- 61	Environmental Deficiencies in Lagos Island	284
Fig.- 62	Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere Area, Lagos	282
Fig.- 63	Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere Area (Rehousing Scheme)	283
Fig.- 64	Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere Area (Surulere Freehold Housing)	284
Fig.- 65	Diagramatic form of relation of units and street	291
Fig.- 66	Use of Public Areas	292
Fig.- 67	Outdoor Space Utilization	293
Fig.- 68	Layout Plan, Rehousing Scheme, Surulere	295
Fig.- 69	Layout Plan, Rehousing Scheme, Surulere (Akepele Rd.)	296
Fig.- 70	Layout Plan, Freehold Housing, Surulere	297

Fig. - 71	Incongruent Open Space in a Residential Neighbourhood	298
Fig. - 72	Breakdown of a Compound	299
Fig. - 73	Open Spaces in Freehold Housing Scheme, Surulere	301
Fig. - 74	Ditto	302
Fig. - 75	The Involvement of People in Open Space	303
Fig. - 76	Open Spaces in Freehold Housing in Surulere area	305
Fig. - 77	Proposed Improvement Plan of Housing Layout, R.H.S., Type 2B, Surulere	316
Fig. - 78	Ditto	317
Fig. - 79	Ditto	318
Fig. - 80	Proposed Improvement Plan, R.H.S., Type 1A, Surulere.	319
Fig. - 81	Proposed Improvement Plan, R.H.S., Type 3A, Surulere	320
Fig. - 82	Condition of Existing Structures on Lagos Island	321
Fig. - 83	Spaces between buildings in Lagos	323
Fig. - 84	Shopping streets and major traffic routes in Central Lagos	325
Fig. - 85	People's Area of Activity by Age and Sex	326
Fig. - 86	Change of Urban Fabric in Lagos	333

## LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1 - Aerial View of Hausa Town of Zaria, Northern Nigeria, (1955)	29
Plate 2 - Old Part of Hausa Town, Kano, Northern Nigeria, (1960)	29
Plate 3 - Unemployed migrants selling goods along highways	125
Plate 4 - Shop and House in Lagos	125
Plate 5 - A view from daily water reservoir in Lagos	126
Plate 6 - A view from an old courtyard in Lagos	126
Plate 7 - A pile of garbage in front of each house	127
Plate 8 - Open dumps in the heart of residential area	127
Plate 9 - A view from public water tap in overcrowded area of Lagos	128
Plate 10 - Uncollected garbage in residential neighbourhood	128
Plate 11 - Typical narrow passage; the main access to residential quarters	129
Plate 12 - Open sewage; a typical feature of Lagos	129
Plate 13 - A village on the south-western coast of Nigeria	136
Plate 14 - Courtyard in village layout	143
Plate 15 - The influence of Portuguese style in late nineteenth century	152
Plate 16 - The influence of Brazilian Architecture in Lagos	153
Plate 17 - Brazilian House in Lagos, Nouwasa St., Central Lagos	154
Plate 18 - Single storey Brazilian House in Lagos	159
Plate 19 - Brazilian House in Lagos	162
Plate 20 - Fernandes House, two-storey Brazilian House at Tinubu Square	165
Plate 21 - Brazilian House in Lagos	166
Plate 22 - The vocabulary of Brazilian Architecture	167
Plate 23 - Aerial view, Surulere Freehold Housing Scheme in early stage of development	187

	page
Plate 24 - Aerial View, Surulere Freehold Housing Scheme	188
Plate 25 - Aerial Views, Surulere Rehousing Scheme, Lagos	195
Plate 26 - Lagos State Low Income Housing Scheme, (Iponri)	198
Plate 27 - A Kitchen at the Corner of a Street, Obalende area, Lagos	227
Plate 28 - Children Helping their Mother in Business	227
Plate 29 - Business at a Doorstep, Surulere	228
Plate 30 - Market Place at Surulere Area, Lagos	228
Plate 31 - Entrance to the Sunmonu Bale Court, Lagos	234
Plate 32 - A View from Patney Street, Lagos	234
Plate 33 - A View from Mrs. Doherty's Kitchen, off Awolowo Street	235
Plate 34 - Ditto	
Plate 35 - A View from the Access Corridor	238
Plate 36 - A view from the inside of the room and Karim's family	239
Plate 37 - A view from verandah and the entrance of the compound	239
Plate 38 - Internal view from one-room house at No.23 Imoru St., Mushin	241
Plate 39 - Ditto	
Plate 40 - A view from the central corridor of the four-room house, at No.23 Imoru St., Mushin	242
Plate 41 - Entrance to the house at no.23 Imoru St., Mushin	242
Plate 42 - Views from open yard and central corridor of the compound at Ogidan St., Mushin	244
Plate 43 - Ditto	
Plate 44 - A view from narrow lanes, leading to the compounds, Ogidan St., Mushin	245
Plate 45 - Ditto	

Plate 46 - Views of Surulere Rehousing Estate in the early 1960s	250
Plate 47 - Views of Surulere Rehousing Estate in 1982.	250

## CHAPTER ONE

## WEST AFRICA

### Boundaries of West Africa

The part of North-Western region of Africa which is known as West Africa, covers an area of 6.2 million sq.km. (2½ million sq. miles) is politically divided into fifteen countries, the largest one being Niger, with 1,240,000 sq. km. (478,800 sq. miles) and the population of 5.4 million; the smallest one is Guinea Bissau at the West Coast, with only 36,130 sq. km. (14,000 sq. miles) and a population of 0.56 million. The most populated and richest country (with a variety of natural resources and crude oil) in this region is Nigeria, with 923,800 sq.km. (356,700 sq. miles) in area and a population of about 100 million.

There are different theories about the boundaries of the West Africa, but the most definite and generally accepted description has been given by Udo, (1978): "West Africa is one of the major geographical region in Africa. It is bounded in the south and west by the Atlantic Ocean and in the east by the Cameroon-Adamawa Highlands which separate West Africa from Equatorial Africa. The northern boundary is less clearly defined and is generally considered to follow the southern limit of the Sahara Desert. Since desert conditions prevail where the annual rainfall is not more than 250 mm (10 in.) many people regard the 250 mm isohyet as the northern boundary of West Africa. This isohyet, however, runs approximately along latitude 15 N., and, therefore, cuts the countries of Mauritania, Mali and Niger into two parts. It is, therefore, not a suitable boundary, since statistical data on popu-



lation, crop production and trade are usually given for political units rather than for climatically delimited region. For this reason, it is convenient to consider the northern boundaries of Mauritania, Mali and Niger as the northern boundary of West Africa."(1)(Fig.1)

### Climate and Vegetation

The most vital element in the climate of West Africa, like elsewhere in the tropics is rainfall, its duration and amount. This phenomenon has divided West Africa into two zones, namely coastal area in the south, and northern part. The southern part is under the influence of the Atlantic Ocean, with heavy rainfall exceeding 2,000 mm (80 in.) per annum, spread over nine months, beginning in January with a break in August. The heaviest rainfall is usually during June and July.(Fig.2) Away from the coastal zone, towards the north, the total amount of rain, as well as its duration and liability decreases considerably.(2)(Fig.3) This resulted into fundamental differences between the north and the south in respect of physical environment and agricultural practice. "The greatest and most fundamental division is between the south and the north. The former has a generally heavier rainfall, rather leached soils, was originally most forested, produce the oil palm and other useful tree crops, grows cassava, yams or rice for the main foods, and is inhabited by purer Negroes, who were originally animist in religion and organized in small states or tribes. The latter has a lesser but more concentrated rainfall alternating with a long, dry season, less leached soils, savanna woodland vegetation, produces guinea corn and millet as the main foodstuffs, is inhabited by fixed agricultural people or by nomadic pastoralists, (particularly the Fulani), the dominant religion is Islam and the political organization is

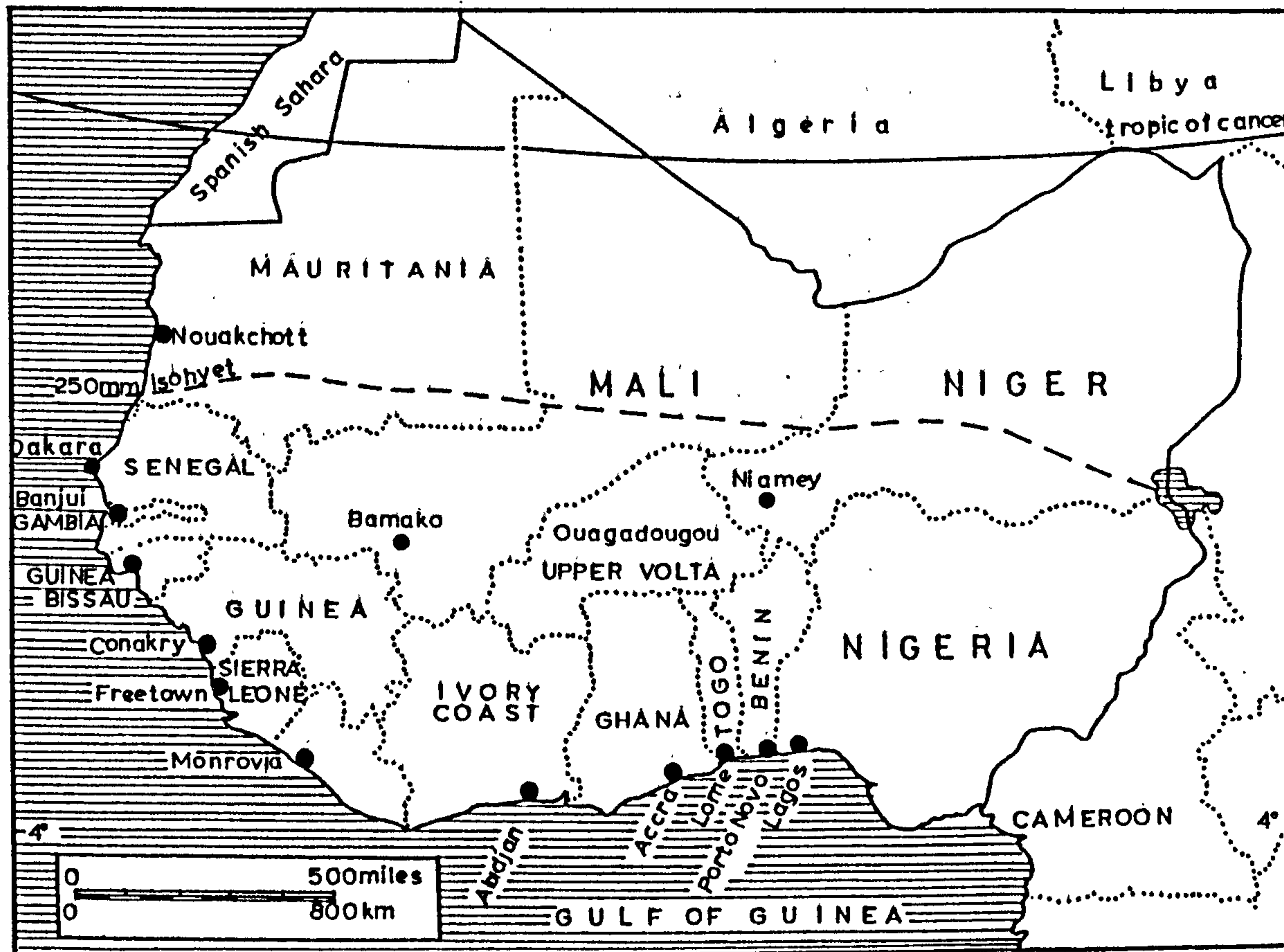


Fig. 1 - Boundaries and countries of West Africa

Source: Udo, R. K. (1982)

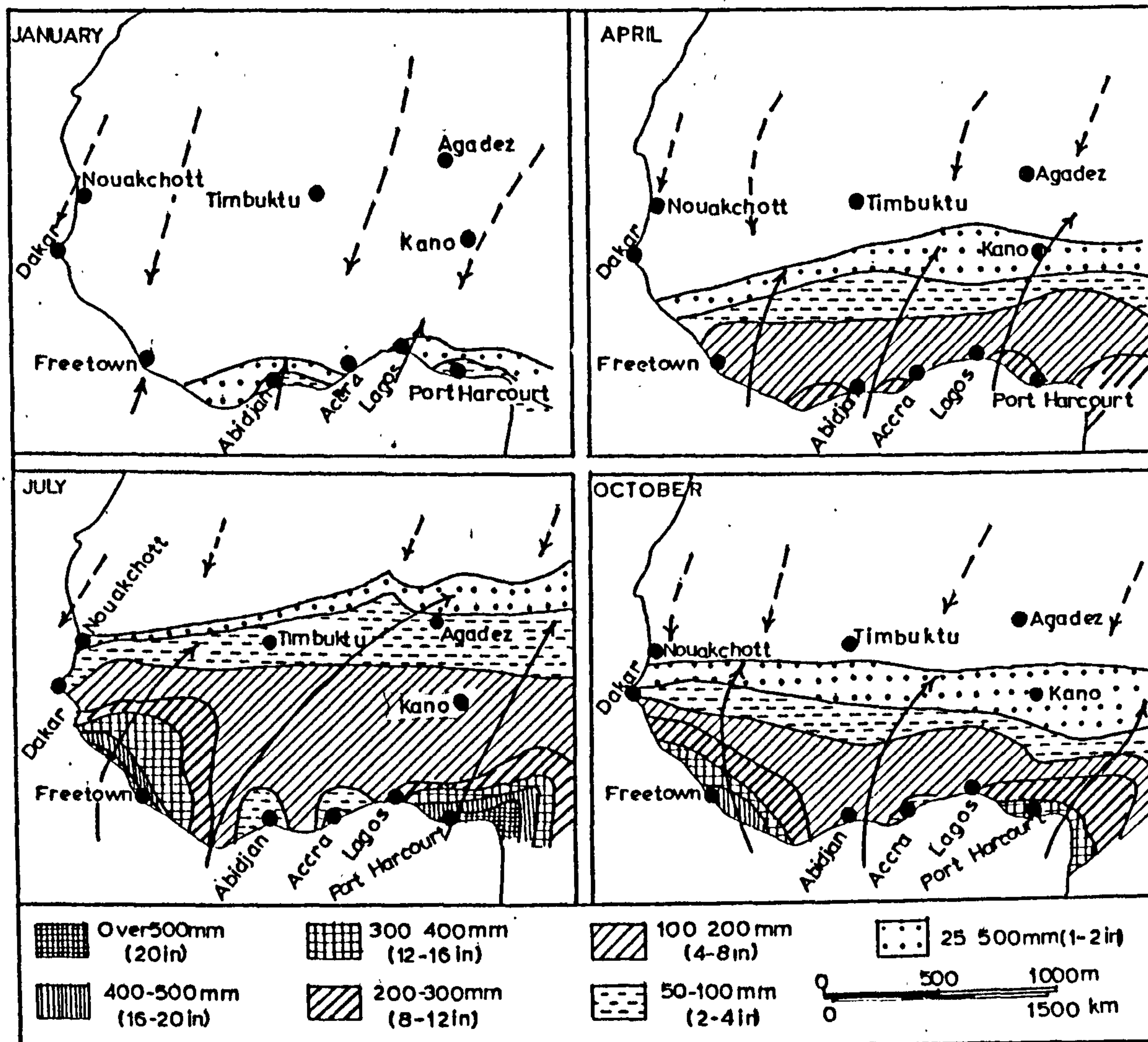


Fig. 2 - Seasonal rainfall in West Africa

Source: Udo, R. K., (1982)

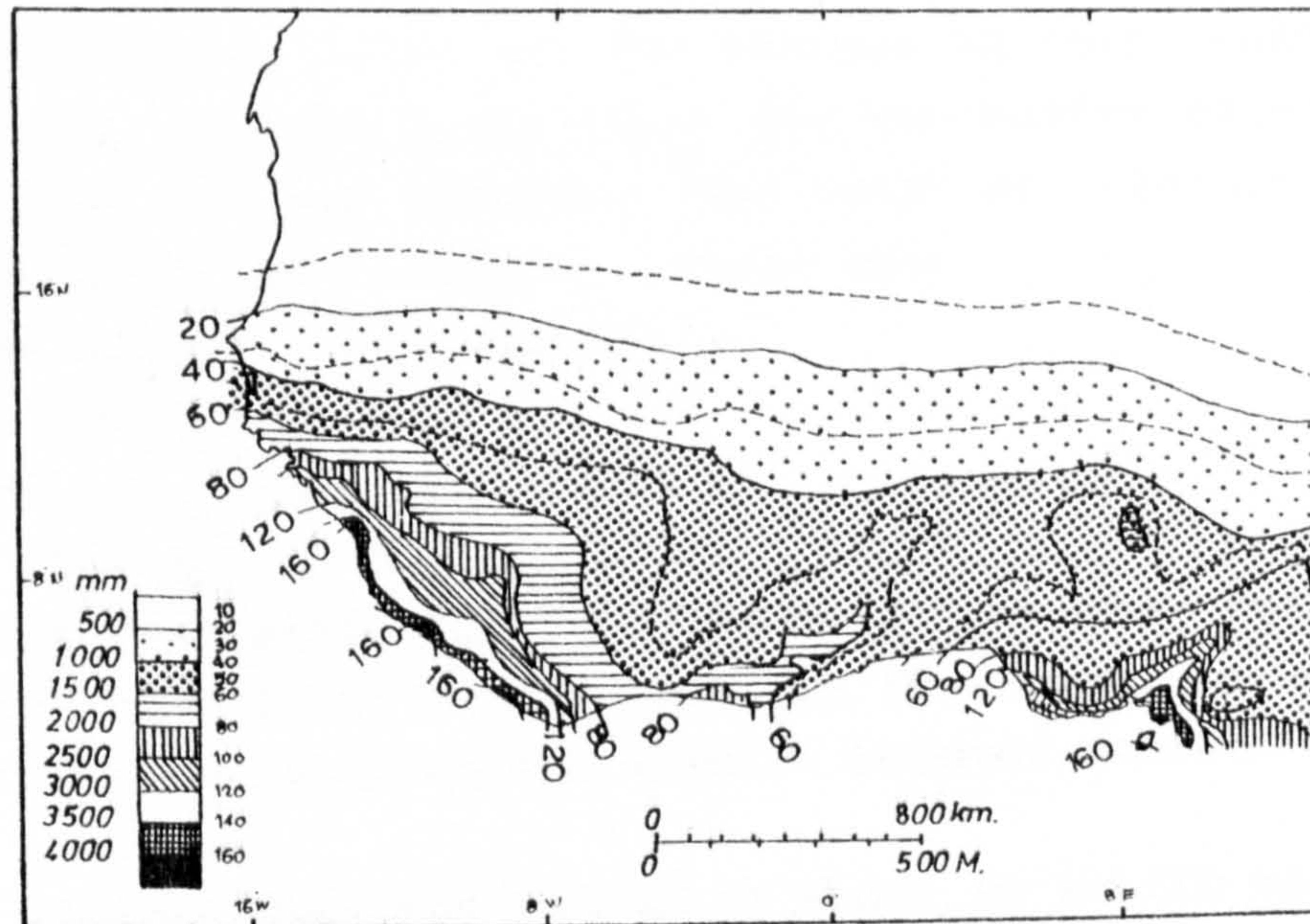


Fig. 3 - Mean annual rainfall in West Africa

Source: Morgan, W. B. and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

often in large unities."(3)

There is not much variations in climate except for the amount of annual rainfall. In the north and the west there is a one-maximum rainfall regime with september as the rainiest month, therefore, there are two seasons in this region: the dry season and the rainy season. In the south there are two-maxima rainfall regimes and the rainiest months are June and October. The break of rainfall in August makes it possible to recognize four seasons. These are:

- the long rainy season (March -early August)
- the short dry season' (August)
- the short rainy season (September and October)
- the long dry season (November - February).(4)

There is a little seasonal variation in temperature, it remains usually high throughout the year. The mean daily temperature, in the south, is around 27 C (80 F), except during the long rainy season when it becomes cooler. (Fig.4)

"Along the entire West Africa coastline and up to about 16 km (10 miles) inland, sea and land breeze are important. The late afternoon onshore (or sea) breeze results from the relative overheating of the land, compared with the sea. Conversely, there is a offshore (or land) breeze during the night. Except on the coast of Senegal, the dry season wind is the Harmattan, which normally prevails to a maximum southerly limit at about 5-7 N.in January. It is typically a northwesterly wind, warm and so desiccating that vegetative growth ceases, clouds are absent, so that temperatures are relatively high during the day but low at night. Visibility is severly restricted by a haze of dust particles carried

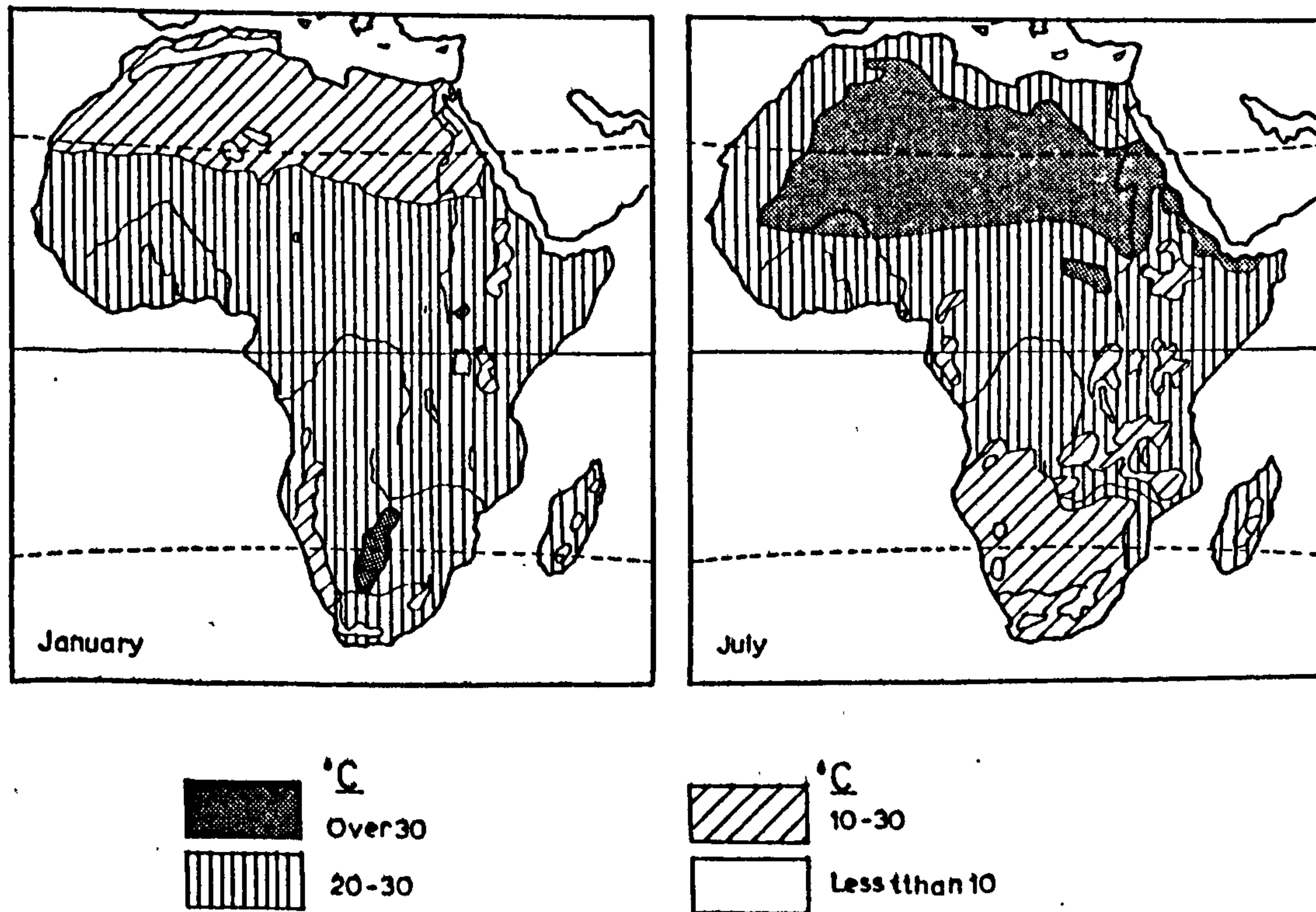


Fig. 4 - Temperature in Africa in months January and July  
Source: Denyer, S., (1978)

from the arid north, trapped beneath a strong subsidence inversion.(5)

### Population Distribution

There is no accurate source of information about the population of West Africa. According to Table -1, the population of West Africa in 1974 was estimated to be about 121 million. This figure has changed drastically since then, because of the high annual growth rate. For example, in 1983, the estimated population of Nigeria, with an annual growth rate of about 2.9, was about 100 million which indicates an increase of about 30 million over ten years.

"The greatest part of West Africa south of Sahara has circle or division densities of between 15 to 59 persons per square mile (6-23 persons per sq. km) (Fig. -5) The area thus defined corresponds remarkably with the areas of cereal cultivation (Fig. - 6) and is interrupted by a number of 'islands' of higher or lower density groups. In the north is a vast area with 7 persons or less per square mile (3 persons per sq. km) corresponding with an area of nomadic pastoralism, where rainfall is too irregular for cultivation. In the south and south-east are various density groups, mostly of 61 persons or more per sq. mile (24 persons per sq. km) corresponding to the area of root crop cultivation." (6)

The people of West Africa belong to different ethnic groups. About 205 ethnic groups have been identified in Africa, out of which 65 are living in West

Table 1 - Countries, Areas and Population of West Africa

Country	Capital City	Area sq.km.	sq.miles	Population (mn.) in 1974
1. Benin	Porto Novo	113,050	43,500	2.9
2. Gambia	Banjul	11,300	4,360	0.5
3. Ghana	Accra	238,500	92,100	9.1
4. Guinea Bissau	Bissau	36,130	14,000	0.56
5. Guinea	Conakry	245,900	94,930	5.1
6. Ivory Coast	Abidjan	322,500	125,500	4.6
7. Liberia	Monrovia	111,400	43,000	1.5
8. Mali	Bamako	1,240,000	478,800	5.4
9. Mauritania	Nouakchott	1,100,000	420,000	1.2
10. Niger	Niamey	1,267,000	489,000	4.3
11. Nigeria	Lagos	923,800	356,700	71.0
12. Senegal	Dakar	196,200	75,800	7.2
13. Sierra Leone	Freetown	72,000	27,900	2.9
14. Togo	Lome	56,600	21,620	2.2
15. Upper Volta	Ouagadougou	274,200	106,600	5.7

Source: Africa South of Sahara, Europa Publications, 1975.



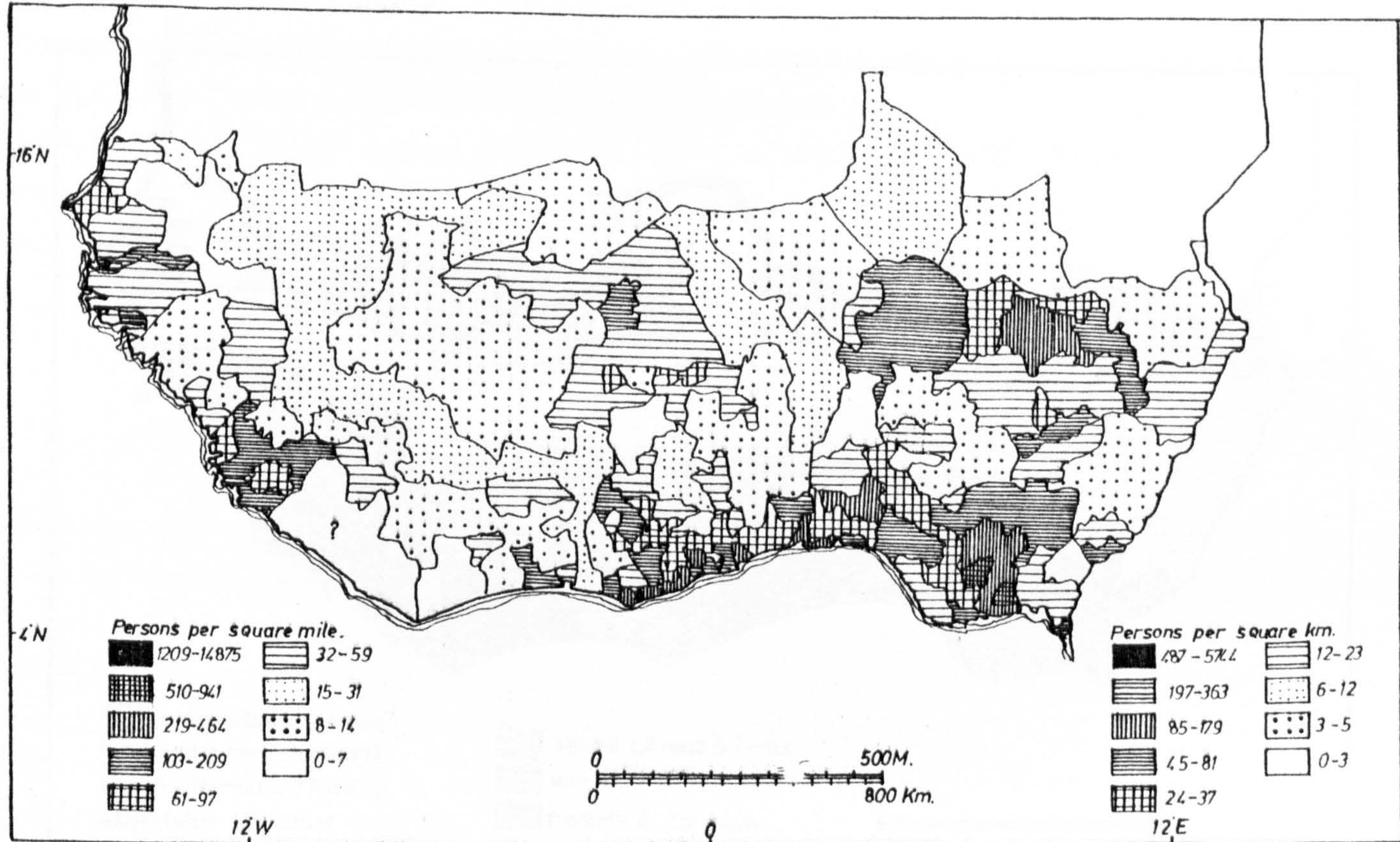


Fig. 5 - Population Distribution by Cercles and Divisions

Source: Morgan, W. B., and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

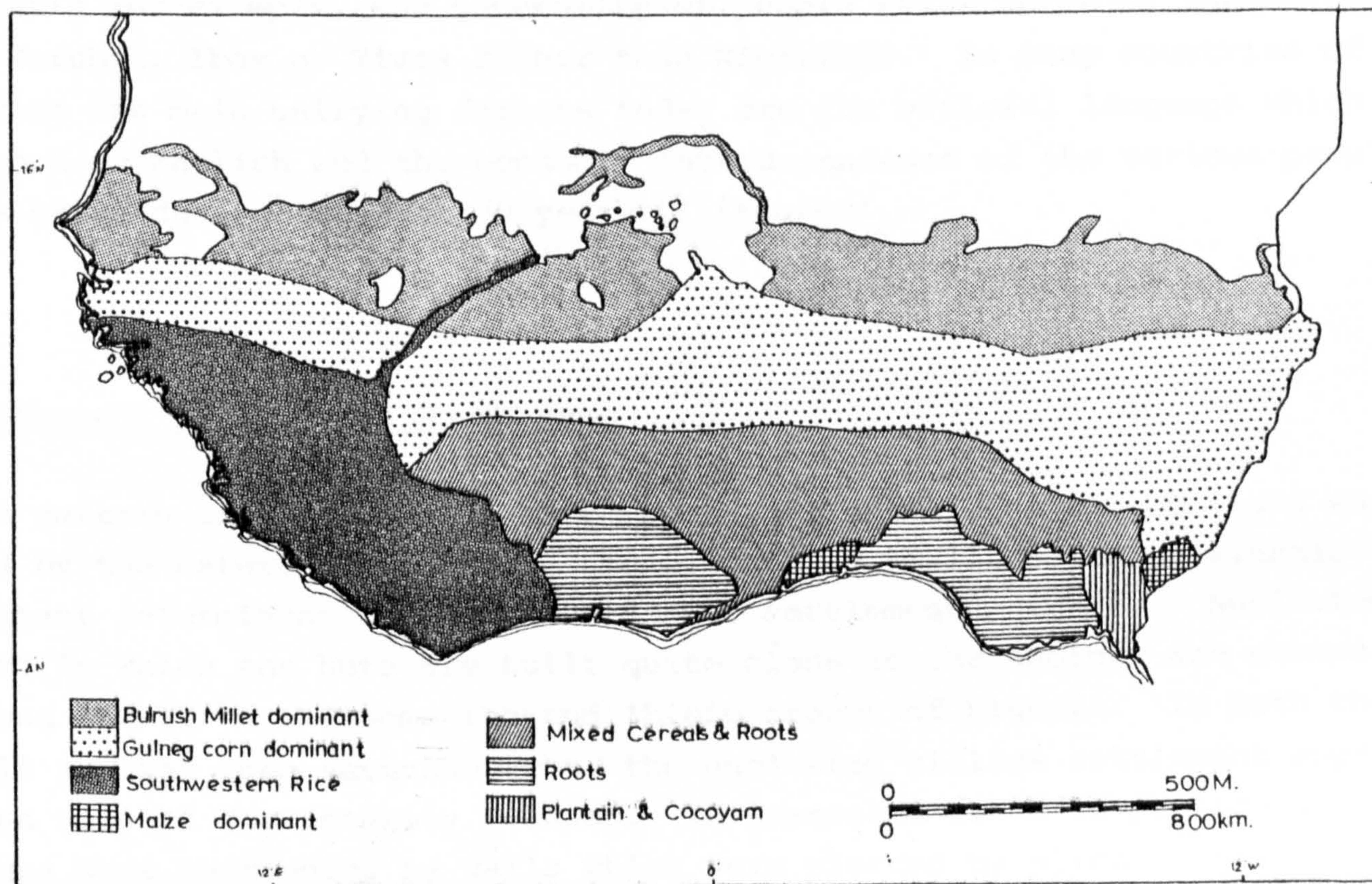


Fig. 6 - Crop Dominance Regions in West Africa

Source: Morgan, W. B. and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

Africa. (Fig. - 7) Each group speaks a different language and over 300 languages have been distinguished. The most numerous and popular ethnic groups of West Africa are: Hausas, Yorubas, Ibos and Fulanis. Attachment to the land is very important, tradition and ethnic consciousness are still very strong. In Nigeria for example, the generality of people still think of themselves first as Yorubas, Ibos or Tives rather than Nigerians. In many countries of West Africa the main unifying factors today are the official language which is either French or English and the economic interdependence of the various peoples which has grown during the last 70 years.(7)(Fig.-8)

#### Settlement Pattern and House Type

The pattern of settlement varied among different ethnic groups and was influenced by the nature of the crops grown. (8) In small societies kinship was an important determinant of the structure of settlement pattern. Nucleated settlement in which the huts are built quite close to one another are common except among the Tives and some Ibo and Ibibio groups of Nigeria. In both the forest belt and the open savannah area, the nucleated village settlement appear to have been adapted for security reasons. In grassland areas in particular, most villages were surrounded by walls which were pierced by slits through which defenders could shoot arrows and through spears at the invader.(9)(Fig.-9)

Larger extended families were living in homesteads or compounds, which were built to house a man and his immediate family. The requirements of the family

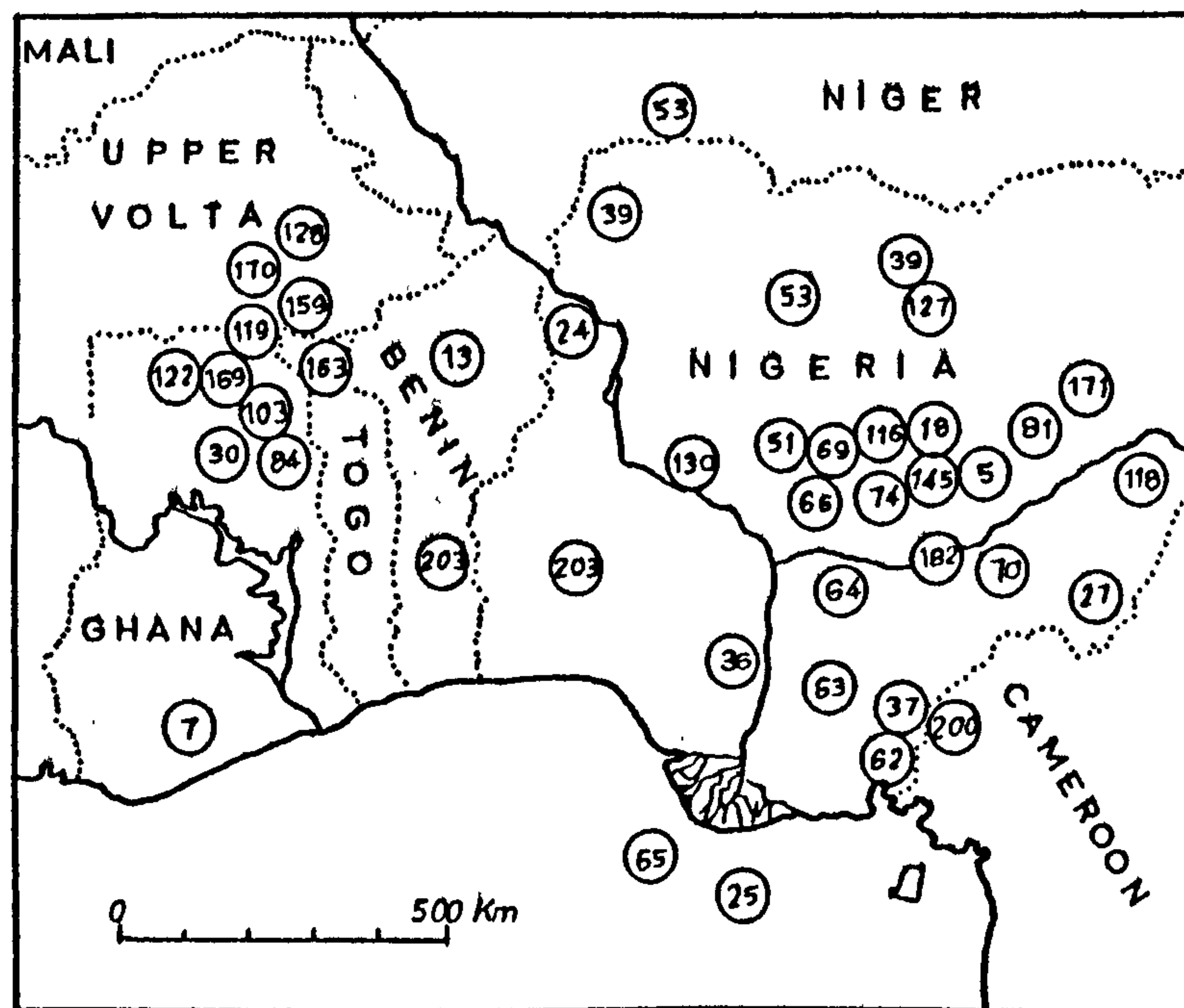
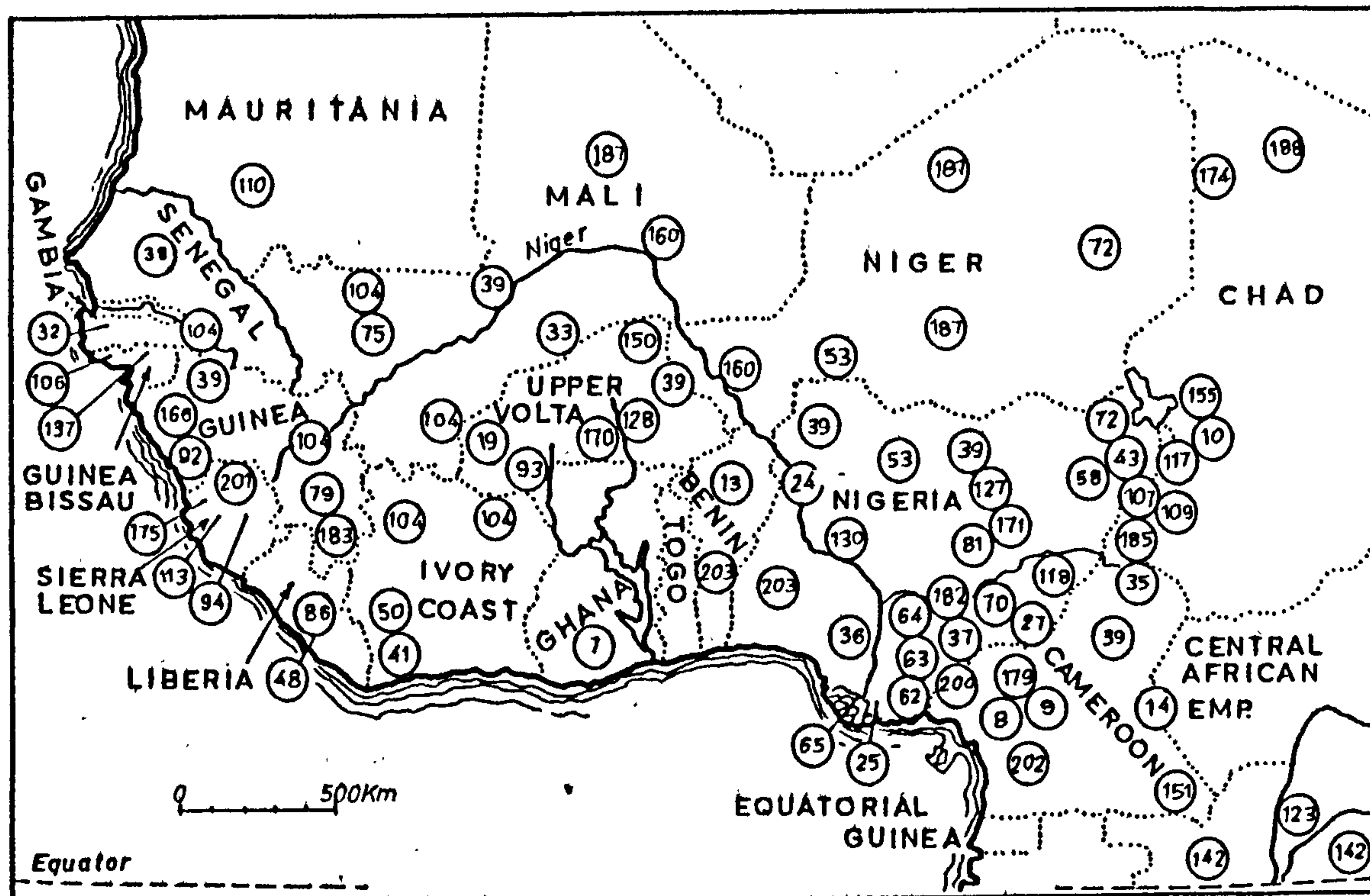


Fig. 7 - Location of Peoples in West Africa  
Source: Denyer, S., (1978)

Key to figure No. 7

1 Acholi	36 Edo	71 Kamba	106 Manjak	141 Poto	176 Teso
2 Alawa	37 Ekoi	72 Kanuri	107 Matakam	142 Pygmies	177 Thembu
3 Ambo	38 Fipa	73 Kaonde	108 Masai	143 Rangi	178 Tigre
4 Amhara	39 Fulani	74 Katab	109 Massa	144 Roka	179 Tikar
5 Angas	40 Fur	75 Khassonke	110 Maure	145 Ron	180 Tindiga
6 Ankole	41 Gagu	76 Kikuyu	111 Mbala	146 Sabei	181 Tira
7 Asante	42 Galla	77 Kinga	112 Mbugwe	147 Safwa	182 Tiv
8 Bamileke	43 Gamergu	78 Kipsigis	113 Mende	148 Saho	183 Toma
9 Bamoun	44 Ganda	79 Kisi	114 Mesakin	149 Sambaa	184 Tonga
10 Bangadji	45 Ghoya	80 Koalib	115 Moro	150 Samo	185 Toupouri
11 Bangi	46 Gogo	81 Kofyar	116 Moroa	151 Sangi	186 Tswana
12 Bari	47 Gorowa	82 Kongo	117 Mousgoum	152 Sango	187 Tuareg
13 Bariba	48 Grebo	83 Konjo	118 Mumoye	153 Shilluk	188 Tubu
14 Baya-Kaka	49 Gurage	84 Konkomba	119 Nabdam	154 Shona	189 Tullishi
15 Bemba	50 Guro	85 Korongo	120 Nalya	155 Shuwa Arabs	
16 Bena	51 Gwari	86 Kru	121 Nandi	156 Sidamo	190 Tusi
17 Bira	52 Gweno	87 Kuba	122 Nankanse	157 Soga	191 Tutsi
18 Birom	53 Hausa	88 Lango	123 Ngala	158 Somali	192 Twa
19 Bobo	54 Haya	89 Lafofo	124 Ngelima	159 Somolo	193 Venda
20 Bondei	55 Hehe	90 Laro	125 Ngongo	160 Songhai	194 Vinza
21 Bunda	56 Heiban	91 Lele	126 Ngoni	161 Sonjo	195 Wagenia
22 Burungi	57 Herero	92 Limba	127 Ningi	162 Sotho	196 Wanda
23 Bushman	58 Hidkala	93 Lobi	128 Nounouma	163 Ssola	197 Wanji
24 Bussa	59 Holh	94 Loko	129 Nure	164 Suku	198 Wela
25 Calabari	60 Hottentots	95 Lomotwa	130 Nupe	165 Sukuma	199 Xhosa
26 Chagga	61 Hutu	96 Lozi	131 Nyakusa	166 Susu	200 Yako
27 Chamba	62 Ibibio	97 Luba	132 Nyamwezi	167 Swahili	201 Yalunke
28 Chewa	63 Ibo	98 Luguru	133 Nyasa	168 Swazi	202 Yaonde
29 Cuabo	64 Igala	99 Lunda	134 Nyika	169 Tallensi	203 Yoruba
30 Dagomba	65 Ijo	100 Luo	135 Nyoru	170 Tambernu	204 Zande
31 Dinka	66 Ikulu	101 Lutoko	136 Panga	171 Tangale/Waja	
32 Diola	67 Ila	102 Luiya	137 Papeis	172 Taturu	205 Zulu
33 Dogon	68 Iraqw	103 Mamprussi	138 Pare	173 Taung	
34 Dorze	69 Jaba	104 Mandinka	139 Pende	174 Teda	
35 Douru	70 Jukun	105 Mangbettu	140 Pondo	175 Temne	

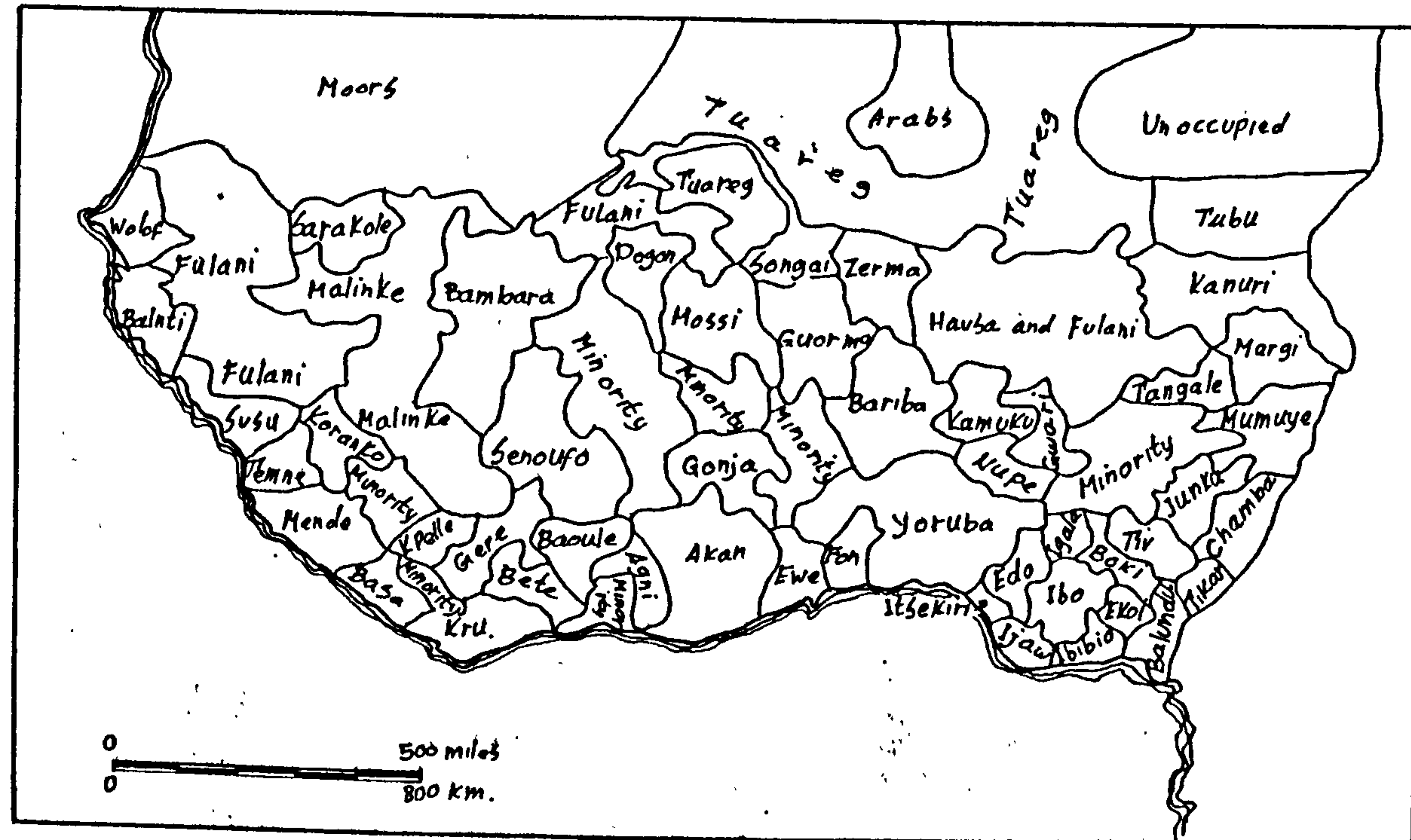


Fig. 8 - Location of major ethnic groups in West Africa

Source: Udo, R. K., (1982)

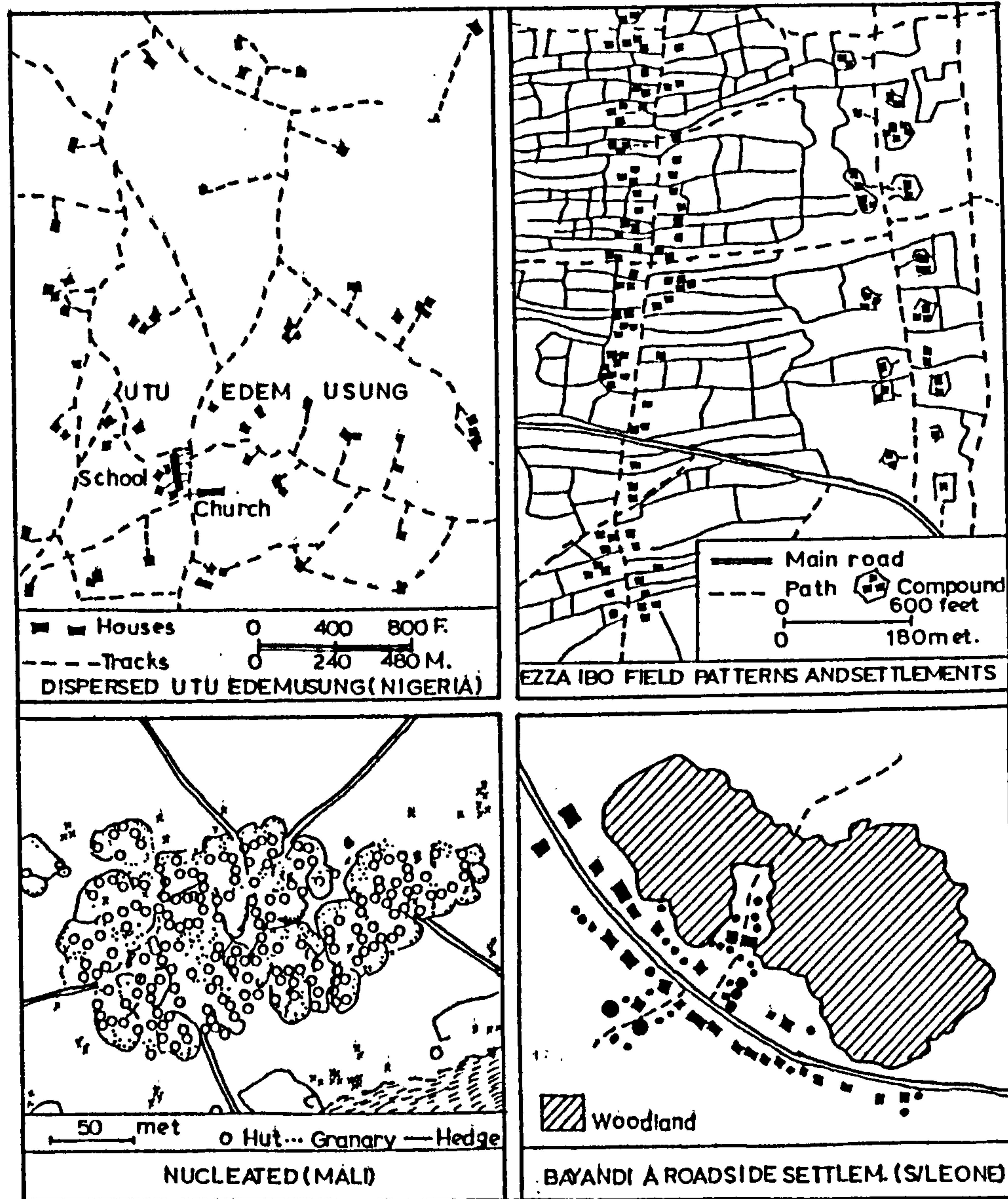


Fig. 9 - Types of village settlement in West Africa

Source: Udo, R. K., (1982)

like in all agricultural societies, were simple and functional. The places were formed according to the needs: a place for food storage, a place for cooking, a place for eating, a place for each member of the family to sleep, a place for communal life where they could also do their craftwork, such as basket making, spinning, weaving and dying; there was also a place to protect domestic animals. And since in most parts of Africa the weather is warm and for a long period of a year it is dry, many activities can be performed outside. So, the sufficient open space was provided for some activities, open space being a part of the homestead and must be considered as important as the indoor space. (10) (Figs. 10, 11)

Houses were built by local materials available in each region. In the northern part mud constructions were developed whereas in southern parts vegetable materials were used in house construction. "Grassland peoples such as the Massi, Nupes and Tives build round house-huts of mud with grass thatch while others, like the Songhais, build semi-circular huts made of skin or matting on a framework of branches. In the drier Sahel region, rectangular earth huts of mud walls and flat mud roofs are common, but in the rainy forest belt, the rectangular huts, which consist of mud on wattle framework, have steeply sloping roofs of mats or grass thatch." (11)

Urban centres in West Africa grew up in the European medieval period. In the northern zone (south of Sahara) along the international trading routes, the oldest urban centres, such as: Tekrur, Audoghost, Oualata, Kumbi, Timbuktu, Tirekka, Gao, Takedda, Tadmekka, Agades, Bilma and also Katsina, Kano and Zaria further south, were developed as victualling stations for equipping the caravan for the



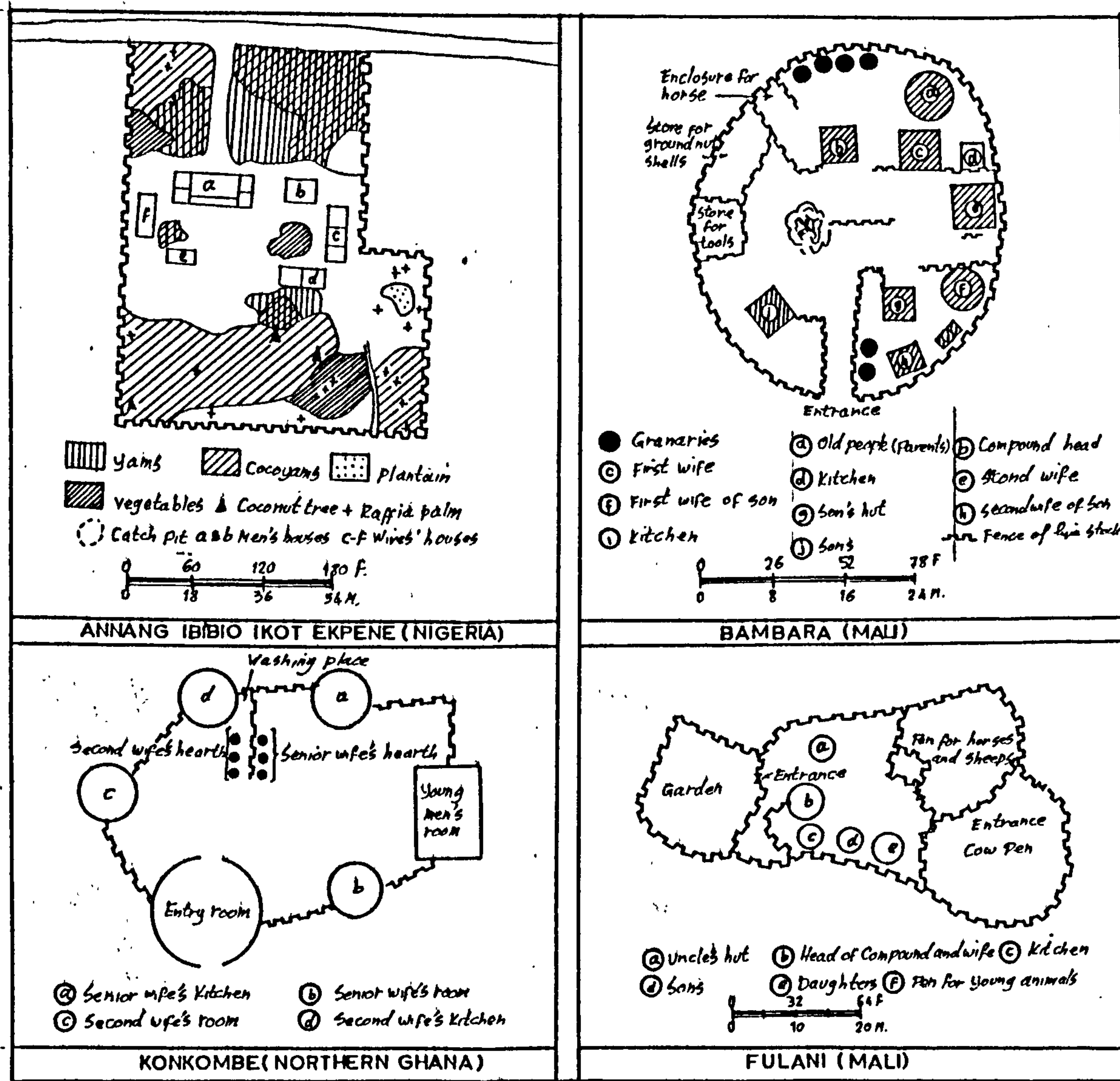
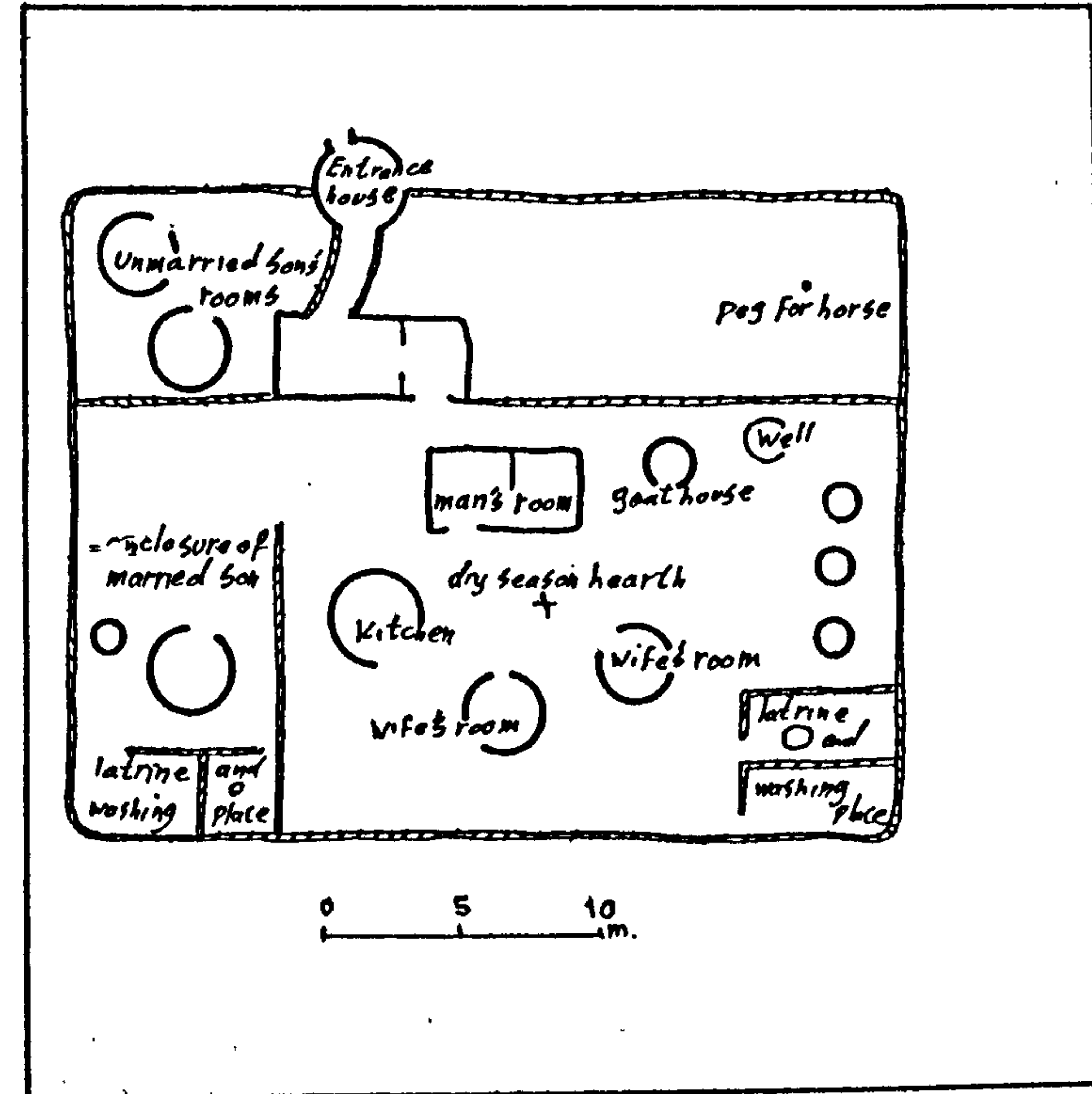
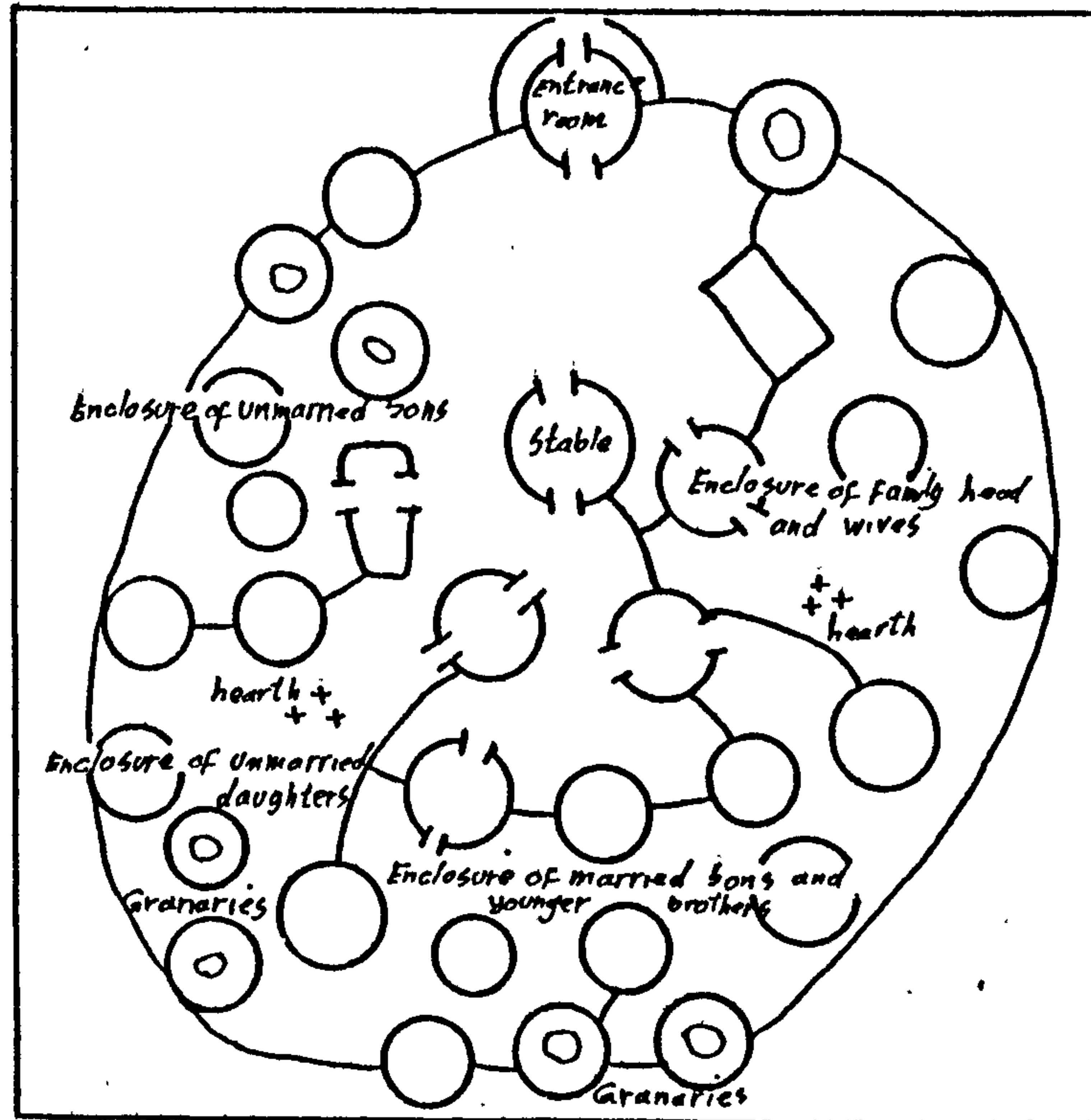


Fig. 10 - Types of family compound

Source: Udo, R. K., (1982)



Plan of a Homestead in Central Nigeria

Hausa Homestead near Zaria, Nigeria

Fig. 11 - Internal Compound Organization

Source: Denyer, S., (1978)

journey across the desert. (Fig. - 12) In the southern zone, the development of urban centres was concentrated mostly in Yorubaland, in south-west of Nigeria. Cities such as old Oyo, Ibadan, Ife, Oshogka, Ileshu and Ijebu-Ode were the most important urban centres in the south. (12)

The traditional way of life which still is dominating in most rural areas, shows a remarkable adaptation to local environment. So far, this traditional way of life was influenced and declined since the imposition of colonial rule and the adoption of Christianity. Rapid development of economy and later on, industrialization resulted into rapid increase of population of urban centres. Evidences show that there has been a large-scale immigration of people from rural areas to urban centres in search for jobs in industry, commerce and civil service. For example, population of Accra increased from 38,000 in 1936 to 338,000 in 1960, and Lagos from 99,000 in 1939 to 450,000 in 1962. This rapid increase in urban population has influenced drastically the way of life of the people and has also caused serious environmental problems.

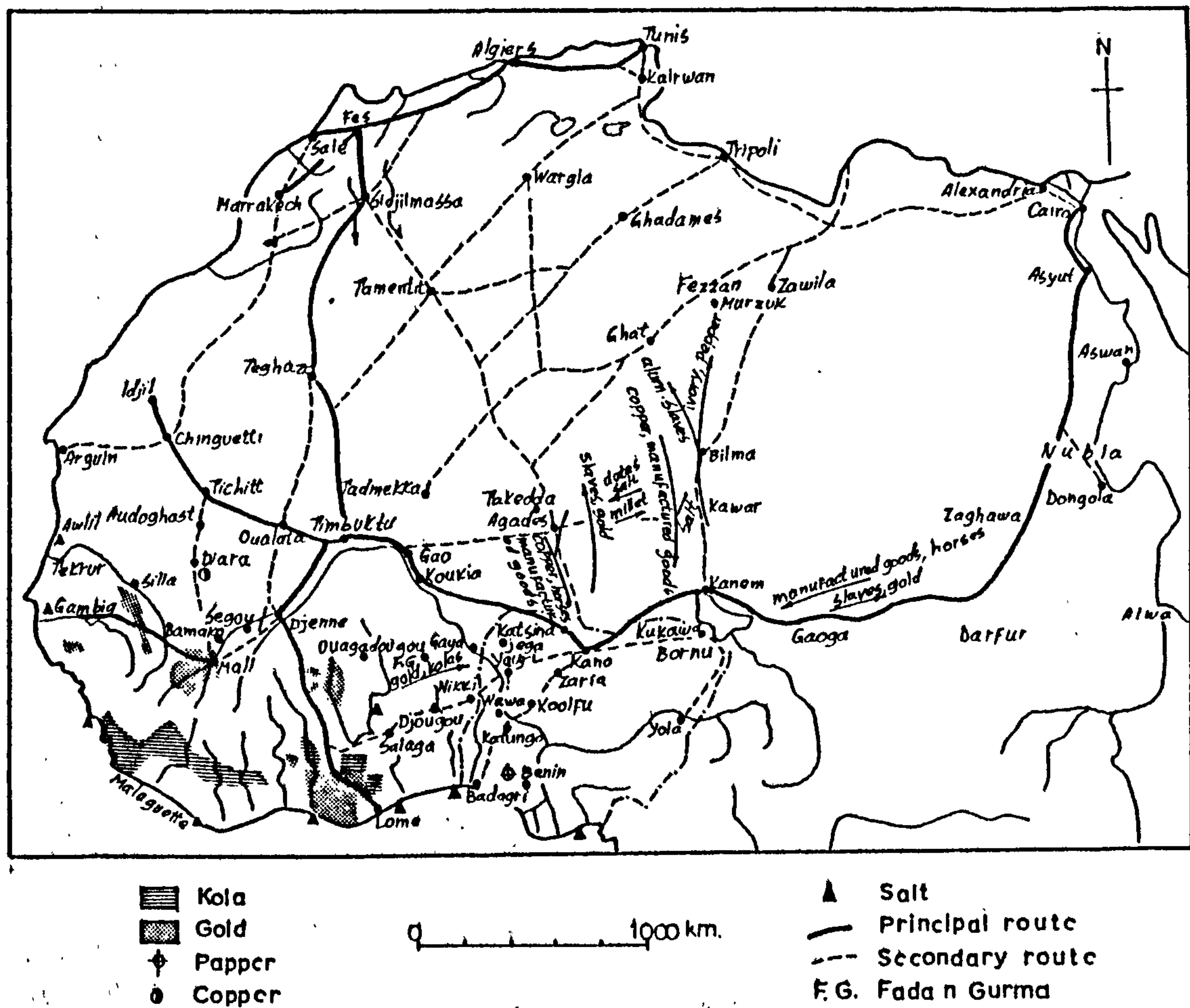


Fig. 12 - Trade Routes in sixteenth century

Source: Mabogunji, A. L., (1968)

Nigeria - the People and their Ways of Life

Nigeria, with an area of 923,768 sq. km (356,669 sq. miles) and an estimated population of about one hundred million, is the most populated country in Africa. Geographically, Nigeria is divided into three regions by the Niger River. (Fig.13) Each of these regions is dominated by major ethnic group:

- a) The Northern region is the land of Hausa/Fulani,
- b) The Southeastern Region is Ibo land,
- c) The Southwestern Region is Yoruba land.

Generally, the settlement pattern in each region has its own characteristic form, derived from the traditional life of each group.

a) The Northern Region

This region occupies the grassland and semi-desert area of Northern Nigeria, south of the Sahara desert, and was located on the trans-sahara trading routes, which were very important during the European Medieval period.

The history of Hausa people goes back as far as 10th century, when pastoral people invaded the Sudanic region and settled there. The ancient states of Hausa settlements are Daura, Binam, Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zaria and Gobir, which have never been united. (13) (Fig.14) Islam was introduced in this region in fourteenth century by Arab traders (14), but it has not been spread out before the Fulani Jihad of the early nineteenth century (15). The adoption of Islam

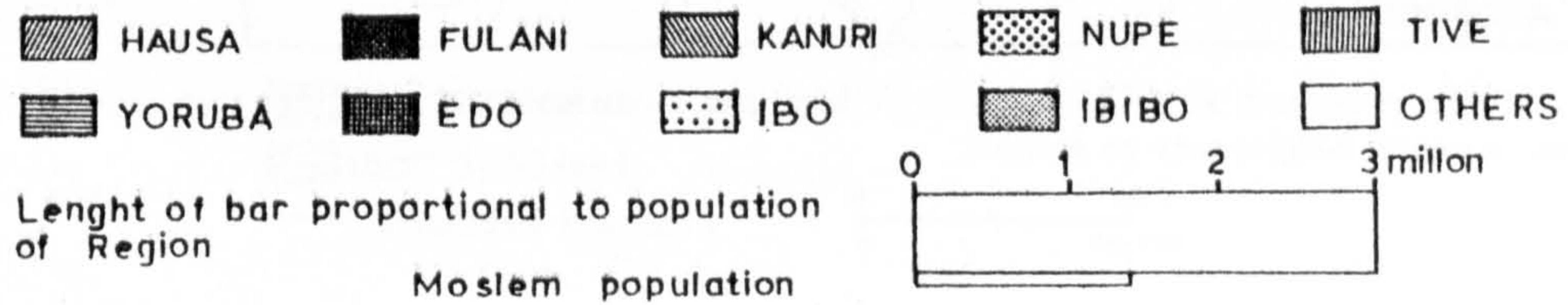
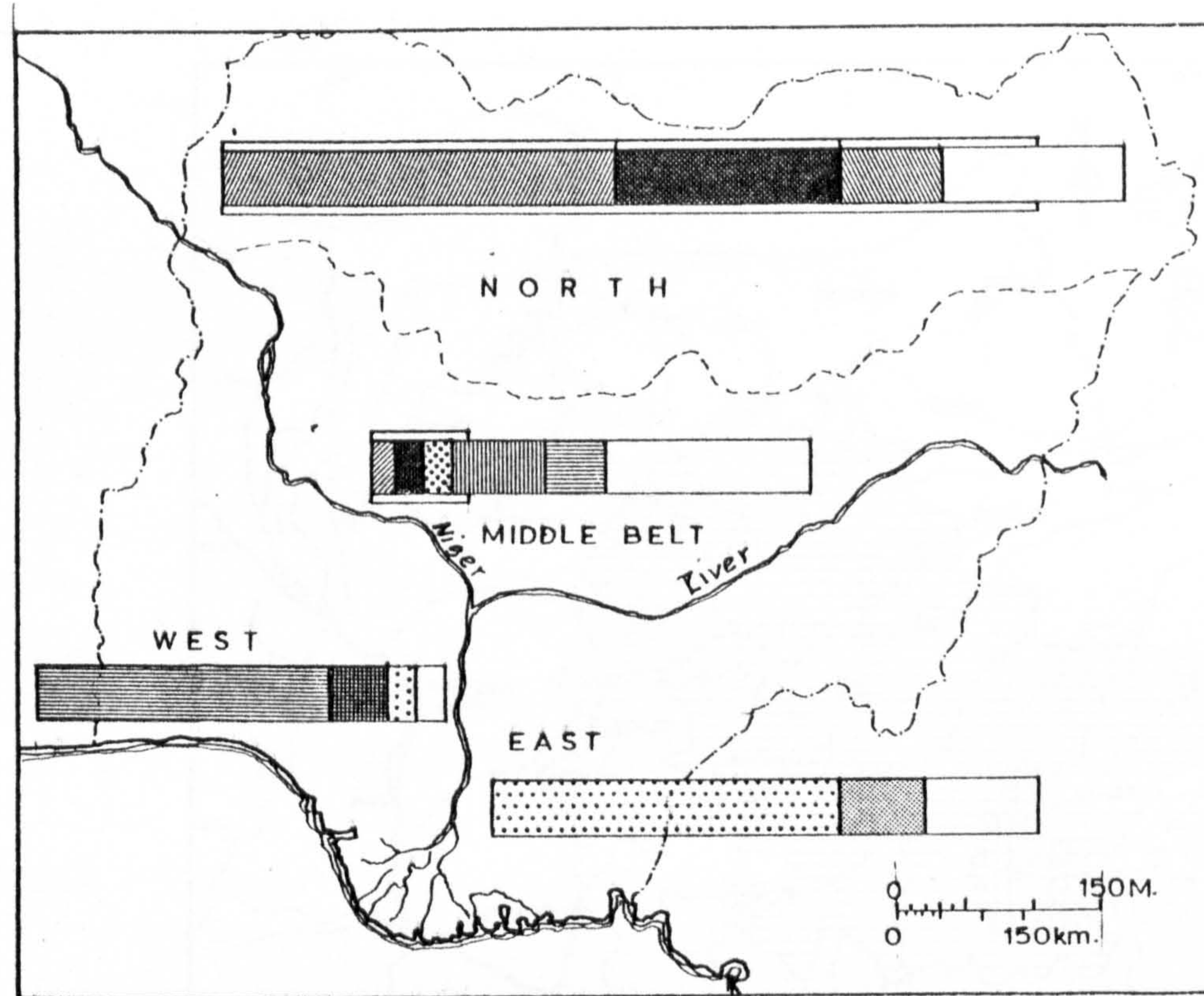


Fig. 13 - Ethnic Composition of the Regions of Nigeria

Source: Buchanan, K. M. and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

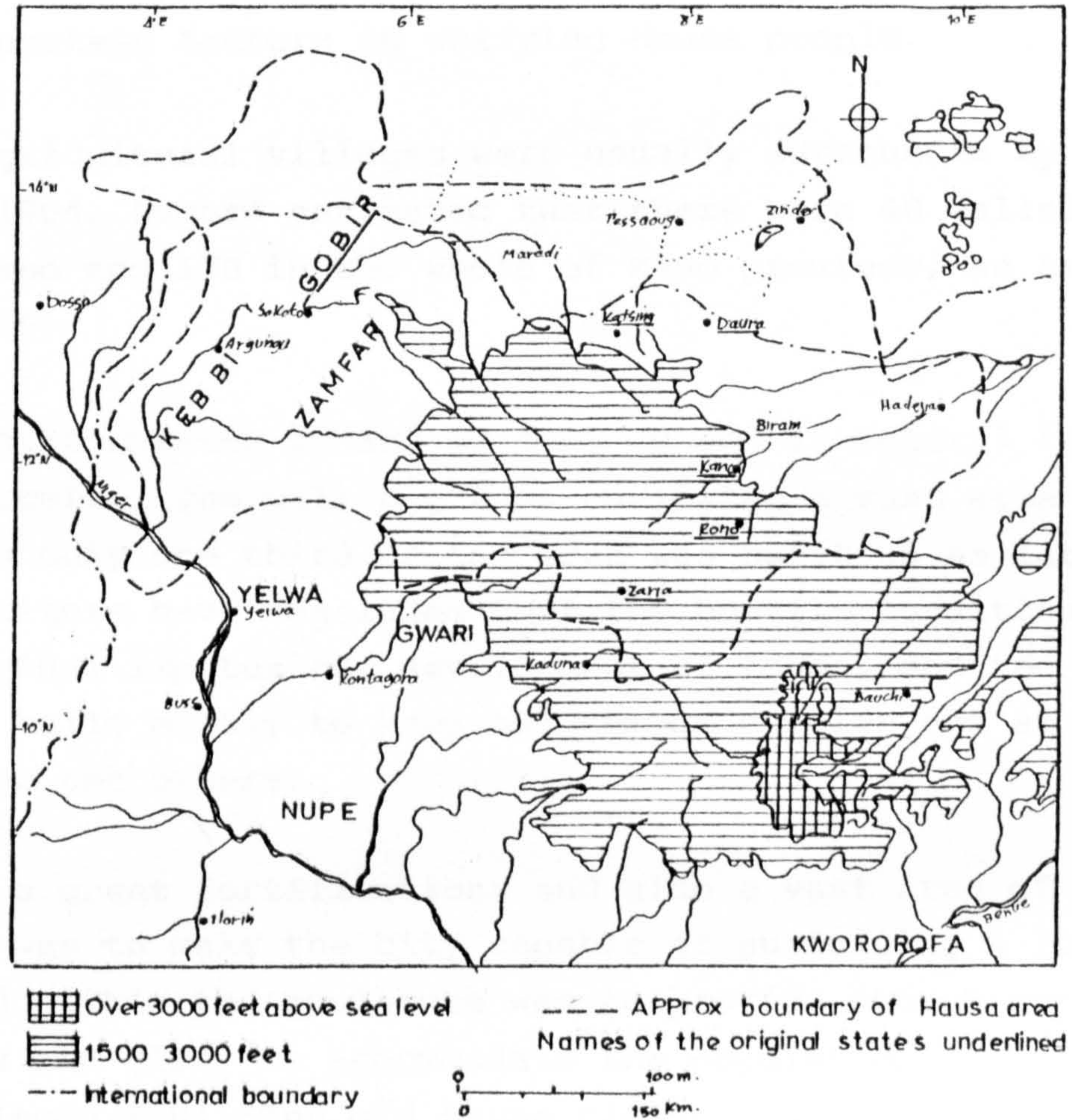


Fig. 14 - Hausaland, approximate limit

Source: Morgan, W. B. and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

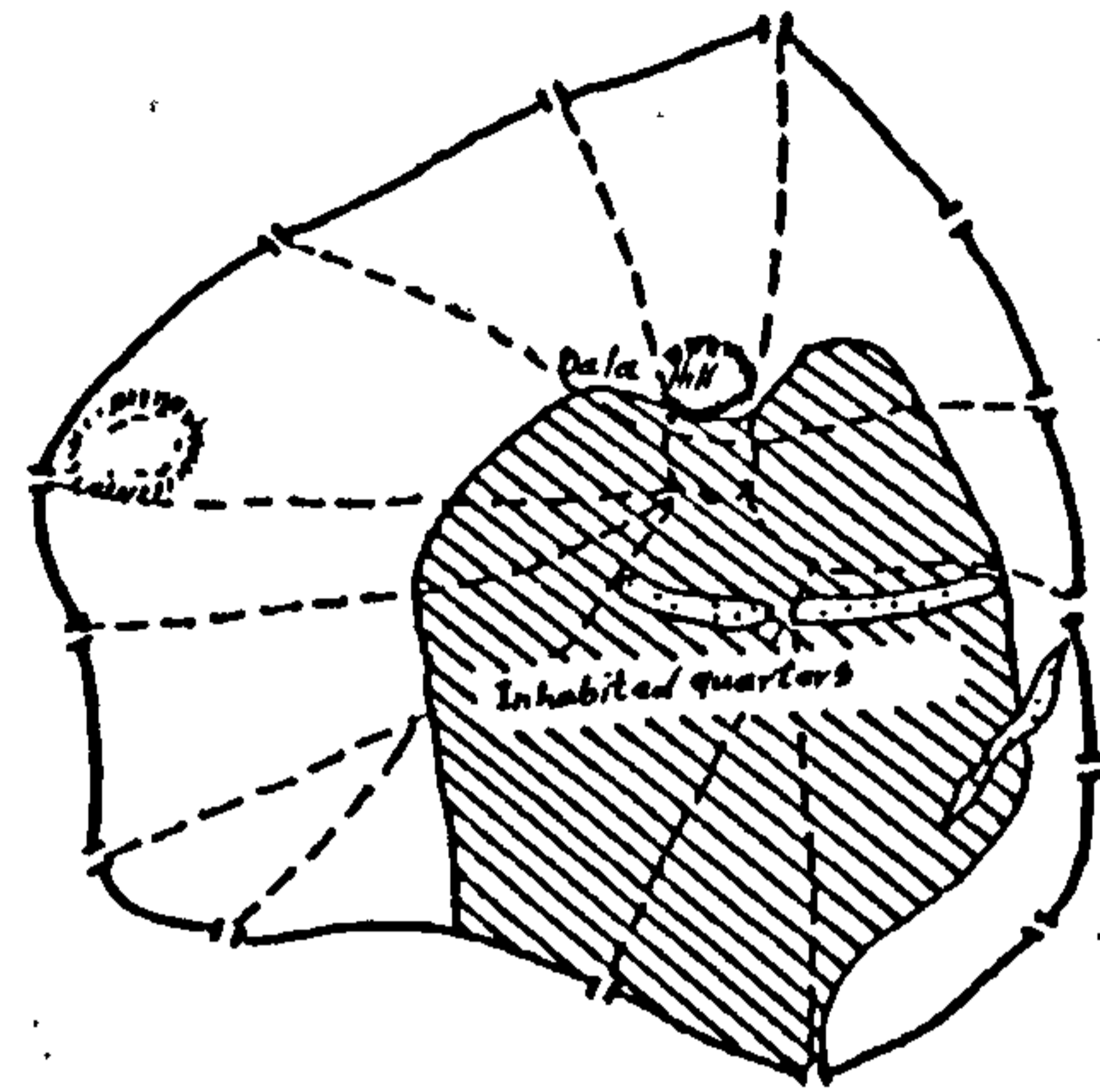
and the common Hausa language (which was written in Arabic script and owed much to Arabic) were the two important factors in unifying Hausa people.

In Hausa land, towns and agricultural villages were usually surrounded by a defensive wall. "As late as 1904, Lugard estimated that there were 40 walled towns within a 50 km radius of Kano and 170 in the whole of Kano province, an area of approximately 28,000 km."(16)

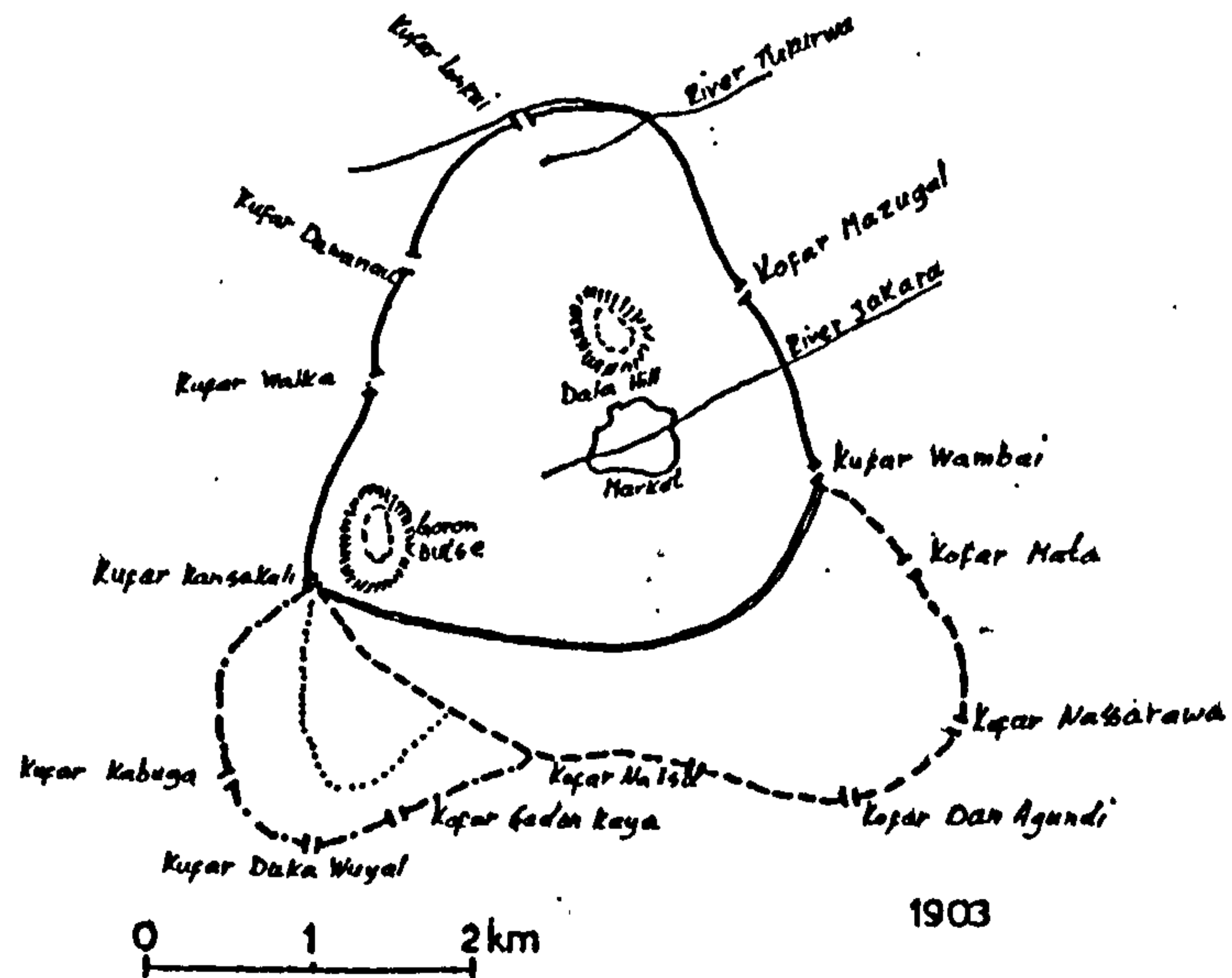
The old town of Kano had walls between 30 and 50 feet (9 and 15 meters) in height and 12 miles (19 km) in circuit. The wall had been enclosing a vast area of 16 sq. miles (41 sq. km.) of which only one third of the area was built up as late as 1933.(17)(Fig.-15) Many writers have concluded that the hostile condition of area have provided the original impetus for development of towns, and the walls around the main towns were built mostly to keep out common enemies and at the same time dividing one state from the others.

The reason for having such a great fortifications and also a vast area of land within the enclosed city, was to make the city capable of sustaining a long siege. The sufficient land within the enclosure was to provide enough supply of corn for the inhabitants and also to accommodate the population of the unprotected neighbouring villages.(18) "The old Hausa cities usually had several main streets converging on a centre. Kano in Barth's day appear to have had 6 such streets converging on the Dala, on oldest quarter, with other important streets leading to 14 gateways."(19)(Fig.16) The main market, in the old Hausa towns, is described as the most important social and business place, was located

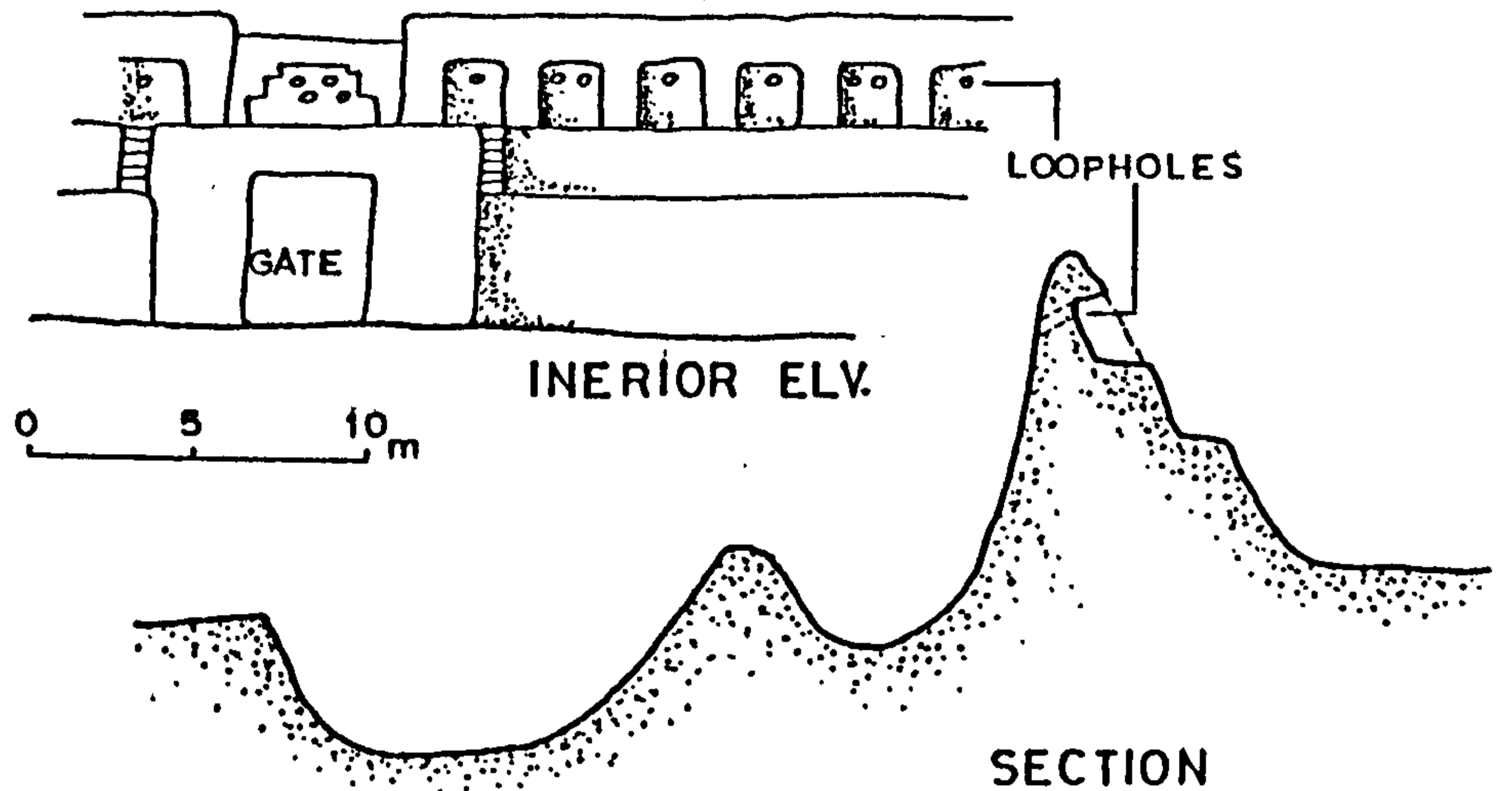




1851



1903



SECTION

- TWELFTH CENTURY
- - - - FIFTEENTH CENTURY
- · - · SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
- AGE DOUBTFUL
- +— GATES
- - - - ROADS

Fig. 15 (above) - Hausa Town Wall, Northern Nigeria

Fig. 16 (left) - Plans of Kano City, in 1851 and 1903

Source: Denyer, S., 1979

next to the King's palace, and later on by adoption of Islam, Central Mosque became the most prominent building in town. Another important point of structure of Hausa's towns is residential areas which were divided into zones, and each zone was to accommodate a group of people similar in social statuses by profession. Morgan describes the residential quarters as follows: "In most cases, cultivators from the majority of most urban populations, are commonly grouped in villages or quarters consisting mainly of kinsfolk or of people accepted by the kin. Other quarters are occupied by distinct groups within the town for protection or in order to act as trading middlemen. Thus in Berth's description of Katsina, the list of quarters includes those occupied by the Hausa kinsfolk of Katsina itself, those occupied by craftsmen, eg. saddlers' and shoemakers' quarters, and those occupied by 'strangers', e.g. peoples from Gobir, Bornu and Kontagora and Arabs."(20) Hausa towns had, therefore, their own spatial forms, made up of residential and institutional buildings. The three institutional buildings of the towns (the palace, the Mosque and the market) were located at the centre, surrounded by radial residential sectors. Entry to the town was through the limited number of gates open to the wide avenues which in turn led to the centre of the town. The cities were defended not only by armies but by imperssive walls often up to 15 meters high.(21)

Because of the nature of the soil which provides cheap mud, and relatively dry and hot climate, mud construction developed in this region; thick mud wall, with small opening provided cool indoor spaces and separated the dwellings from the hostile, dry environment. Privacy was also secured by grouping the units around courtyards. Some dwellings of the wealthier class had lavish decoration

on the walls.

A very important characteristic pattern of housing for the northern aristocracy and ruling class was the segregation of dwelling units according to the social rank of the occupiers. The quarters for the head of the houses were usually grouped together with a separate council chamber or audience hall. Wives had separate quarters and then a row of huts were attached to the establishment for the slaves and guards, all surrounded by high mud wall. The segregation of dwelling units according to the social status of their occupants became a feature of residential development in the colonial era.(22)

"One of the striking feature of Hausa town architecture, is its physical distinctiveness from that of surrounding countryside. Houses and boundary walls and roofs in the towns were built of mud, whereas in the villages the roofs were made almost always of grass and boundary walls were of matting or corn stalks; the basic house walls were often of mud."(23) In the northern cities of Hausa land, such as Kano, Zaria and Katsina, houses were built of mud with flat roofs, but in the southern part, the huts were covered with conical roofs of grass thatch. (Plates 1 & 2)



Plate 1 - Aerial view of Hausa town of Zaria,  
Northern Nigeria, (1955)



Plate 2 - Old part of Hausa  
town of Kano,  
Northern Nigeria, (1966)

b) South-eastern Nigeria

The Ibos were the major ethnic group which settled in this region. The settlement pattern is not organized in large states, and unlike the other two major groups, Ibos were not town dwellers and they used to live in scattered homesteads. Church writes that: "Although there is a very dense population, there were almost no true towns until the Europeans came, and the Ibos live mostly in frequent cluster of mud houses. They maintained themselves because the tsetse fly isolated them from Fulani attack, and the forest shielded them from severe attacks by the slave traders from the coast or interior." (24)

The keys to the high Ibo population densities, and to the distinctive crowded landscape of the compounds and oil palms, lie in social organization and the character of the environment. The Yoruba organization into states with some measure of central authority is replaced in Ibo land by a virtual anarchy of small groups. Thus family lands are replaced by group lands, and the town remains divided into quarters with a dispersal of families, united together only for defence, and by quarters only for land division. Moreover, this dispersal allows the existence of compound land between the compounds and its easy manuring. (25)

Early studies about family structure in Ibo land emphasize that the basic family unit is a nuclear family and residential units were built to house the nuclear family. Married children were allowed to stay in the compound only temporarily. The oldest son would inherit his father's compounds. Within the

compounds which were usually surrounded by wall are individual huts, one for the head of the house and one for each of the wives. Therefore, as Marris has described: "The basic social unit is a hamlet of scattered homesteads. Several hamlets form a village. These villages are in turn grouped around a common meeting place, and were traditionally, for most purposes, the highest political unit." (26) (Fig.17)

c) South-western Region - Yorubaland

The Yorubas of Nigeria are one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa, and are concentrated in Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Kwara and Lagos states. Their tradition of urban life gave them a unique place, not only among African societies, but amongst the people of the worldover. "The urban tradition of the Yoruba is old-established, although it would appear likely that the proportion of urban population increased during the nineteenth century with the need for defence. The Yoruba groups had to fight not only against invader but against one another. Warfare was further encouraged by the demand for slaves, either for agricultural labour or for export." (27)

The Yorubas are the most urban of all African people, and their urban way of life is traditional, dating back well before the period of Western penetration. "The Yorubas have always been town-dwellers. They clustered together in settlements of everything from a few thousand to hundreds of thousands, around which was thrown a mud wall about eight feet high. Each family would have its permanent

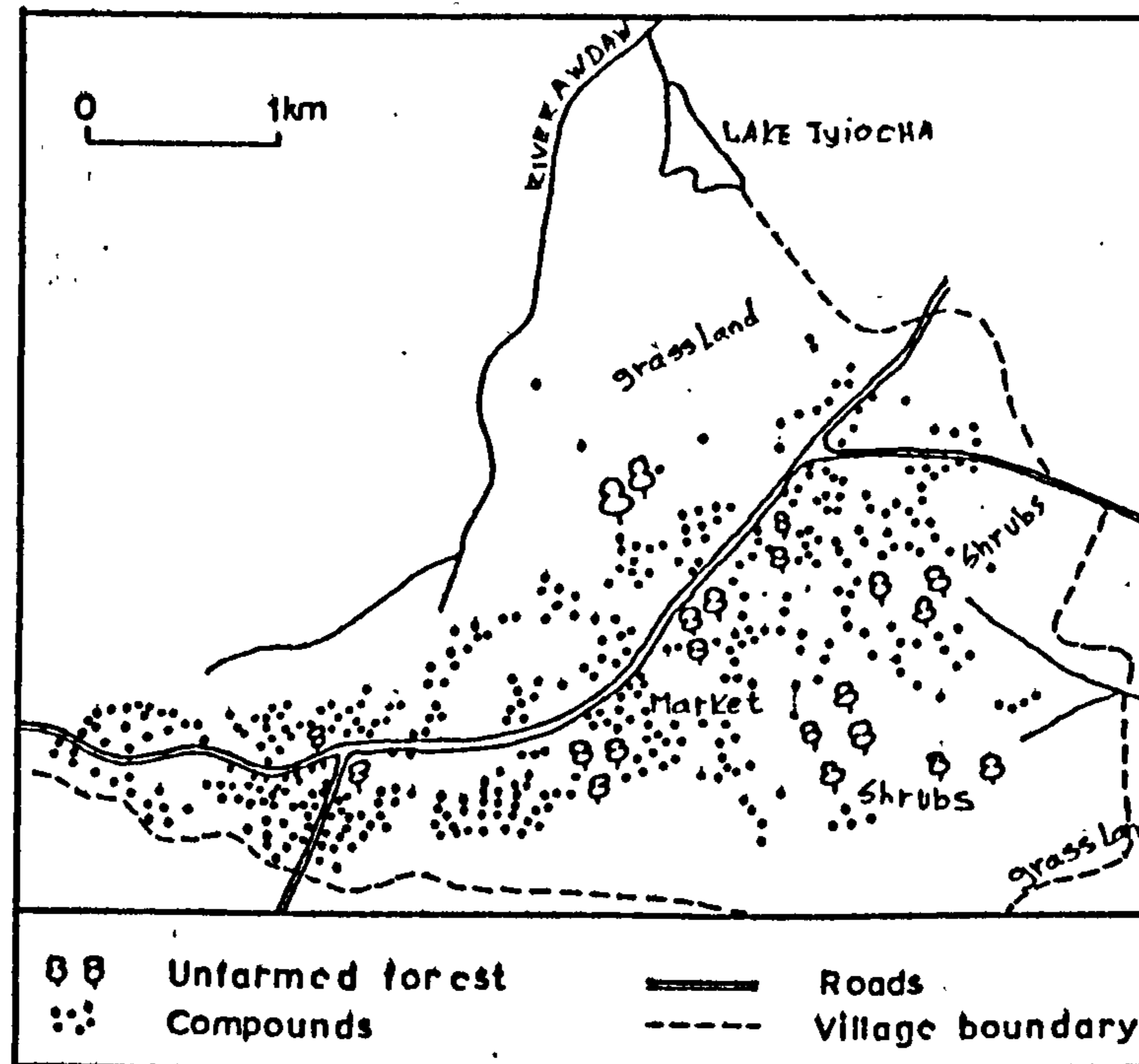


Fig. 17 - Plan of Ibo village, Oko, Southern Nigeria, (1960)

The Ibos, although thought to be one of the major African groupings, consist essentially of a cluster of about 2000 independent village units whose major common characteristics are language and cosmology. Politically, they have been highly fragmented. Originally, much of the area would have been forested, but now that the population density is so much higher, forest trees in many areas only survive close to the villages and at spring heads and shrines, where they have been deliberately encouraged. On the west of Iboland, villages were not visibly compact but usually extended from a central meeting place into the surrounding countryside for several miles. Fifty years ago many villages were surrounded by earthen walls and belt of forest.

Source: Denyer, S., (1979)

home within the walls, farming land in the surrounding countryside." (28) The city of Ibadan and old Oyo had a wall of 16 and 25 km. The classical plan of Yoruba town resembles a wheel, the Oba's (King's) Palace, being the hub, with the town walls, the rim and the spokes as a series of roads radiating out from the centre and linking the town to other settlements. Beyond the walls lies the farmland with the farmers' commuting to their farms on a daily basis. (Fig.18&19)

Denyer (1979) gives more details about the structure of Yoruba towns saying that they all exhibit a remarkable similarity of plan and it seems that they were all conscious imitations of the major towns of Ile-Ife or Oyo. Their dominant features were the palace of the Oba, and the principal market, next to one another in the centre of the town; the main grave or temple; and two wide roads crossing at the centre. Also noteworthy was the lack of any specialist areas: all craft work was carried on in houses and people practising the same craft were not grouped together in anyway. Perhaps, this was to ensure that no group became powerful enough to be disruptive. The minor roads of the towns divided them into 'quarters' and each quarter had a chief to whom all the heads of compounds in his quarter were responsible, and who in turn was responsible to the Oba. These quarters were arranged around the palace in a sort of satellite formation, making each area of the town fairly homogenous.(29)

Biobaku describes the social organization of Yoruba towns as follows: "The Yoruba compound, depending on the size and complexity of the family, is a series of courtyards, each delineating principal relationships yet maintaining the



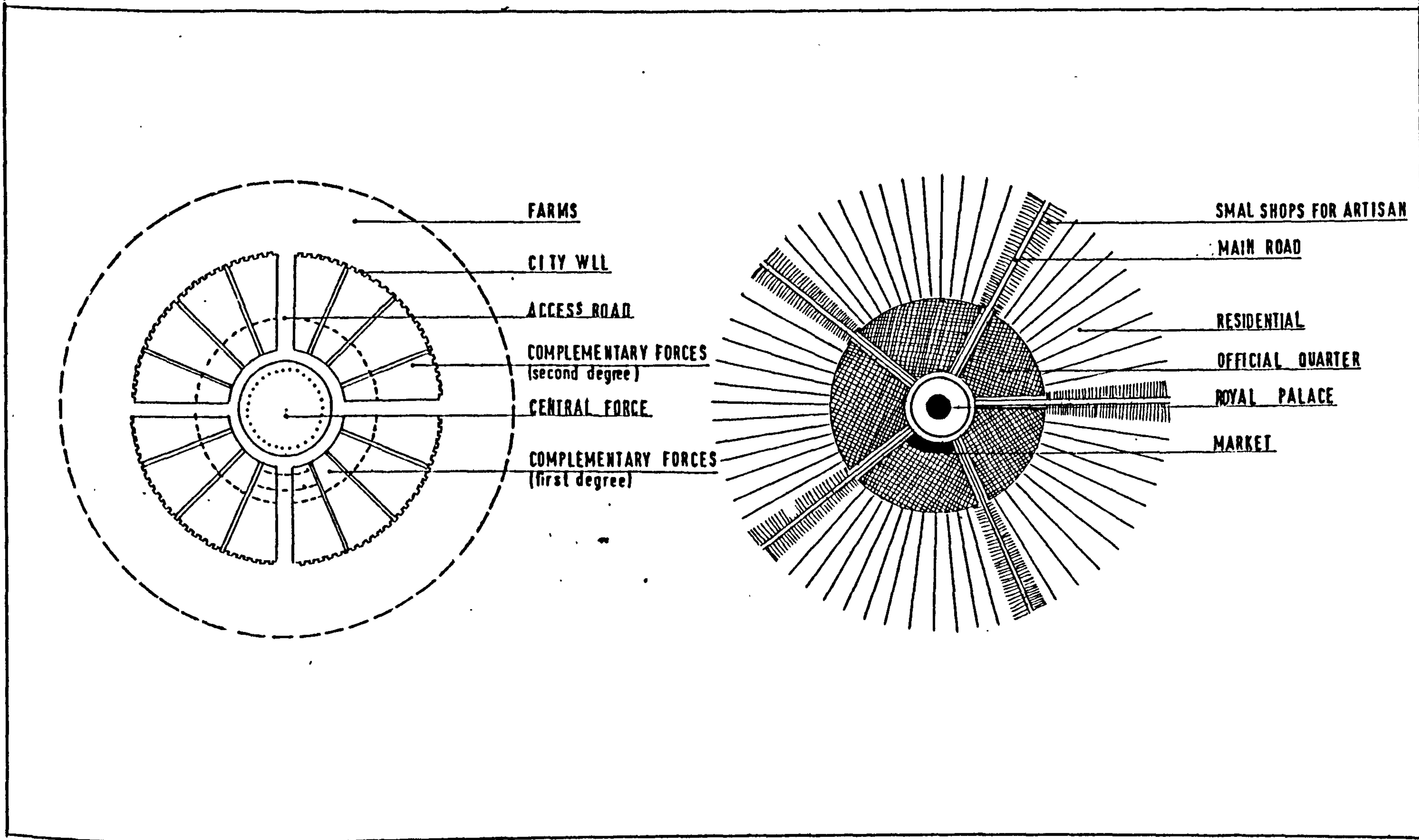


Fig. 18 - Abstract diagram of a classical Yoruba town



integrity and continuity of the flow of space. The courtyard houses, the neighbourhood and city squares are physical manifestations of the hierarchical social organization among the Yorubas. Just as the Oba's Palace dominates the square, the market and the principal approach, so does the neighbourhood chief dominate the neighbourhood square and the head of the extended family the main social entity of the extended family as it is a physical unit of the town structure."(30) Iwo town is the best example of having such an organization. The town is about 5 sq. km, with a population of 100,000 inhabitants, it is divided into four quarters and has 200 lineages in 500 compounds. Main roads tend to separate quarters, and to focus on the compound of the ruler - the 'afin' and the Central Market. (31)

"In Yoruba society, farming is a man's job while the women are mainly traders and craftworkers. Trade in foodstuffs and manufactured goods is controlled by women, but men dominate the trade in cocoa which is the main export-crop produced by the Yorubas."(32)

The household unit was variable in size and structure. In the prevalent rural situation and to a large extent in towns, as in the traditional urban centres of Yoruba, it was arranged physically in a compound. Each of family compounds in the traditional Yoruba town housed a lineage, or part of a lineage, tracing its descent from the same male ancestor. The rooms would be arranged round four sides of a courtyard, with a single gateway. Opposite to the gate are the private room and the parlour of the most senior member of the family, while his married children, his brothers with their wives and children, and any other

relatives and dependents could occupy the rooms on either side: there might be quarters for strangers by the gate. Each adult member, including the wives, had their own room, the young children sleeping with their mothers, or on the verandah which surrounded the courtyard. (33)

There are different ideas about the development of this style of courtyard houses. Some of the researchers believe that the courtyard houses with rectangular buildings were developed in Muslim areas of Northern Africa, and it is an entirely Muslim feature in architecture. Some others believe that this style has been developed in the western part of Sudan and they call it the "Sudanese Style." The argument is that courtyard houses had existed in Western Sudan, Chad and Niger before Islam reached there, and since this type of houses with one entrance gives privacy to the inside rooms (privacy for women being very important for Islam) it was a favourite style of house for Muslims. Denyer, while accepting the second idea, describes the courtyard houses as follows: "The central characteristics of this style are said to be a courtyard plan; a flat or dome-shaped vaulted roof, and parapets pierced by gutter pipes or channel, walls are constructed of mud bricks set in mud mortar; and the mud roofs are supported by palm frond joints and formers." (34)

Whatever the argument about the place of origin of this type of houses, the most important point is that the layout is similar to the traditional village layout plan. It seems that compounds or courtyard houses represent the elaborate layout of a village in an urban area, where the different units (rooms) are grouped around the courtyard. The middle courtyard creates privacy and good ventilation

for the mud constructed rooms that had no windows. (Figs.20,21)

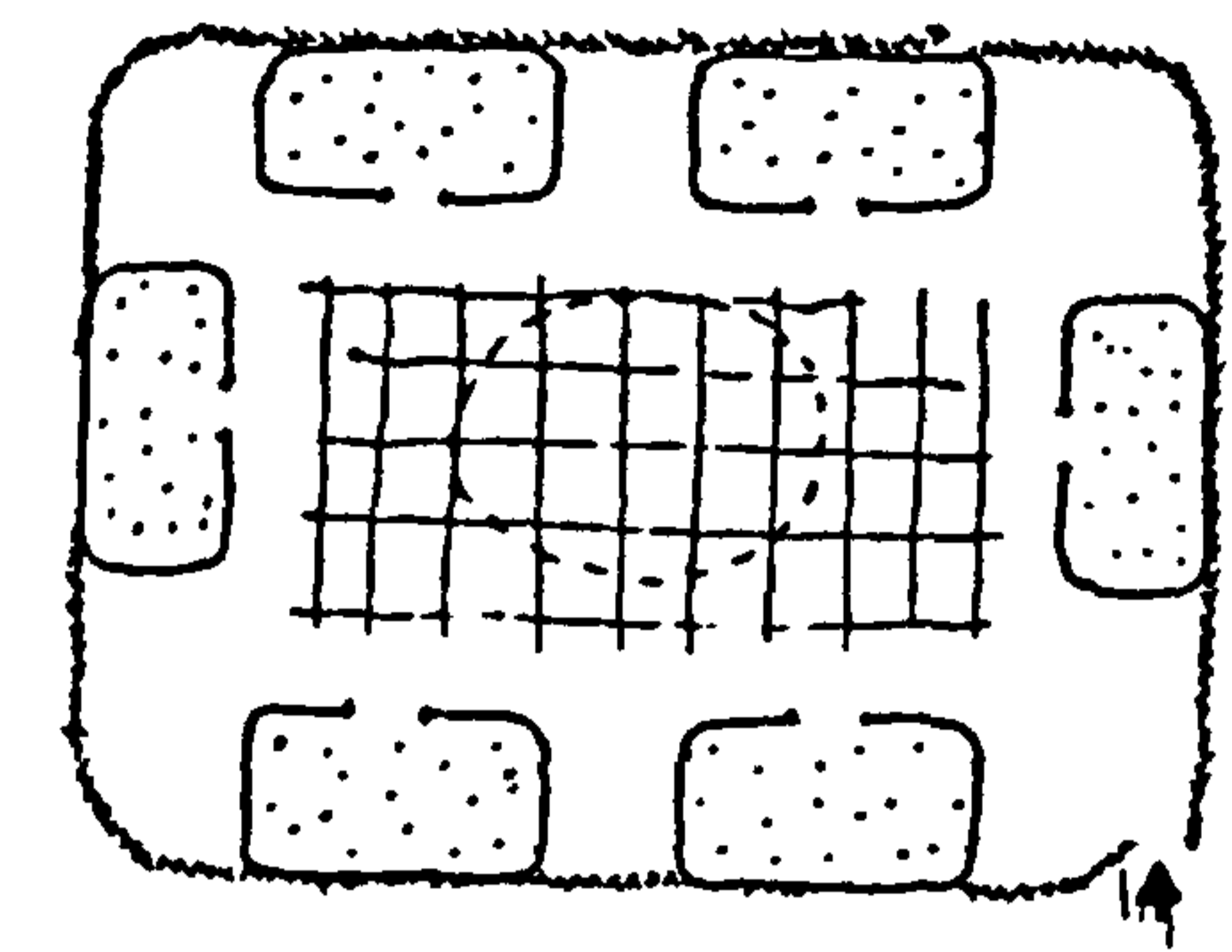
### Yoruba's Economy

The characteristic role of a compound in Yoruba society was its dual function as a residential building as well as a productive unit. The early European visitors of Yoruba towns have mentioned the dual characteristic of a compound and described various types of craftwork, such as weaving textile and iron-work, which constituted the major specialization of production by each compound. (35) Two essential characteristics of economy has been developed in Yorubaland:

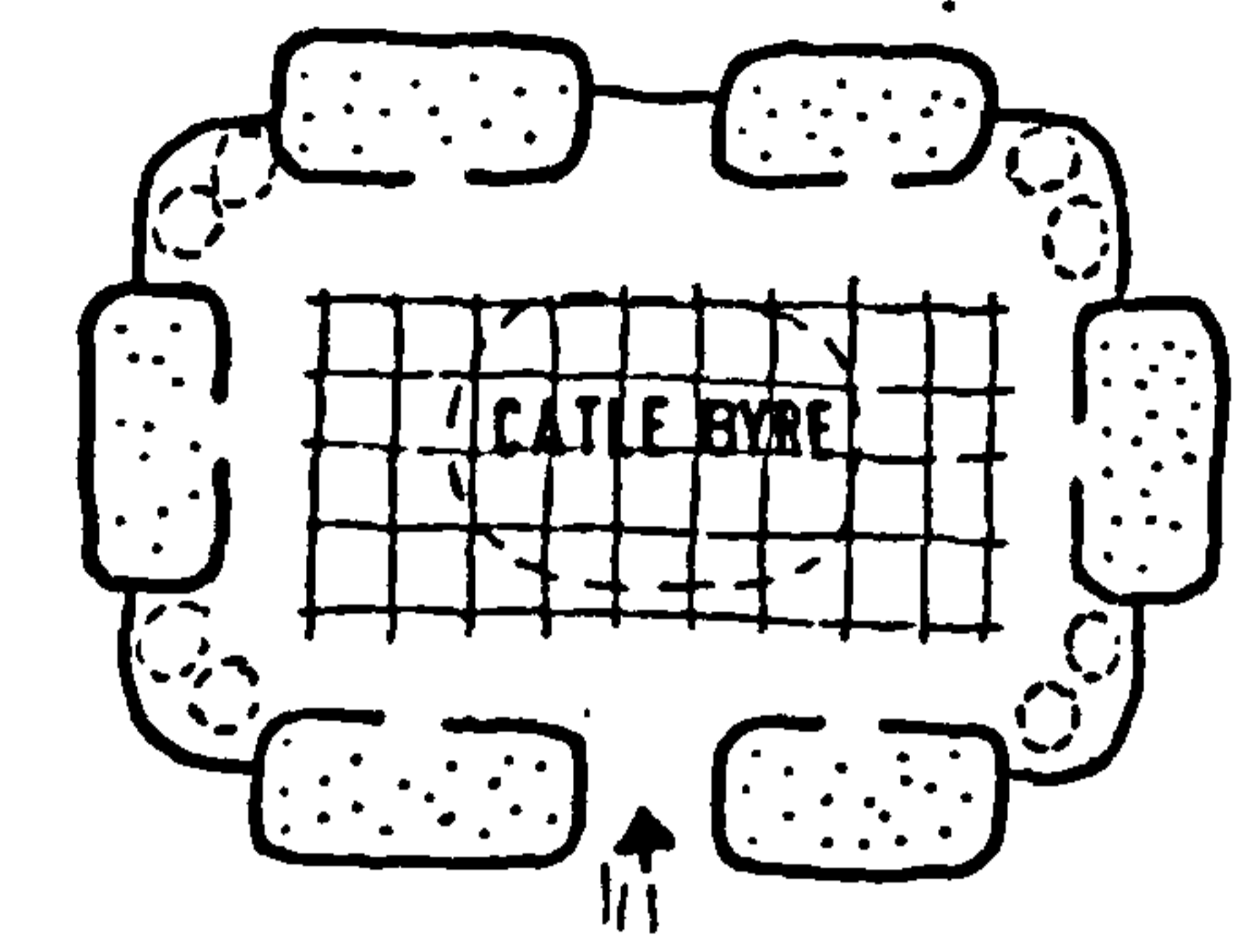
- Local market,
- Central market.

A local market fulfilled the needs of a local city and, generally, dealt with 'local products'. The central market covered a vast territory and was the meeting centre for the inhabitants of different cities. The local market was usually situated in the centre of the city, close to the main square, putting the central market next to the main traffic circulation of the city. Generally, the local market lasted for the whole day, finishing by the sunset, whereas the central market was held in the intervals of four to eight days, lasting the whole day, to catch up with the maximum time for late or distant buyers. According to Mabogunji, some of those markets, apart from participating in provincial trade, belonged to a second tier of what might be called 'inter-Kingdom periodic parkets.' This meant that they also engaged in the trade involving people coming from other kingdoms.(36)

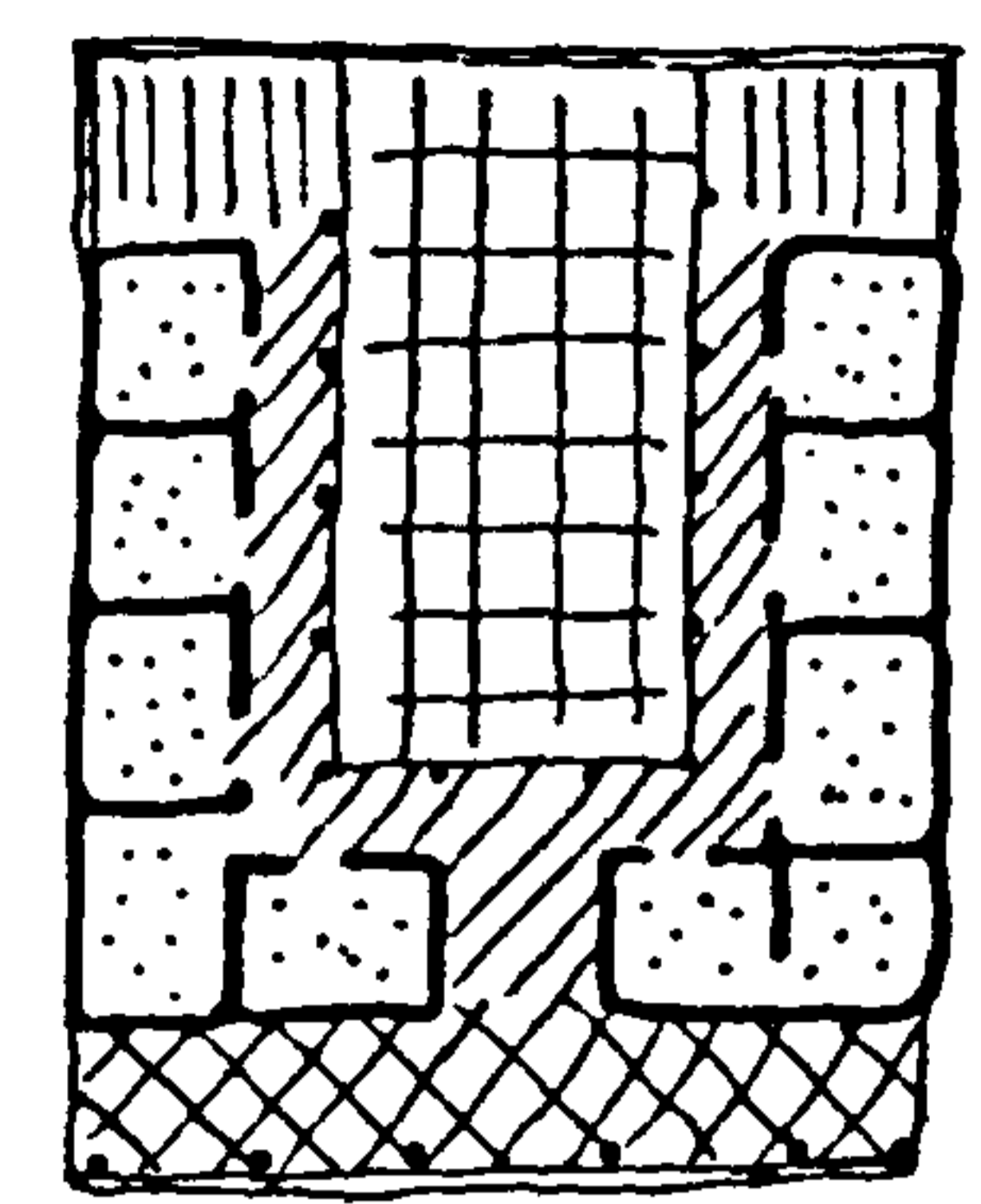
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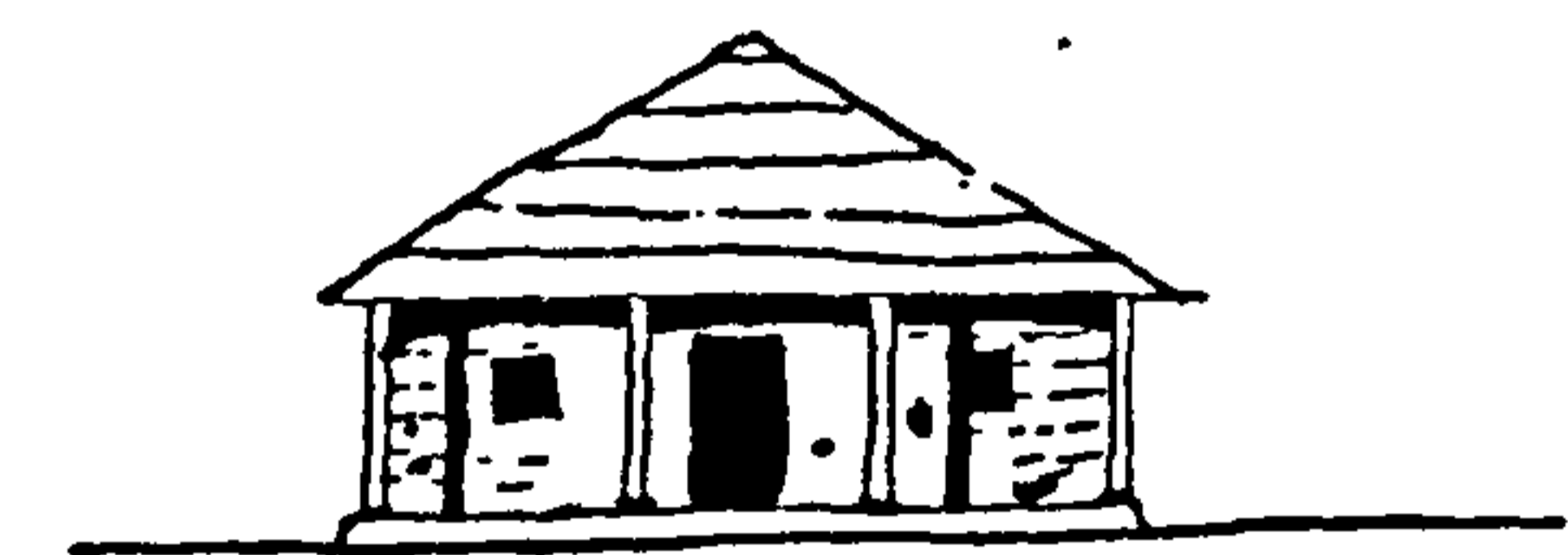
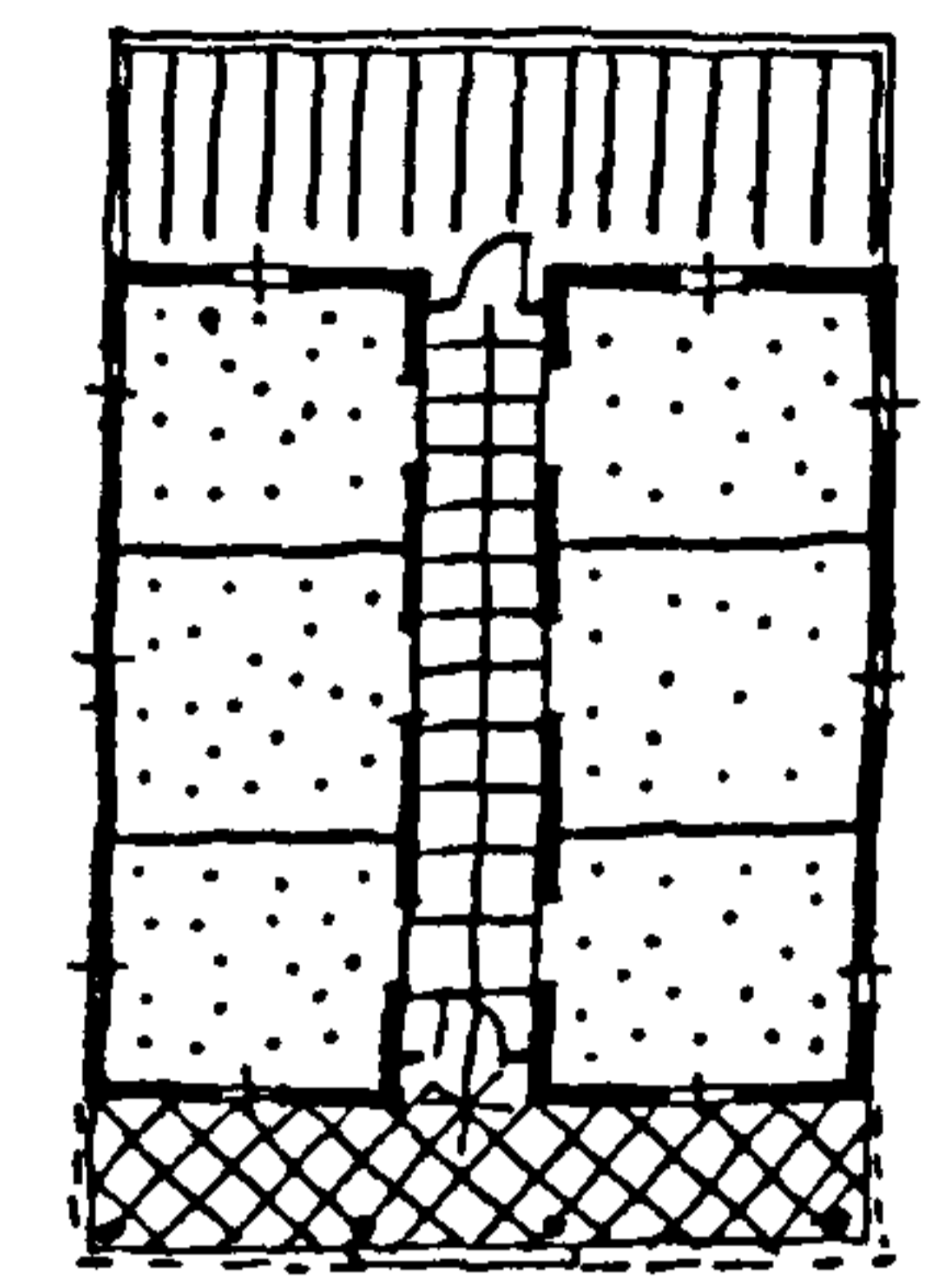
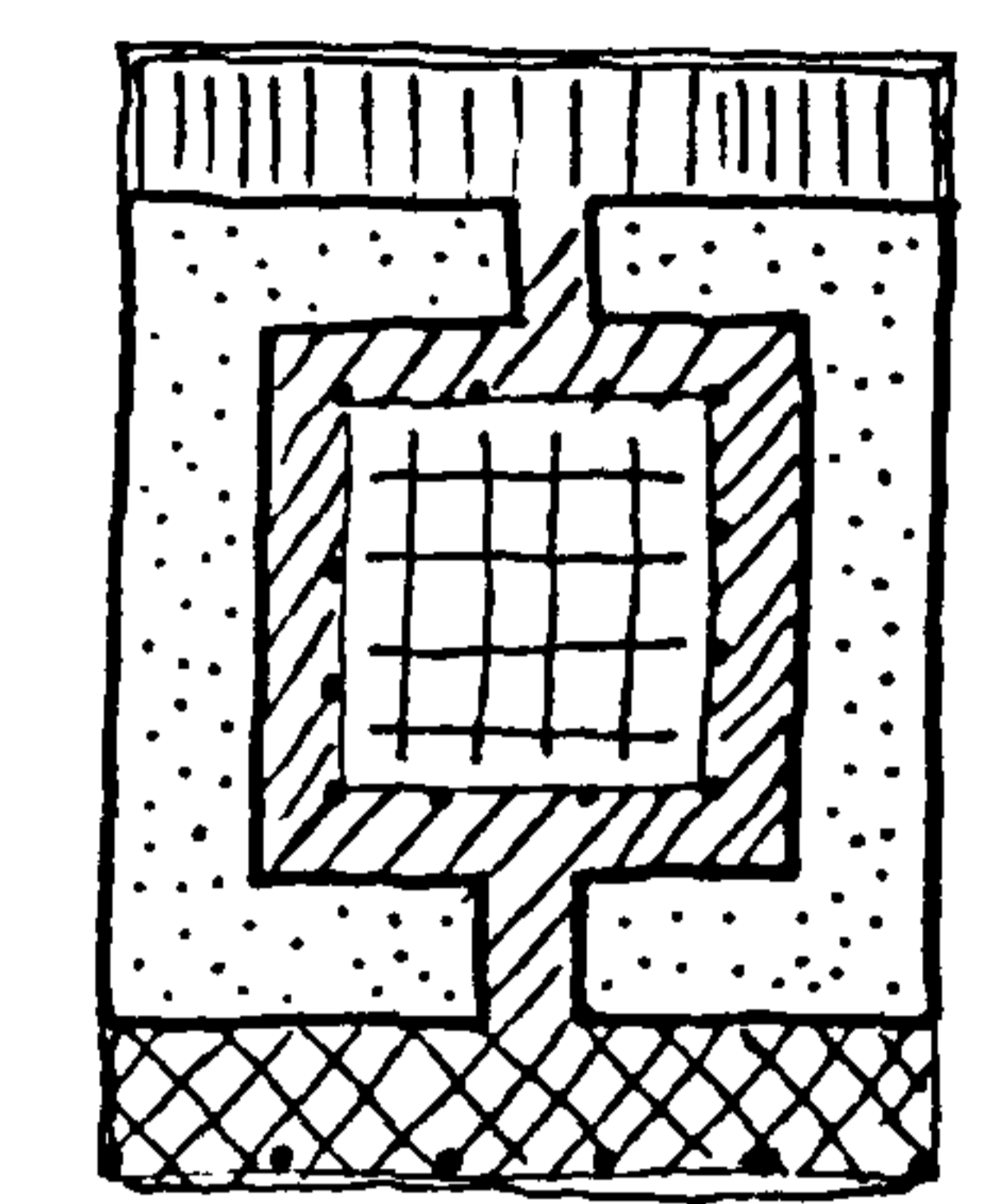
D: RECTANGULAR PLAN; thatched roof, access through one entrance, all units face one another across the courtyard; walls of bamboo; all the compartments within a surrounding fence (hedge of palm trees); the inside of an open space was sometimes used as a cattle byre or for keeping domestical animals; open space between units were used for grain store. Still popular in costal, rural areas from Lagos to Benin & Togo.



E: RECTANGULAR PLAN; thached roof, access through one entrance, general layout similar to type 'D'; walls of mud, all compartments within a surrounding mud wall. Roof sometimes covered the open space between two units. There is no window or entrance for each unit from outside.



F: RECTANGULAR PLAN: Traditional compound with rooms around a central court, access through one entrance, walls of mud, columns were of wood and mud, thached roof of rafia leaves, later covered by iron sheets, floors made of well prepared mud; it is as hard as cement and quite smooth; all windows and entrances to rooms are through the court-yard.



RECTANGULAR PLAN; Central Corridor replaced the courtyard; rooms are arranged face to face along both sides of the corridor. Cooking is usually done in the corridor. Windows are open to a narrow lane of 3 to 4 feet. This type of houses were developed in urban area.


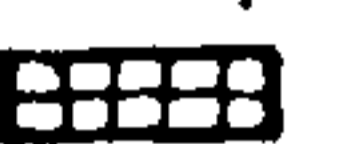


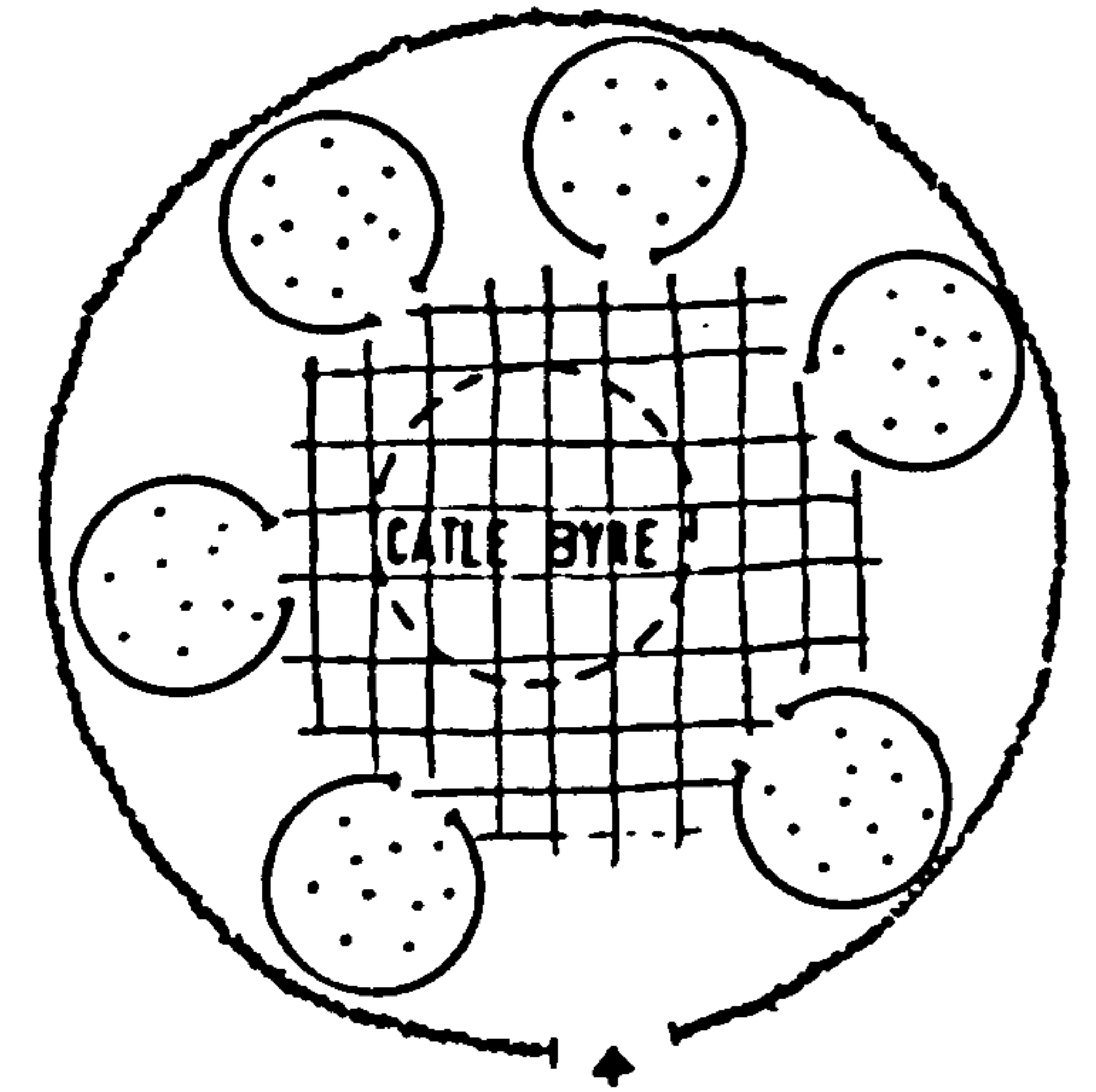
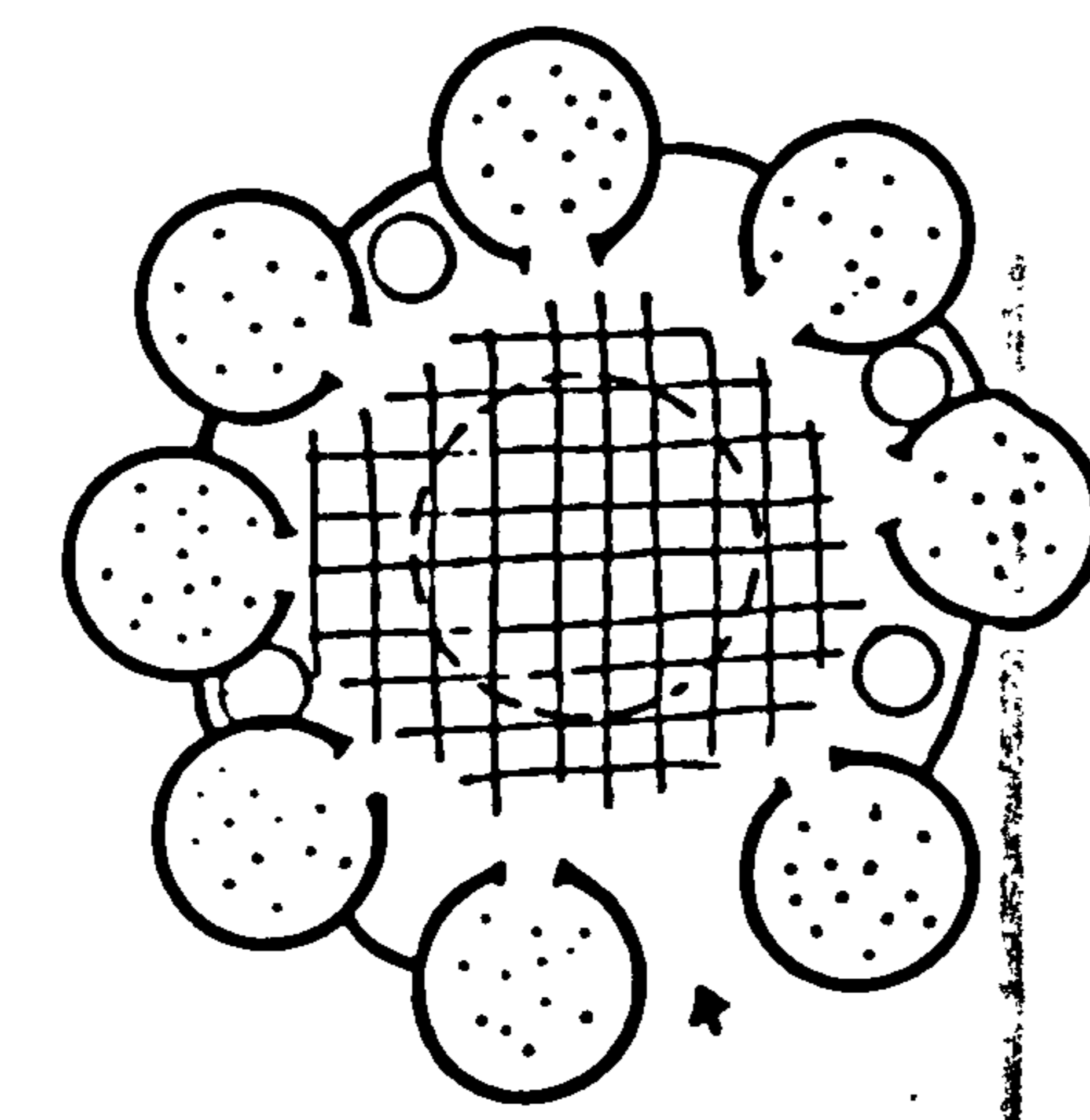
-  Filter area; space which separates residential area from the street.
-  Multi-functional area; space for collective domestic activities.
-  Living area; space for private domestic activities.
-  Service area; space for kitchen, latrine and cottage industrial activities like dying cloth, weaving cloth and baskets and also space for keeping domestic animals.

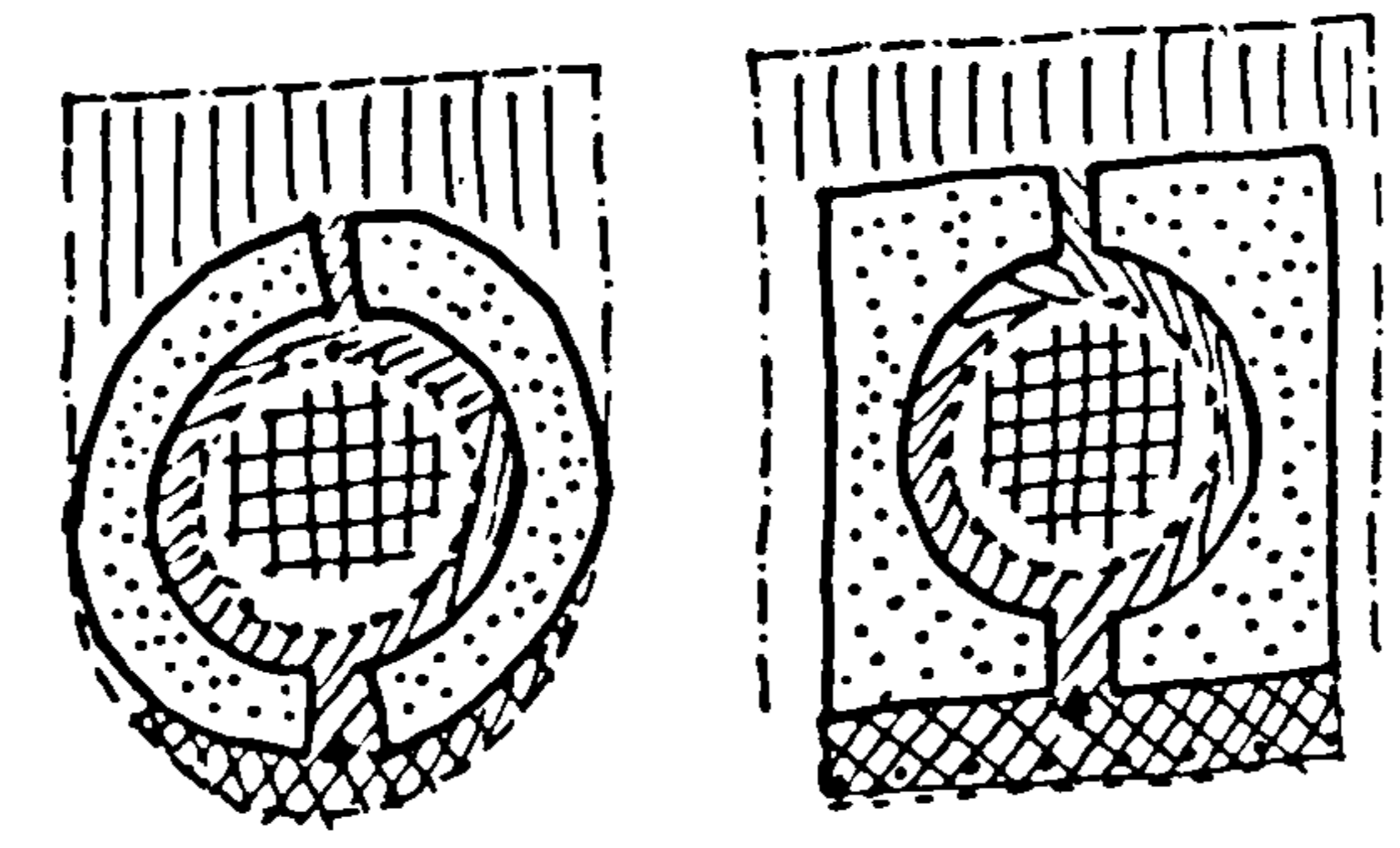
Fig. 21 - Abstract diagram of evolution of compound.



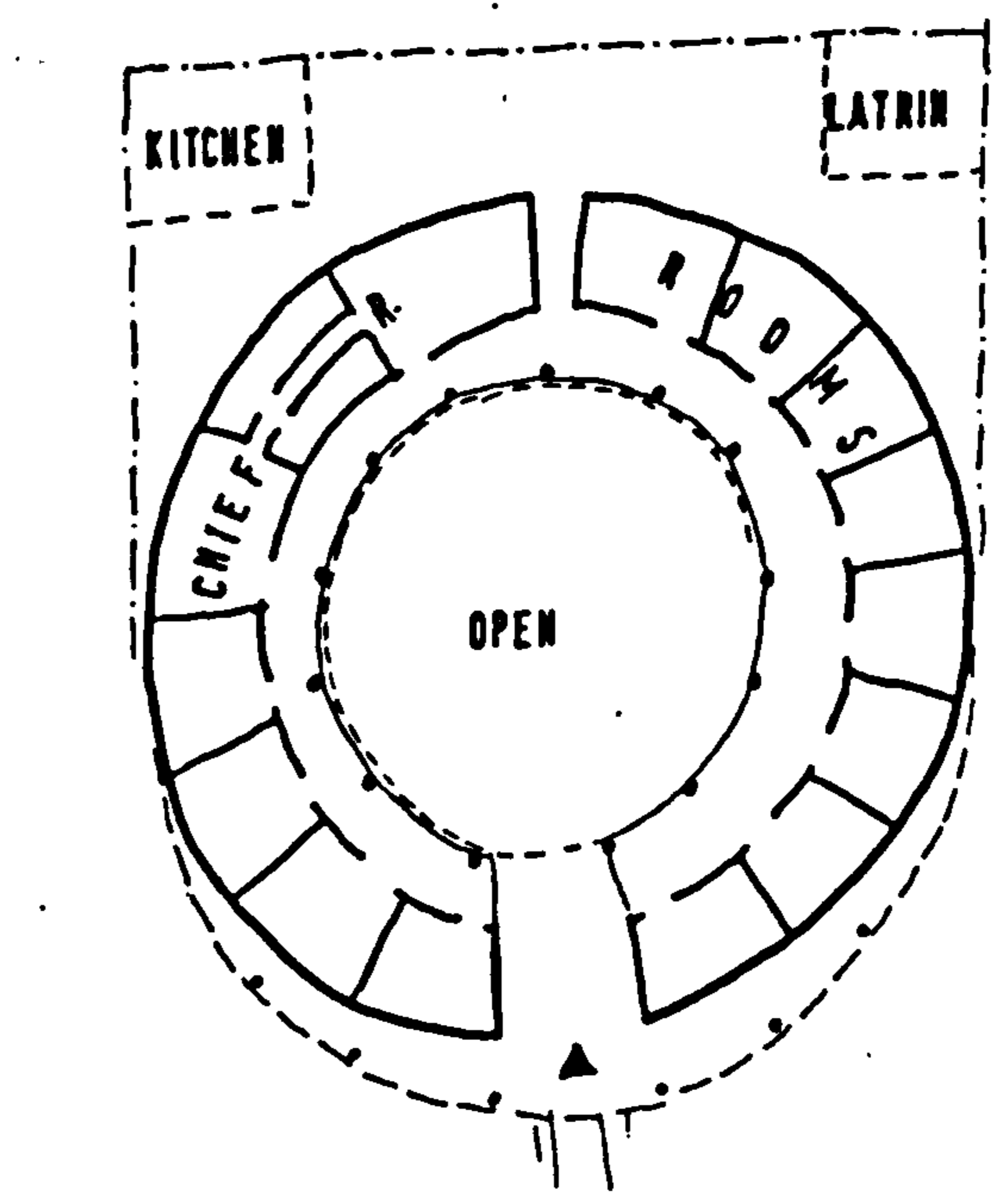
A: ROUND PLAN: free standing, Diameter equal to hight, access through one entrance; walls of bamboo, Thached conical roof of palm leaves; all buildings are inside a surrounding fence (hedge). This part was popular in costal part of West Atrica because of available material.



B: ROUND PLAN: free standing, Diameter equal to hight, access through one entrance, walls of mud and straw, thached conical roof of palm leaves, sometimes another mud roof under the thach in bed-rooms; distance between buildings were closed by mud walls and all the village was surrounded by hedges. This type of homestead was popular in Northen part of Nigeria, where the mud was available.



C: ROUND PLAN: different compartments are grouped around the courtyard; access through one entrance, walls of mud (later plaster), thach roof of palm leaves (later iron sheet); circular plan compound was not popular in Yoruba land but in West coast of Africa (Guinea - Senegal).



AWOROKIN COMPOUND at IPOTI-EKITI, ONDO





-  Filter area; space which separates residential area from the street.
-  Multi-functional area; space for collective domestic activities.
-  Living area; space for private domestic activities.
-  Service area; space for kitchen, latrine and cottage industrial activities like dyeing cloth, weaving cloth and baskets and also space for keeping domestic animals.

Fig. 20 - Abstract diagram of evolution of compour



The control over the Yorubaland was collective; this meant that the community exercised the right to use the land within the border of their territory. "The lineage ('idile' or 'ebi') is the traditional land holder, and its head appropriated plots according to needs, except in Owa and Ondo districts where the land appears to have been held by whole community."(37)

The land with the territorial limits of each ethnic group can be divided into five categories:

1. The unutilized land within the town wall,
2. The unutilized land (collective property) held by chiefs,
3. Public lands occupied by markets, cemeteries and public buildings,
4. Sacred land or forest,
5. Town lands, occupied by extended family.

These divisions are general and do not refer to the European concept of "agricultural land" and "public landscape!"(38)

Outright sale of land is prohibited since the land is regarded as belonging not only to the living, but also to dead ancestors buried there in and children yet unborn. However, in the middle of last century the selling of land was an exclusive privilege of local kings. (39) "Shortly before the British occupation, however, King of Lagos began to make individual grants of land. Though he may have exceeded his rights in this, these grants were confirmed as crown grants, when Lagos became a colony. So already, a hundred years ago, something approaching individual freehold titles were becoming established.

The owner could, therefore, dispose of his property as he chose, and because land was in demand, the buying and selling of property became accepted practice." (40)

Today, the selling of land is generally considered illegal and in most cases the local court has refused to accept the validity of selling contracts. The family land can not be sold and there are many cases where the vendor and the buyer were persecuted by the law for acting against the rules.

### Population

It is uncertain what the total national and urban population of Nigeria is. According to the census of 1952/53, the estimated total population of Nigeria, within its present boundaries was about 30.4 million. The following census of 1963 shows the total population to be about 55.66 million, which was considered by the United Nations as inaccurate and overestimated. The figure that was proposed by the United Nations was 46.3 million and projected forward by the fertility and mortality trends, to reach a 1980 population of 77.08 million. (41)

Nigeria has the highest annual growth rate in West Africa. In early 1980s, the annual growth rate was over 3 per cent, which suggests the doubling of the population in about twenty two years. (Table 2) The latest published figure (May, 1982) by the United Nations estimated the total population of Nigeria to

be about 90 million. The predicted size of the Nigerian population, at the end of this century, is 148,880,000.

"The broad pattern of the distribution of population is marked by the presence of three nuclei, one is the far north, one is the south-west and the other is the south-east. Each is the land of one major community: Hausa, Yoruba and Igbu, and it has been estimated that they contained two-fifths of the population of Nigeria on one seventh of its area."(42)

Table 2 - Annual Rates of Population Growth, 1975-2000

<u>Year</u>	<u>Nigeria</u>	<u>West Africa</u>	<u>Africa</u>
1975/80	3.21	3.06	2.91
1980/85	3.36	3.16	2.97
1985/90	3.36	3.15	2.93
1990/95	3.30	3.09	2.81
1995/2000	3.15	2.95	2.64

Source: United Nations, World Population Trends and Prospects by Century, 1950 - 2000, Summary Report of the 1978 Assessment, New York, 1979, ST/ESA/SER/R/33

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## CHAPTER TWO

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## HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

### History of Lagos

The Portuguese discovered the Gulf of Guinea between 1415 and 1437, and came to the Lagos Coast. The Island was discovered in 1472, partly submerged in water and surrounded by trees and bushes. (1) (Fig.22) According to Aderibigbi: "A thick belt of mangrove forest skirted the coastline of the Island. This was Nature's only way of preventing or minimising the inevitable soil erosion, but it also acted as a barrier to human penetration. . Furthermore, Lagos was, in spite of its advantageous geographical location for commerce, an inconvenient mixture of dry land and forbidding swamps with a number of creeks and lagoons." (2) At that time the situation of the Island did not impress the Portuguese and, as it is recorded, they did not find it suitable for annexation. Following its discovery the Island was used by fishermen, for nearly two centuries, as a station for repairing their canoes and nets. (Fig.23)

There are different views regarding the first person or group to settle in Lagos. Some historians believe that the first person or group to settle in Lagos or discovered it, was a hunter who came from Ile-Ife. The second thought is that the first settlers came from Bini, around 1550(3), and the final, more common claim is that the first settlers were a group of people from nearby



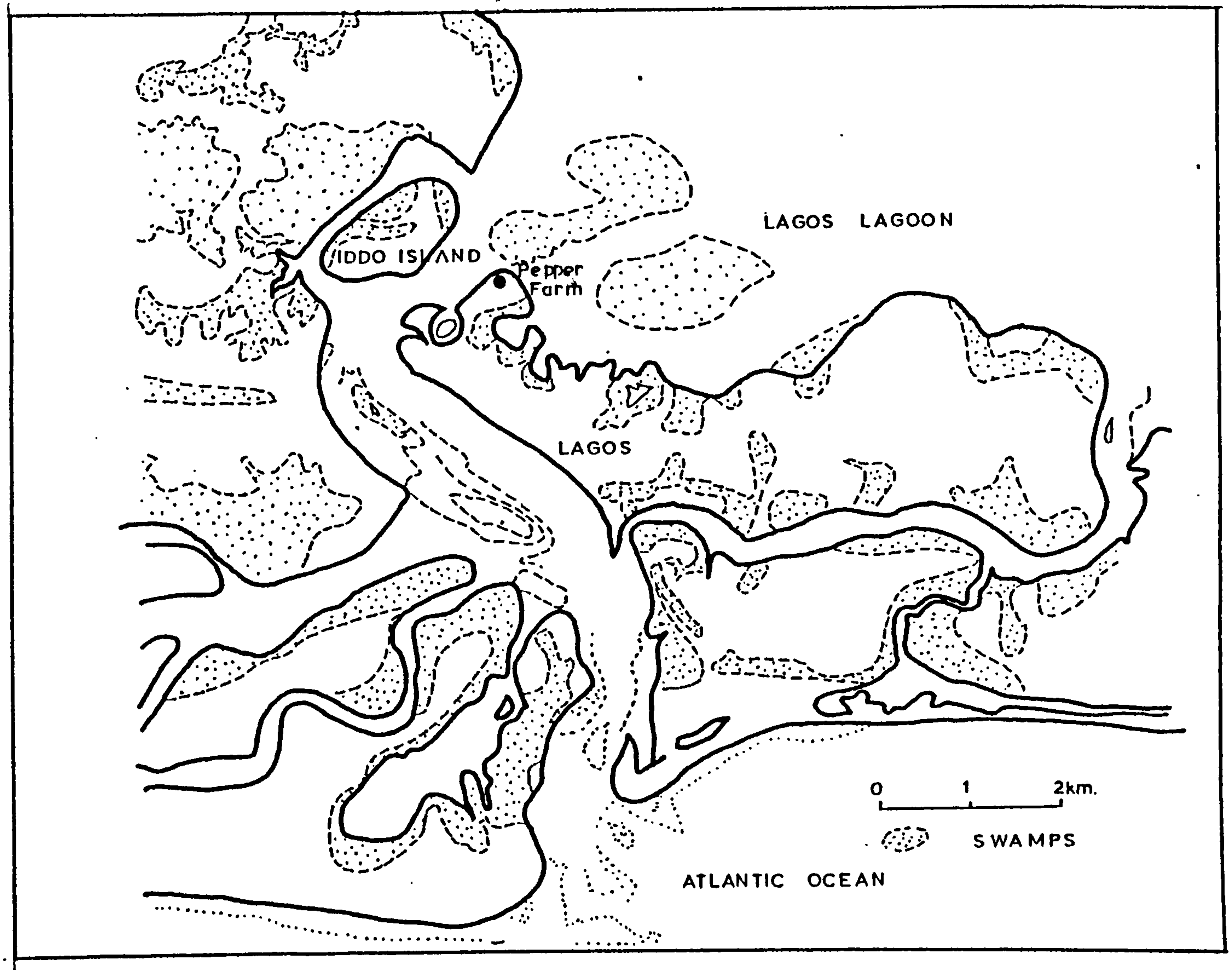


Fig. 22 - Map of Lagos Island showing its swampy areas.



Fig. 23 - Lagos Island and its early settlement, before the arrival of the Europeans.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, A. V. (1976)

island of Ido.(4) They were a subgroup of Yoruba tribe called 'Awori', who left their initial land, some 40 miles from the coastal belt on the mainland, and moved south side. There is no historical reason for their movement, however, the reason must be security rather than search for fertile land. At first, they settled at Ebute-Metta, not far from Lagos Island and established their small settlement. But yet they found it insecure probably due to the hostile activities of the neighbouring tribes of Ijebu and Egbache. Then they extended their settlement to Iddo, a small island of about one square mile. Although Iddo island was a secure place, there was still not enough farmland to supply much of the agricultural needs of the people. Moreover, intensive farming on the mainland was always threatened by the danger of attack from the interior. Therefore, they preferred the less fertile and sandy land of Lagos Island and took up their farming there.(Fig.24) It was this use of the Island which led to its receiving the name of Oko, meaning 'a farm', later corrupted to Eko.(5) The suggested date of the arrival of this people is about 1660.(6) From this time the Island became populated by different groups, each settled on different part of the Island:

1. The first settlers were natives who settled in the north-western area of the Island, between Itolo and Idumagbo Lagoon and Ebute Ero.
2. The second group settled south of Idunmota through marina, extended to Tinubu and the far end of Olowogbowo area. The area became populated by the liberated slaves from Sierra Leone.
3. The third area where people settled, was in the north-east of the Island,

known as Lafiagi.

4. The fourth settlers were in the northern part of the Island.
5. The fifth area where the people settled was in the south of the Island, from south-east of Tinubu Square up to the south-east of the Island. This area was first populated by the liberated slaves from Portugal, around 1854 to 1859, and was known as Portuguese Town.
6. The sixth group of settlers settled in the Epetede area.(7),(Fig.25)

EKO was the first name given to the Island. "The Portuguese called it 'Lagos de curamu' from which 'Kuramu waters' is derived. Other names given to the Island were 'Onim' and 'Allinis' and finally Lagos, after a town in Portugal."(8)

Soon after the arrival on the Island, the first settlers took up farming and the Island was soon populated by other chiefs and their relatives. As Lagos gradually became the centre of trade, people from nearby towns, villages and neighbouring countries came to settle on.

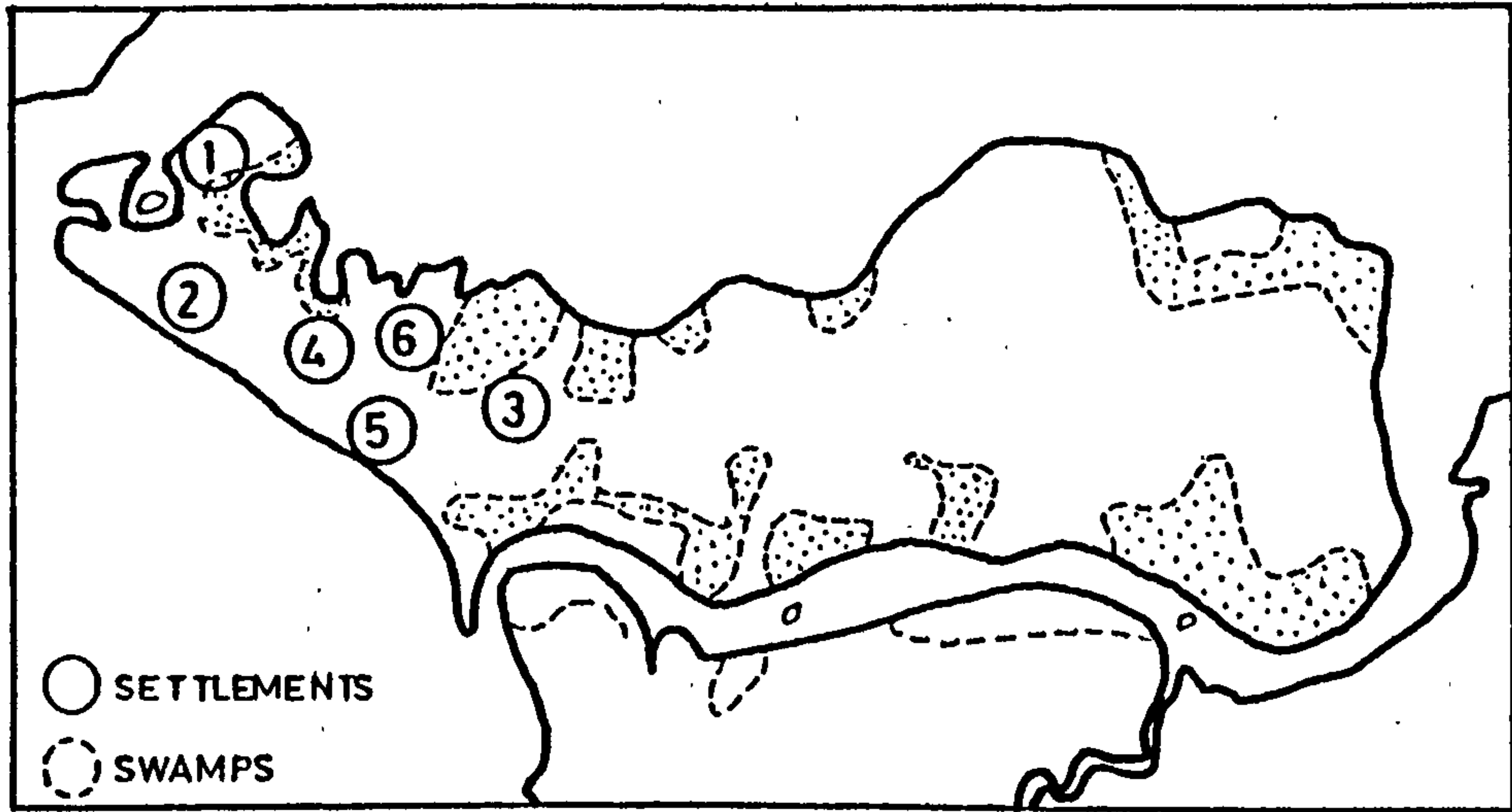


Fig. 25 - Locations of Early Settlements on the Island

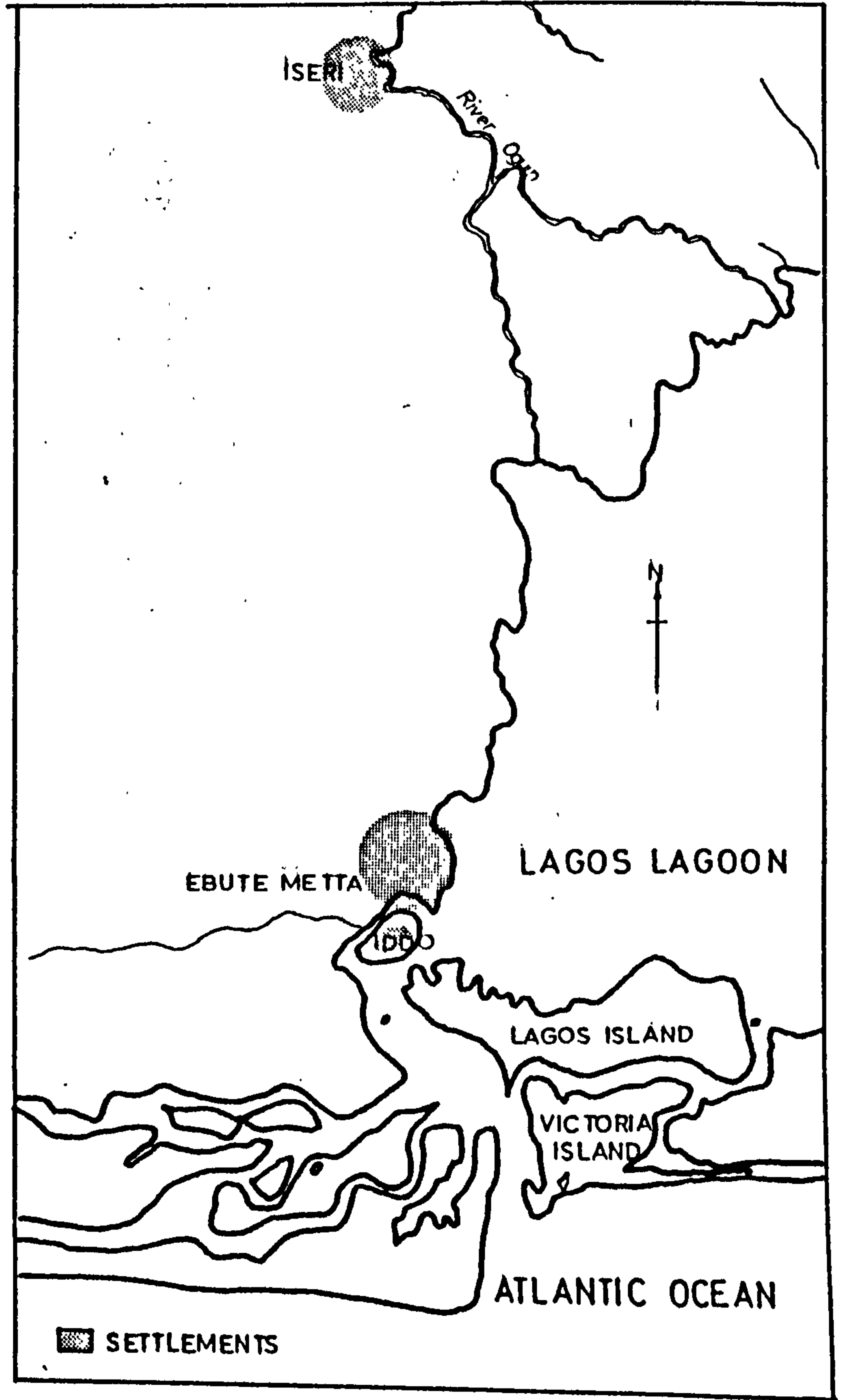


Fig. 24 - (right) Location of Original Settlers before moving to the Island

### The Development of Lagos, 1800 - 1850

As described before, Lagos Island was gradually populated by different groups. Each group settled on different habitable parts of land that was available on the Island. There is not much information about Lagos and its inhabitants before nineteenth century. Some writers are suggesting that the population of Lagos in eighteenth century was not more than a few thousand people, made up of fishermen and farmers. The settlements were divided by numerous swamps and pools of water. "Some areas of Lagos were in fact, islets within the Island. One was Alakoro section of Lagos, which according to the map drawn as late as 1885, was called 'Alakoro Island'. The Idumagbo area was also separated from the rest of the Island by a large stretch of water appropriately named 'Idumagbo Lagoon'. Further inland were places at present thickly populated but which in time past were swamps." (9)

The existance of those swamps were at the same time beneficial and hazardous to the environment of the Island. "Sometimes they served the very useful purpose of localizing the ravage of the ever recurrent fires which were commonplace before the area of corrugated iron sheets. Most of the time, however, they constituted a threat to the health of the people. The lagoon were used as dumping grounds for all refuse and, apart from being eyesore during low water, they polluted drinking water. The swamps bread mosquitos whose bites, although at first not associated with malaria, were extremely offensive." (10)

The earliest detail about Lagos was given by captain Adams, (11), who visited

Lagos in about 1800. He describes the town of Lagos as a small city with estimated population of not more than 5,000. It is not quite clear whether this figure includes all scattered settlements on the Island or not, however Fig.26 shows that the most populated area was the north-western part of the Island, the nearest part to the Iddo island, and extending down to the shore. According to Aderibigbi this was the area where the first settlers took up farming and built up their houses and the official Palace (Oba's palace).(12)

According to the first census dated 1866, the population of Lagos was 25,083, which indicated a huge increase comparing to the year 1800. It is believed that the rapid increase of population was due to the increased number of slaves and slave traders during the first half of 19th century.

The history of slave trade in Africa dated as far back as the middle of sixteenth century when the Portuguese captured slaves from Guinea and Angola on the West Coast of Africa. They were shipped to Americas, at first mainly to Portuguese colonies on Brazilian coast. "There was a spurt in the trade about the middle of seventeenth century; this occurred in relation to a number of developments on the American continents, including action by the Portuguese administration in Brazil (under Jesuit missionary pressure) to stop the enslavement of native Indians, which led to an increase in the demand for African slaves. Further north plantations on the British and French Islands of the West Indies also provided a market for British slave traders."(13) Suffice to say that though Europeans started slavery and were involved in slave trade for about two centuries, they were also the pioneers in abolition of slave trade by the end of 18th century.

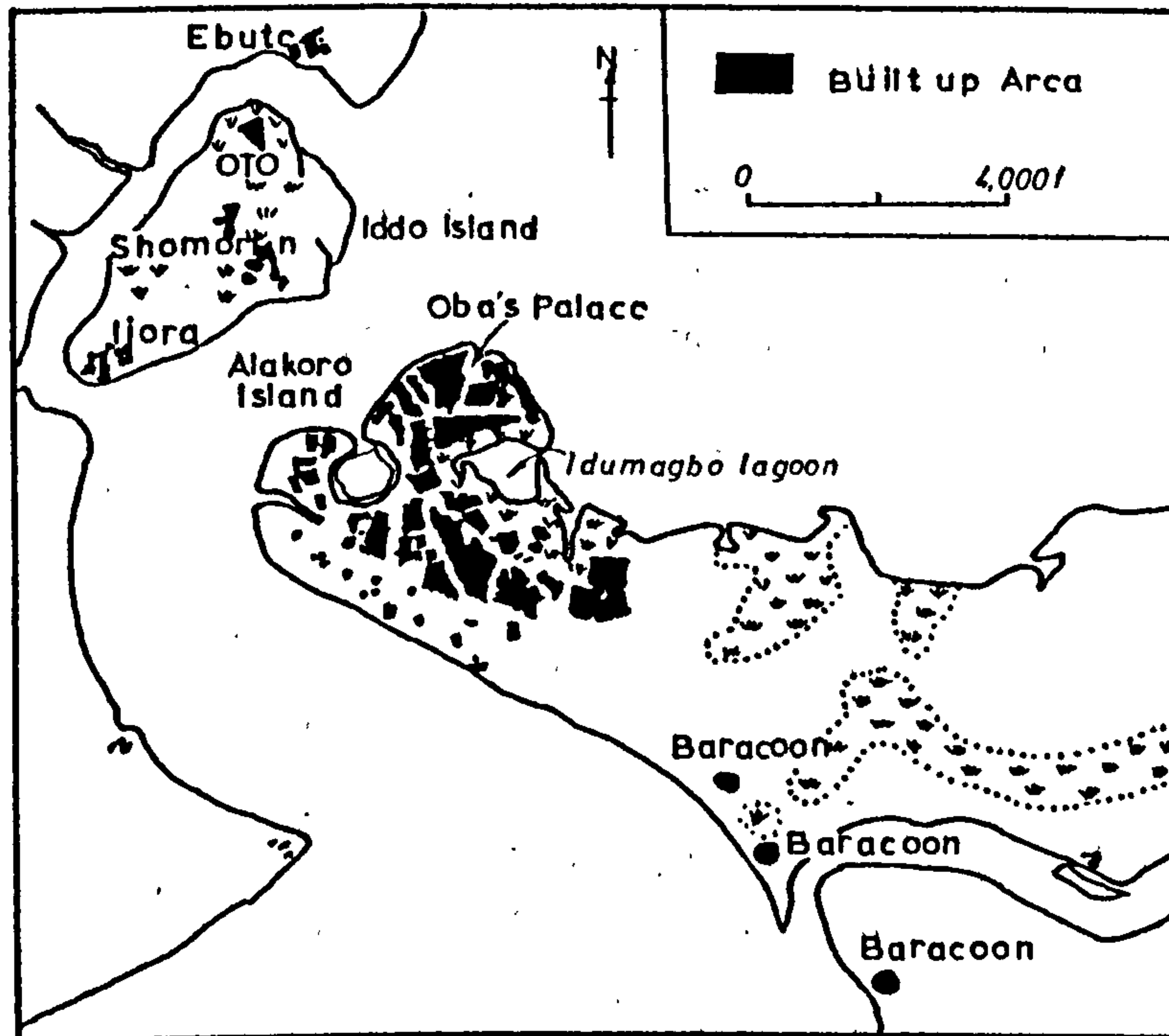


Fig. 26 - Extension of Settlements on Lagos Island, in 1850.

Source: Mabogunji, A. L., (1968)



The abolition of slave trade in 1790 by French government and the following act by British Parliament had a positive impact on the economy of Lagos. This was mainly due to the advantageous location of Lagos that could help slave ships (mostly Portuguese) escape away from the British squadron, patroning against slave trade. Furthermore, with the outbreak of tribal war in the north of Lagos, a large supply of slaves became available.(14) The tribal wars among African groups is believed to be arranged by chiefs who were involved in slave trade. Goldthrope writes that: "Slavery was a traditional institution of many African societies, and the circumstances of European contacts at the coast put a premium on chiefs' making war on their neighbours, taking captives, selling them as slaves, and buying guns to make further wars."(15) Although Lagos was involved in slave trade during the 18th century, it was not its indigenous institution. In fact, evidences show that during that period, Badagary was the important port of slave-trading, but since the beginning of the 19th century, Lagos became the most important slave port in West Africa. "Many slaves were exported to Brazil and came to be known as 'Brazilians'. In Brazil, many of them, having succeeded by industry, frugality or good conduct in purchasing their freedom and that of their wives and children, later on returned to Lagos. By 1851, they numbered some 130 families. Other slaves were, however, more fortunate in being rescued in mid-Atlantic by British ships of Royal Naval Squadron, and resettled in Freetown, Sierra Leone. There they learnt to read and write and to engage in various crafts as well as in trading. A group of them under a certain John Ferguson, having amassed some wealth, purchased a vessel, hired a white man to navigate her and began commercial trading down the West African Coast. In 1838, on one of those trips, they sighted Lagos and recognized it as the port from where they

had been exported. In the next three years (1839-41), more than 250 of these Sierra Leone immigrants returned to Lagos."(16)

The Portuguese, who had returned to Lagos by the turn of seventeenth century and established a good relation with the Oba of Lagos, were the main slave-traders. In return for trading monopoly, especially for the purchase and shipment of slaves, the Portuguese built a palace for the Oba.(17),(Fig.27) The British occupation of Lagos in 1851 put an effective end to the slave trade in this area and opened a new life for Lagos, that of a colony which lasted for more than a century.

During the first half of nineteenth century numerous visitors provided various informations about Lagos. The earliest detail of the city was given by James White (the first Sierra Leon agent of C.M.S. to reach Lagos in 1852). In his Journey to Lagos he recorded that: "... here and there, the entire scenes being dominated by Akinloges Iga (or Palace), a magnificent building with many windows and spacious rooms."(18),(Fig.27) This was the palace which was built by the Portuguese on the site of the old palace on the north west of the Island.

Burton describes the city with more details: "The town which is native to the last degree, it is said to be five miles in circumference and containing 30,000 inhabitants, of whom 700 to 800 are Moslems. There has been the usual quarrels for frontage, each factory and mission-house wishing to secure for itself as much, and to leave its neighbour as little as possible. The native town, which contains the palace of now destitute Docoma, is to the west of 'garden

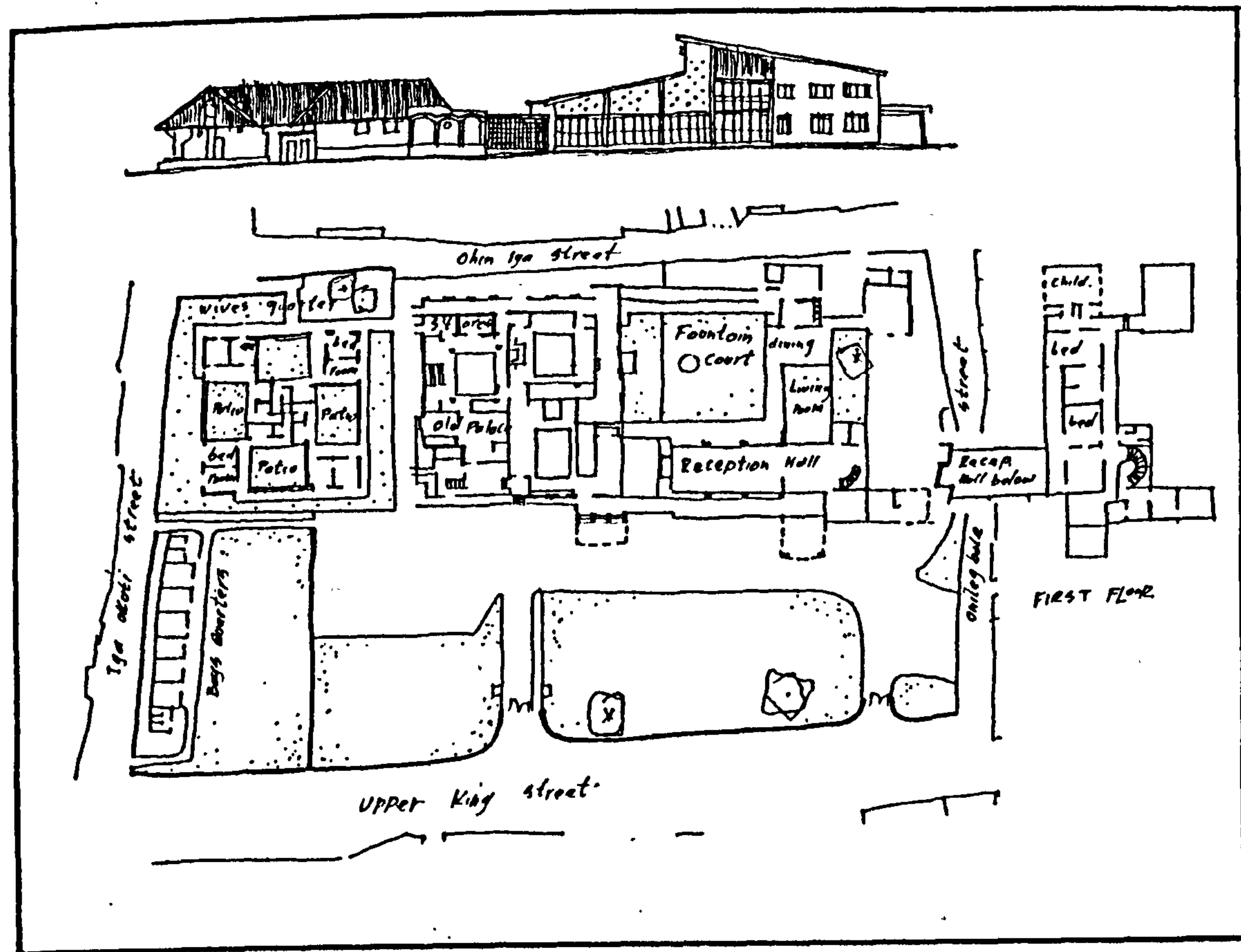
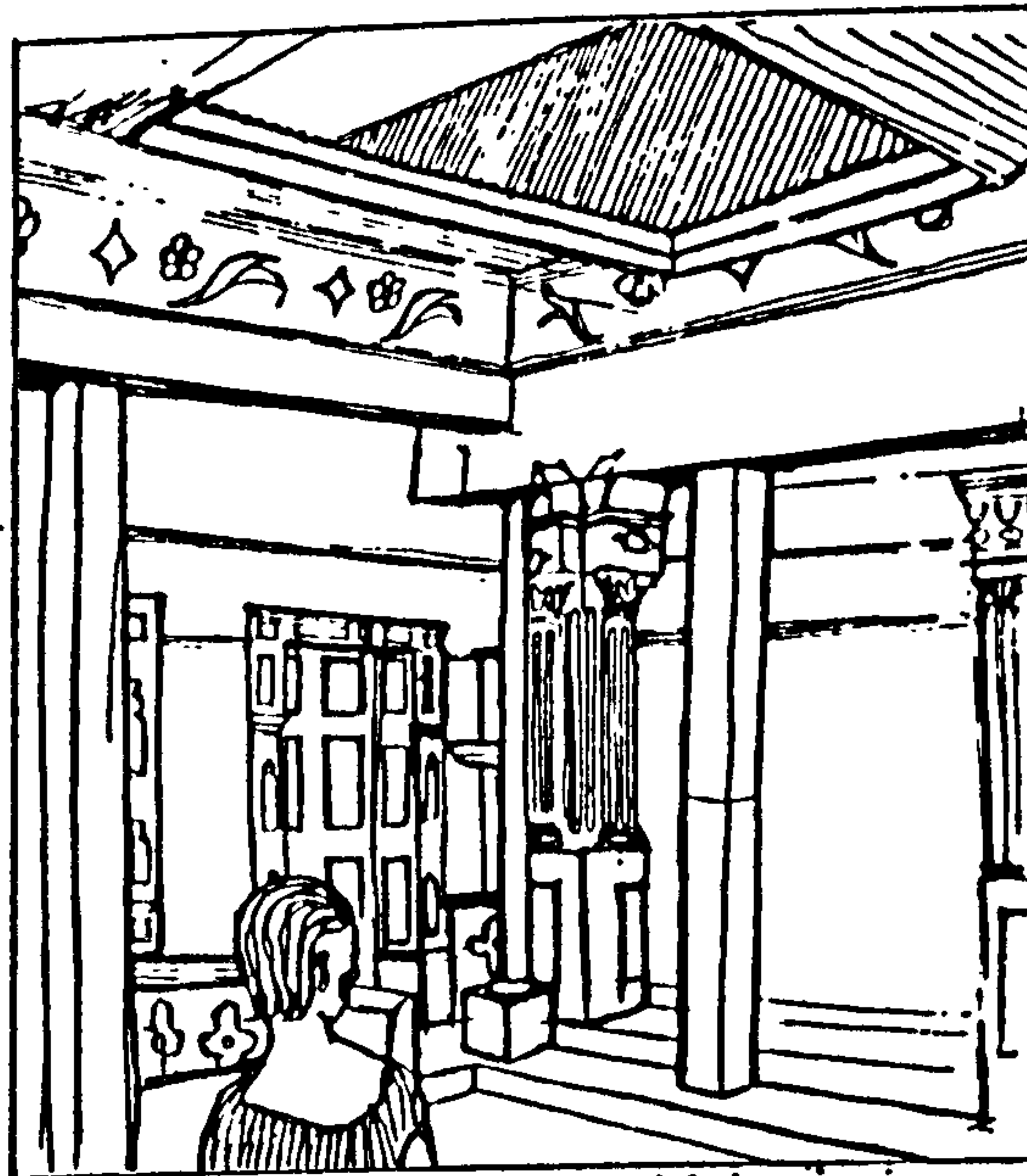
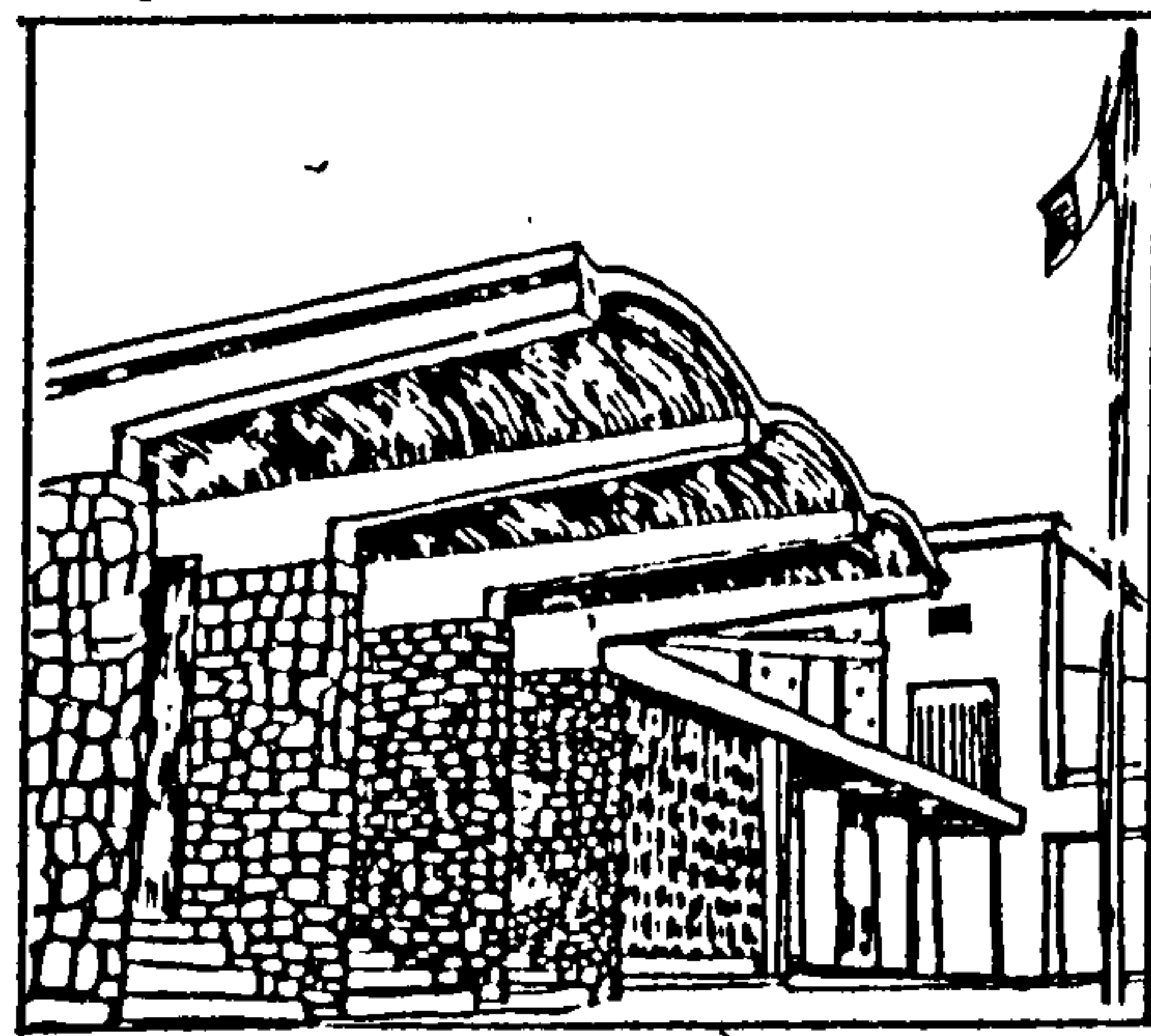


Fig. 27 - Plan and the main elevations of the Oba's Palace, in 1960s

The Old Palace, a sprawling building with Roman type arches and Portuguese supporting pillars, was built by the Portuguese, to satisfy the needs of a ruler with many wives and large domestic staff and court officials. Materials for construction, including columns and roof tiles were brought from Portugal. During the reign of Oba Olade II (1949-1964) a new palace, blending the best



Interior of the Old Palace  
with the impluvium



1960s Entrance



Entrance to the Old Palace



Fountain Court in Portuguese style

of old building with the new, was built. What has survived from the old palace consisted of three main rooms, including Throne Room, a living-room and a number of interconnected chambers. The centre of each of the main rooms is open to the sky and all the rooms, except the Throne Room, have one or more shrines.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richardson, V. A.  
(1976)

Reach' and stretches over the interior of the Island. The streets want only straightening, widening, draining and cleaning. The town of Lagos is certainly one of the most unhealthy spot on these malarious shores, but climate may be mitigated."(19)

According to Robert Cambell (20) (the first publisher of the local Anglo-African newspaper) the insanitary nature of Lagos was due to the action of its people, as well as, to its climate and topography. Unhealthiness included the making of agenda and indigo dye, the mode of burial and the practice of urinating and defecating wherever convenient. The habit of urinating on the streets is still practiced among Lagosian people. In every place in Lagos, one can see men and women, using streets as public toilet, so that the smell of urine prevails the city.

Another important factor during the pre-colonial era of Lagos, was trade that played a vital role in the relationship between Lagos and her neighbours. Adribigbi relies on oral evidences and describes that: "The nucleus of the system of periodic markets could be discerned in the period preceding the era of slave trade in Lagos; that even at the height of the slave trading period the 'legitimate' type of trade, especially in articles of domestic consuption, held its on."(21) He further remarks that, the large number of traders from the neighbouring places, such as Badagry, Ikorodu and different parts of Ijebu, who came to Obun Eko (Obun is an Ijebu word for 'market'). This market was at that time the most colorful in Lagos history.(22)

### Traditional Urban Structure

The basic urban structure of Lagos followed the same concept of other traditional Yoruba towns. It exhibited order in the arrangement of its land use and emphasised the central part, where Oba's Palace and nearby Central Market were located. Mabogunji stresses the symbolic and functional importance of the central part. "As in other Yoruba towns, the palace of the Obas stood in the centre of this town, within an extensive palace ground covering over 8 acres. This palace is believed to have sited on what was formerly a paper (iganran) form hence its name 'Iga Idunaganra' or the paper palace. "Not far from the palace was the Okun Eko Market with a shoreline extension in the Ebute Ero Market. The Obun Eko Market is the real central market in Lagos but because of its more advantageous location for trade along the Lagoon, the Ebute Ero (the Haven of the visitors) has grown to become more important."(23)

It has already been described that in the structure of Yoruba town, the main streets were radiating out from the Palace and secondary streets were branching out of them to form the residential quarters. There were variations of this traditional structure in native town of Lagos because of the nature of the soil, the existence of swampy areas that interrupted the continuity of traditional structure and also the off-centre location of central part (Oba's Palace and Main Market) that limited the extension of settlements in one direction.(Fig.28) Campbell who visited Lagos in 1859, described that: "In African native cities there are no streets such as would be called so in civilized country. The houses or compounds are scattered according to the discretion or taste of their

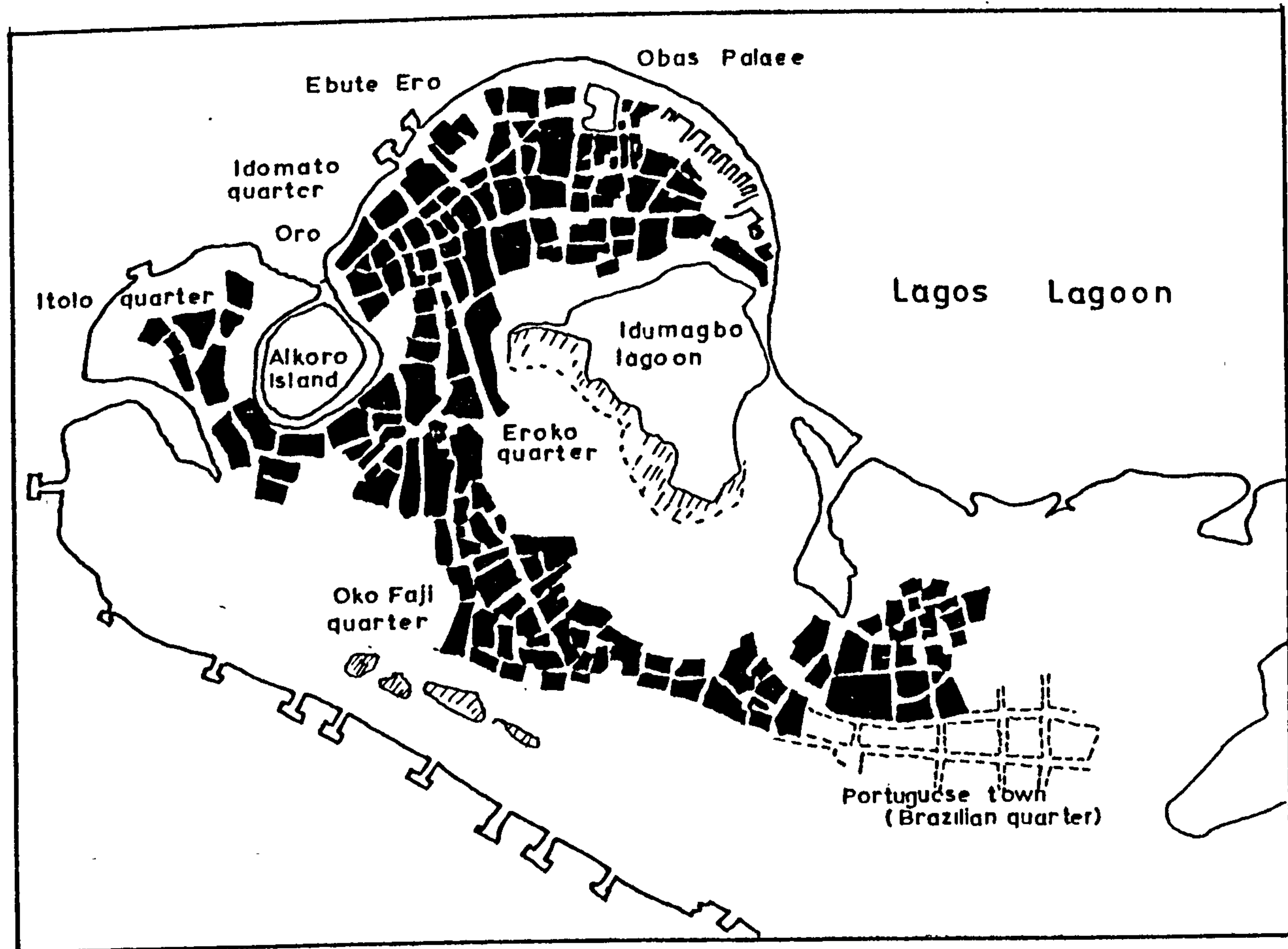


Fig. 28 - Lagos in 1850.

Source: Based on the map of Lagos in 1885, and the information extract from Mabogunji, A. L., and Aderibigbi, A. B.

owners, lanes always crooked and frequently very narrow, being left between them. These dwellings are sometimes very large including in many instances accommodation for twenty or two hundred inmates, especially in those of some of the wealthier chiefs, which are sometimes tenanted by over a hundred people."(24)

Residential areas of the old town had also the structure of traditional Yoruba city. They were divided into quarters and further subdivided into compounds. Burton(25) has recorded the names of some residential quarters in the native town of Lagos as: Okofaja, Okebovo, Offi and Egga.

According to Adenibigbi(26), the traditional Yoruba administration was established in early stage in Lagos. Each residential quarter had a chief who was the representative of residents in the council and there was a systematic consultation between the Oba and his chiefs.

There is a non-consistency in information about the extension of settlements towards the south-eastern part of the Island. Some historians have not mentioned the existence of any settlement on this area before 1850, when the others have noted the extension of settlements as far as south of Isalegangon Lagoon. It has already been noted that the Portuguese returned to Lagos by the end of eighteenth century, therefore this area must have been developed by that time. (Fig.28) According to Akinsemoyin, the area was developed by the end of eighteenth century and he wrote that: "The Portuguese slave dealers live in that part of the Island from their arrival to their departure, when it was taken by Yoruba emigrants from Brazil, and predominantly Portuguese."(27)



Fig.28 shows that the structure of these quarters contradicts with the urban structure of the native town and is based on gridiron pattern. The houses which were built by the Portuguese were also of different style (Portuguese style), which will be discussed in chapter three. From what has been described about Lagos, from its formation up to 1850, the following conclusions can be made: The city of Lagos, which became a colony of Great Britain in 1851, was a small Yoruba town with not more than 20,000 inhabitants. It had all socio-cultural features of Yoruba towns. Structurally, the city was divided into three sections, central area containing Oba's palace and business centre (Market), indigenous residential quarters located around the central area and emigrants' quarters on the outskirts of the city.

The central area conterminous with the physical centre of the city's pre-eminence, is represented above all in the fact that it is the residence of the ruler. Here was an imposing building which symbolized the political power of the country. Close to it was central market and around it were residential quarters. The Island was divided into a few zones, each of them occupied by a group of people. There were small communities which, together with all the houses, formed an ordinary size village. The streets and pathways were narrow and poorly drained. There was an absence of town walls and instead, the existing water pools and swamps were the source of protection.

People were divided into three groups: ruling class (Oba and his chiefs), merchants or traders, and the rest were farmers and fishermen. There was also a group of specialists who were manufacturing home products. Within each quarter

there was a community leader (chief) who was responsible for anything that is distinctive in religious, educational and social life of the group. Extended family was the basic social organization that lived in the compound.

Two major factors seriously affected the consistent way of life of the native people: the slave trade and the colonisation of the Island. These two factors consequently brought about a contact with new cultures but the traditional culture had such a strength that it has been maintained up to the present time.

The Development of Lagos, 1850-1900.

The British occupation of Lagos, followed by the formal act of ceding Lagos to Britain as a colony in 1861, resulted in the establishment of an orderly government and regular administration. The most important influence of this event was the growth of legitimate commerce and the increase of population. Mabogunji remarks that: "Although as early as 1800 Adams had mentioned that palm oil could be obtained abundantly and cheaply in Lagos, it was kept out almost completely from the commerce of Lagos because of the greater prosperity from the slave trade. Infact, until 1851, the slaving interests in Lagos and Abeokuta had succeeded in closing the Ogun River to trade in palm oil which had, in consequence, been diverted to Badagari. After that date, the Ogun River and a number of north-south land routes became important routeways for the palm oil trade. Apart from these, Lagos also derived much of its trade from the ancient east-west route along the lagoon. The convergence of so many routes on Lagos led to remarkable growth of its trade. Between 1862 and 1900 the value of its exports rose from £62,000 to over £885,000. In the same period, imports rose from £78,000 to over £830,000." (28)

The increase of population was also because of the stable political situation which attracted people from hinterland and encouraged the return of liberated slaves to Lagos. In 1862, Bane (1956) has recorded about 3,000 (29) Brazilians in Lagos, which is magnificent compared to 130 families in 1851. (30) "Nine years later in 1871, they were joined by more of their kind from St. Helena and Brazil. By 1873 the acting administrator of Lagos commented that 'next to the natives of the place and the interior, the Brazilian Emancipados are the most

numerous. They are constantly arriving by every opportunity at Lagos, I presume in consequence of the late Emancipation Law in Brazil; their number is estimated by some from 4,000 to 6,000."(31) The number of Europeans increased also from 5 in 1852 to 250 by the end of the century.(32) The census of 1901 estimated the population of Lagos to be about 39,387 with an annual increase rate of 1.1 per cent. This means that the growth of population and also the growth of the city during the first fifty years of British influence, was not significant. Echeruo (1977) describes the expansion of the city as follows: "The Island over which the authority of Queen Victoria was being asserted, was actually a very small place in the 1860s. Eko, as the owners of the place called it, include little more than the nuclear settlement around Isalegangan and the various trading outposts dotted along the Marina and the Lagoon. Even in the 1880s, in spite of the substantial immigration from the hinterland, only about a third of the Island's proper was either fully inhabited, or even reclaimed. Ebute Ero and Idumagbo were very thinly settled, and Gaisen's was then the only important pier in that part of Lagos. Equally thin was the area north of Takunboh Street and Compos Square, and a vast area of marshy land then to the east of Patey Street and the Mohammedian Cemetery separated Epetedo from the new settlements at Lafiaji and Okesuna to the south-east. Olowogbowo was beginning to be settled in some numbers. But for all practical purposes the sophisticated and expanding parts of the town were Faji and Portuguese Town. Faji then extended from Williams Street, through Bamgbase Street to Campos Square, down Cambell Street to Oil Mill Street and then again to the Marina. It had most of the Government's establishments: The Public Works Department, the Post Office, the Government Pier, the Treasury, as well as the Commercial

Piers of Witt and Bush among others."(33), (Fig.29)

Fig.29 shows that the new development areas were occupied mostly by new immigrants. This was, in fact, according to the Yoruba traditional law, that people could settle on unused land with permission granted by the customary rulers. Restriction for the use of land was only for the surrounding areas of the palace and the market which was restricted to the indigenous residents. Okpala (34) remarked that the 'stranger's quarters' is the second characteristic sub-area in Yoruba town. He mentioned that in many cases, these sub-areas, grew up around a set of migrants, who were granted the right to use the land by the ruler. In payment for those rights some form of rent was often charged. In each case the community interests have been safeguarded (such as preservation of traditional paths or drainage channels), by traditional ruler.

According to Fig.29, in the late nineteenth century, the Island was divided into four zones. The extent of each zone is described as follows:

- European Zone, on the south of the Island, around Marina,
- The Educated Africans' Zone, (Saras, liberated slaves from Sierra Leone), in the south-west of the Island, from Tinubu to the far end of the Olowagbowo area.
- The Brazilian Zone, liberated slaves from Portugal, behind the European area, south-east of Tinubu Square, Bamgbose, Igbosere. This area was formerly known as Portuguese Town.
- The indigenous Zones in the rest of the Island, concentrated in the north-west and extended to south and south-east.

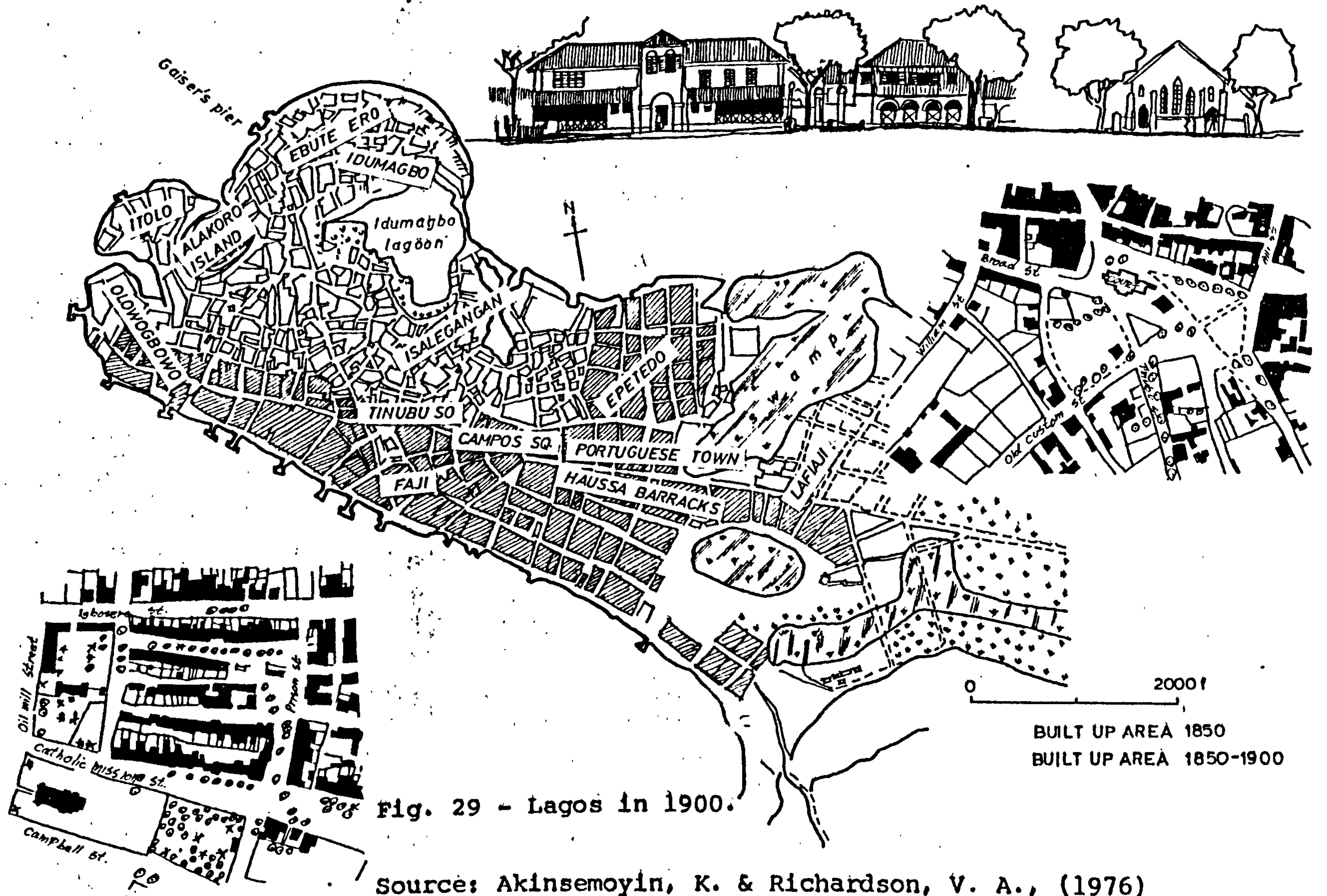


Fig. 29 - Lagos in 1900.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richardson, V. A., (1976)

Out of these four zones, the most characteristic one was the Brazilian area, which was built by those liberated, skilled artisans that returned from Brazil.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Lagos expansion was concentrated on the Island, with an exception of Ebute-Metta on the mainland. Unlike the old part of the city, the newly developed area did not follow the pattern of traditional Yoruba town planning. The narrow and winding streets changed into a form of gridiron pattern. This originally Roman layout pattern, because of its efficiency and orderly form, became the distinctive urban pattern of all colonial cities. In Lagos this pattern was first laid out by the Portuguese in the central part of the Island. Then the same pattern continued to be developed by the 'Brazilian slaves' who were familiar with such a layout plan. Of course, as we observed in Fig. 29, this layout form was disturbed in some areas, by swamps and changed its severe regularity to a more flexible form. This pattern was also laid out in the British Zone and extended to Ikoyi. The British moved there at the beginning of this century, because of the unhealthy environment of Lagos.

Business district in this period was along the south shore, many warehouses as well as Government buildings were built along Marina Street. Williams (1968), describes that: "After the establishment of British control in the second half of nineteenth century, when Lagos became the focal point of both European commercial and administrative control of Nigeria, the southern shore of the Island grew steadily as the centre of commercial and administrative activities." (35) Sanitation and health condition are recorded to be very poor in this period. Echeruo, (1977) describes that: "In addition to expected tropical maladies -

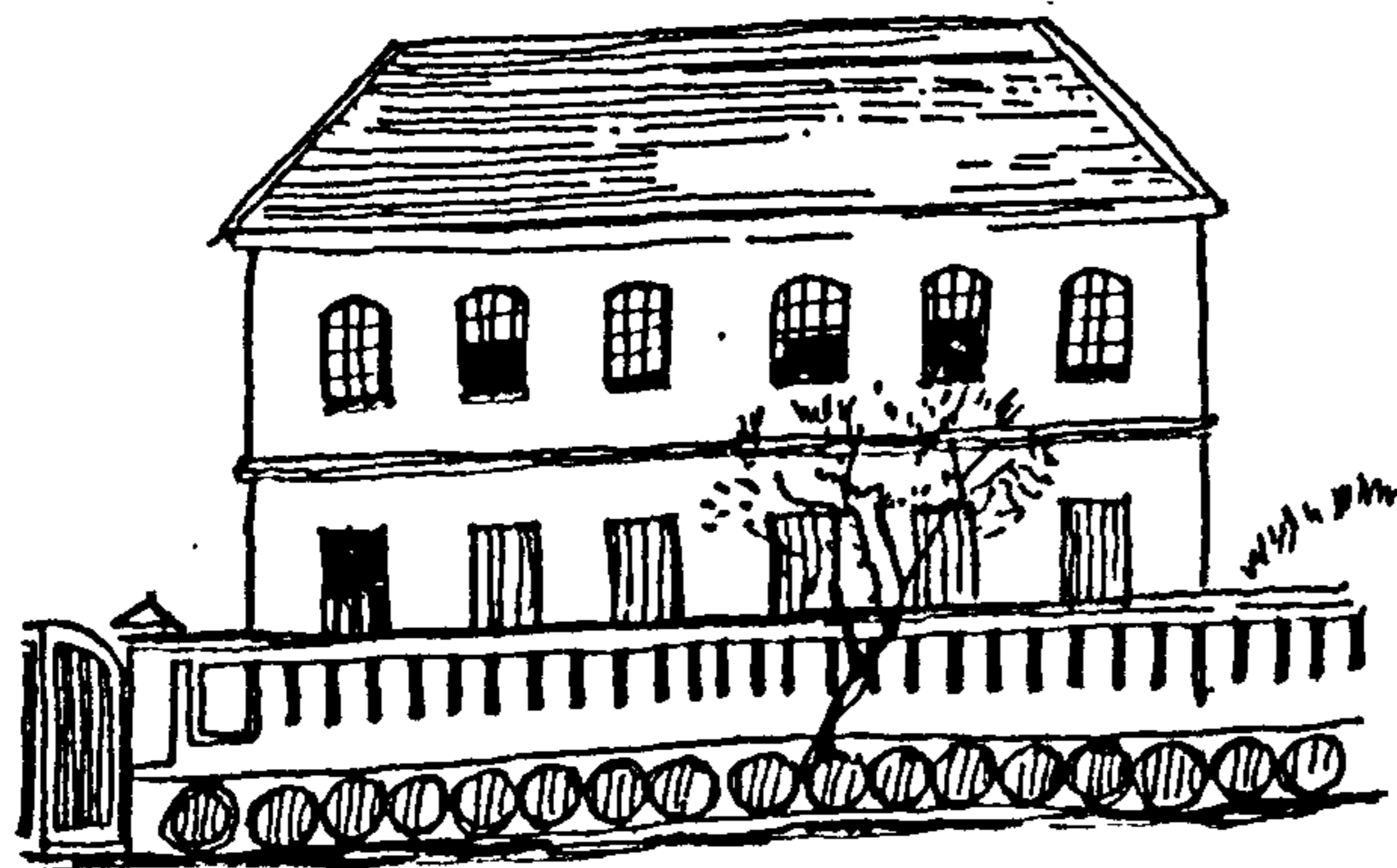
malaria, for example - there were quite a number of other hazards created by growth of an artificial, urban complex on a marshy Island colony. The sanitary arrangement for disposal of sewage were rudimentary and inadequate."(36)

The first step in improving sanitary condition of Lagos was taken by Governor Glover. "He extended Marina, drove the sixty feet wide Broad Street across the Island partly as a fire-break, erected street lamps, constructed proper wells, improved drainage, dissuaded burial in compounds by providing cemeteries and cheap burial in them and opened up new streets. Among them was Victoria Street (named after Queen Victoria) in 1866, now Nnamdi Azikiwe Street."(37) Later on the progress continued by Governor Sir Alfred Maloney, during the 1880s. Lagos was connected to the United Kingdom by telegraph in late 1886 and a new Government House was built (38). Many other buildings were also built, among them were Military and Constabulary Baracs, stables, the Treasury, a prison, offices and Government Officers' quarters.(39)(Fig.30)

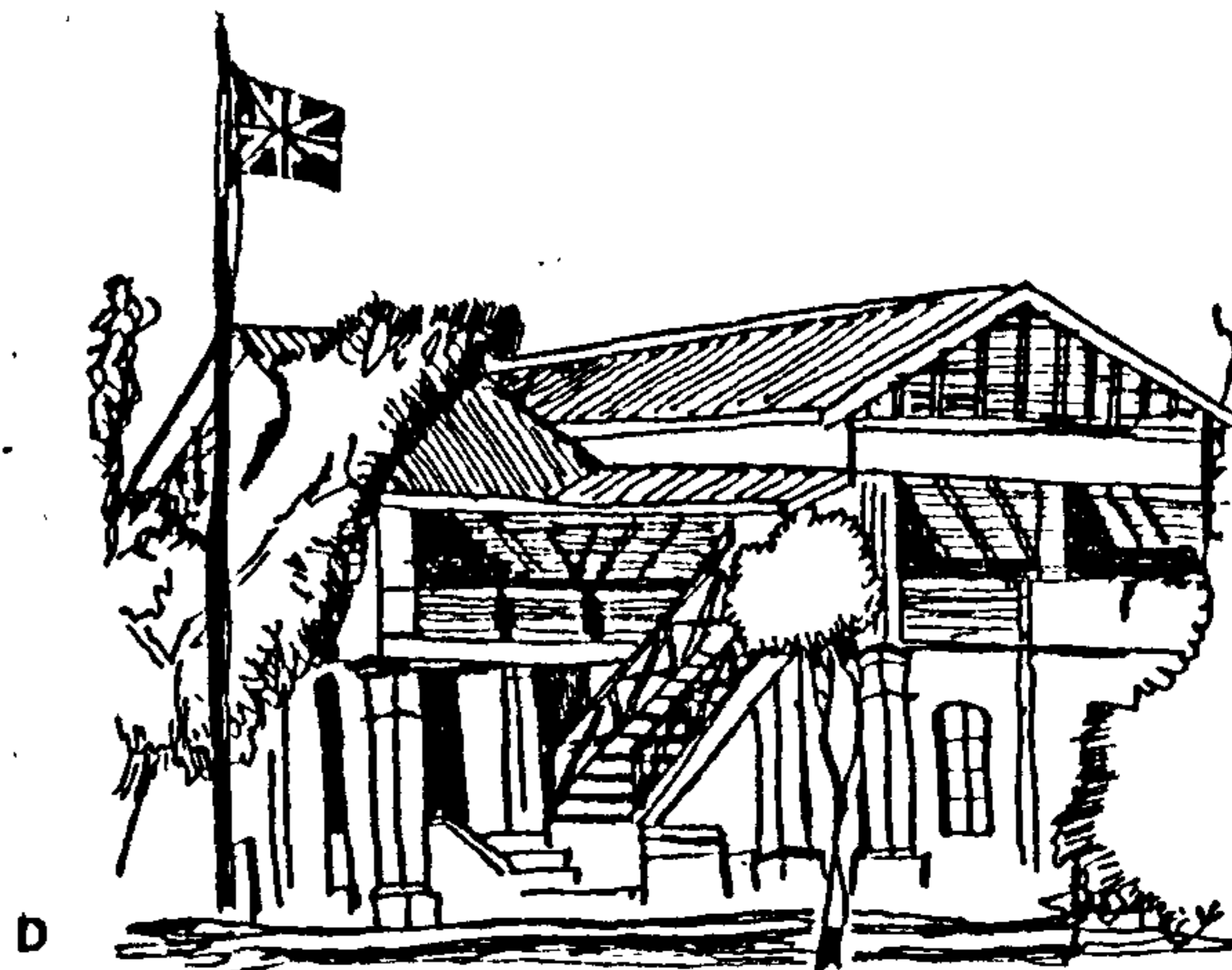
The progress during the nineties was significant. Many dispensaries were built in various parts of the Island in 1890 and for the first time vaccination for small-pox was introduced. The first bank was opened in 1891 and five years later work on the construction of the railway began. In 1886 Five Cowrie Creek, Carter and Denton bridges were built and electricity was introduced in 1898. During this period Hausa Barracks and other buildings around that area were removed to separate European Government officials from the native population.(40)

More action in improving the sanitary condition of the Island and also in pro-

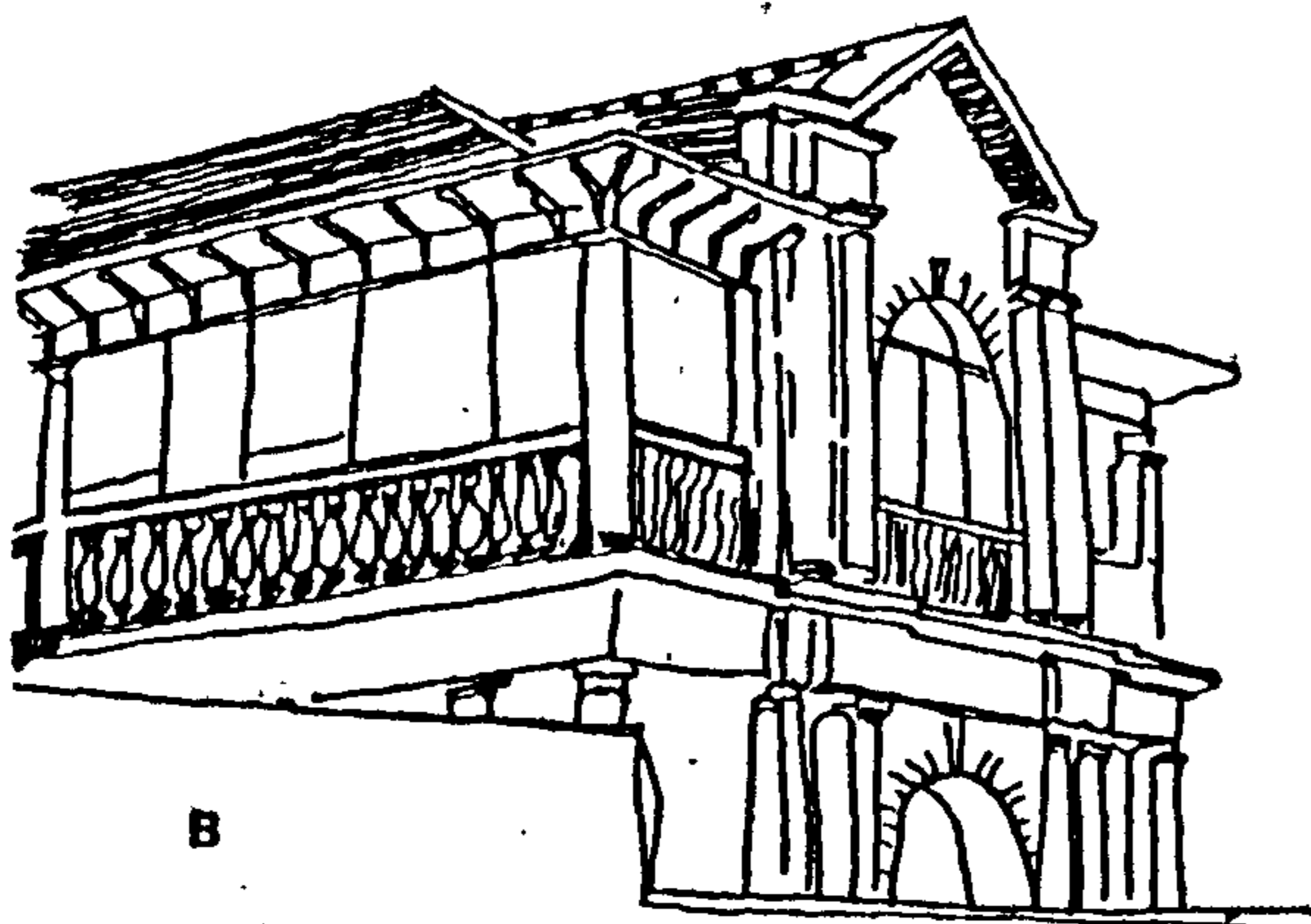




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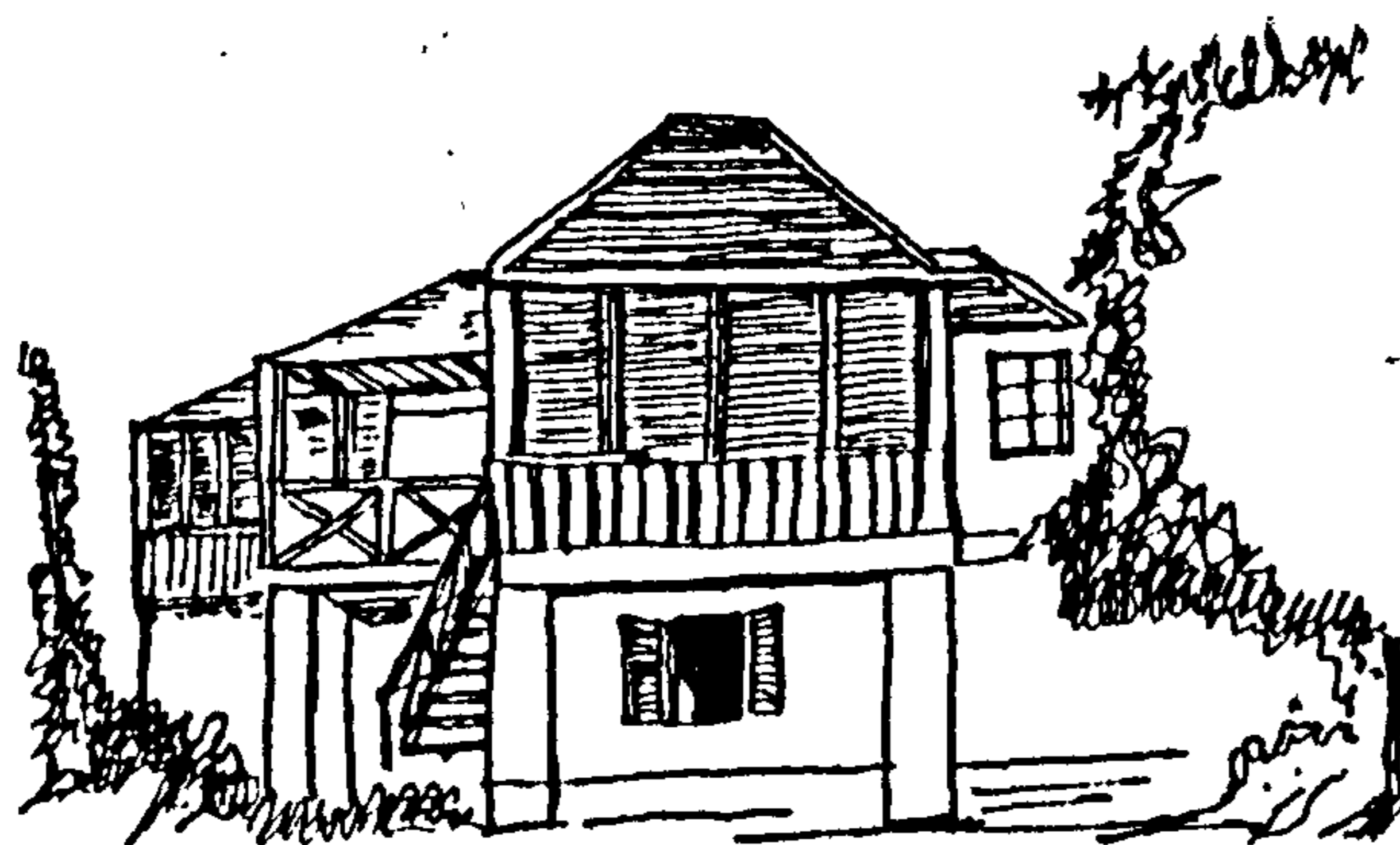
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B



E



C

Fig. 30 - Government buildings in late 18th century.

- a - Customs' House in early 1880s
- b - New Customs' House, now Central Polica Station.
- c - The Colonial Secretariat, in 1885.
- d - The Old Government House in 1897.
- e - Surveyors' Quarters in 1880s.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richardson, A V., 1976.

viding more habitable land to accommodate the increasing population, was taken by Sir William MacGregor (Governor of Lagos) in 1899. The most important work was the reclamation of Kokomako swamp by digging a canal named after him. "Sir Williams came as the Governor and Sir Ronald as the Chief Medical Officer from the School of Tropical Diseases in Liverpool. Both were eminent physicians and a formidable team in taking the problem of sanitation and disease in the swampy, mosquito-infected island that Lagos was at that time. Governor MacGregor's passion was sanitation and he concentrated his efforts on draining the swamps that abounded the island."(41)

Another important point which should be mentioned in this period is the outward expansion of Lagos towards Ebute-Metta on the mainland which was founded by Governor Glover in 1866-67. This area was established mainly to settle the refugees who had come from Abeokuta, some one hundred kilometers away, to Lagos during an attack on that town by neighbouring Dahomeans. Biobaku (1957) discusses that the huge number of immigrants coming to Lagos in this period and remarks that: "A much more important exodus of people to Lagos was occasioned by the upheaval in Abeokuta, the expulsion of the missionaries and the convents locally known as Ifole, in 1867. So great was the number of refugees to Lagos that Sir John H. Glover had to settle them at Ebute-Metta, upon the mainland in the quarter known as Ago-Egba."(42) This area represented one of the earliest planning programmes in Lagos. This neighbourhood was planned on a gridiron pattern with a housing density of 16 per acre.(Fig.31)

Studies about colonial societies have shown many variations in organization and also in the structure and form of colonialism. These variations depended on the

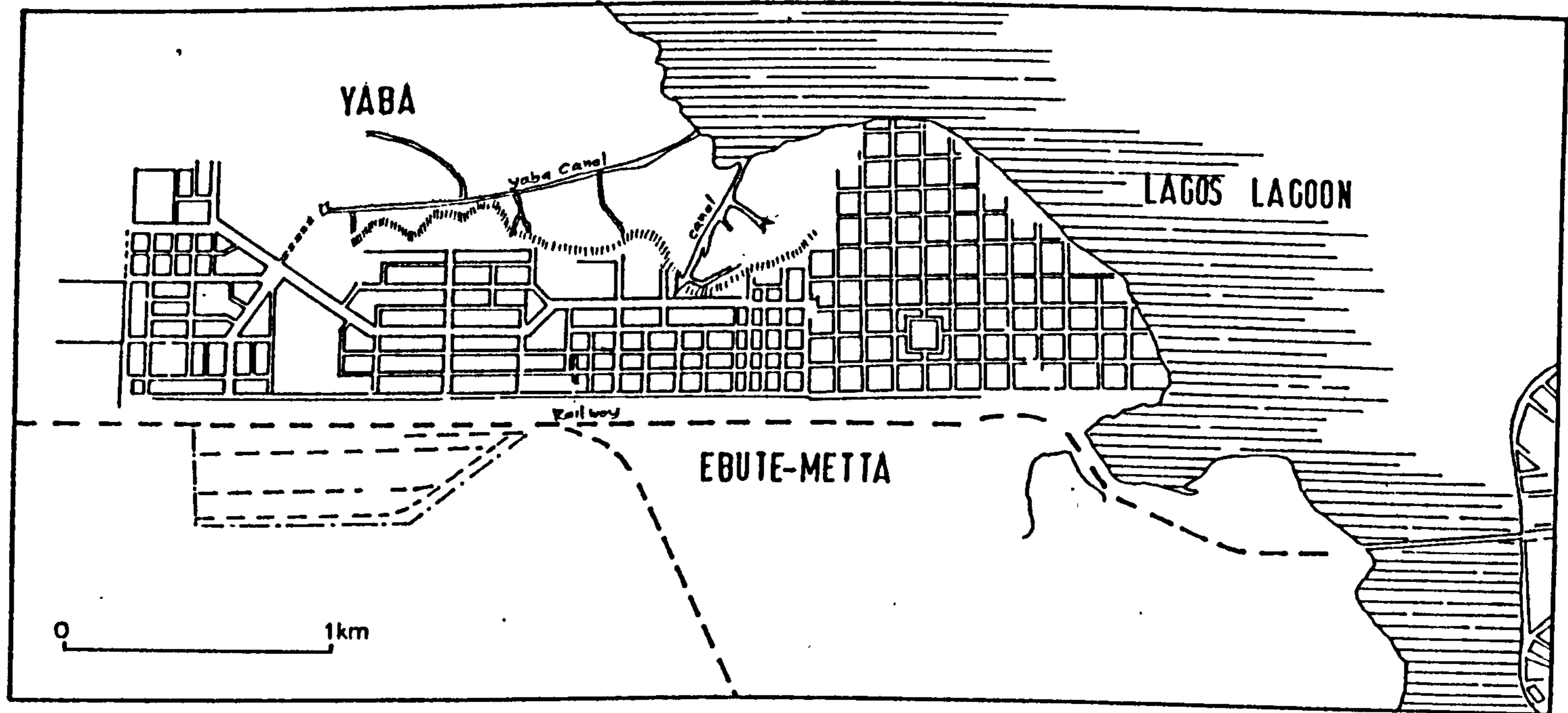


Fig. 31 - Map of Ebute-Metta in 1966

Source: Federal Survey, May 1966.

purpose and objectives of colonization. Goldthorpe(43) writes about early stage of colonization (from sixteenth to early nineteenth century) and describes that, although most of the original colonies, in fact, were established for the purpose of trade, like coast of India and Africa and islands of East and West Indies, which trade with local inhabitants in tropical products and specialized handicrafts, were the main objectives. But, of course, there were some other motives for original acquisition. For example St. Helena, the Cape, and Acension were acquired as stations for supply and repair depots for the sailing ships which carried on the track. Oganda was annexed partly because of control of the source of the Nile, and partly for protecting the missions and their converts. Regardless to the reasons of acquisition, he remarks that: "Some places where the Europeans established themselves were uninhabited before (for example Mauritius, the Seychelles, St. Helena, the Falkland Islands), while in others the former native population became extinct, or was extinguished (for example, Tazmania, the Caribian Islands). In some such places the present-day population is wholly of European descent, the society is a transplanted version of European society, and the colonial situation in the later sense of the word does not exist; Tasmania and the Falkland Islands are cases in point."(44)

Second stage of colonization was the period between mid-nineteenth century and 1960. "During this period, European expansion continued as substantial areas of the major countries, away from the sea, were brought under the control and administration of European states."(45) It was within this period that Lagos became a colony of Britain. At the beginning, the main objective for colonization of Lagos, was to put an end to the slave-trade in the area. But, later on

economic activities and trading in agricultural products became of much greater importance. In fact, European merchants started to come to Lagos after it was occupied by the British. "In 1852, five of them arrived, namely, Sanderman, Scala (an Italian), Grotte ( a German), Diedrichsen (agents for Messrs., W. Oswald of Hamburg) and Johanssen. Two more arrived in 1853, namely Banner and McCoskry. Within a decade there were several others, notably Southam Wike, Chillingworth, Regis Aine (a French firm) and Madam Pittiluga, a spinster of Austrian descent." (46) There were also some American firms engaged in trade by 1855. (47) So far evidences show that it took sometimes for the British to extend their political influence over the mainland and control the commerce and agricultural production of the region.

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## CHAPTER THREE

## CONTEMPORARY LAGOS

### Classification of Colonial Towns

The cities in the Third World countries, in spite of their diverse cultural traditions and different ethnic backgrounds, have always been classified in the context of Western cities. As early as 1960, Sjoberg (1) classified the cities into 'pre-industrial' which were supported by feudal societies and into 'industrial society' type of a city, characterized by an advanced technology. The pre-industrial cities are generally small with less than 10,000 inhabitants or even 5,000; few exceeded a population of 100,000 and have a very low population growth. Technology is based on human and animal power, and there is a little division of skilled labour. In pre-industrial cities, there is a strong segregation in terms of social class, the upper class - 'elite' being separated from lower class, dominates the political, religious and educational organizations. The spatial arrangement of the city is done in a way that the city centre has not any commercial importance, but rather it is a centre for Governmental and religious activities. Close to the city centre are the elite's residential areas, while the lower class residential areas are located at the peripheral areas of the city and usually grouped together according to their ethnic and occupational distinctions.

In pre-industrial society, large extended family with numerous relatives residing

in a single 'household' is the key socialization agency in the community; there has been the rigid sexual division of labour and the men in the family load it over the women; economic activity is poorly developed and the production of goods were based on the humans and animals as the source of power; little standardization is found in prices and the expansion of economy is limited by the ruling group's negotiation of economics, as well as a lack of credit and capital formations; upper class is in a command of the key governmental position and the political bureaucracy, and the education and religious system are characterized by rigid hierarchical arrangement. (2)

Sjoberg's theory has been criticised as a 'monolithic idea', lacking accurate historical data. The most important criticism, concerning most of the Third World cities is stressed by McGee (1971). He argues that Sjoberg has neglected those cities that grew as links in the inter-action of two civilizations, better known as colonial towns. He then distinguishes two types of colonial towns: 'replical town' and 'colonial city' and says that "Colonial towns showed many variations in structure or form depending upon the form of colonial impact. For instance, in areas such as Australia and North America, where there was no history of indigenous urban settlement and permanent settler populations of colonists were established, the colonial towns can be labelled 'replica towns', in them the colonists attempted to establish urban settlements which were replicas of their homeland. While this type is of considerable importance, it is the towns which grew up in the period since 1800 in the tropical areas of Africa and Asia which are perhaps the best example of the 'colonial city'". (3) Most of African modern towns are the best examples of 'colonial city'. They developed

mainly in response to the commercial and industrial demands from overseas. McGee further divides the 'colonial city' into three sub-categories; the towns which represent a mixture of the pre-industrial and industrial cities; mining settlements which were wholly industrial in nature; and major port towns which were the centres for handling the import and export for colonial empires. (4) He also distinguishes a certain social and political structure of colonial city, that justifies its creation as a distinct model:

- 1 - The colonial administrator and businessman was alien from those he administered, and there was virtually no entry from the indigenous groups into the ranks of the administrators. This, then, was a stratified society similar in pattern to that of the pre-industrial city;
- 2 - The city was a grouping of communities, each of which carried on its pattern of life in different way. Thus the old patterns of economic organization in the form of guilds persisted side by side with the 'national' organization of production of goods, with expediential relations between buyers and sellers
- 3 - The elite group residences tended to concentrate around the hub of governmental and religious activity, but each community concentrated around the centre of its activities.
- 4 - Economically the cities, because they largely concentrated on commerce, had an occupational structure which was characterized by market development of the territory sector; and the cities, although they became important educational, commercial and political centres, seldom attracted rural migrants to the extent of the industrial cities of the nineteenth century Europe. (5)

As we noticed in previous chapter, Lagos was not a European creation, but its

development in the first half of this century was a result of its strategic location, a port giving access to the natural resources and agricultural products of the mainland. The city's spatial organization was according to the Yoruba's tradition, where the principal market, Oba's palace and the main religious building were located in the centre of the city. Therefore, unlike in the pre-industrial cities, the central area was an important commercial place as well as being the hub of Governmental and religious activities. In fact, Lagos fits in the third of McGee's sub-categories of colonial city.

#### Growth of Economy

A rapid urban growth is usually associated with a period of intense socio-economic or political change. This process had happened in European countries during the nineteenth century and in most of the Third World countries, by the middle of this century. The rate of urban growth in developing countries reached its highest level since 1950s, and many big cities developed very fast. Lagos, among other big urban centres in the Third World countries, experienced a fast development since 1900.

The increase of commerce since the beginning of this century and the movement towards industrialization since 1950s, had an important impact on the growth of Lagos, the latter contributing more to the enormous growth of the city in size, form and function. The growth of commerce and trade was so high that besides numerous wharfs on the south side of the Island and on Iddo island, a new wharf was built at Apapa in 1906, and by the time it became the biggest Nigerian port.

Evidences show that within the fifty years the total value of import increased from about £1 million in 1900 to £50 million in 1950. Most of the exports were raw materials - between 1940 and 1960 Nigeria accounted for 30 per cent of the world palm oil export, which was produced in the eastern part of Nigeria, and for over 50 per cent of the World's total Kernels.(6) The value of the exported goods, up to 1950, was higher than those of imports, but since then the position began to change.(7) By the 1960s, the gap between imports and exports increased tremendously. During that time the two ports of Lagos, customs quay on Lagos Island and Apapa quay on the mainland were mainly used for incoming general cargo. By 1967, four additional berths were constructed in Apapa port to meet a projected increase of about 50 per cent in export and 100 per cent in imports.(8)

The imbalance between imports and exports since mid twenty century was due to the move towards industrialization. The desire for expanding the industries in the country gave way to the establishment of the Department of Commerce and Industries in 1948, which was responsible for the development of secondary industries on the widest possible scale by the methods that would ensure the maximum possible participation by the Nigerians themselves in the economic industrial enterprises. Prior to that time Lagos had no more than fifteen major industrial establishments, including five public utilities, such as the Public Works Department Sawmills and Mechanical Workshops, the Government Printing Works and the main Dockyard, the Ijora Electricity Power Plant and the Nigeria Railway workshops. Among the private industrial establishments a soap factory with five hundred employees, a brewery, cold storage installations, a metal containers manufacturing workshop and three large newspaper printing presses were

the most important and the rest were small industrial enterprises with no more than twenty employees. (9)

Various schemes for establishing industrial estates began during the 1950s; Apapa Industrial Estate was developed for large-scale foreign owned industrial enterprises; Yaba was developed for small to medium scale Nigerian enterprises; the Western Nigerian Government also established an industrial estate at Ikeja. Apart from all these planned industrial estates, many unplanned industrial areas developed at Iganum, Apapa and Mushin. By the end of 1950s there were about 2,400 industrial units in Lagos employing about 40,000 individuals (10), and Lagos became the largest industrial centre in the country. "By 1965 it was accounted for 37.8 per cent of industrial activities, and the proportion increased to 50 per cent in 1969. In 1975, metropolitan Lagos accounted for over 65 per cent of the value added by manufacturing, with these activities located mainly on industrial estates of Apapa, Ebute-Metta, Ikeja, Ilupeju and Isolo." (11) (Fig32)

The desire to expand industry was not only in Nigeria, but in all African countries after the Second World War. Hance (1964) believes that this movement was more emotional than logical and led to the neglect of agriculture or the establishment of inappropriate industries which was not helpful to the economy. He then gives some definitions to explain the keen desire of African nations to expand industry:

"1 - Such development presents a major avenue for strengthening the economy by broadening its base and reducing the overwhelming dependence upon agriculture.

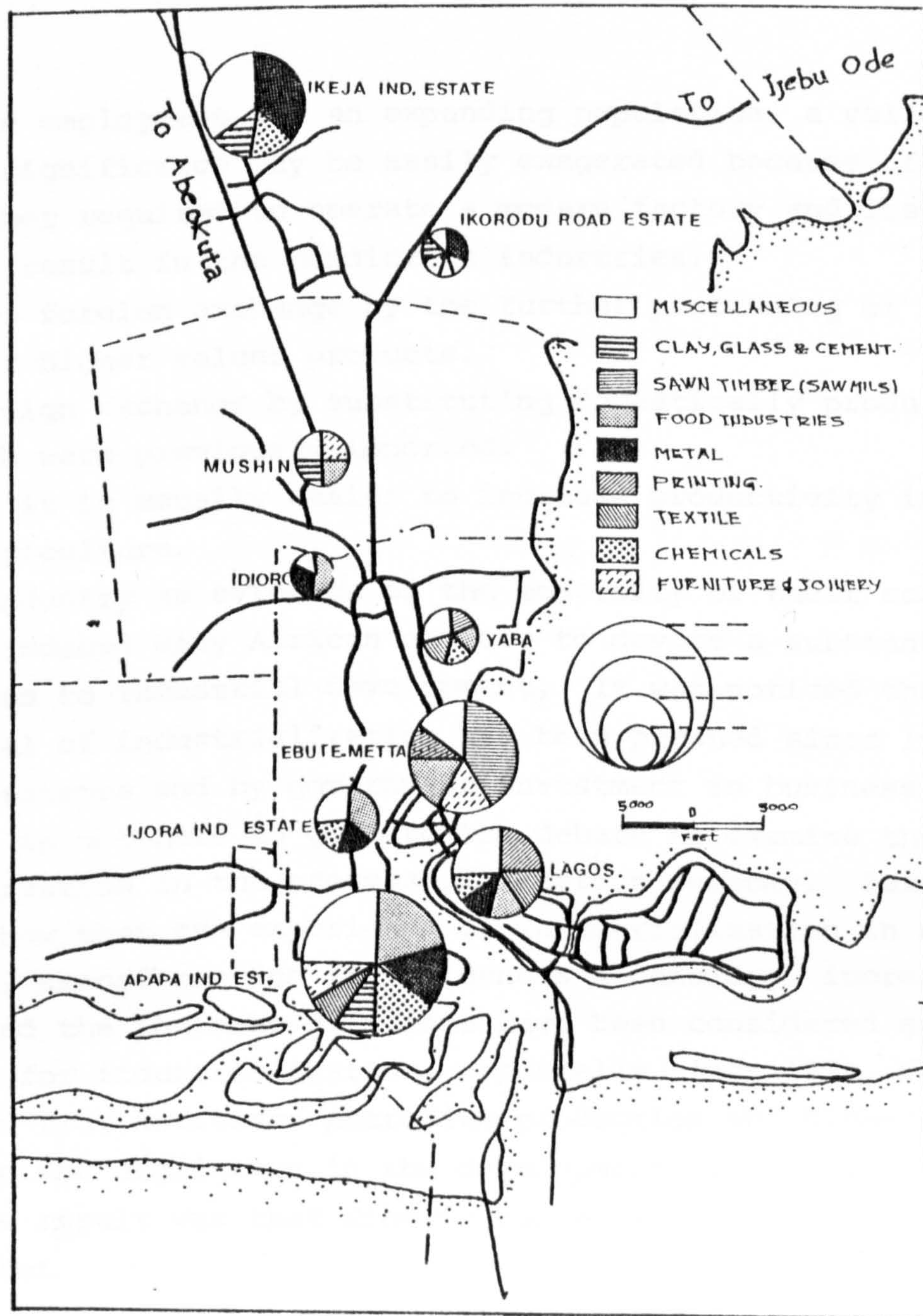


Fig. 32 - Industrial Structure of Lagos.

Source: Church, H.R.J., 1974

- 2 - The desire to provide employment for an expanding population, a valid objective, but one whose significance may be easily exaggerated because of the relatively small number required to operate a modern factory and losses in employment which may result in the handicraft industries.
  - 3 - The wish to earn more foreign exchange by the further processing of raw materials and export of higher valued products.
  - 4 - The wish to save foreign exchange by substituting domestically produced items for goods which were previously imported.
  - 5 - The realisation that it is usually easier to increase productivity in manufacturing than in agriculture.
  - 6 - The desire to have industry as evidence of the modernity of their economy."(12)
- These expectations have induced many African nations to devote a substantial proportion of their resources to industrial development. It was noticed that, in Nigerian economy, the goal of industrialization has been pursued since 1950, by establishing industrial estates and by government investment in business and industry. The intention is not here to go into the debate to examine the success or failure of industrialization in the process of Nigerian economy. Sufficient is to say that, evidences show that the experience of industrialization in Nigeria, in respect of employment, transformation of indigenous technology, increase of Gross Domestic Product and the increase of income have been considered as failure. The ambitious programmes for industrialization, especially since 1970, when increasing resources arose from increased petroleum production and higher prices from exported oil, led to the negligence in the development of agriculture and domestic technology. The result was that Nigeria had to import not only raw materials for industry, but



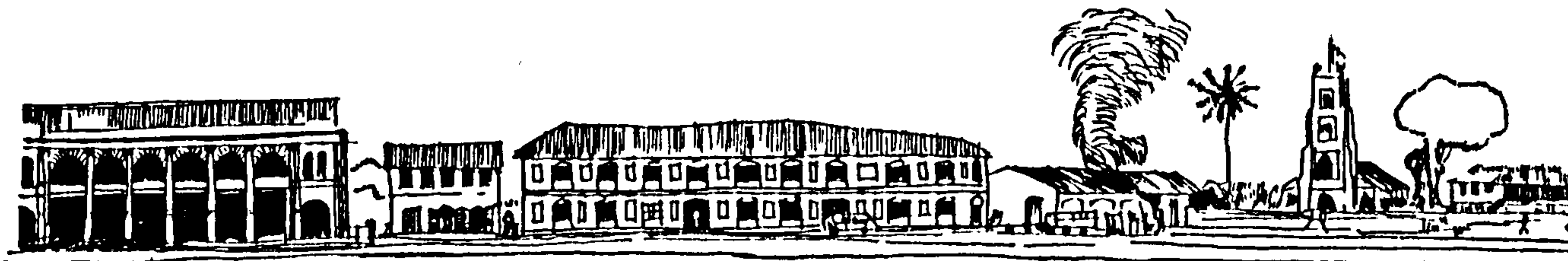
also the necessary agricultural products. Consequently, at the beginning of the 1980s, when the export of oil decreased, Nigeria has faced a serious recession. Most of ambitious industrial projects had ceased and those which were operating, came to the standstill, either because of the shortage of foreign currency to import the necessary raw materials, or due to a lack of skilled indigenous labour. The pressure became more visible because of the shortage of necessary consumer goods such as food, which led to a rapid increase of prices. The argument is not to discredit the role of industrialization in increasing the rate of the economy in general. The emphasis is on the policy of pursuing an industrial programme according to the needs and capacity of the society. "What is required as a rational development which involves the selection and stimulation of industries that are most suitable at a given time on a given country, and, conversely, the eschewing of investment in subsidization, and protection of industries which are likely to become a charge on the national economy." (13)

#### Development of Lagos Since 1900

The developments in commerce, trade and industrialization led to the rapid rate of urbanization and rapid growth of urban centres in Nigeria. The extent of contemporary urban growth since the 1950s, was greater than at any other time. In 1953, Nigeria had 55 towns, each with a minimum population of 20,000 in which 10.2 per cent of Nigerian population was living. By 1963, the number of such towns had increased to 183, and the percentage of Nigerians living in these urban centres, increased to 19.2 per cent. The total number of urban centres, in 1975 was between 290 and 300 cities and towns. (14) The rate of growth in urban

population has been faster during the past two decades, but in no city in Nigeria was the increase so high as in Lagos. The rapid increase of population persuaded the city's Authority to provide more habitable land. By 1920, Lagos Island was fully populated and Ikoyi Island was being developed for Civil Service and Commercial cadres.(15)(Fig.33) Before the formation of Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) in 1929, the task of improving the sanitation of Lagos by filling up swampy areas, was carried out by both the Colonial Government and the Municipal Board, constituted in 1908. At that time the limit of municipality was only Lagos Island, then it changed in 1917 and covered 52.62 sq.km of both the Island and the mainland. It has been noticed that in this period, the concern of colonial administration for urban planning and environmental improvements was to protect European residents from the hazardous environment.

The main objective of LEDB was to improve the sanitation of Lagos Island. As a result of their work on draining Isalegangan and Idumagbo Lagoon, as well as on some swampy areas in the north-east of Ikoyi and a part of Apapa, Ijora and Ebute-Metta, over one hundred acres of land was made available for residential expansion.(Fig.34) "In addition, the LEDB cleared the slum area of Oko Awo in central part of Lagos and set up Yaba residential area, to house the displaced people from Lagos Island and from resuscitated settlement in Ebute-Metta, which was originally laid out by Governor Glover, in 1900. Also in 1930, it gave physical expression to Lord Lugard's view that Europeans should be accommodated in separate residential districts, by founding and laying out Apapa. For the next 15 or 20 years, Lugard's Ordinance was the legal basis of planning in Lagos."(16)



Marina in the early 1920s with the General Post Office on the left and Christ Church on the right.

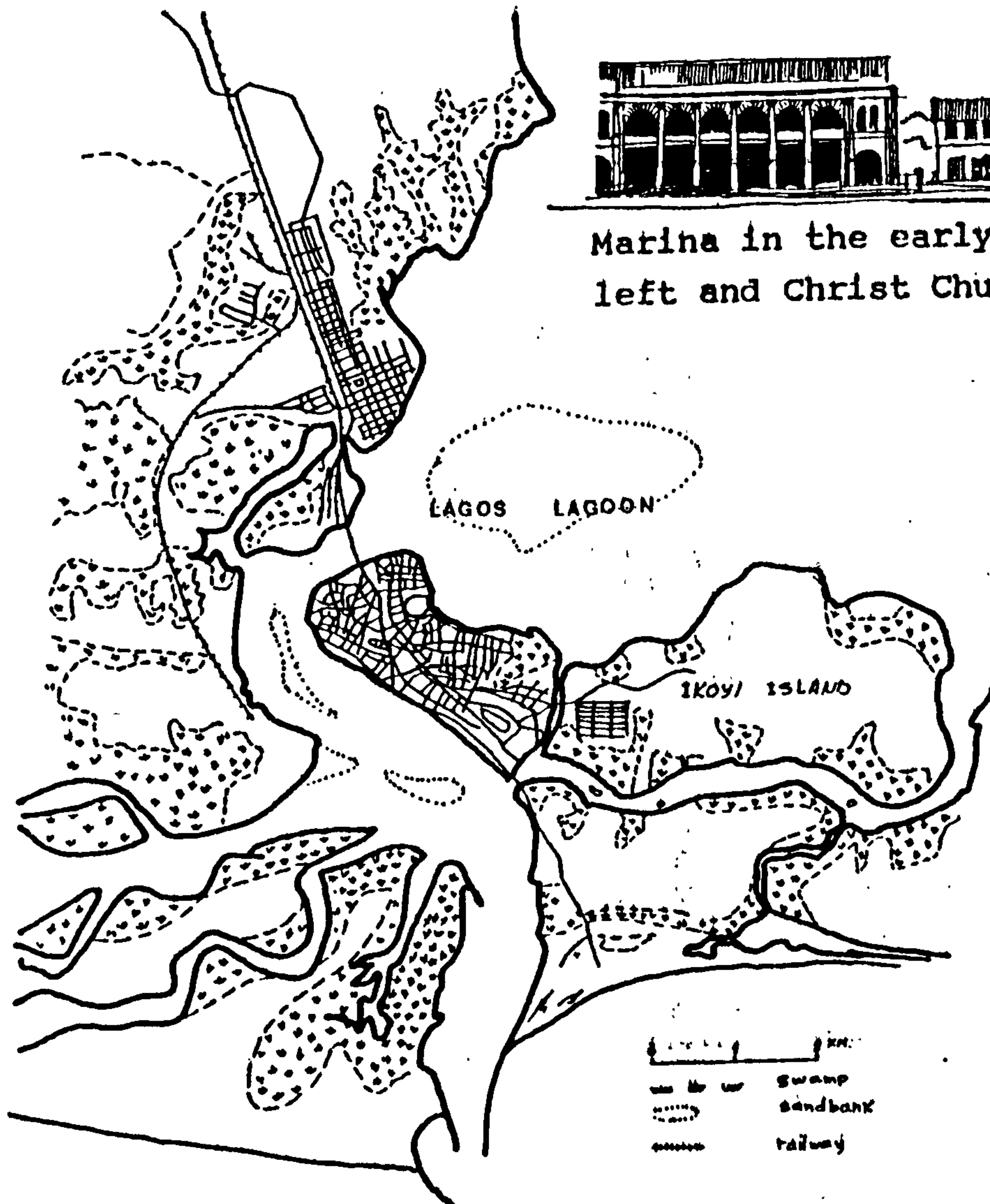
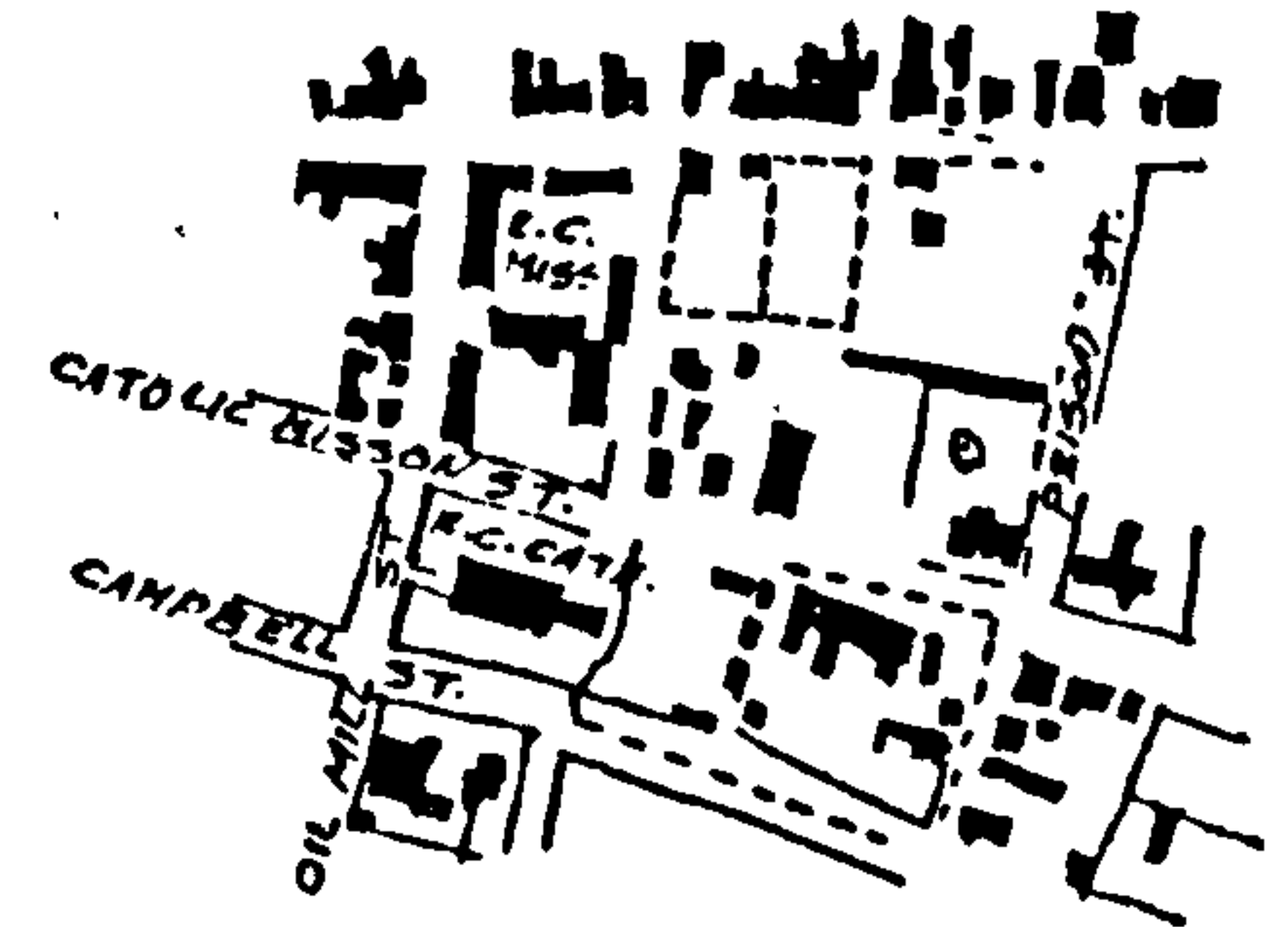


Fig. 33 - Lagos in the 1920s.

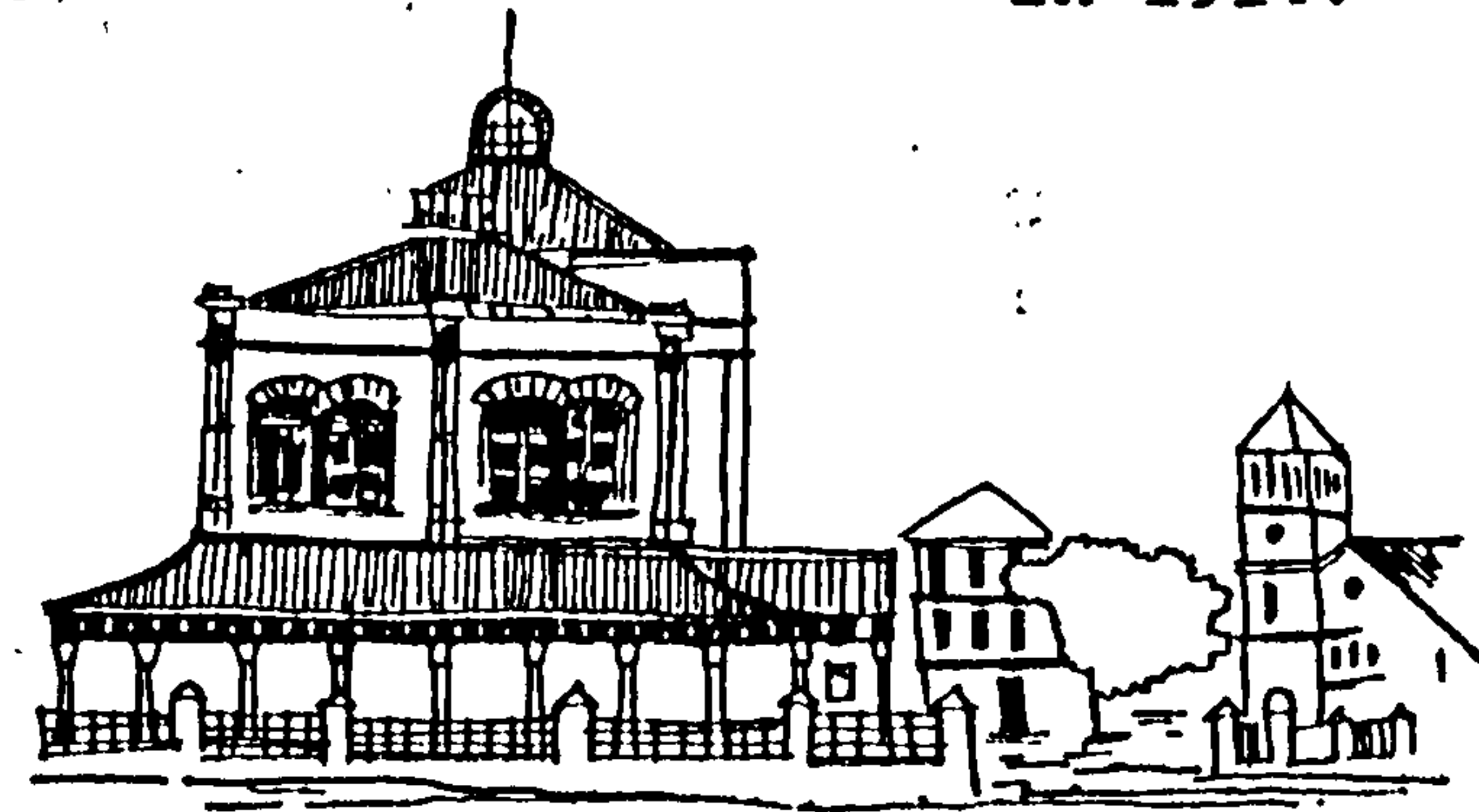
Source: Akinsemoyin & Richards, (1976)



Tinubu Square in the 1920s.



Catholic Mission St. in 1914.



New Supreme Court in Tinubu Sq., 1920.

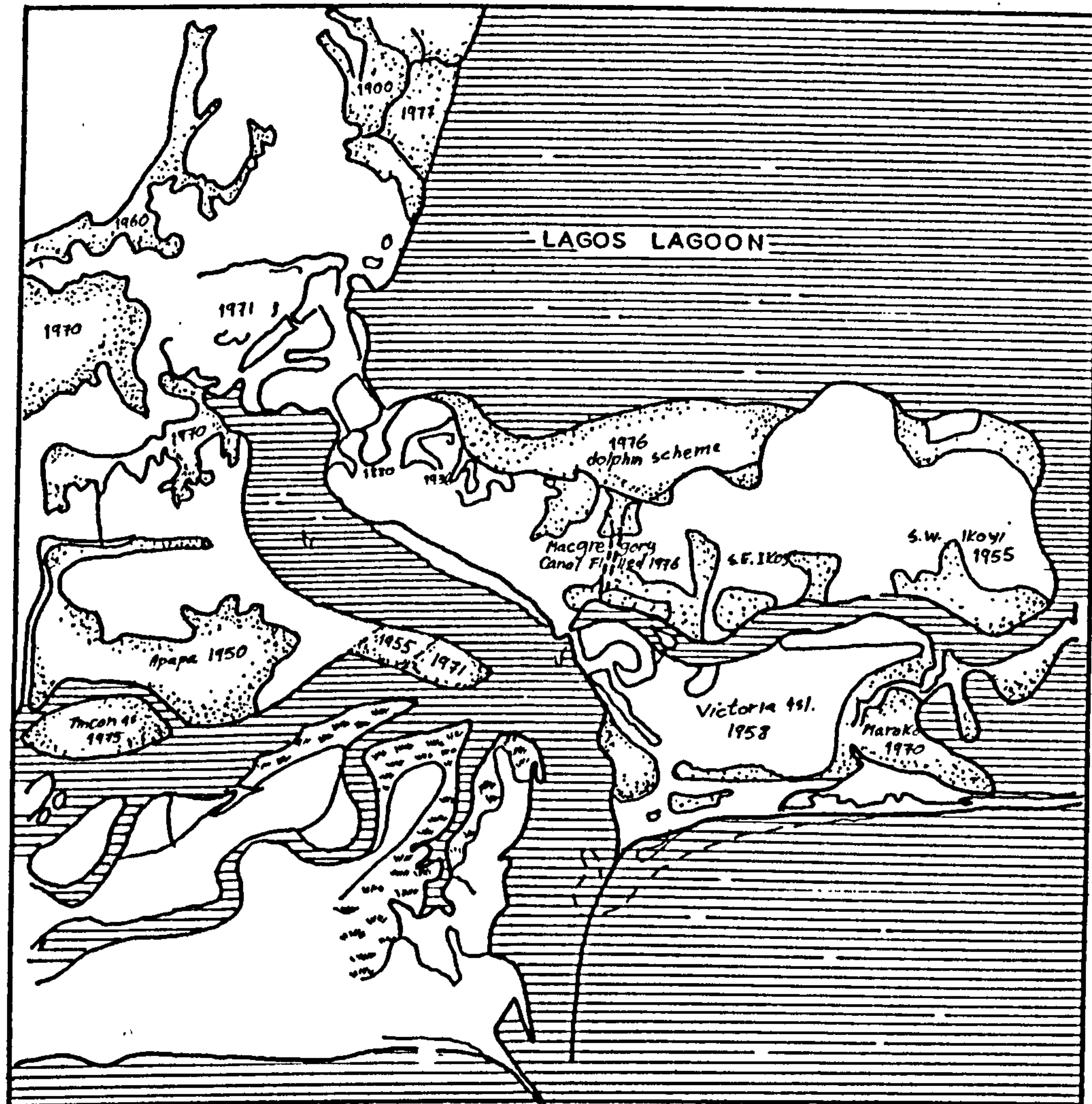


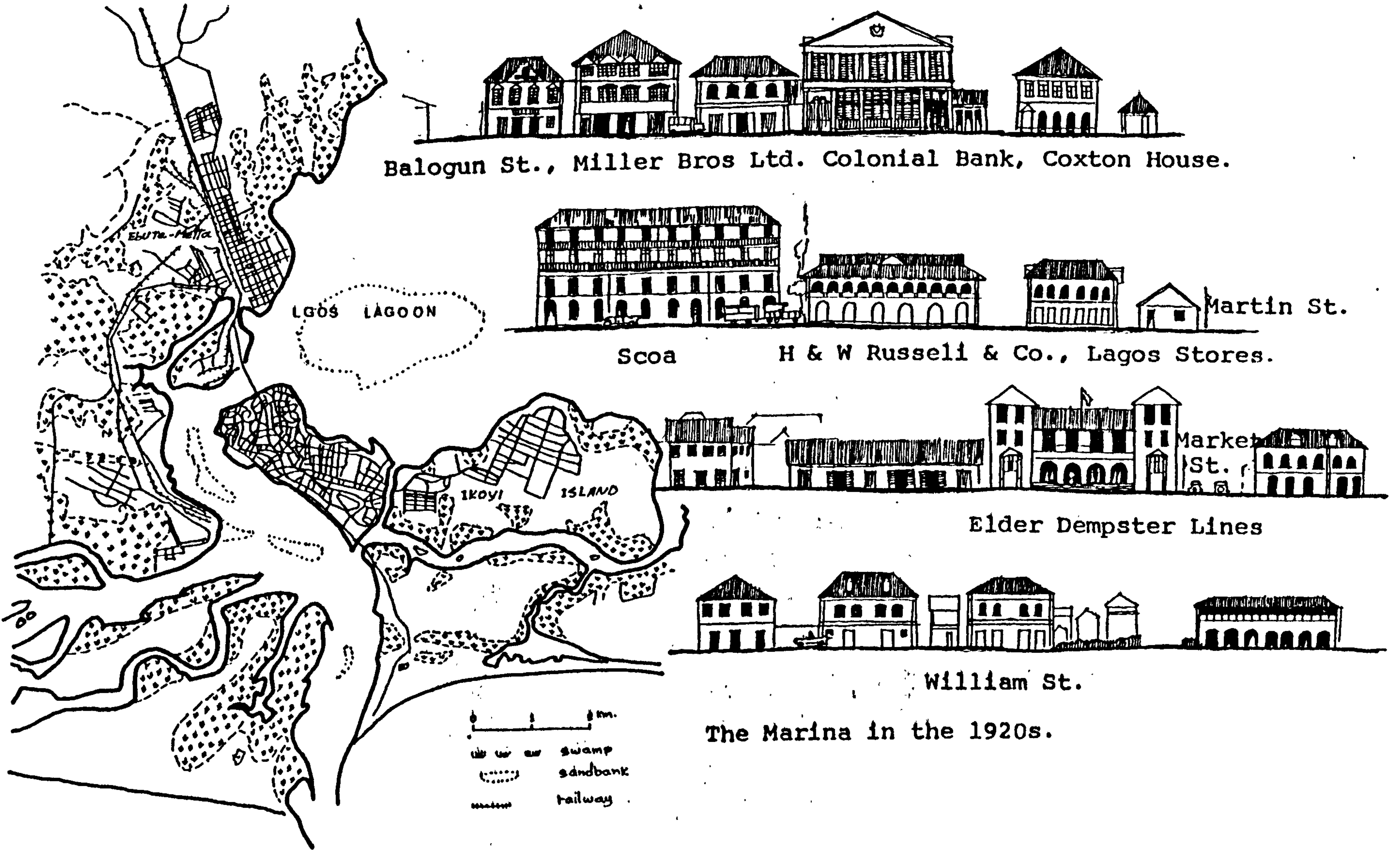
Fig. 34 - Map of reclaimed area of Lagos

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, A.V., (1976)

Another source of land for residential development in the core area of the City was a colonial green belt, which was created on the concept of 'sanitary syndrome'. In accordance with this concept, the indigenous residential quarters of central Lagos were separated from the European Reservation: - Ikoyi, by a mile of green belt. On the eve of independence, this area was laid out for high-income homes and has since become the new extension to Ikoyi. (17)

Between 1930 and 1960, the urban area tripled in population and spread on the mainland on a linear patterns along the main paved roads and the railroad line connecting the small village together. (Figs. 35, 36) Ikeja, on the mainland, in the 1940s and Victoria Island, south of Ikoyi, in 1960, were developed into low density residential neighbourhoods. More recent growth include Ilupeju, Ifako, Okupe Estate, Shomibara Estate, Amuwo Odofin and Festac Town. (Fig. 37) These areas cater as residential accommodation of both high and medium income earners. Some of those residential areas, except for the Ikoyi and Victoria Island, have recently turned into business and office areas, especially those located along the main streets.

Now Lagos is a big metropolis, with an area of 271.20 sq.km (18) and contains two capitals: the Federal Capital of Nigeria and the Capital of Lagos State - Ikeja. The urban structure of the city is a mixture of traditional, unplanned and planned development. The most interesting parts of the city with traditional urban structure, are the Epetedo and Okepopo areas on the north-east of Lagos Island. (Epetedo means settlement of Epe returnees between 1862 and 1868. Notable among these returnees was Oshodi Topo, Oba Kosoko's war general. (19)



Balogun St., Miller Bros Ltd. Colonial Bank, Coxtton House.

Scoa H & W Russeli & Co., Lagos Stores. Martin St.

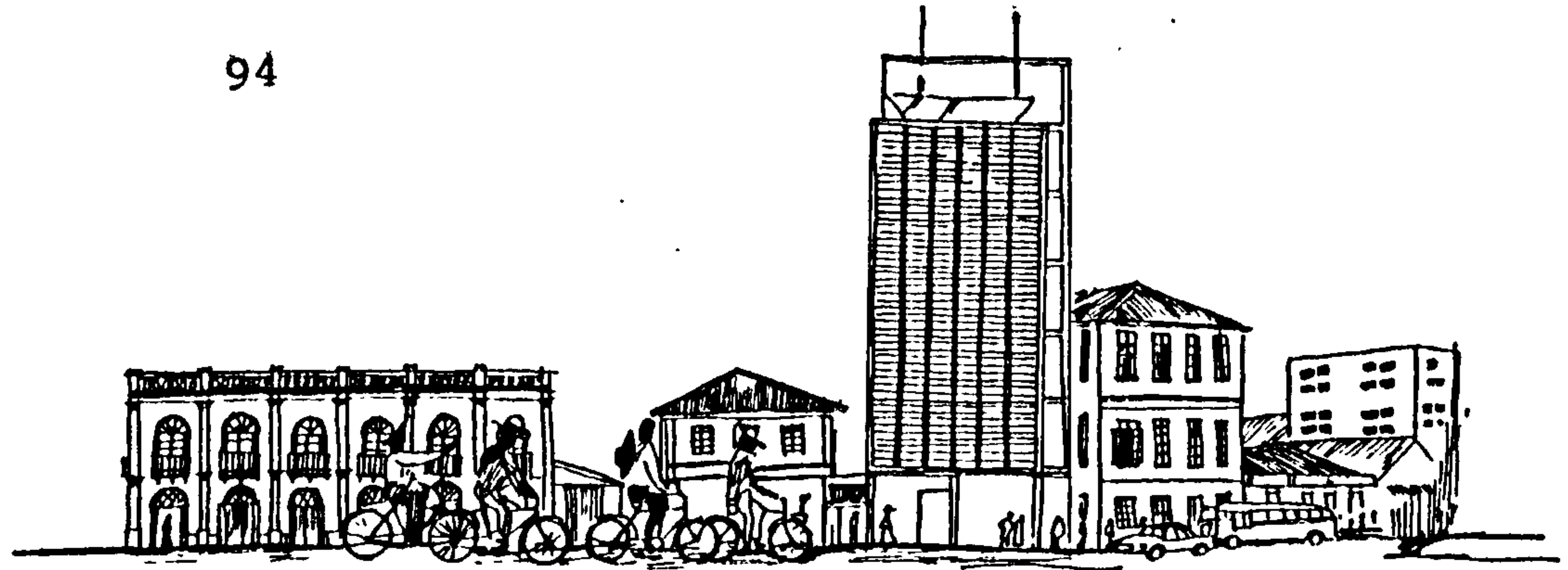
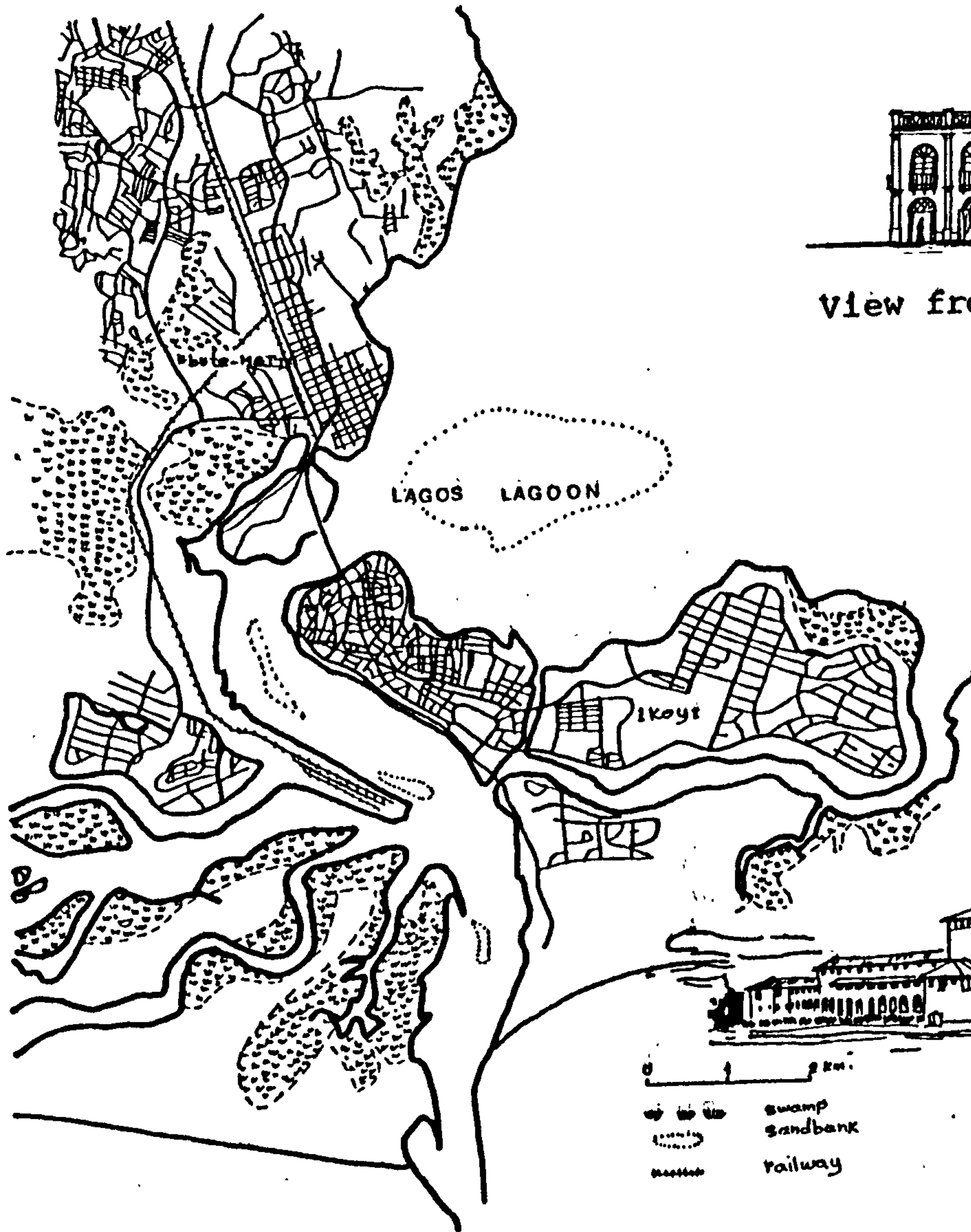
Market St. Elder Dempster Lines

William St.

The Marina in the 1920s.

Fig. 35 - Lagos in the 1940s.

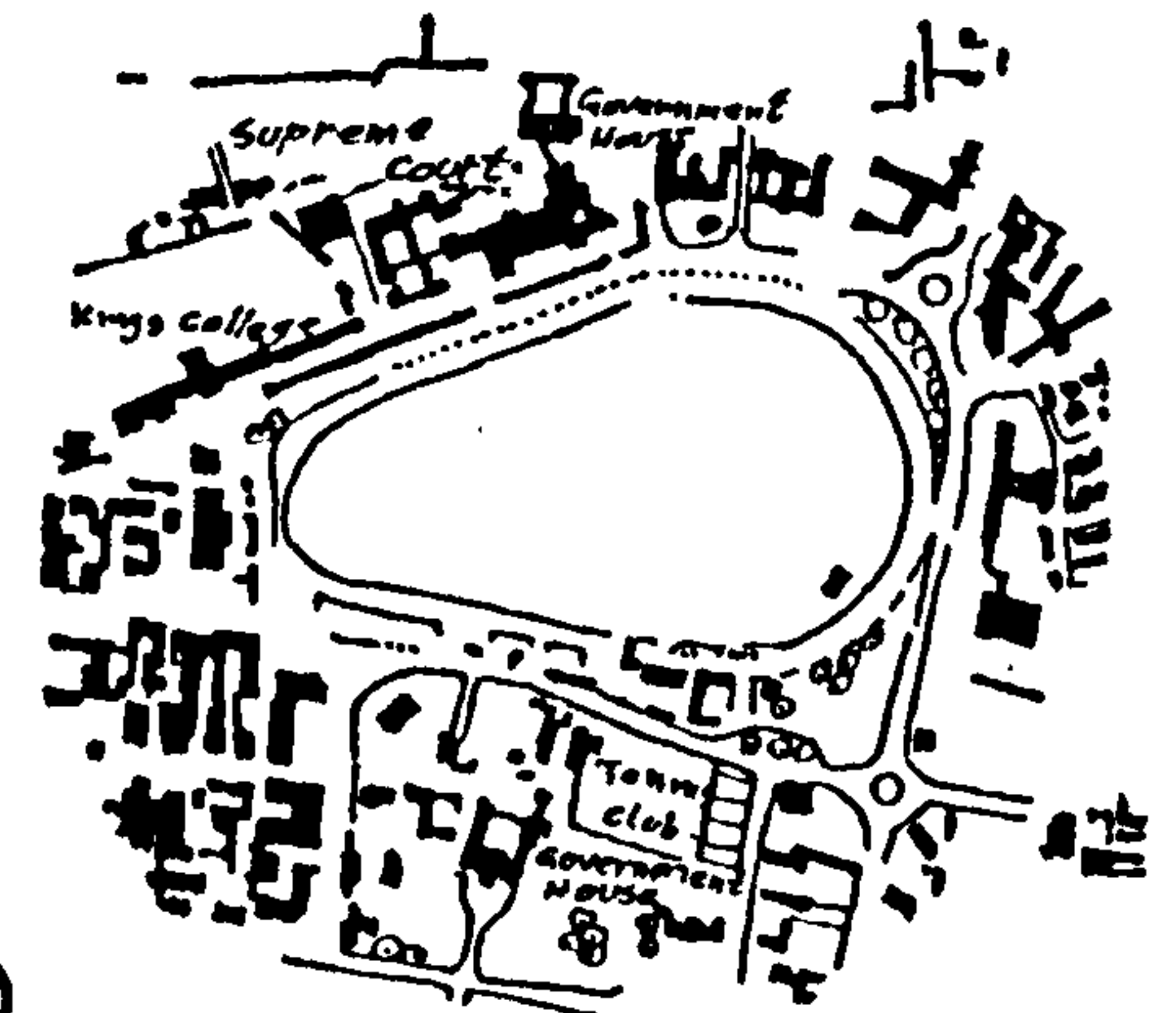
Source: Akinsemoyin K. & Richards, A. V. (1976)



View from Tinubu Sq. and Central Bank in the 1960s.



Independence Sq. (Tinubu) in the 1960s, the Central Bank has replaced the old Police Station.



Tafawa Balewa Sq. in the 1960s.



View from Tafawa Balewa Sq. in the 1960s, with Supreme Court in the left and Survey Dep. on the right.

Fig. 36 - Lagos in the 1960s.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, A. V., (1976)

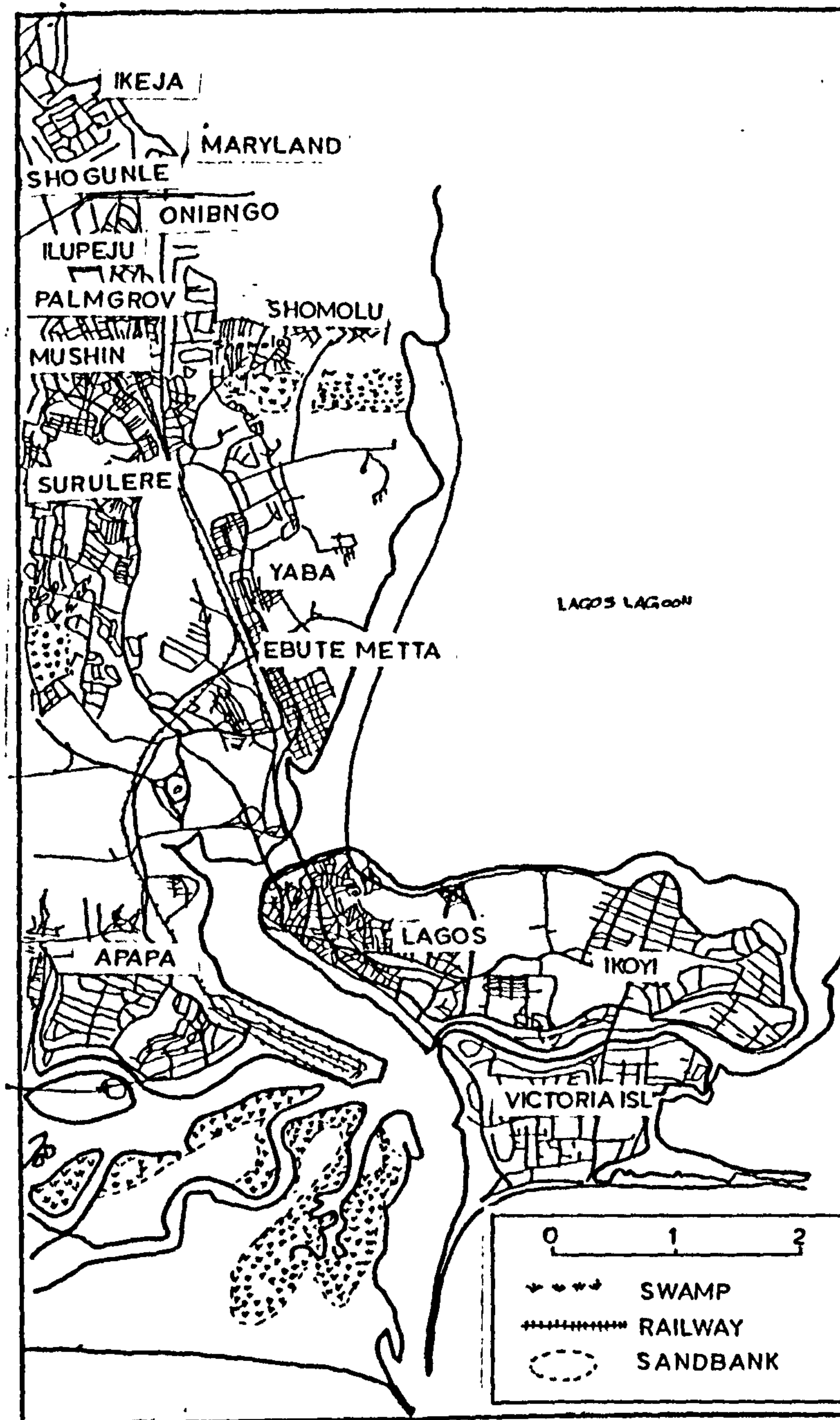


Fig. 37 - Lagos in the 1980s.



Both areas were built in the form of a block of compounds in a rectangular shape around an open space. Each of those compounds contained numerous dwelling units. Inasa court with 23 houses, Oshodi with 20, Alagbede and Magoje with more than 10 houses are the most interesting ones, with the density ranging from 15 to 18 per acres. (Fig.38)

Most of the planned areas, with the exception of a part of Surulere, were developed for high income group or for expatriates. These neighbourhoods were laid with proper layout plan and sufficient social amenities and infrastructure. In contrast, low income neighbourhoods such as the old part of Lagos, Mushin, Obalende and Maroco Island are in very bad condition. Houses in these areas are generally crowded together in narrow, unpaved and ill-lit streets. Open sewerage which run along the streets, are usually closed by disposal, and in this case sewerage covers most parts of the streets, especially during the rainy season when it flows to the courtyards. Houses or compounds are structurally in poor condition, unsanitary and damp. Families are living in one or two rooms, sharing an outside lavatory and water tap, if available. Still in poor residential areas, most of the residents depend on bucket latrine and share kitchen and baths. For the majority, fire-wood is the main source of fuel. A large number of the houses are old, obsolescent and in the state of disrepair and have become veritable slums. Lagos has had this condition of life for over a century. The petition published in 1884, by the clergy and traders of Lagos to the Colonial Government noted that the town of Lagos was in bad (if not worse) state than when originally taken over by the British Government. The streets were in the most abominable state, uneven in surface, repositories all manner of

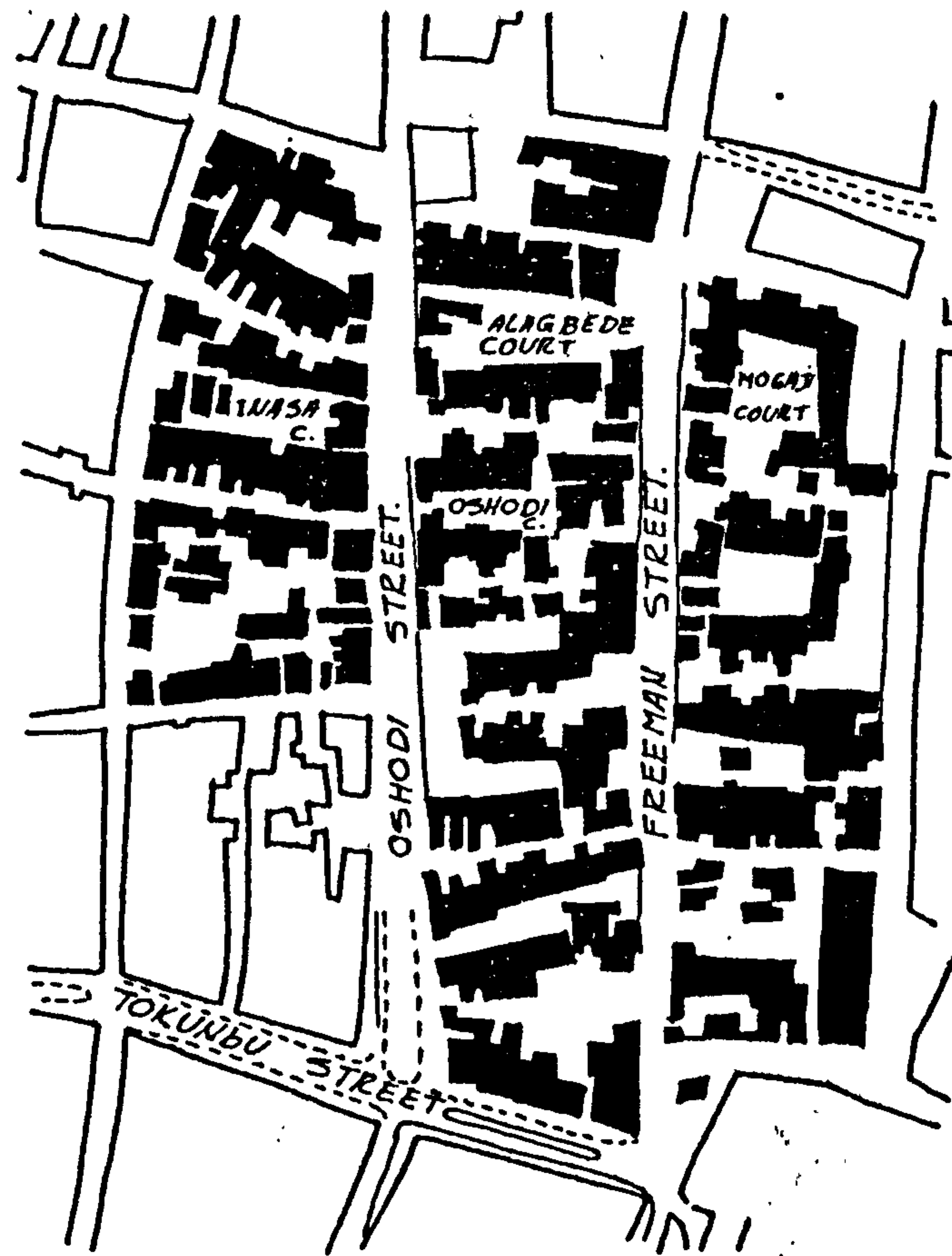
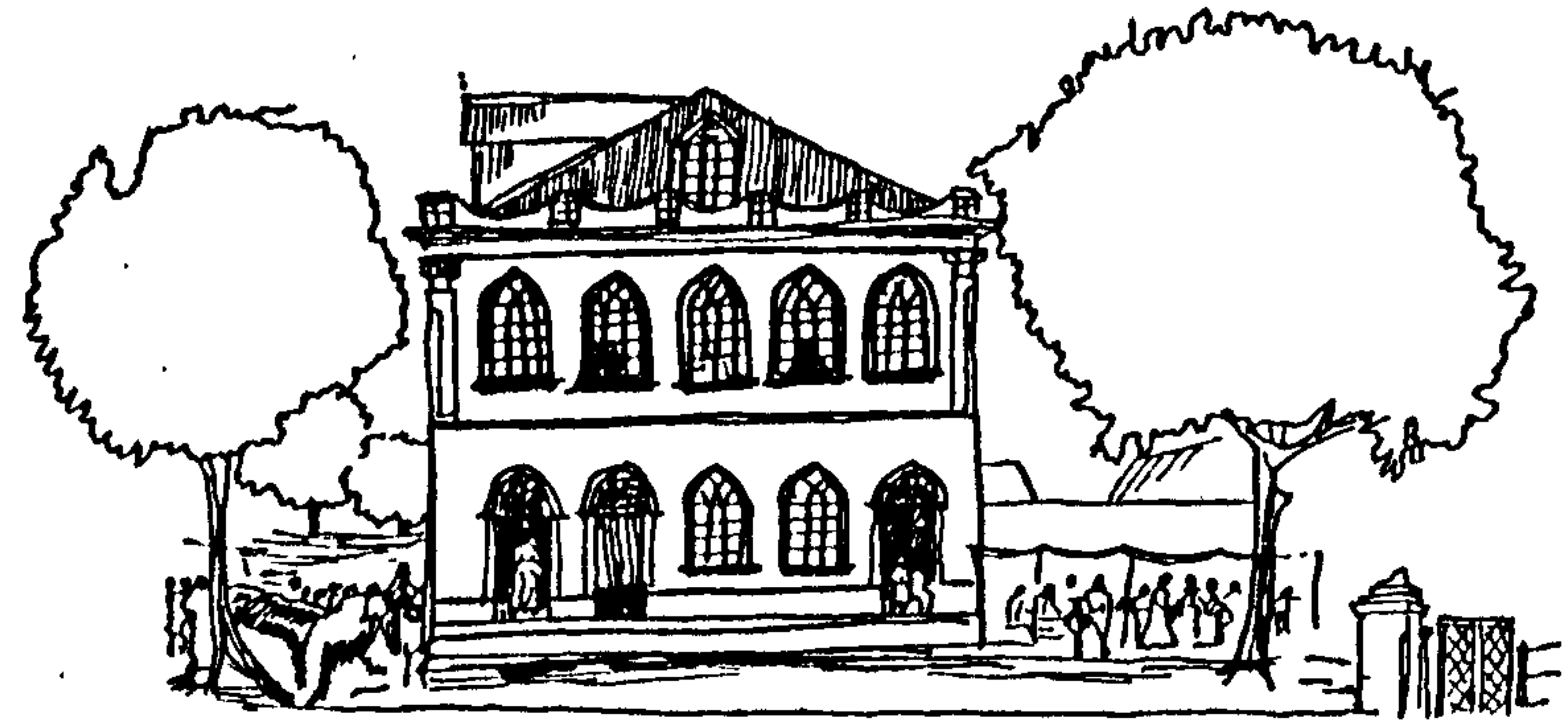


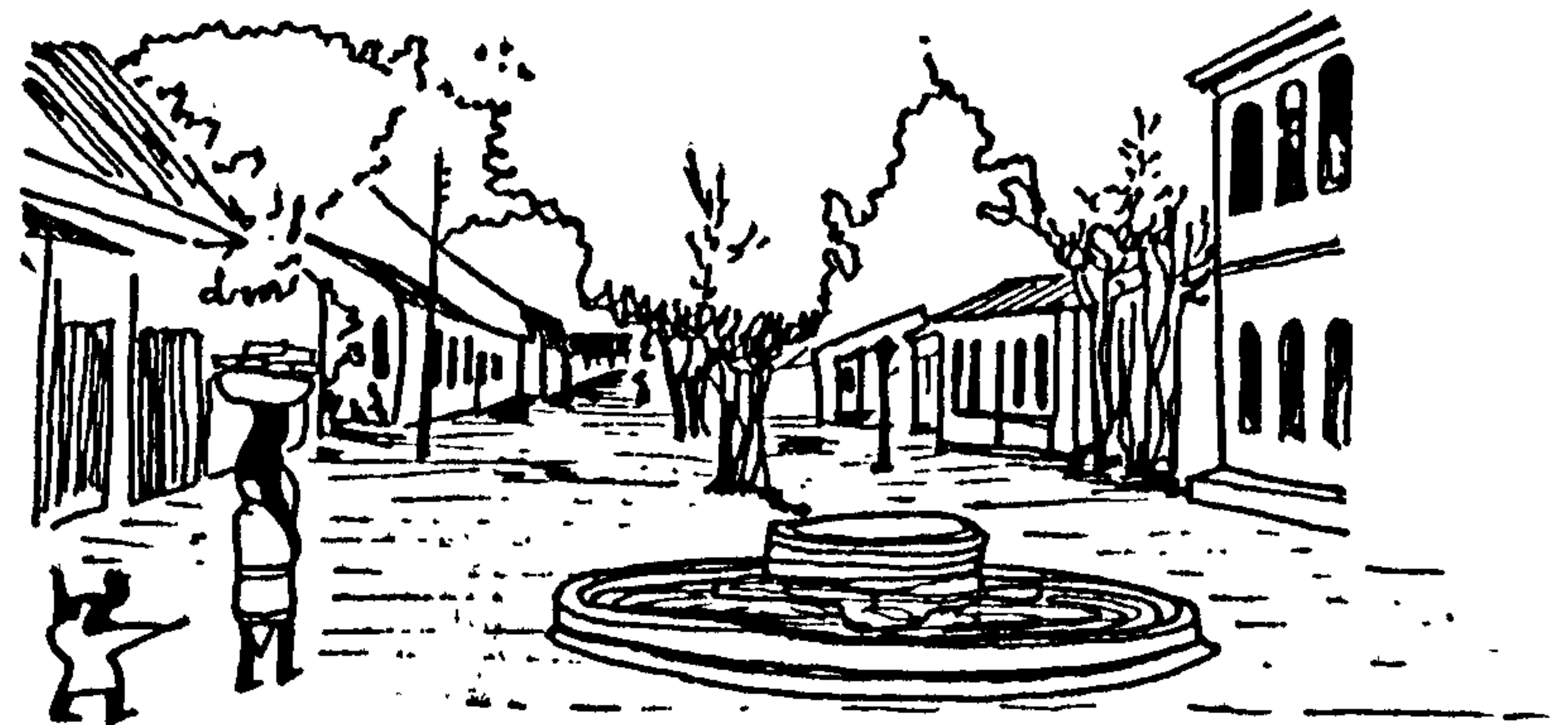
Fig. 38 - Epetedo Area in the 1960s.

(Epetedo means settlement of Epe returnees. They settled here during the 1860s)

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, V. A., (1976)



Yoyo Araromi House at the junction of Tokunbo and Oshodi St. (demolished)



Tokunbo Street in the 1900s.

things and with nuisances, drains were a farce and only an obstruction in many cases to the natural flow of water from the rains.

The unhealthy condition of central Lagos has been a source of concern since the 1930s, when the first slum clearance was ordered. But the major slum clearance scheme was imposed in 1955. As a result of that particular slum clearance a large number of families (some estimated 20,000 persons) were displaced from the central Lagos to Surulere area on the mainland. The first part of the scheme, concerned with the demolition of the slums, took place in 1958. The details of this particular action will be discussed later.

### Urban Structure

Nigeria, like other West African countries, embarked upon industrial development in the second half of this century. Since that time Lagos developed very fast and by the end of the 1960s, it became the largest city in Africa. Consequently, the major development of Lagos was in the area of modern industrial technology. A rapid development of the city and a lack of effective management in urban development gave way to an unproportional development of Lagos with mixed land use pattern. (Fig.39) According to the latest land use data of 1977, a little less than 50 per cent of the total built-up area of the metropolis was residential, while other major uses of land were for industry (11.31 per cent), transport (8.88 per cent), education (5.73 per cent) commerce (3.92 per cent) and administration which took 3.02 per cent. (20) These figures must have been changed, since the population increased by one million, from 3.5 million in 1976 to 4.5 million in 1980, and further increase is estimated during the last two years. (Table 3)

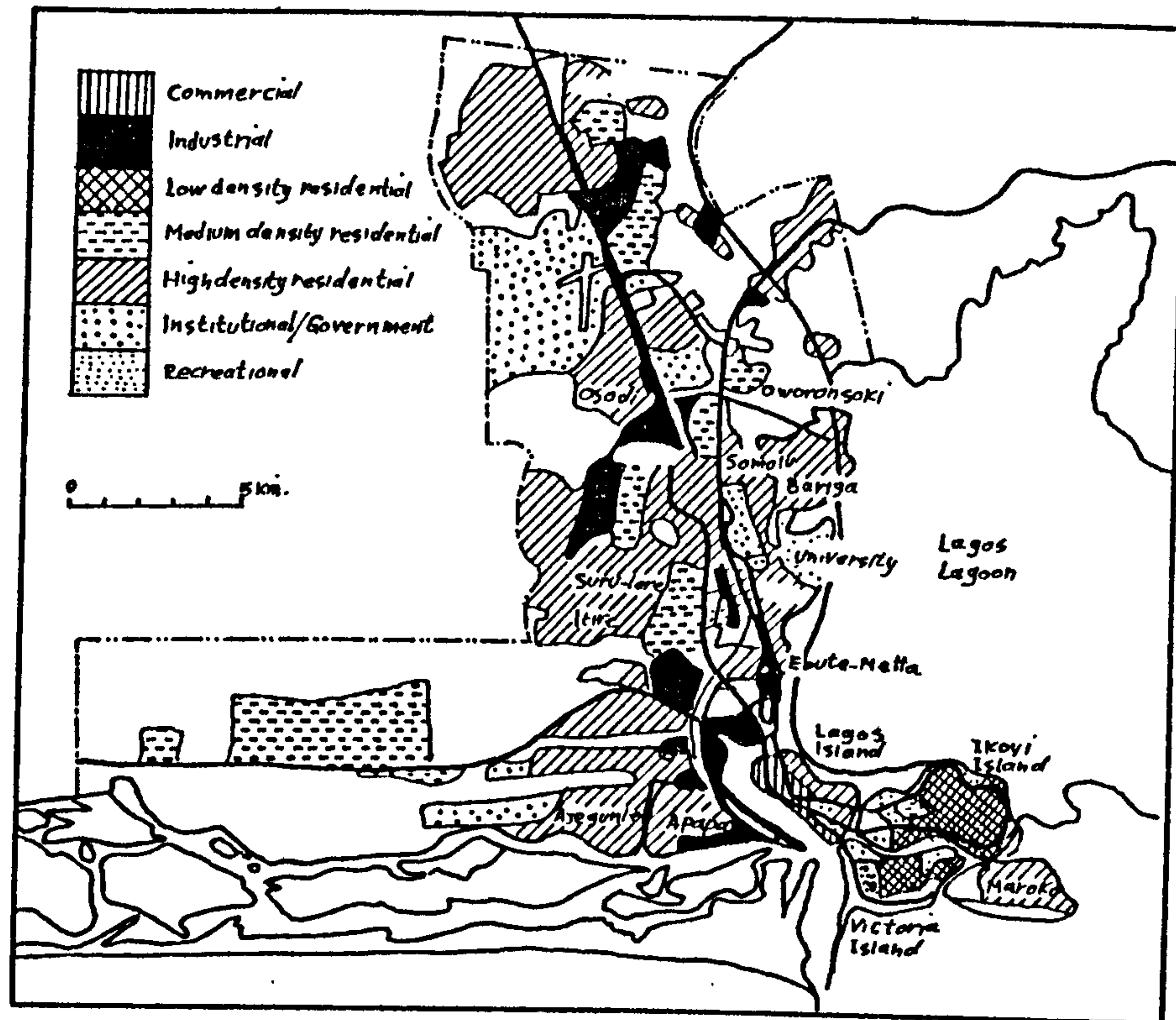


Fig 39 - Land use in Lagos, 1979.

Source: Ayeni, B., (1981)

"Special variations in the density of residential land use occur over the metropolitan area. The largest residential tracts are found in Agege, Mushin, Ijeshade, Ikoyi east and Maroko, where residential land occupies more than 80 per cent of total built-up area. In contrast to these heavily built-up residential zones, are places like Airport-Sogunle, Ketu-Oregun, Mushin NW, the Central Business District (CBD), Ikoyi West and Lagos Island, where more buildings are used for other purposes than residential. An important characteristic of residential land use in Lagos is the aerial separation of people by socio-economic characteristics. For instance, certain neighbourhoods like Victoria Island, Ikoyi East, Government Reservation at Ikeja, Ilupeju and Palmgrove Residential estates are inhabited by the higher income group. These areas are low density residential areas and are generally by the presence of tracts of open land."(21) Other areas like old parts of Lagos Island, Mushin, Somolu and Yaba East are high density and sub-standard residential areas, inhabited by low-income groups.

The traditional business centre, located on the north-west of Lagos Island and trading in formal sector is organized through a number of market places in this area. Mabogunji (1968) has recorded sixteen number of traditional markets in Lagos prior to 1940. Six of such traditional markets are still existing in Lagos and seven more markets have been developed on the mainland, since the 1960s. With the establishment of modern stores along Marina, as well as on Victoria Island, Ikoyi, Surulere and Eric Moore which offer all sorts of commodities, the importance and function of traditional markets have been reduced. They mostly deal with food and agricultural products. Another characteristic feature of Lagos is street business that exists in almost all low income residential areas. They offer all sorts of commodities, from specialized crafts to modern

electronic goods.

South side of Lagos Island, along Marina, grew as Central Business District, by the end of nineteenth century. The reason behind the development of this area (CBD) was its accessibility to the sea, therefore being suitable for the export. The slum clearance schemes of 1950s gave way to the full development of a modern Central Business District, in this area between Marina and Broad Street. Today, this part of the Island is an area of very high land valuation and intense land use, characterized by a high concentration of retail businesses and multistorey buildings.

Table 3 - Urban Land Use in Lagos, 1975

<u>Types of use:</u>	<u>Area (in hectares)</u>	<u>Proportion of total</u>
Residential	12,063	48.02
Educational	1,440	5.73
Health	179	0.71
Commercial	985	3.92
Industrial	2,843	11.31
Administrative	760	3.02
Transportational	2,230	8.88
Sport & Recreation	467	1.86
Special Instalation (army, etc.)	4,095	16.30
Cemeteries	64	0.25
Total	25,126	100.00

Source: Ayeni, B., 1981.

The five major industrial centres are at Apapa, Ebute-Metta, Mushin, Ikeja and Ikorodu Road and a few smaller industrial complexes are at Yaba, Ijora and Idiro; Central Business District along Marina and the traditional Centre are on the old part of Lagos Island; the educational centre is on the north of Yaba. The concentration of Federal Administration on Lagos Island and State Administration in Ikeja area are the major nuclei of metropolitan Lagos which constitute the internal structure of the city.

### Population

By the end of nineteenth century, the city of Lagos was made up of Lagos Island with 3.97 sq. km and about 39,000 inhabitants. (Table 4 ) The census of 1901 included the population of Iddo island and Ebute-Metta, shows the total population of the city at about 41,000. By 1911, the city has been expanded to Ikoyi, and part of the mainland (Ebute-Metta and Yaba) covered an area of 46.08 sq. km, with population of 73,766. There was further expansion in 1921, when the city covered an area of about 51.64 sq. km, again increased to 65.51 sq. km in 1931, and to about 70 sq. km in 1950. In 1952, with the population of 267,407, Lagos became the second largest city in Nigeria and was second only to Ibadan, with the population of 460,206. "In the last intercensus decade (1952-62), the metropolitan area as a whole grew by 200 per cent; the Western Region of urban area, however, grew by well over 600 per cent - about 66 per cent per year between 1952 and 1962." (22) By 1963, the greater Lagos, with a population of 1,122,733 was the first African city with over one million inhabitants. This figure rose to 3.8 million in 1976, and 4.5 million in 1980. If the present rate continue, it will reach a 10 million mark by 1990. (23) Up until 1950, about 65.4 per cent of the population was concentrated on the Island, but since 1950 there has been movement towards the mainland. Now over 80 per cent of the population is concentrated on the mainland, while Lagos Island accommodates less than 20 per cent of the population of the Metropolis. (24)

Table 4, shows that the rapid increase of population has started since 1950, when the rapid industrial development took place.



Table 4 - Land Area and Population Growth of Lagos in Twentieth Century

<u>Year of Census</u>	<u>Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Intercensal increase</u>	<u>Annual Growth Rate</u>
1891	3.97	32,508	-33.2	<u>-1.4</u>
1901	-	41,847	28.7	2.5
1911	46.08	73,766	76.3	5.8
1921	51.64	99,690	35.1	3.1
1931	65.51	126,108	26.5	2.5
1950	69.68	230,256	82.6	3.3
1952	69.68	267,407	16.1	7.8
1963	69.68	665,246	188.9	11.9
1952*	-	341,569	232.6	11.5
1963*	-	1,136,154	-	-
1974*	178.36	1,122,733**	-	-
1976*	271.20	2,437,335	-	-
1980	-	3,519,000	-	-
		4,500,000**	-	-

\* These figures are for the Metropolitan Lagos.

\*\* These figures are given by LSDPC.

Source: Ayemi, B.,(1981)

The remarkable growth in the population of Lagos was the combined result of an increased rate, both of natural and of immigration.(25)

Natural increase was mainly due to various improvements in health facilities of the city, which included increasing number of health centres. Evidences show that the phenomenal rise in population of Metropolitan Lagos had been attributed more to migration from the hinterland than to natural increase and foreign immigration.

There is no reliable information about the natural annual growth of Lagos. The reason, according to Aderibigbi is because "a considerable number of births in the suburban fringes are registered in the city in order to be qualified for enrolment in the city primary schools which are better equipped. On the other hand a number of deaths are not recorded as bodies are often carried out of Lagos for burial. There is thus a high probability of inflation in the natural increase as shown in vital statistics."(26) However, Table 5 shows a significant increase of natural rate, during the 1950s, comparing to the vital statistics of Lagos during the first decade of this century.(Table 6)

"In fact the natural increase had risen from 16.5 per 1000 persons in 1940, to 47.7 in 1961 and 52.4 in 1971. Correcting for the suspected marginal inflation indicated earlier, it is not unreasonable to argue that by 1963, the rate of natural increase was about 4 per cent and in the suburban areas where there is a preponderance of the lower income class, 5 per cent natural increase can be expected."(27) It was noticed that the rapid increase of population was mostly due to the high migration from rural and other urban areas of the country to Lagos. "Between 1952 and 1963, migrants accounted for an increase of 393,000 in the city's population, representing 75 per cent of the total increase during

Table 5 - Annual Crude Birth and Death in Lagos from 1940 to 1960

<u>Year</u>	<u>C.B.R. per 1000</u>	<u>C.D.R. per 1000</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1940	32.9	16.4	16.5
1945	44.8	23.3	21.5
1957	49.1	14.2	24.9
1958	50.4	12.7	37.7
1959	55.8	13.6	42.2
1960	61.1	15.7	45.4

Source: Annual Reports of the Federal Medical Services, 1957 - 1960, Lagos.

Table 6 - Lagos Vital Statistics

<u>Year</u>	<u>Birth Rate</u>	<u>Death Rate</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1900	-	-	-
1909	42.2	37.2	5.0
1910	44.0	35.8	8.2

Source: Aderibigbi, A. B., (1975)

the same period." (28)

There is not any information about the number or the type of people who migrated to Lagos during the last two decades. We, therefore, relay on the earlier informations given by various sources to find out about the type of population of Lagos. Mabogunji describes that: "An important aspect of the large number of immigrants into Lagos during this period (1901-1950) is the diversity of ethnic groups represented. Before 1931 no figures are given of Yoruba immigrants, although it is known that they were considerable. Table 7, however, shows that in 1931 and 1950, they were the most important, single group of immigrants. The total number of Yoruba immigrants had risen by about 85 per cent between 1931 and 1950.

Table 7 - Proportion of Immigrants in Lagos, 1911 to 1950.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>(a) Yoruba Immigrants</u>	<u>(b) Non-Yoruba Immigrants</u>	<u>(c)</u>	<u>(d)</u>	<u>(e)</u>
1911	73,766	-	14,478	-	20%	-
1921	99,690	-	23,045	-	32%	-
1931	126,108	45,811	28,468	36%	23%	59%
1950	230,256	85,042	61,057	37%	26%	63%

(c) Yoruba immigrants as percentage of total population.

(d) Non-Yoruba immigrants as percentage of total population.

(e) Total of immigrants as percentage of the total population.

Source: Mabogunji, A. L., (1968)

Non-Yoruba immigrants are divided into three classes, namely natives of Nigeria, Africans (i.e. those from other African countries) and non-Africans (i.e. Europeans and Asians). (84) Table 8, shows that the Ibos were the most important ethnic group represented in Lagos. They remained to be an important ethnic group in Lagos, until today.

Table 8 - Non-Yoruba Native Immigrants, from 1911 to 1950

	Total Number				Percentage of total native immigrants			
	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1950</u>
Ibo	264	1,609	5,147	25,577	5	16	26	47
Ijaw	264	1,097	1,327	3,500	5	11	7	6
Edo	291	1,463	3,324	6,800	5	15	16	13
Hausa	3,533	3,951	3,593	3,725	65	50	18	7
Others	1,125	1,764	6,777	14,483	20	8	33	27
Total	5,477	9,884	20,168	54,085	100	100	100	100

Source: Mabogunji, A. L., (1968)

"Of non-Nigerians, four countries on the West Coast provided the African immigrants. (Table 9 ). They were Ghana - Togoland, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Dahomey."(30) From 1960 onward, the number of immigrants from these countries increased rapidly, especially those from Ghana and Togoland who stayed and worked in Lagos illegally. As a result of the announcement of Nigerian Government on the 17th of January 1983, which forced illegal immigrants to leave Nigeria within two weeks, it was estimated that over one million illegal workers came from Ghana. A high percentage of them were living in Lagos.

Table 9 - Non-Nigerian (African) Immigrants in Lagos, 1911-1950

	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1950</u>
Ghana - Togoland	634	1,192	1,140	1,736
Sierra Leone	940	1,373	1,187	631
Liberia	2,680	1,707	1,273	-
Dahomey	1,493	1,857	2,567	3,873
Others	609	1,135	944	283
Total	6,356	7,264	7,111	6,523

Source: Mabogunji, A. L., (1968)

Apart from those immigrants from Africa, a considerable number of people from all over the world, especially from Europe, are living and working in Lagos. Their accommodation depends on their position. Those of higher position are

living on Victoria Island, Ikoyi and on the mainland, in some parts of Apapa and Surulere. Special facilities, like water reservoirs and stand-by generator plants are provided for their houses or compounds, while the working-class migrants are living in over-crowded areas and suffering from a lack of basic facilities.

The study of the migrants from rural areas, by the faculty of Social Science, University of Lagos, shows that: "most of the migrants are between the age of 15 and 24. When they come into the city, they always live with their relations, friends and townsmen. In exchange for board and lodging, they at times perform some household duties. In the afternoons, the migrants look for the employment which they usually do not get because they usually have little formal education and often possess little economically useful skills."(31) A study of the population and living conditions in Lagos, by the Human Resources Research Unit of the University of Lagos shows that 68 per cent of the 1480 unemployed people covered in the survey came to Lagos either to look for a job, to learn trade or to go to school.(32) "Although there is evidence that proves the higher percentage of migrants from rural areas are mainly those with primary (over 40 per cent), and post-primary (25 per cent) education, it still does not imply that those migrants without the primary education would not be in the same position as those with primary school certificates, since the possession of a primary school certificates is not the sole cause of migration."(33)

Most of the young people prefer to stay in Lagos without a job, rather than going back to their villages. They believe that life in rural area is very

primitive and people look down on farmers. (see Appendix I) The result of my interview with fifteen young men (aged 18 to 22) and ten young girls (aged 14 and 18) in April, 1983, (34), are as follows:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
<u>Reasons for coming to Lagos:</u>	<u>Going to High-school</u>	<u>Going to Technical School or University</u>	<u>Looking for a job</u>	<u>No specific reason</u>
Male	5	2	6	2
Female	4	-	1	5 <sup>†</sup>

† To live with relatives and help in house duties.

Among the fifteen men, one in each category (a) and (b) and two in each category (c) and (d) did not have any relatives in Lagos, but almost all the girls were living either with their relatives or family friends from their villages. Three men in category (a) had enrolled in high-school, one of them had already finished it; none of them in category (b) had entered University and one out of six in category (c) had been employed in a private office as a messenger. The rest, as they stated, were self-employed. All four girls in category (a) were attending high-school and the remaining six were working at home, helping their relatives. Getting a job in formal sector, in Nigeria, is a hard task, because of the high percentage of unemployment. Nigerian labour forces, in 1970 was estimated to be about 26 million persons. The number of employees in manufacturing industries by that time was about 12,800. This implies that the Industrial Sector employed less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the labour force, which illustrates the serious unemployment and under-employment problem in Nigerian economy. (35)



Therefore, the migrants usually end up in the informal sector of economy.

"Whether in the crowded native markets of Jankara, Oyingbo and Tejuoso, the protruding annexes to houses along the narrow streets on Lagos Island and Mushin, the makeshift stalls around Yaba bus-stop, the dinges in Somolu and Ajegule or in-between cars along Eko Bridge, where vehicles move bumper to bumper, millions of people are found, labouring every day, from dawn to dusk, making furniture, welding motor parts, repairing motor vehicles and motor-cycles, selling wearing apparels, manufactured goods and food stuff or hawking live chickens or frozen shrimps wrapped in cellulose bags (Plate 3 ). They appear to be working and to be making some contribution to Lagos economy. Many of these petty traders, roadside mechanics, shoe-shine boys, etc., have a capital out-lay of less than ₦50.00. The informal sector constitutes about 50 per cent of the work-force in Lagos."(36)

This is a small sum of money considering the fact that the minimum wage is ₦150. The price of accommodation in Lagos is relatively high; renting a single room in the cheapest part of Lagos would cost not less than ₦30 per month. So migrants usually share a room and live in over-crowded houses or shanties with poor ventilation and at times, without water or electricity. Some of them can not afford even a place in shanty town; they live in the places where they do their business.

### Environmental Sanitation

Sanitation is far below the minimum standard; Lagos carried out the title of the dirtiest capital in the world,<sup>+</sup> in 1982. Open sewers are running in almost all corners of the city, except in some parts of Ikoyi and Victoria Island. One of the greatest challenges of the city is the adoption of healthy environmental sanitation. A study of the slums that exist both on the peripheries and in central Lagos (Table 10) shows that the basic amenities are either inadequate or non-existent. In some areas there are one or two water taps in a compound of ten to fifteen families, while in some other overcrowded neighbourhoods, the same number of public water taps are serving the whole area. People are usually queuing in front of public taps to take water for cooking, washing and bathing. Sewage disposal system is a problem in Lagos, though since the beginning of this century, various studies have been done to find an adequate solution to this problem. The pail system (wastes are removed in pails by night-soil men and transported to a disposal site) are still in practice in Central Lagos, Maroko Island and other low-grade residential areas. Nowadays, there is not even many night-soilmen and nearby swamp serves for dumping the wastes. This practice is carried by people who are dumping their wastes in open canals along the streets.

Garbage is another feature which dominates the streets of Lagos. In front of each house or compound, garbage is dumped for a minimum period of six weeks before collection, even in higher class residential areas such as Ikoyi and Surulere. In working-class or poorer neighbourhoods this period lasts from two to three months, or there is no collection at all.

+ - Interview with Professor Lumbo, from World Health Organization, N.T.A., Lagos, March, 1982.

Table 10 - The Nature of Household Amenities in Slum Areas of Lagos, 1975,

<u>Type of Amenities</u>	<u>Maroko</u> (%)	<u>Ajegunle</u> (%)	<u>Ojota</u> (%)	<u>Mushin</u> (%)	<u>Central Lagos</u> (%)
Houses with piped water	0.0	76.0	0.0	42.0	50.0
Houses with wells	36.8	15.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
Houses with electricity	0.0	97.0	100.0	100.0	97.5
<u>Types of toilets</u>					
Pail	54.0	78.0	0.0	8.0	33.3
Pit	33.3	18.0	100.0	62.0	27.3
Water Closet	2.1	0.0	0.0	20.0	39.3
Kitchen with adequate facilities	21.5	23.0	35.0	56.0	50.0

Source: Ayeni, B., (1977)

There is always little effort towards reducing the effect or negative impact of the dumped wastes on the surrounding human and hydrological environment. Because of a lack of compaction or control of open dumps, too many sites have been used as open dumps, simply on the basis of their availability and access, with no attention paid to problem of leaching of wastes, resulting in surface water contamination and environmental pollution. In some neighbourhoods, like Ebute-Metta,

along the Third Mainland Road, Ijora, some parts of Lagos Island, Mushin and along Badagary Express Road, before Festac Town, mountains of garbage exist within residential areas, blocking pedestrian and vehicular traffic access and causing traffic congestion. This condition applies for newly developed residential areas as well. The best example is the site of Surulere State Housing, developed in the 1960s, where open spaces among the blocks of three to four storied buildings are dumped with waste and junks.

Pollution in Lagos is also very high, besides a high number of cars, most of them old and making a lot of smoke, people used to burn their garbage to drive away mosquitoes and flies. The same pattern is also adopted by the State Authority at the Garbage Collection Centres, which are inside the city. It is an ordinary scene in Lagos to see columns of smoke from the burning garbage.

## Traffic

Nigerian society has grown quite rapidly from non-dependent society, to one of almost total dependence on automobile. The economic boom in the 1970s brought about by the petroleum industry and the relative improvement on Nigerian middle-class' standard of living, together with the increased salaries of civil servants, have all contributed to a sudden increase in vehicle ownership. For example, the number of registered private cars increased from 822 in 1937 to 11,347 in 1970, and raised to 61,679 in 1979. The number of commercial vehicles also increased from 13,107 in 1970 to 60,857 in 1979.(37) This rapid change, together with the fast growth of urbanization, has created fundamental problem in the internal circulation within the urban centres. For example, in Lagos, during the working hours, it takes sometimes three to four hours to make a journey of five miles from Lagos Island to the mainland. Those who are living on the mainland and work on the Island spend an average of five hours a day, on traffic. The major problem of internal circulation is because of the limited resources of movement. There is not any traditional form of traffic in Lagos and pedestrian movement is difficult and dangerous because of the lack of proper sidewalks along the streets. Therefore, the main source of traffic in Lagos is by road, though the City has the capacity for the development of rail and water transport. Further congestion arises because of the external road networks that link the metropolitan region with the rest of the country pass through the city; these same roads are the major links between Lagos Island and other areas on the mainland.(Fig.40) In spite of the construction of new roads and the widening of the old, together with the new measure of reducing the number of private cars on the road according to the even and odd numbers, in certain days of the week, the traffic congestion in recent years is alarming.

The most important problem of internal circulation in Lagos is the urban pattern of the city where resources are not equally distributed over a certain area.

"The location of work, business and residential areas in Lagos has an important bearing on the nature and problems of traffic within the city. The distance separating the main residential neighbourhoods from work and business-places has given rise to seemingly endless stream of traffic which move slowly or swiftly all day and most of the night."(38)

The industrial structure of Lagos (Fig.32 ) shows that the location of major industrial centres is concentrated at Apapa, the main port of the city, in the south; Ikeja Industrial Estate in the north; Ebute-Metta and Ijora Industrial Estate on the mainland, and also the business centre and traditional trade centre on Lagos Island. These centres are the major forces of employment, mainly on the southern and northern part of the city. Apart from the high-class residential areas on Ikoyi and Apapa on the south, and, also Maryland and Ikeja on the north, the main concentration of residential neighbourhoods of middle-class to low-income residents are at the central zone of the city.(Fig.39 ) According to Table 11, as much as 56.1 per cent of the work force is living in Ebute-Metta, Yaba, Surulere and Mushin and a high percentage of them is working in some other areas. Therefore, there is a shift of heavy traffic from the centre towards the north and the south and vice versa.(Fig. 41 )

"In Lagos traffic congestion and hazards also owe their causes to physical and human factors. The physical factors include narrow roads made still narrower by indiscriminate parking and all sorts of obstructions; paucity of public



Table 11-Percentage Distribution of Employed people in Lagos, according to the Place of Residence and Place of Work, 1975.

Area	Workers residing in the area (%)	Those working in the area (%)	Those working in some other areas (%)
Victoria Island	1.9	2.7	54.8
Ikoyi	1.7	2.8	21.8
Obalende, Lagos Island	13.7	28.2	63.3
Ebute-Metta, Yaba	22.5	18.4	30.4
Apapa	4.5	13.3	55.1
Ajegule/Ajeromi	5.3	2.4	19.0
Surulere/Ijora/Iganmu	11.7	6.3	21.6
Igbobi/Shomolu/Bariga/Akoka	7.9	2.3	18.0
Mushin	21.9	7.5	27.4
Oshodi	3.1	1.3	16.2
Ilupeju/Palm Grove/Ikeja	2.2	10.5	33.3
Agege	4.6	2.5	42.4
Others	-	1.8	-

Source: Fapohunda, O. J., (1975)



parking spaces; the absence of side walks on virtually all roads, absence of official stops for sub-urban vehicles operating in the city; lack of traffic separation between the heavy slow-moving and lighter fast-moving vehicles and of pedal- and motor-cyclists; absence of alternative routes for leading and arriving at the main traffic destinations; absence of alternative media of transport like water, road and rail which should be well integrated; the insufficient number of bridges across the lagoon."(39) In the master plan for greater Lagos, prepared by the United Nations in early 1970s, twelve bridges were proposed to link Lagos Island with the mainland and Apapa. Three bridges, out of twelve, have been built so far, connecting Lagos with the mainland. Moreover, inadequate off-street parking facilities, non-separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, the uneven surface of the streets and disobeying of traffic rules are contributory factors to traffic problem and increasing road accidents. Lagos has the highest number of fatal accidents in Nigeria. Within three years, from 1976 til 1978, Lagos recorded some 1,613 fatal accidents, in which 1,802 people were killed.(40)

Public transport in Lagos is neither sufficient nor adequate. Four kinds of public transport facilities are available, but none of them is satisfactory:

1. Municipal Buses (Lagos State Transport Corporation) which are limited in number and do not cover the whole urban area.
2. Private Buses, (Mammy Wagons) whose drivers do not obey any traffic rule, and the vehicles are kept in very bad condition. They are faster, more regular and cheaper than municipal buses.
3. Mini Buses are the most reliable public transportation means, in taking

- people to work quickly and cheaply. Drivers of these mini-buses do not obey any traffic regulation either; they stop wherever a passenger wishes to get on or off, and they move so fast causing problems for other motorists. They are banned to enter Lagos Island because of narrow and overcrowded streets.
4. The taxis, whose drivers' lack of knowledge of proper road use and road discipline, cause many accidents. Their fares depend on the distance and is negotiable; normally, minimum fare for taxi is 50k for a short distance. Other public transport vehicles charge from 10k to 25k.

The problems of transport and traffic in Lagos, although numerous, can be divided into three broad categories, according to different factors:

1. Economic factors, which caused the increase in number of private vehicles.
2. Human factors relating to the psychological and behavioral aspect of the drivers, like lack of discipline towards traffic regulations and also the failure of the law enforcement agency.
3. Lack of sufficient public transport, street networks and also bad condition of the roads.

All these factors have either individually or in various combinations contributed to the traffic chaos of the city.

### Conclusion

The fast growth of the city of Lagos, which has the highest rate in Africa, has caused some fundamental problems in urban development. The problems caused by housing shortages, inadequate street system, garbage disposal, unhealthy environment and other inadequate community service facilities, have become acute. The adequate public facilities are of primary importance for the quality of life in Lagos. Both, old and new residential environments suffer from an inadequate supply of running water, sewage system, refuse and storm drainage disposal, lack of parks and play-grounds and any other social facilities.

Perhaps, the most important one is the problem of housing with its overcrowding and insanitary conditions, especially in low-income and working-class neighbourhoods.

By the end of 1990, Lagos will have a population of over 10 million if the present increase rate continues. In this case, if the authorities do not take necessary actions to improve the condition of life, efficiency of public facilities and provide adequate housing with healthy environment, serious problems will threaten Lagosians in the future.

## Appendix I.3

The following is a typical story of a migrant in which he gives his reason for staying in Lagos:

Mr. Olakonje, 30 years of age, a draughtsman, four years married, with three children and one on the way:

Q: How many children would you like to have?

A: As much as God gives me. I also have two of my junior sisters and a brother living with me. My parents are alive, father (a retired farmer) over 90 years, and mother is over 70. They are living in my village town. My father has five wives and 27 children, only two of them are living in my village, the youngest sister and brother; the rest of them are living with me and my senior brothers and sisters in Lagos.

Q: When did you come to Lagos?

A: I came to Lagos in 1971, after finishing my school, to live with my senior brother, looking for an institute of higher education. It was difficult to enter any Technical University or School, so I went to my brother's office (civil engineer) and became a draughtsman.

Q: Why didn't you follow your father's job?

A: Nobody in the village, after finishing school, is willing to work on a farm; they look down on farmers.

Q: How much is your salary now?

A: About ₦400 per month.

Q: How much is your cost of living in Lagos?

- A: Nearly the same as my salary. The major cost is accommodation, I pay N150 per month. It takes two hours to get from my place to the office.
- Q: As you know the cost of living in rural area is far less than in Lagos; so, if you earn less, would you go back to your village?
- A: Yes, if I could find employment there.
- Q: Why not working on the farm?
- A: Oh, no! First of all, the income is very low, maybe N120 per year, plus tax on production; that is really nothing.
- Q: How are the farmers living now?
- A: They really have a very primitive life; they usually go hunting for having meat, and they do some extra work like cutting grass for the others in order to earn some extra money to survive.
- Q: If the Government protects you, will you go to do farming?
- A: No, people really look down on farmers, they call them uncivilised or bushmen, you know. I've got used to the city, I cannot go back to the village any more.
- Q: According to you, what is the result of Green Revolution?
- A: The result was good for those privileged people who imported agricultural equipment and fertilizers; they have earned a lot of money, but otherwise, it was not good for the farmers, not at all. As I have told you, I have got used to a city life, I cannot go back to the village.

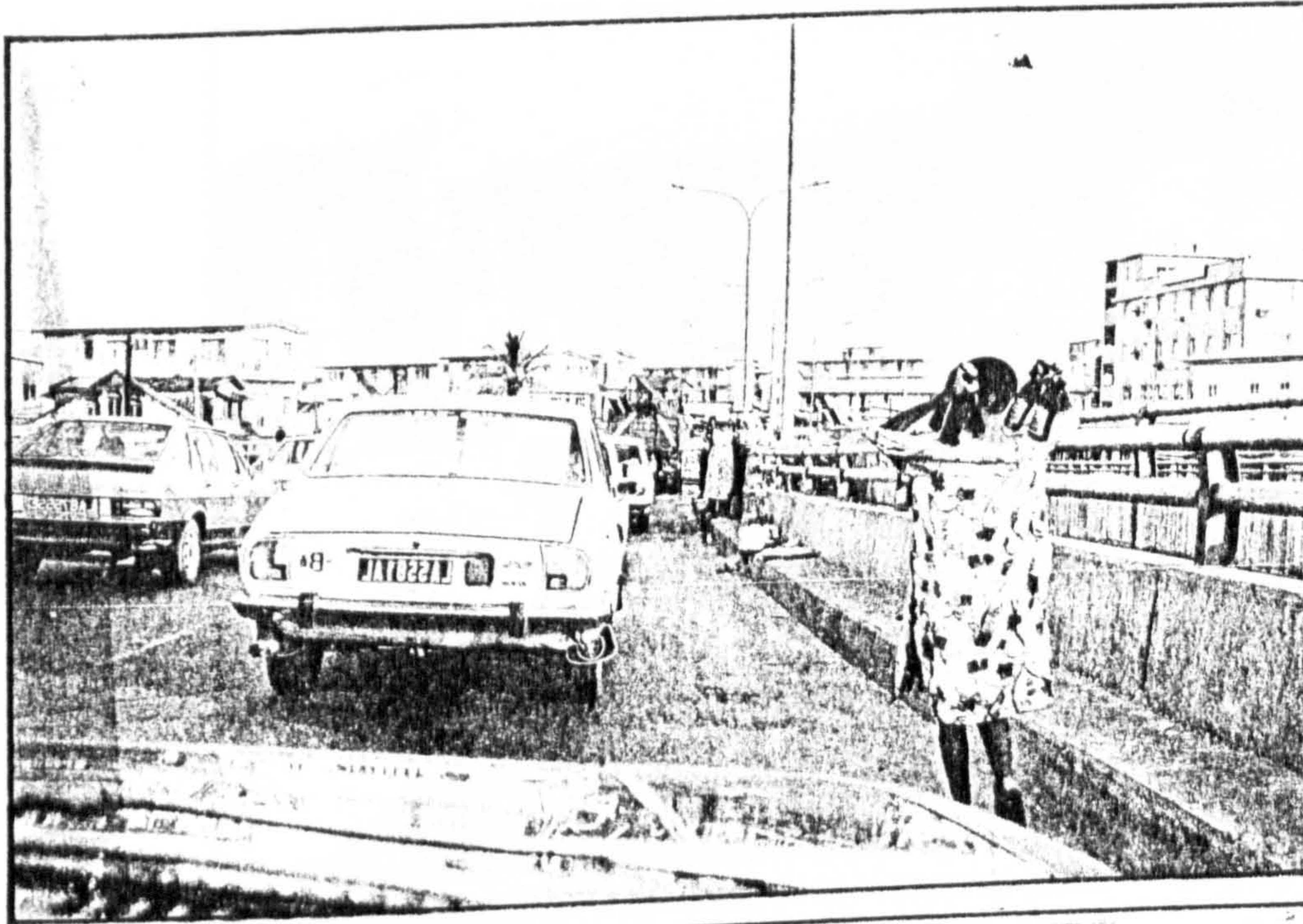


Plate 3

Unemployed migrants  
selling goods along  
Highways.

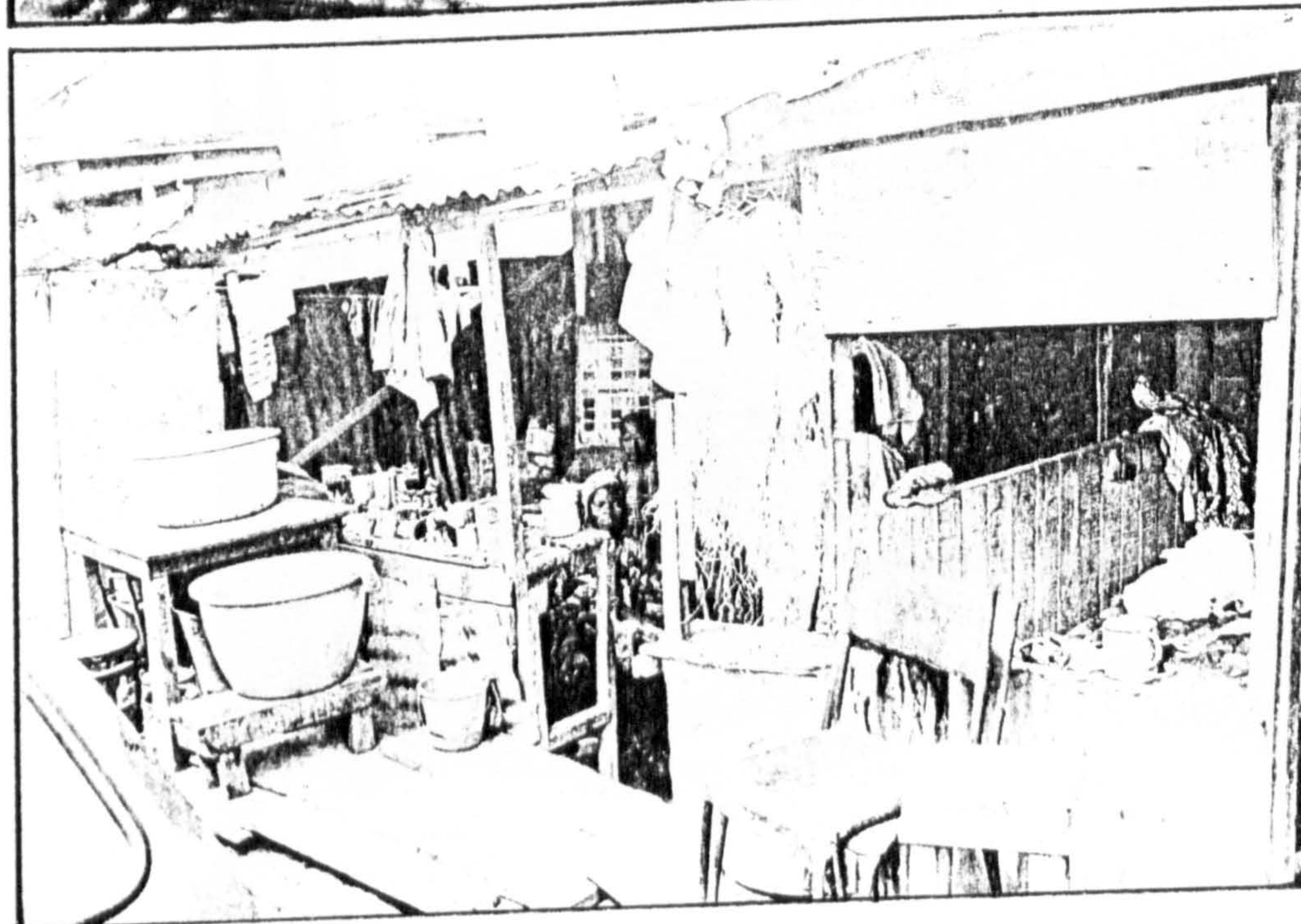


Plate 4

Shop and house in Lagos

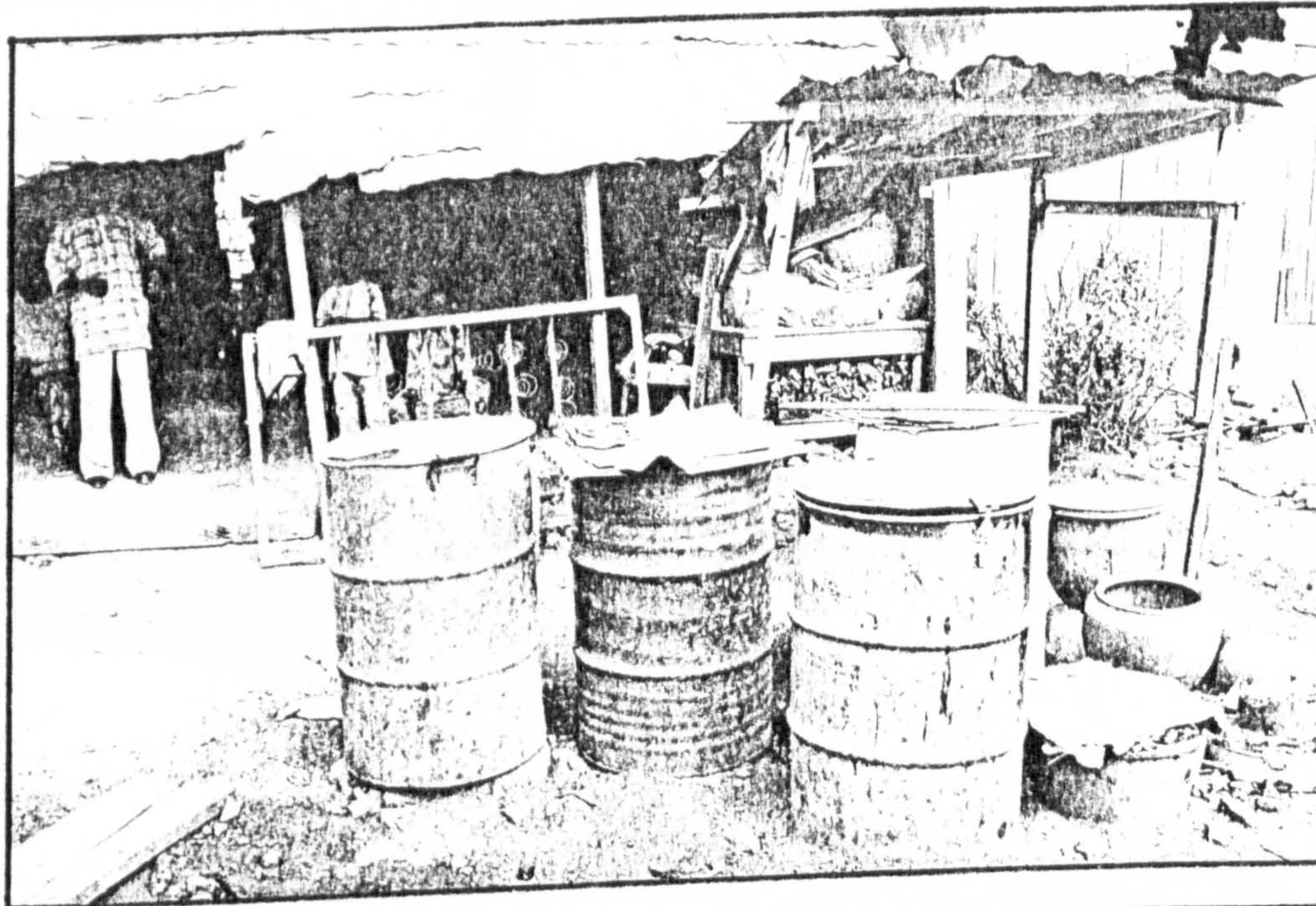


Plate 5

A view from daily  
water reservoir in  
Lagos



Plate 6

A view from an  
old courtyard in  
Lagos.



Plate 7

A pile of garbage  
in front of each  
house

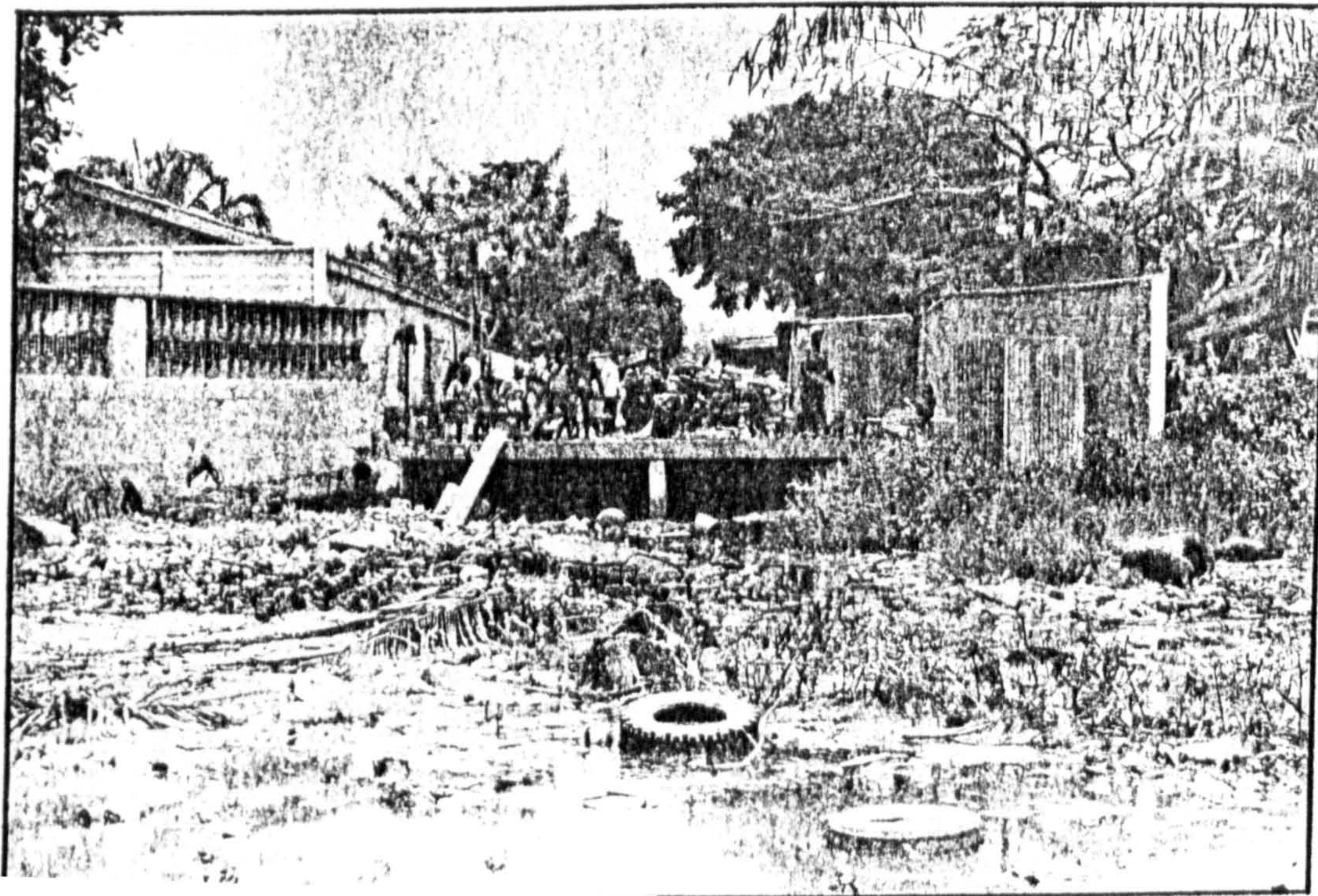


Plate 8

Opened dumps in  
the heart of  
residential area





Plate 9

A view from a public water tap in overcrowded area of Lagos.

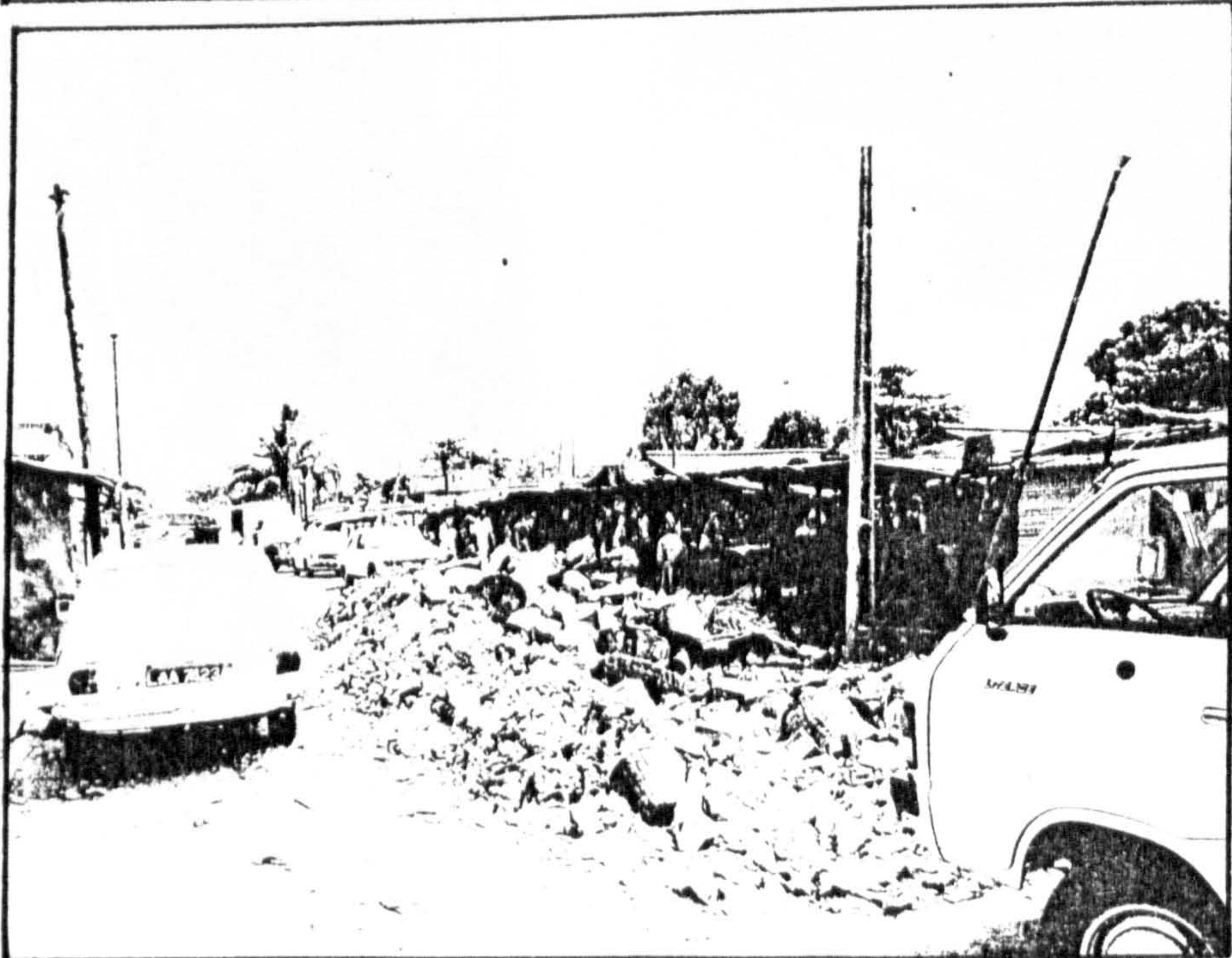


Plate 10

Uncollected garbage in residential neighbourhood.

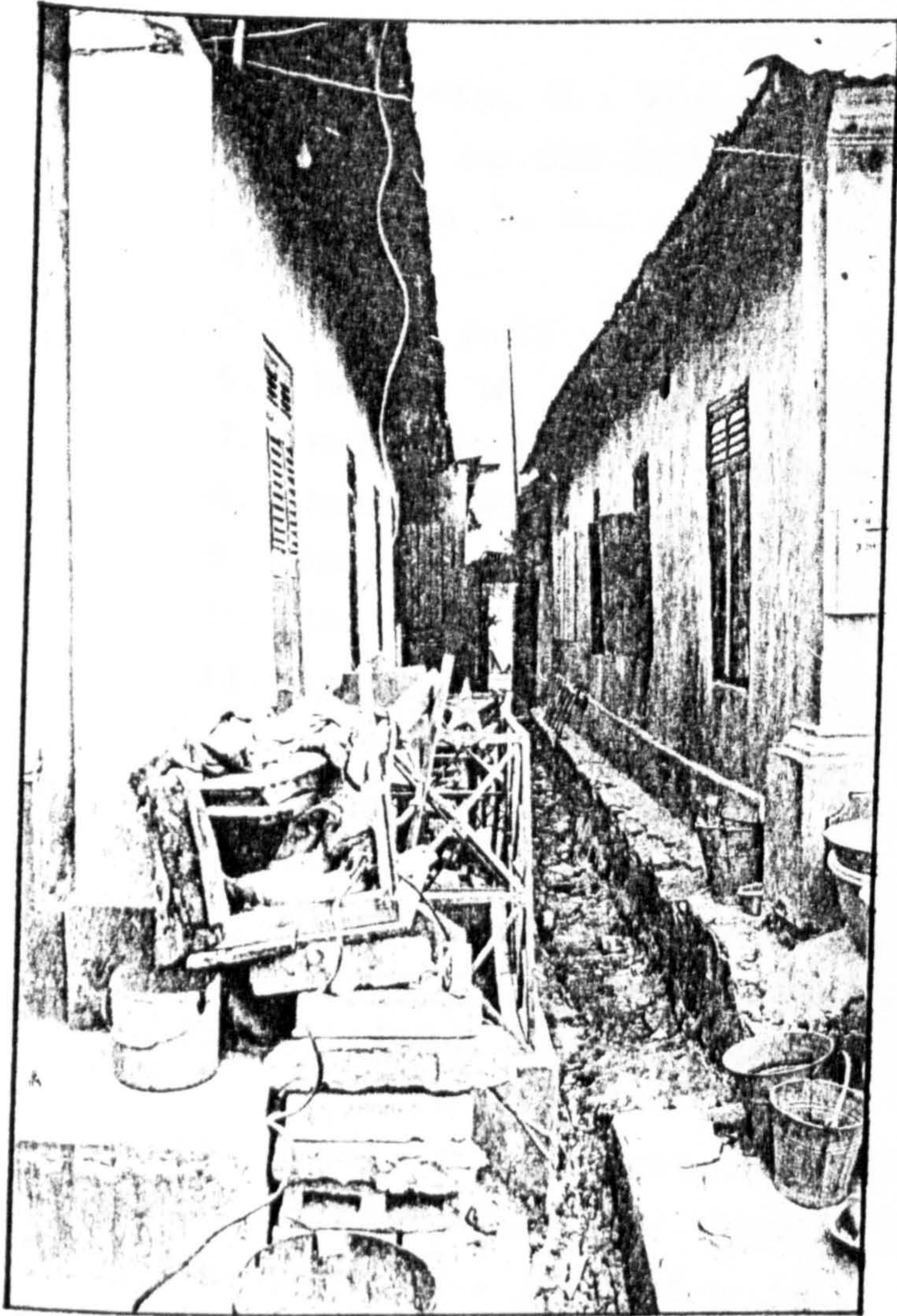


Plate 11 - Typical narrow passage: The main access to residential quarters.

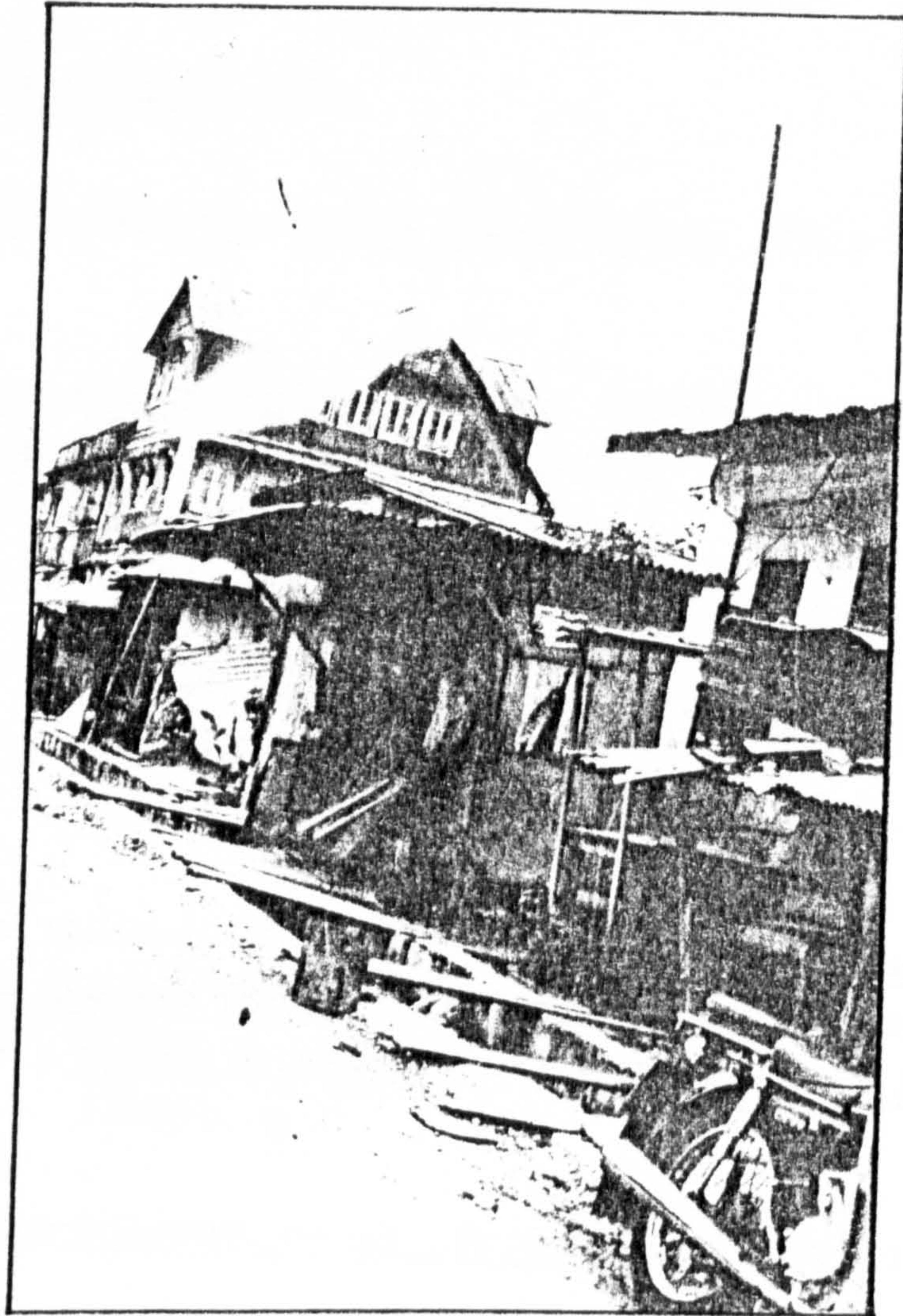


Plate 12 - Open sewage: a typical feature of Lagos.

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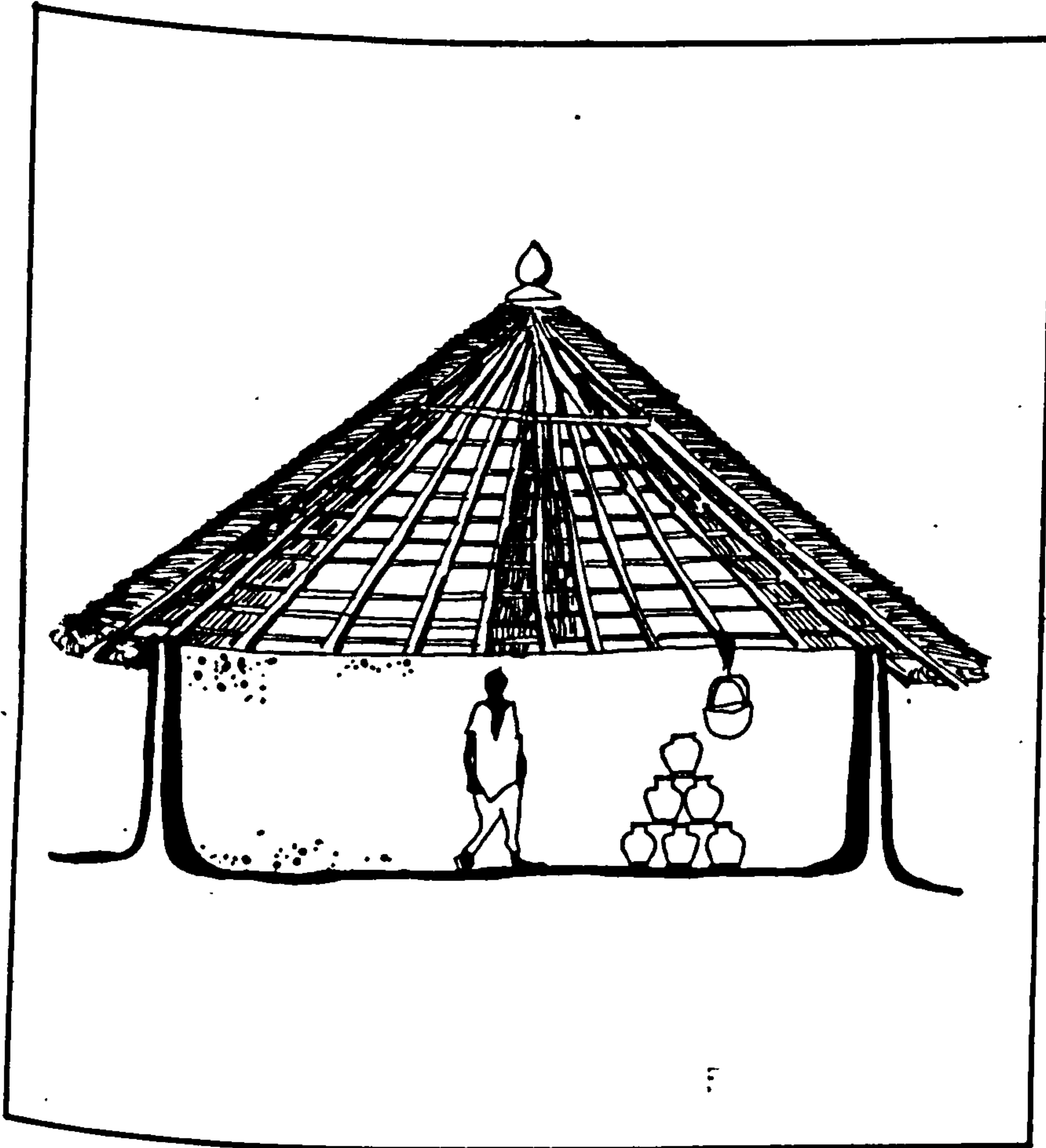
## CHAPTER FOUR

### HISTORY OF HOUSING

#### Traditional Housing

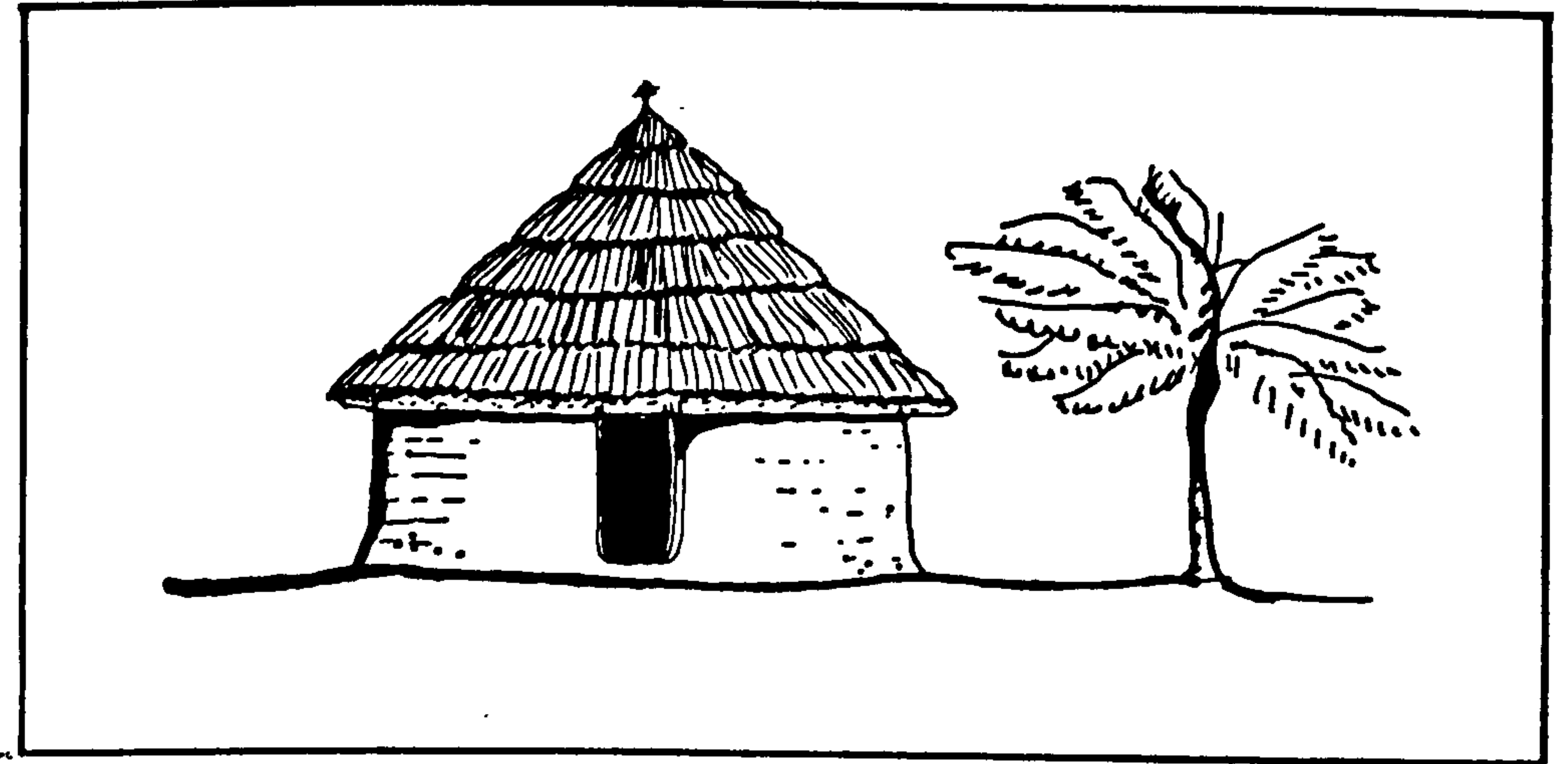
Before the invasion of the Europeans and the return of liberated slaves in the nineteenth century, the type of the houses built by the natives, was dictated by the materials available on the Island. "The choice of material was limited to smelly Lagoon mud, palm-leaves, poles, bamboo, decayed vegetables and clay. As to be expected the type of houses built depended entirely on the social condition and status of the individual. The poorest houses were built of the simplest kind, they were made of mud and covered with palm leaves. Small and oblong in shape, they were without windows and had an opening for a door. The better houses were built of bamboo placed and tied together in a row and in an uproght position so as to serve as walls. The roofs were made of poles covered with palm leaves. Those in the traditional styles have walls about a foot thick in seven layers, each a foot high. The preceding layers are sundried before the next layer is added. Thatch obtained from leaves of the Rafia palm is used for roofing while ribs of the rafia palm are used as lath to support the mud layers. There was also a storage place in the roof."(1) (Figs.41, 42,43)

The visitors of the 1850's, describe the native dwellings of Lagos as square or rectangular buildings of one storey made of mud, with a wall of about 19 inches thick and from seven to nine feet high. Dwelling of a wealthier family was in the form of a compound. "Being essentially Yoruba, the unit of housing among

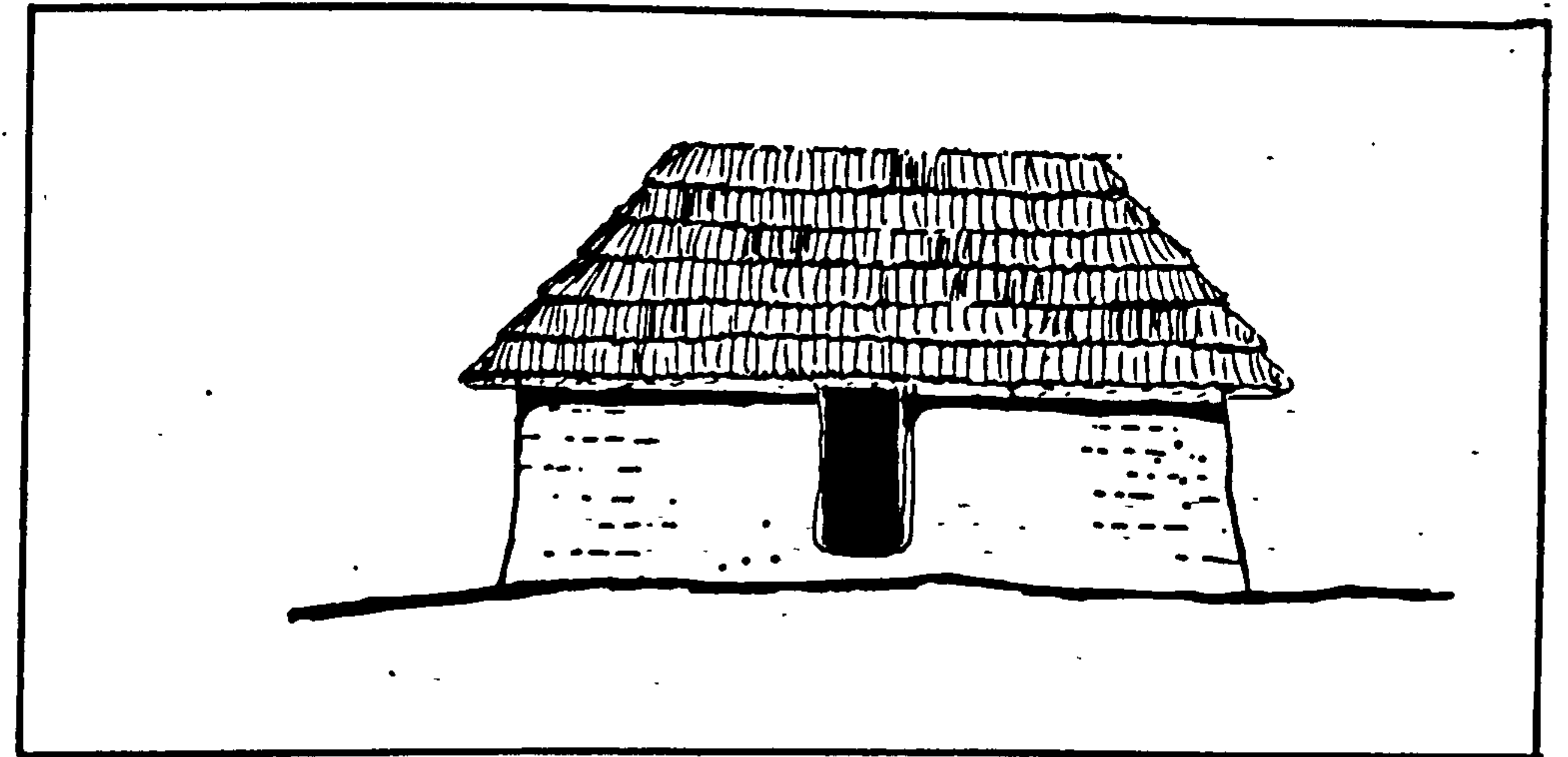


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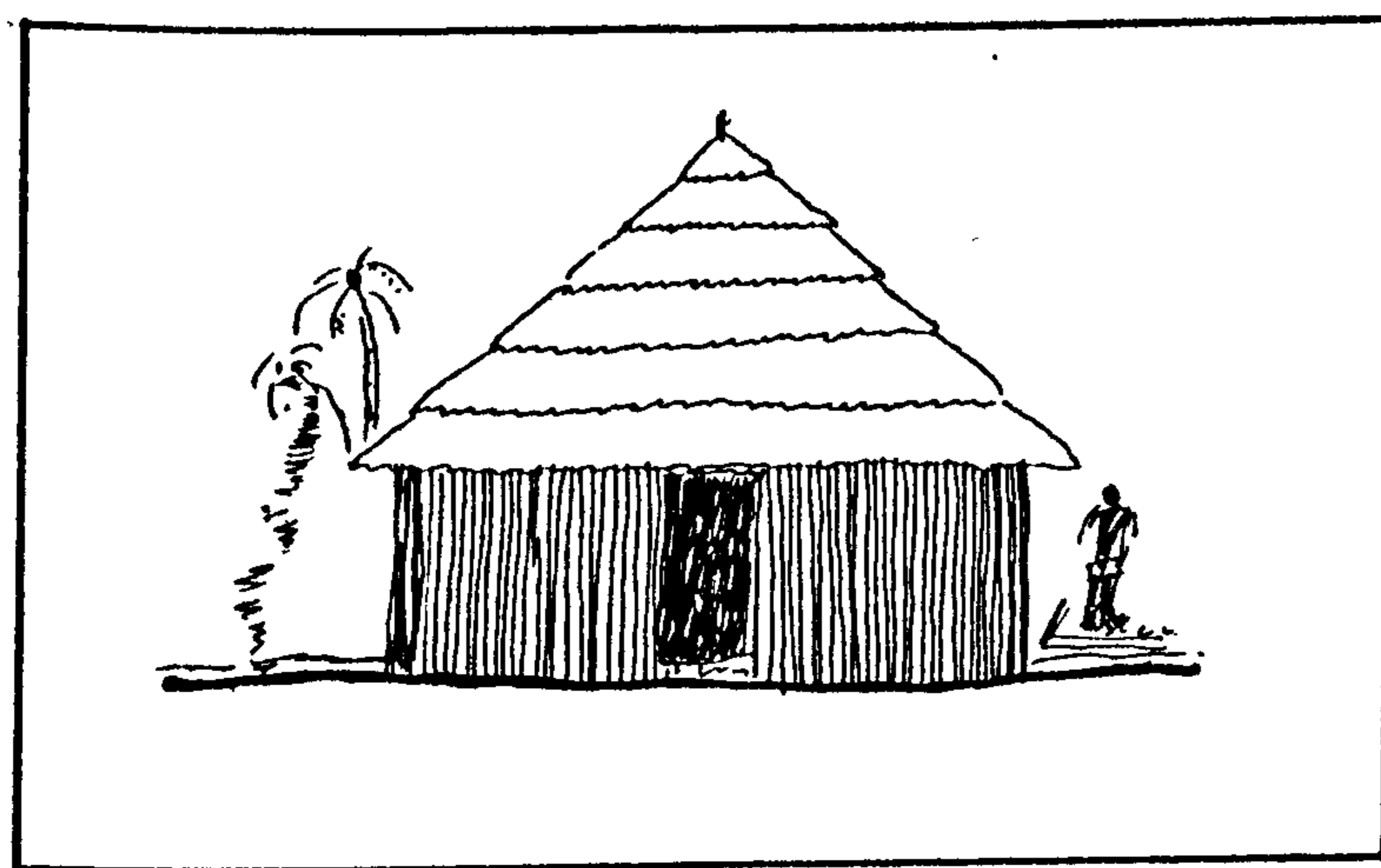
Fig.41 - Traditional Yoruba Mud House



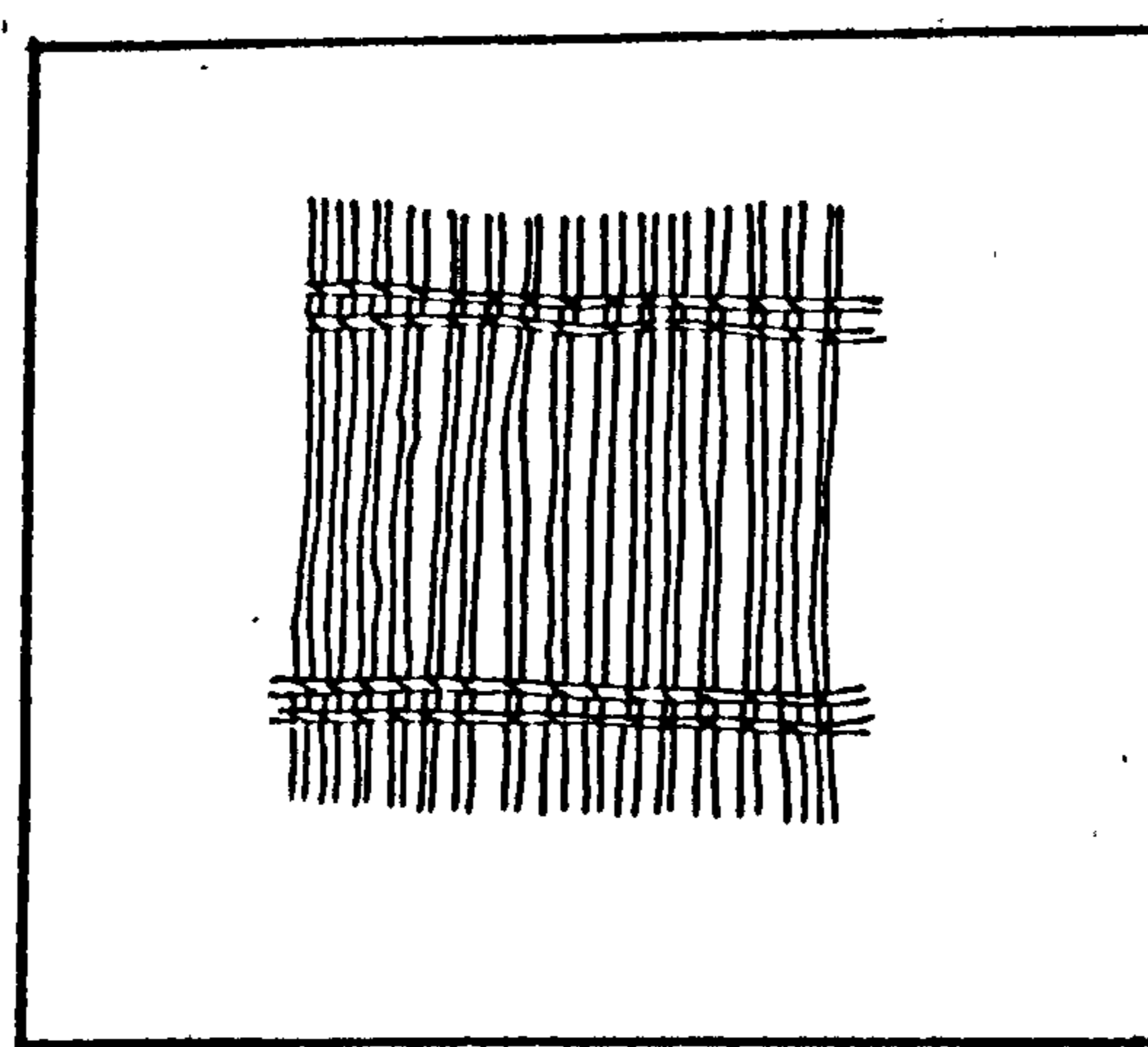
Traditional house (circular plan), diameter equal or bigger than the height, walls made of mud, thatched conical roof.



Traditional house (rectangular plan), thatched saddle back roof, walls made of mud, reinforced by mattle.



Elevation



Detail of bamboo wall

Fig.42 - Traditional house (circular plan) free-standing, walls of bamboo or palm fronds, thatched conical roof.

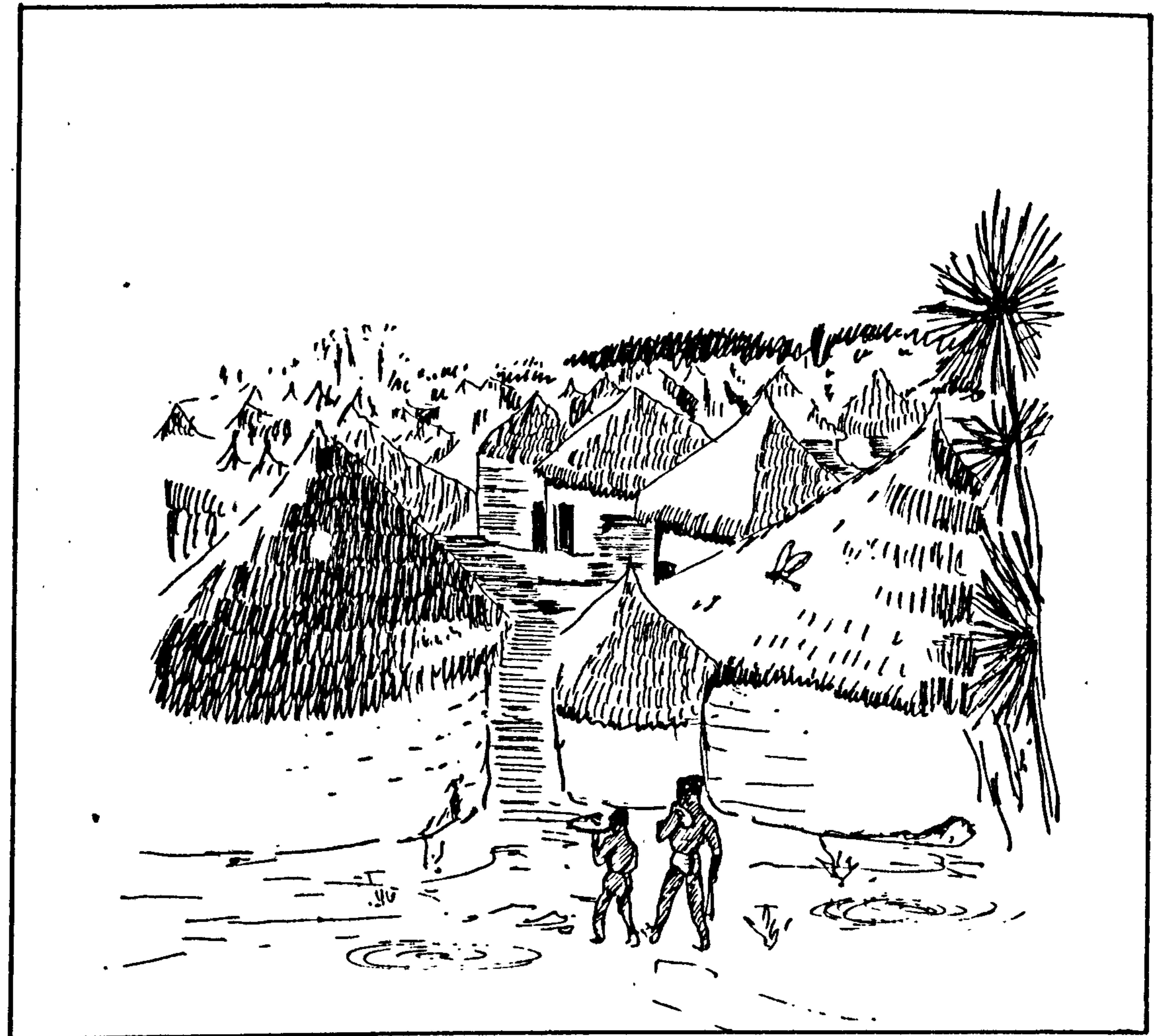


Fig.43 - Traditional Yoruba village



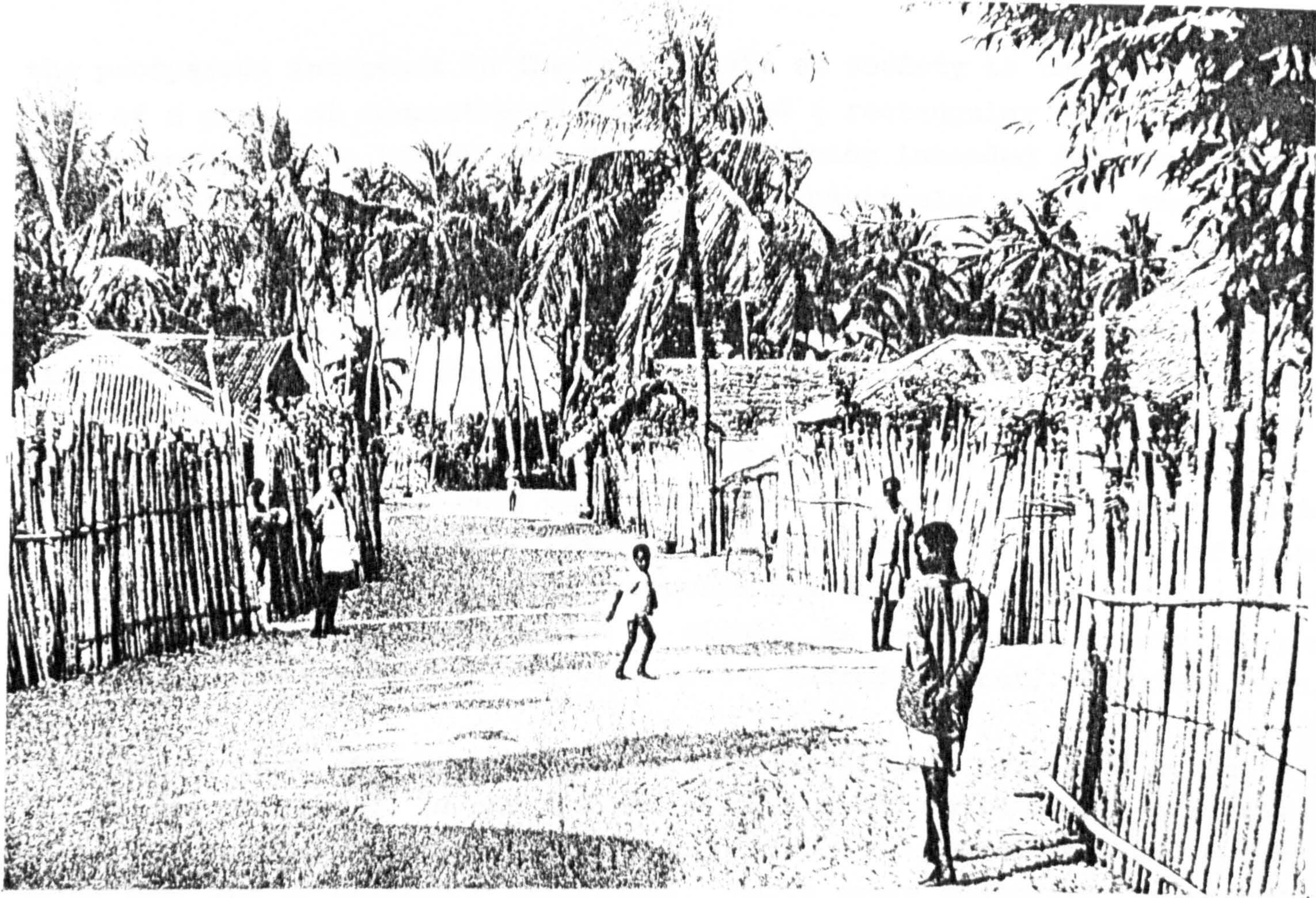


Plate 13 - A village on the south-western coast of Nigeria.  
(Note the use of palm ribs in place of mud as a building materials)

Source: Buchanan, K. M. and Pugh, J. C., (1969)

the prosperous indigenes. in the high strata of society is the compound consisting of a group of compartments built around a rectangular open courtyard."(2) "The compounds were larger than the houses, being intended for the members of an extended family or for the followers of a particular chief. The average one ranged from 30 to 120 feet square. Six to eight feet inside the outer wall ran an inner one, the space between being divided by partitions, six to seven feet apart. The rooms thus formed were roofed with thatch which extended three to six feet over the inner court, thus forming the piazza in which most of the work of the compound was done. Rooms intended for the safekeeping of valuables were double-roofed,<sup>+</sup> the inner one consisting of wooden poles, covered with mud. Most rooms had no windows and only one door. The residents usually slept outside. When cold weather forced them inside and fires were lighted, cases of asphyxiation sometimes occurred."(3)(Fig.44). Compounds had only one gate, opening on to the street, and it was securely closed at night. As the windows gradually opened in some houses and compounds, they were either barred or shut, sometimes both.(4)

"Building a house or a compound was a communal affair, performed by one's friends or, for the wealthier, by one's domestic slaves and those of friends."(5) "Planning the building to be finished and completed with protective roof before the rains set, was of paramount importance. Walls would otherwise be washed away and any lumber left over till the next dry season would be rendered useless through exposure and by white ants."(5) Walls and floors were usually made of mud and vegetable materials were used for roofs. "The mud used in fact was mostly a good type of clay. In Africa the silt content of most used soils is low and this means they are mixtures of varying proportion of sand and clay. They make the soils

+ - thatch roof was very easy to break in.

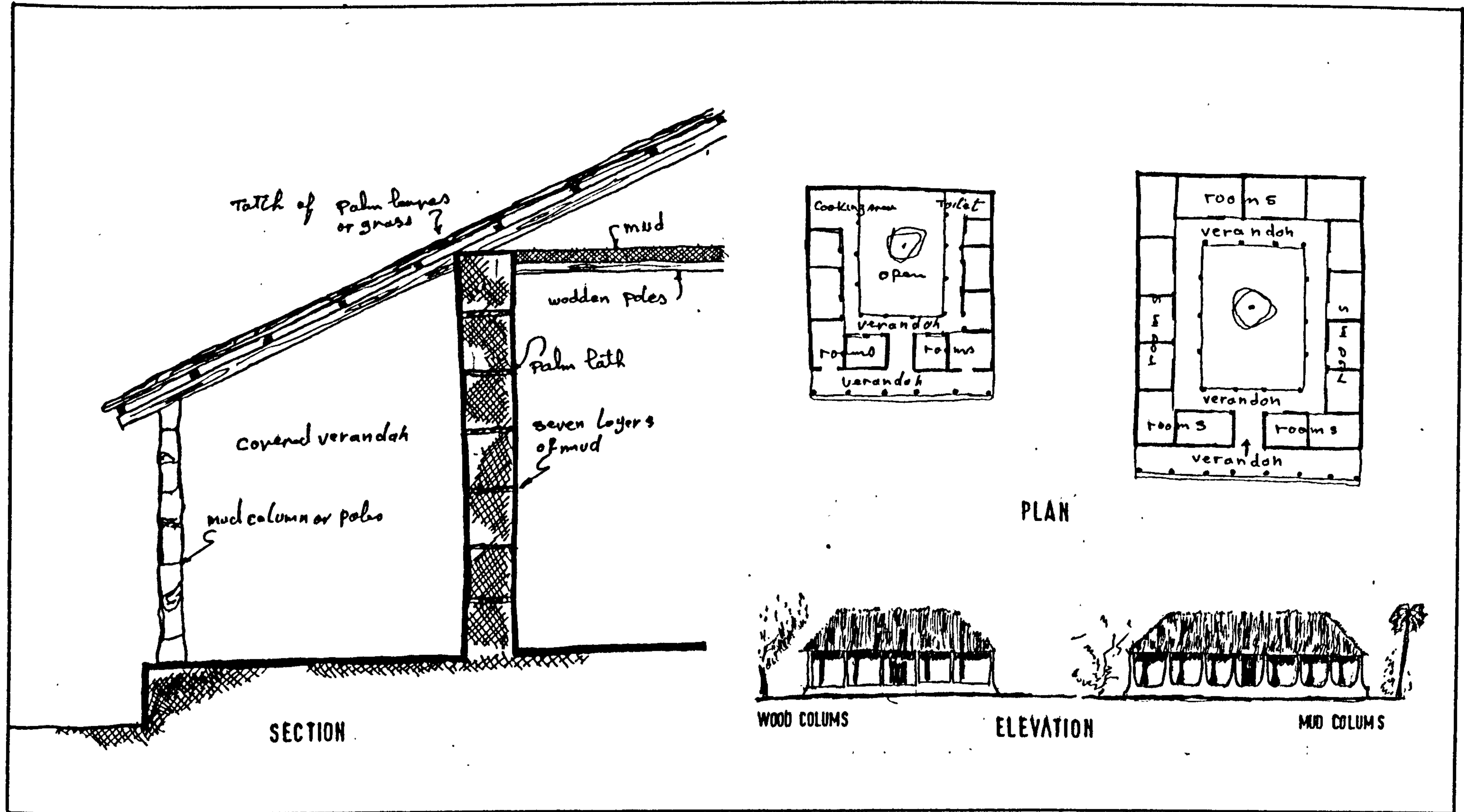


Fig. 44 - Plan and section of a traditional compound.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. and Richards, A. V., 1977.

sticky and the sand gives them strength; so unless the proportion of one of these constituents is very low indeed, mud can be used in one way or another in the construction process."(7)

Surface of the walls, exposed to the weather was usually kept shiny and smooth by washing and rubbing with oil. The walls inside the rooms, especially bedrooms, were plastered with the mixture of mud and straw.(8) "A problem peculiar to the Lagos builders was the scarcity of clay on the Island, which regularly had to be secured from the Lagoon bottom, Iddo Island or Ebute-Metta clay fields on the mainland."(9)

Some houses were also made of African post and plaster, with supported by a framework, in small squares of stout cocoa-rib wattling. Bamboo houses were also built, but the white ants (or termites) guaranteed them a short life expectancy. Despite this disadvantages bamboo was a popular commodity in Lagos, because of the abundant and cheap supply. It was used for temporary shelters of all types: fences, furniture and the inner portion was even used for floating a finish.(10)

The floors in most houses were made of mud, usually mixed with some aggregate and for getting a stronger floor, it was beaten with wooden beater while it was setting. This method is still practiced in rural areas. In some old houses in Lagos the floors, built over sixty or seventy years ago, are perfectly compact and their surface is smooth and hard.

The arrival of British missionaries in the mid nineteenth century and also the arrival of the liberated slaves, mostly from Free Town and Brazil, were the most important factors that influenced building patterns in Lagos. "Within a period of fifty years starting in the mid nineteenth century, three foreign styles made an impression on Nigerian's architectural landscape. These styles, Brazilian, Sierra Leonian and English, were understandably concentrated in the ten existing urban centres, where they have significantly influenced both the house form and the urban form."(11)

#### Space Organization, Architectural Elements and Functions in Traditional Housing

The compound is defined as the most popular and the most traditional architectural element in Yorubaland. "In Yorubaland the houses were built on a courtyard: four rectangular units faced one another, with the roof on the courtyard side, supported by pillars. The places were multiplication of this basic courtyard unit."(12) Compound represents a unique example of the way of living and original construction which corresponds to the Yoruba's historically moderate models of rationalisation, in the function of a symbolically coherent system. (see pp.33-36)

In order to determine the activities of the traditional residence, the physical structure of the compound will be analysed by individualizing its elements through which the relation between the use of form and its function is realised. Structurally, the compound represents a group of buildings of quadrangular shape, placed in succession within one area, open to the centre, where most of the human

activities took place. We have observed in previous chapter that the compound, apart from being a residential unit, was also a place for productive activities. Some of the activities were, of course of a commercial nature, including craft-work which gave a distinctive characteristic to the compound as being the centre of production.

The plan of traditional compound consists of four essential parts, according to their functions:

1. Filter area; the place that separates the building from the street,
2. Private area; the living space for private, domestic activities (the rooms),
3. Polifunctional area; the multifunctional living space for domestic, collective activities: the courtyard,
4. Public area; the space for services, kitchen, latrine and production activities.

All the spaces define the internal volume of the building and are joint at the level of the street. The filter area could be just a simple, perimetral wall or a free zone, representing a verandah, overlooking broadly the street where the main door opened. The private area - the rooms, could be a changeable number of room-buildings, each having its own entrance, placed according to the relation of proximity. The courtyard, where all daily activities were performed by the group in charge of subsistence and production, serves like a route to all private spaces and the service spaces, bringing together at one point all collective manifestations.

The space for service follows in perimeter by pointing out the rooms, but stays separated and independent in itself. The covered passage surrounding the courtyard was the outward expansion of the rooms; within this area the activities were developed to protect its inhabitants from the sun and the rain. The size of a room and its location within the compound depends on the hierarchical structure of the family.

More important is the internal-external relationship between the courtyard and the street and the internal relationship between the room and the courtyard. The filter area is the verandah that enables the inhabitants of the compound to combine their commercial activities with the activities of the compound; the same pattern of life is still being followed in Lagos, where women run their businesses at the front door and at the same time manage to do their housework.

For the inhabitants of the compound, the relationship between the room and compound was very important; a room represents a private space where an individual has privacy, isolated from the rest of the occupants or strangers; while all interactions within the collectivity, in or outside of the family are mediated by the restricted area of the courtyard. A room has another important function. It protects its residents from the negative forces of the nature and from man himself.

Since the indoor privacy for Muslims was the main factor of the residence this form of the compound-house was the most adequate and was fully developed in the northern, mainly Muslim, part of Nigeria.



Plate 14 - Courtyard in village layout.



Fig. 45 - Courtyard in a compound

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, (1977)



The traditional compound comprises series of holes which guaranteed the specific circulation and ventilation of the air through the rooms towards the entrance door. The idea of introducing the windows was copied from the West. The most important element of the space, the one that defies the compound as such was the courtyard, which was not an architectural element but a functional space; a place that was the centre of all collective and individual interactions for domestic and commercial purposes.

A compound was an essential urban element. Apart from its internal organisation, it also referred to the outer space, permitting a freedom of gathering with other compounds. The activities within the compound were mainly productive, not just consuming; (see page 38); these activities were dispersed inside the residence without altering its symbolic or particular character. But, the residence remains the multifunctional and relatively autonomous structure of the compound. The compound was a social unit which was formed to satisfy the social needs of its users. The existence of courtyard as a semi-private space in the centre of the building, maximizes the opportunity of interaction where the private areas at preference could satisfy personal needs. Within the compound there were excitement, vitality and variety that can not be achieved in today's urban life, unless with high population density.

The structural break-up of the compound, due to the diminished importance of the courtyard as a social structure, coincides with the birth and rise of nuclear family. New family structures and modifications in means and relations of production, consequently led to the destruction of traditional architectural models.

Mabogunji describes the effect of economic progress on social change in Yorubaland and remarks that: "Increasingly varied exports of palm oil, palm kernel, cocoa, groundnuts and cotton had served to put substantial sums of money in the hands of many individuals. However, the economic progress of individuals did not mean uniform progress among all members of an extended family. Differences of income and wealth began to give rise to differences in tastes, standards of living and expectations. It was more visibly reflected in the strains and stresses which were imposed on the form and design of the compounds. As with the enclosure of movement in British agriculture in the nineteenth century, the 'improving' members of the family were anxious to break up the compound and to enclose and improve their position of it."(13)

This transformation in architectural systems which occurred in response to the social change, are far more dimensional than the traditional compound of the pre-colonial time. As it was stated before, the arrival of British missionaries and the liberated slaves were another important factors in changing the homogeneity of Yoruba architecture and urbanism. British missionaries introduced a new principle of family organization - the nuclear family. The existing space was modified according to a new model of family organization; the whole compound was no longer necessary for living, one room was enough to accommodate the nuclear family and the density rose. The influence of missionaries in changing the society should be considered as an important factor, since they were not only involved in introducing Christianity to native people but also in various social activities. "They concerned themselves with healing bodies as well as saving souls - indeed, both often seemed equally urgent tasks for men of goodwill

and Christian charity; so that in association with mission stations there grew up dispensaries and hospitals, followed shortly afterwards by schools for training nurses and dressers, and other medical personnel. Here the medical side of missionary work coincided with a third vitally important side, the education task, so to church a hospital was added. Schools needed books and other equipment, so that the work of missions was further extended now into industrial and commercial fields, and in many places missions initiated and controlled printing works, bookshops and workshops where educational materials (such as school furniture) were manufactured. And in some places it came to be felt that an economic underpinning was necessary if native converts were to be able to lead a Christian family life. To care properly for a family, a man had to be able to afford a house with minimum sanitary and hygienic arrangements, such as soap and mosquito nets; to do this required a command over resources well above the subsistence level of traditional economy, so that many missions became involved in what they termed an 'industrial' side, with training men to be skilled craftsmen and so to command a better wage."(14) For example, in 1863, American Babbtist Mission established brick kiln in Iddo Island. This example followed by other missionary bodies and finally by the Government, resulting into the construction of many brick buildings.(15)

However, with the destruction and change of the traditional living space, the new urban network has been modified; the modification that found its explanation in economic changes and in the changes of means of production.

"With the wealth derived from trade, many Yoruba families have abandoned their

traditional single-storied, narrow-roomed courtyard houses for two or three - storey buildings, roofed with corrugated iron. The later have been developed from a house type introduced in the last century by former slave from Brazil."(16)

The sudden rise of economic prosperity, the stable political situation (because of the existance of British administration) and also the existance of skilled labour (liberated slaves from Brazil) brought about a social reform in Lagos in which the most important change was in the field of architecture, especially in the form of housing development.

Although the idea of building a single unit accommodation was new to the Yoruba concept of traditional life, it did not totally contradict with the function and space organization of traditional housing. This style that brought about an important architectural transformation of the traditional types of houses had not come from Africa, but was adopted according to Yoruba concept of life. Historically, the "Brazilian House" is the architectural experience of liberated slaves inspired by the Portuguese houses in Brazil, who came back to Lagos after the abolition of slavery in 1807. In architectural terms the experience can be translated as the formal concretisation of the "Brazilian" model of residence, integrated in the Yoruba architectural concept, assimilated but still intact in its own structure. The first example of such architecture in Lagos is evidence of the symbolic aspect of residence and introduces the importance of different classes, "bourgeoisie" in embrio, that could, in an integrated system, be domesticated in space and time.

### Modification in Traditional Housing (Brazilian Style)

The Portuguese explorers of Brazil, unlike the Portuguese Explorers of Lagos Island who did not find any interest in annexing the Island, settled down on the new land and mixed up with the indigenous people.

"In 1500, the Portuguese discoverer found only the primitive huts of the Indians. But he had brought with him his share of living culture then at its highest point of energy, and he soon set about transplanting it to the rich and varied land he had conquered. Within four years the first house of stone and mortar was built in Rio de Janeiro. In less than a century some villages had become towns of hundreds of houses, built as much as possible in the Portuguese way. The growth of the private houses kept step with the growth of the clauses that ruled the colonies: first, in the north, the houses of the sugar cane cultivators appeared; later, to the south, in Sao Paulo, those of planters, and in the state of Minas Gerais ('General Menes') those of wealthy miners. The patriarchal 'big house' was the symbol of a rural aristocracy, a small, feudal-like domain, bringing together around the main house the slave quarters, chapel, kitchen, a separate guest room for the occasional traveller, - all the elements essential to as self-sufficient a way of life as possible in the lonely immensities of the new continent. Men were brought from across the sea: later on, African slaves by the thousands and European artisans: materials too, such as the famous blue and white Portuguese tiles and even building stones, since the colonisers were unused to the native resources and little by little a technique suited to the scanty and rudimentary means of the colony was formed. The French and the Dutch invaders,

during their brief and insecure tenures of Portuguese territory, contributed something of their own national building style. For example, the two-storey building, which had first appeared in Salvador (Bahia) as a result of a growing city aristocracy, seems to have taken on, further to the north, in Recife under the Dutch, a special character: more dense, compact and vertical: possibly an echo of the tall, narrow, waterfront house of Holland.

By the early nineteenth century a style of building clearly related to its materials had been worked out and, because of the social and economic conditions, had attained the utmost technical simplicity. Within the primitive means at the master workman's disposal, in buildings where circumstances permitted something more exalted than a house of (wattle and adobe), and in which a more erudite architecture was already taking the place of traditional popular architecture, a style had been defined, severe, solid and unadorned. It well expressed the sever and clear-cut social structure: the supremacy of man, the almost oriental segregation of women, and, supporting the whole, the exploitation of Negros and the Indians."(17)

The above quotation is a brief picture of Brazil, the country from which most of its liberated slaves came back to West Africa, with a sound knowledge of craftsmanship and experience in trade and business. They settled on the costal side of Nigeria, in Republic of Benin (former Dahomey) and Togo. The steady flow of these immigrants to Lagos was during the 1850s. "The immigrants were either emmanipated Yoruba slaves from Brazil and Cuba, or liberated captives from Sierra Leone. The former slaves, known as Agudas, had learnt a trade during

their life of bondage and acquired skill particularly in bricklaying, carpentry and cabinet making and after getting their emancipation they pooled their resources and chartered the ship that brought them to Lagos. The latter known as Saros, were saved from slavery by the British Navy and given the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education and absorbing Western Civilisation."(18)

The Saros settled at the west end of the Island in areas of Breadfruit and Olowogbowo. They introduced row houses which were built on small lots of 12m to 6m and were characterised by the street front entry, parlour orientation and a shop. Some of these houses are still in existence in Yaba and Olowogbowo area, especially around Olówogbowo Church.

The Agudas settled on the area which was known as Portuguese Town and later on known as Brazilian Quarter.(19) It was mainly at this part of the Island that the Brazilian style of houses were built and influenced the traditional architecture. It was noticed that this style of house (Brazilian) was not derived from any type of traditional African model, but based on the evolution of Portuguese colonial residence in Brazil, as an architectural testimony of an initiative towards diverse (non-traditional) cultural direction.

The motivation for this stimulus towards "autonomy" can be described as follows:

1. - From the political point of view; they tried to identify their political power through the introduction of different architectural models, since they were accepted as strangers to their innitial fatherland. "Whether they were repatriates from Brazil and the Americas, ... most of these men were

proficient in a trade; a good number had acquired an appreciably high standard of education and of cultural sophistication; almost all of them were Christians. They thus constituted themselves into a unique community maintaining ties with the Yoruba homeland, and yet sharing a great deal with the small but prominent and prosperous expatriate community. As Governor Molony put it in his reply to the address of the repatriate Brazilians, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations, their acquisition of professional and vocational training made them 'admirable', valuable and necessary centres for the diffusion among their less developed fellow countrymen in Yorubaland of the enlightenment and civilization which, however cruelly acquired, are notwithstandingly theirs."(20)

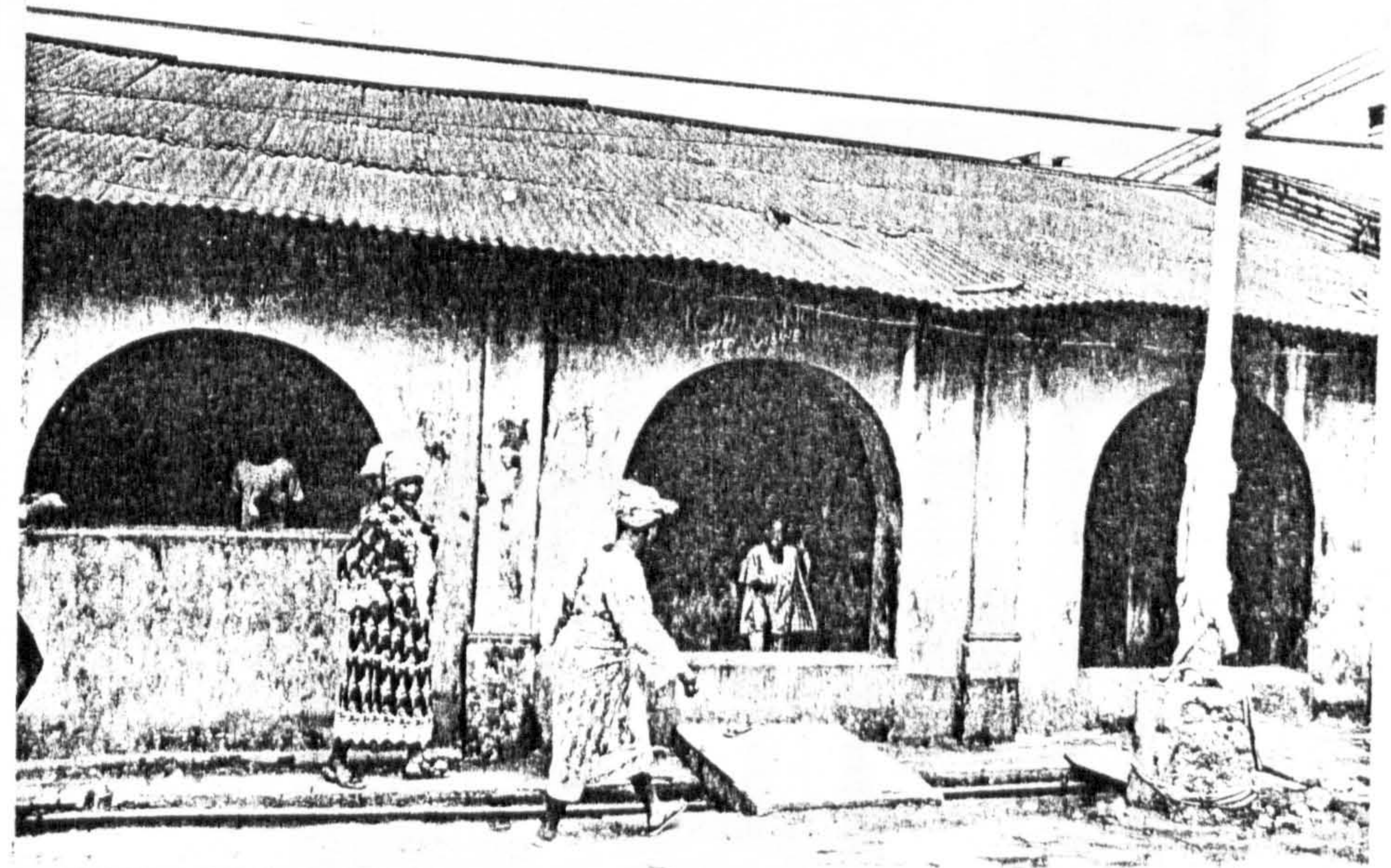
2. - From the architectural point of view these emancipated slaves found an extraordinary similarity in the Yoruba and Brazilian ways of spacial organization. Structurally, the Brazilian House represents a building for residential purpose in which architectural elements are articulated to distinguish one element from the other, and from the city planning point of view, since they had come from the country (Brazil) where the first municipal legislation was introduced in the late seventeenth century (21), they respected the neighbourhood urban network of Lagos. The distinguished feature of this style was the use of numerous ornamental frills on doorways, windows, pillars, balconies and verandah, as well as the application of bright colours to the house.(22)

The exercise of this symbolic power, represents the historical beginning of a





View from Oshodi Street



House No. 164 Bangbase Street

Plate 15 - The influence of Portuguese style in the late  
nineteenth century



- (above) - A view from Igbo Road (Brazilian Quarter)
- (below) - A view from a part of Oshodi Rd. (Brazilian Quarter)

Notice the similar use of material, direct opening of the house into the street, the treatment of windows and doors' frame and low pitched roof.



Old Street, Sao Luis, Maronkao, Brazil in early 19th century.

Source: Medlin, H. E., (1956)

Plate 16 - The influence of Brazilian Architecture in Lagos.



Plate 17 - Brazilian House in Lagos, Nouwasa St., Central Lagos

series of successful changes in Lagos. "The bamboo huts and mud houses, all thatch-roofed, gave way to brick houses roofed with either zinc or tiles.<sup>†</sup> Ballroom dancing became the fad; 'Correta' and 'Meboy' parades were the main attractions at Easter and Christmas."(23)

In the Brazilian Houses in Lagos the internal elements of the building, according to their functions can be defined as follows:

- 1.) the area that separates and isolates the residential zone from the street (filter area)
- 2.) the area for private (residential) and domestic activities, (the rooms)
- 3.) the area used for collective activities, (the patio and the corridor)
- 4.) the area used as passage, (stairs, corridors and portico)
- 5.) the service area, (kitchen, W.C.)

These elements vary in dimension and organization and according to their diverse distribution four types of Brazilian style of houses are created:

A - The first type is a single storey, two roomed building, in the form of detached or semi-detached house, which in contrast with the compound institutionalises a nuclear family. The minimum unit is a structure with rectangular plan where the space is divided into two rooms, separated by a wall with a door in the middle. The activities carried out in these two areas resembles those that are carried out in bed-room and living room - the night and the day area. We can perceive the same division in the compound, having a mobile element

<sup>†</sup> imported materials.

(usually curtains) which divided the room into two areas: the area with access to the courtyard and the area with no access to the outside, which made it exclusively private.

The difference between those two types, Brazilian and traditional, is the public character of living-room in the Brazilian type, while in the traditional compound it is only the characteristic of the courtyard. The first room was the entrance to the house, the kitchen and the living room, and the second room was private and had the function of a bed room.

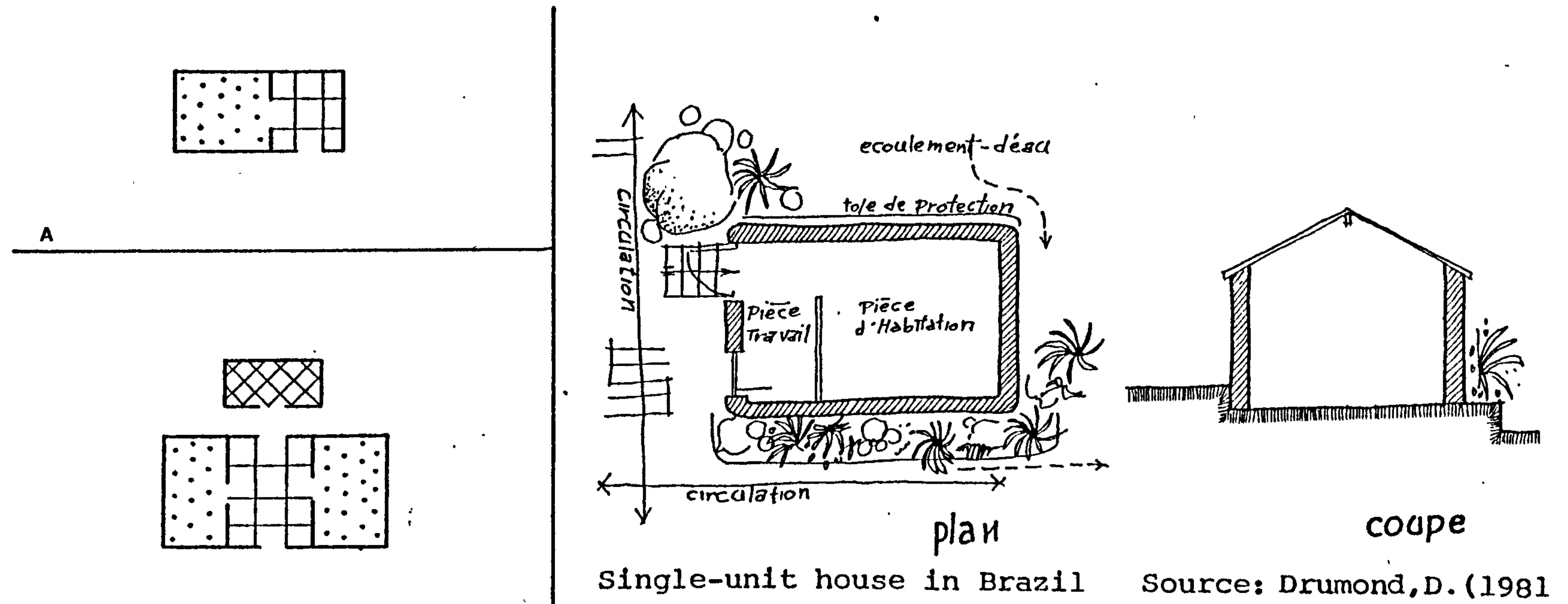
Further development of this type of Brazilian House in Lagos was a free standing complex building, which was the result of symmetrical aggregation of small units, each one made of a single room, approximately 4m X 5m in size, with a corridor in the middle, functioning as a living space. Each room has a small window opening out to the narrow passage at both sides of the building. The kitchen is just a separate building space across the yard and the service area is at the corner of the backyard. The corridor is the place for collective activities and communal living, like the courtyards in the traditional Yoruba compound. The adoption of this new model represents a unique example of the architectural evolution that was not mediated by European influence. A changeable characteristic was the size of the house, that depended on the number of persons living in it. Generally, the common size was a unit of four rooms (two to each side of the corridor). This limit was surpassed in the course of time, when the population increased and each room was to accommodate one family. The building became longer, accommodating up to five rooms at each side of the corridor, and the corridor

became narrower and functioned as transitional space. Cooking was carried out usually inside the room, but in some houses there was a common kitchen at the end of the corridor, attached to the building.(Fig.46)

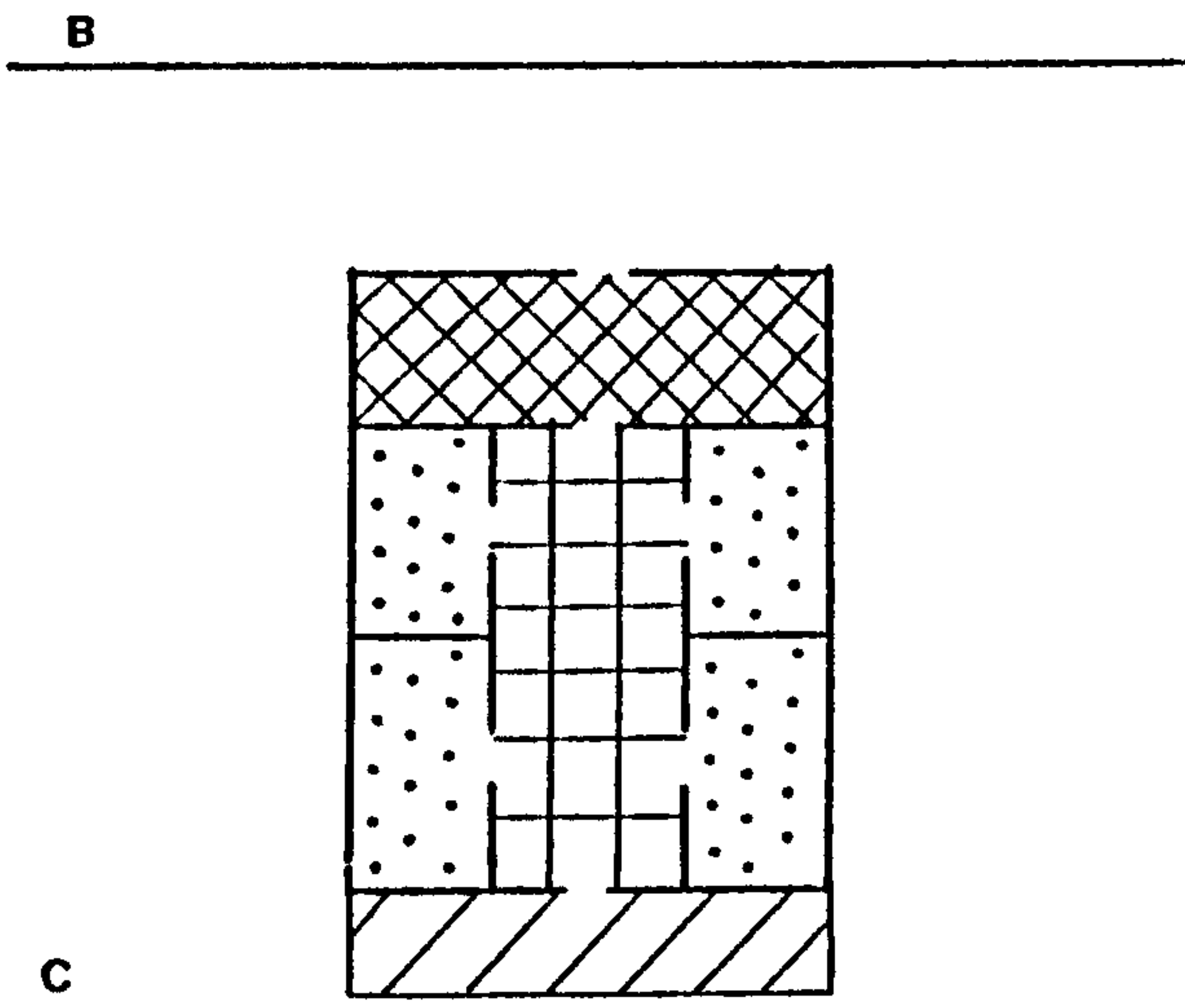
B - The immediate follower to the detached house, was the two storey house, both having the same plan, but the last one had the stairs located at the rear or in front of the building, similar to a particular type of the house in Brazil. Drummond, (1981) (24), describes the type of the house in Rio de Janeiro as follows: "To understand better the benefits acquired by the owners, through this construction we have to observe the interior space. At every level, a big room of 5m x 10m is divided into eight rooms, of 4m<sup>2</sup> each. With a central corridor in the middle each of these isolated rooms is divided from one another by a simple closure of planks up to two meters high. Each room belongs to one family. At each level there is a projected volume; these are collective sanitations. The cooking is done individually, in each room." The only difference between this type of the house in Brazil and the one in Lagos was in the method of construction and materials.

This type of the house (Two Storey) must have belonged to the second generation of the immigrants, who by this time had taken over the trade market and became rich, which enabled them to build their own houses, similar to those of the Brazilian class of traders.

"A characteristic feature of the houses belonging to immigrant merchants is the use of ground floor as shops and offices. This they shared in common with Euro-



Single-unit house in Brazil Source: Drumond, D. (1981)







-  MULTIFUNCTIONAL AREA
-  PRIVATE AREA
-  SERVICE AREA
-  FILTER AREA

Fig. 46 - The development of Brazilian style single storey house.



House No. 19, Oyegun St., Mushin



Oshodi Street, Central Lagos

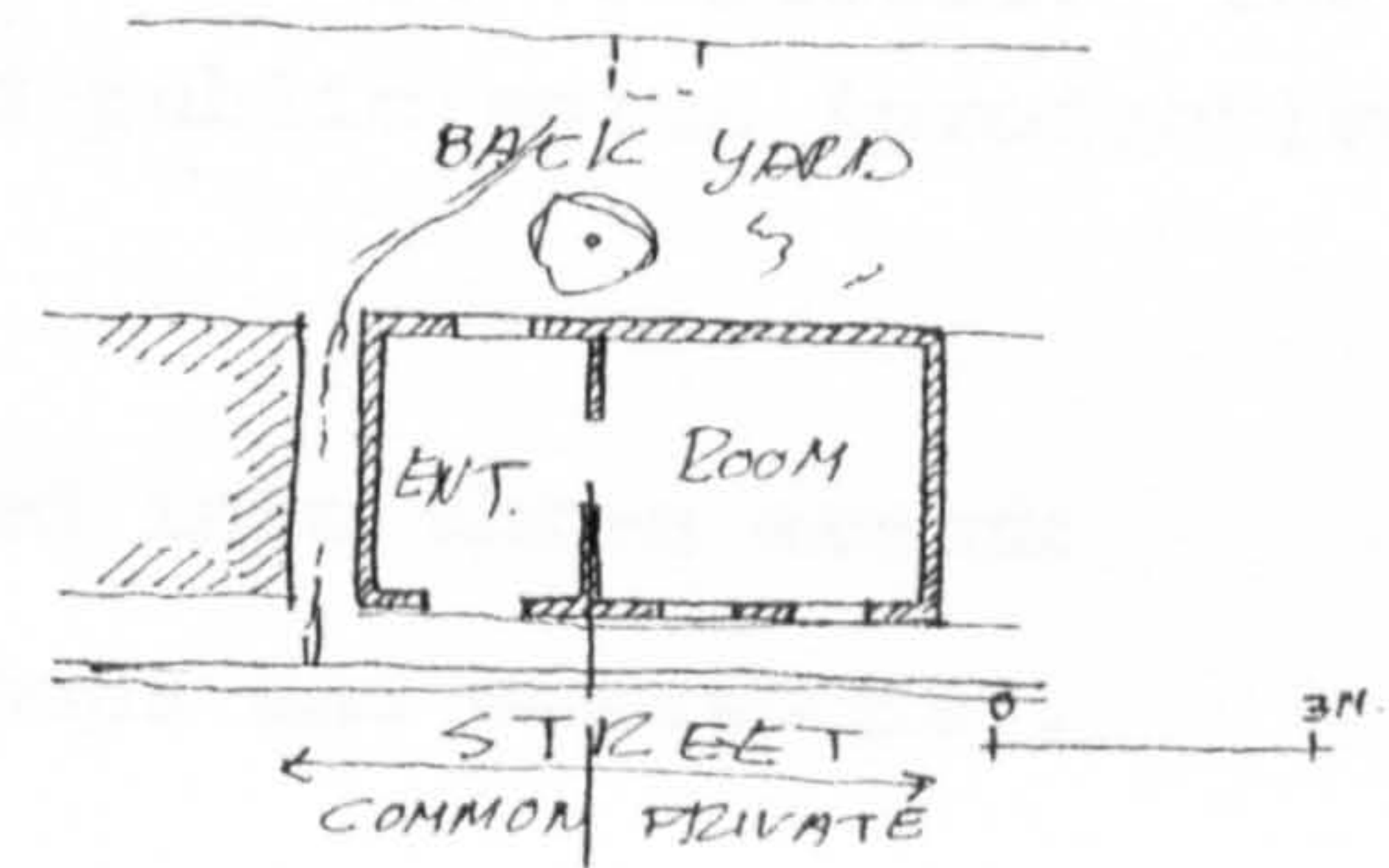
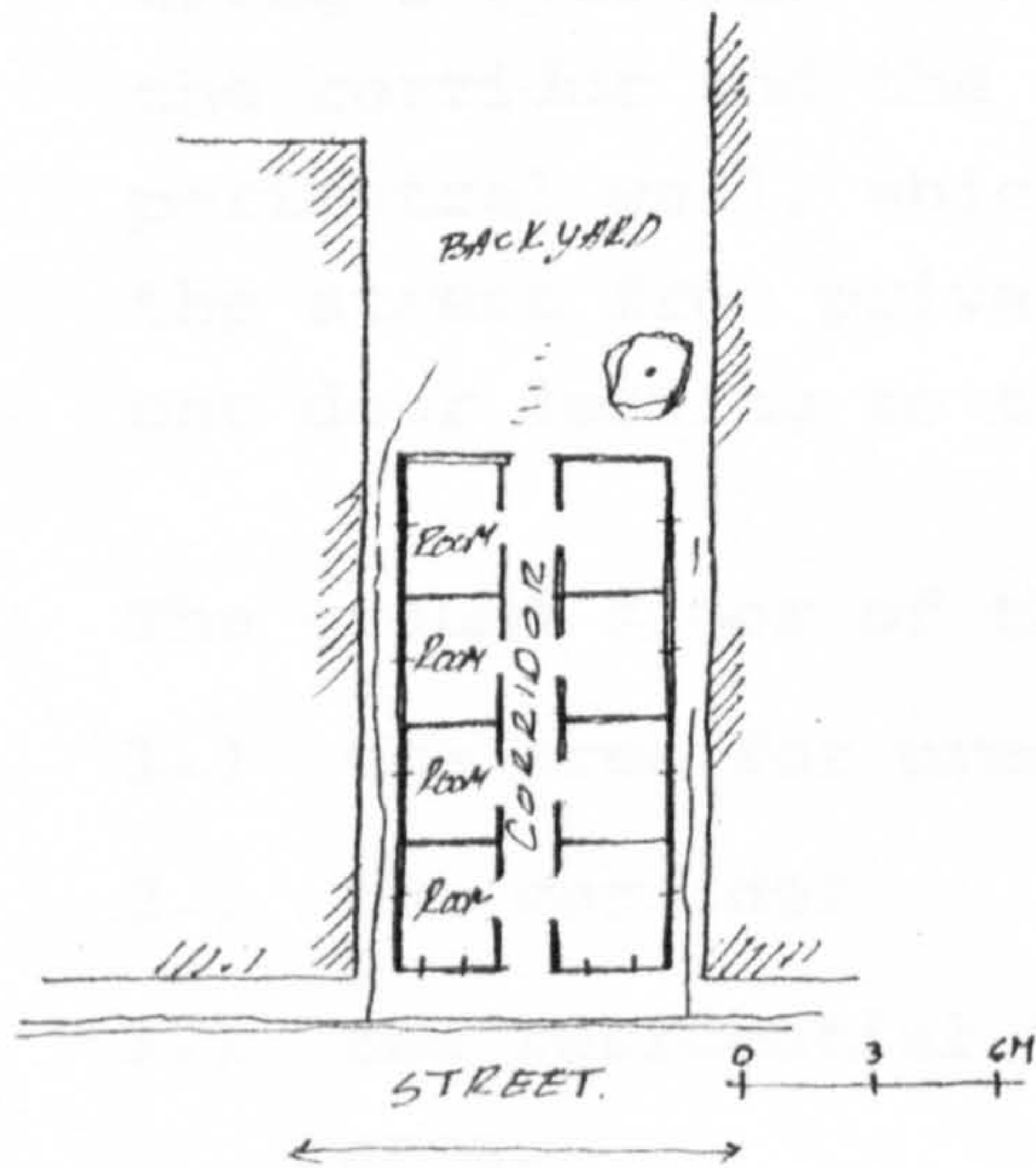


Plate 18 - Single storey Brazilian house in Lagos



pean traders who first arrived on the Island in 1852. ... they had their stores and offices on the ground floor of their two storey buildings with overhanging wooden balconies on the first floor where they lived. On the other hand, when European firms established on the Island, their houses were built on the same pattern without balconies."(25)

The introduction of a completely new element, like the stairs, intervened into the internal distributive organization. All the houses of this type have the stairs in close relationship with the entrance, through the corridor, confirming its double function: to connect the adjacent and upper space (the rooms) and also to act as a living-room. In the symmetrical type of plan, the stairs stretched along a spacious corridor, and when the entrance was placed asymmetrically from the corridor and the facade, the stairs followed the corridor along the external perimetral wall, which defined the width of the corridor itself. The access to the street from private space (residence) and public space (productive) was through one door leading to the street.(Fig.47)

The ground floor of these buildings is divided into three areas:

- 1.) the area for productive activities - "shops and workshops",
- 2.) the corridor
- 3.) the residential terrace - "rooms for women and children", including service area.

The first floor was usually the residence of the head of the family, when the street level was reserved for productive activities.

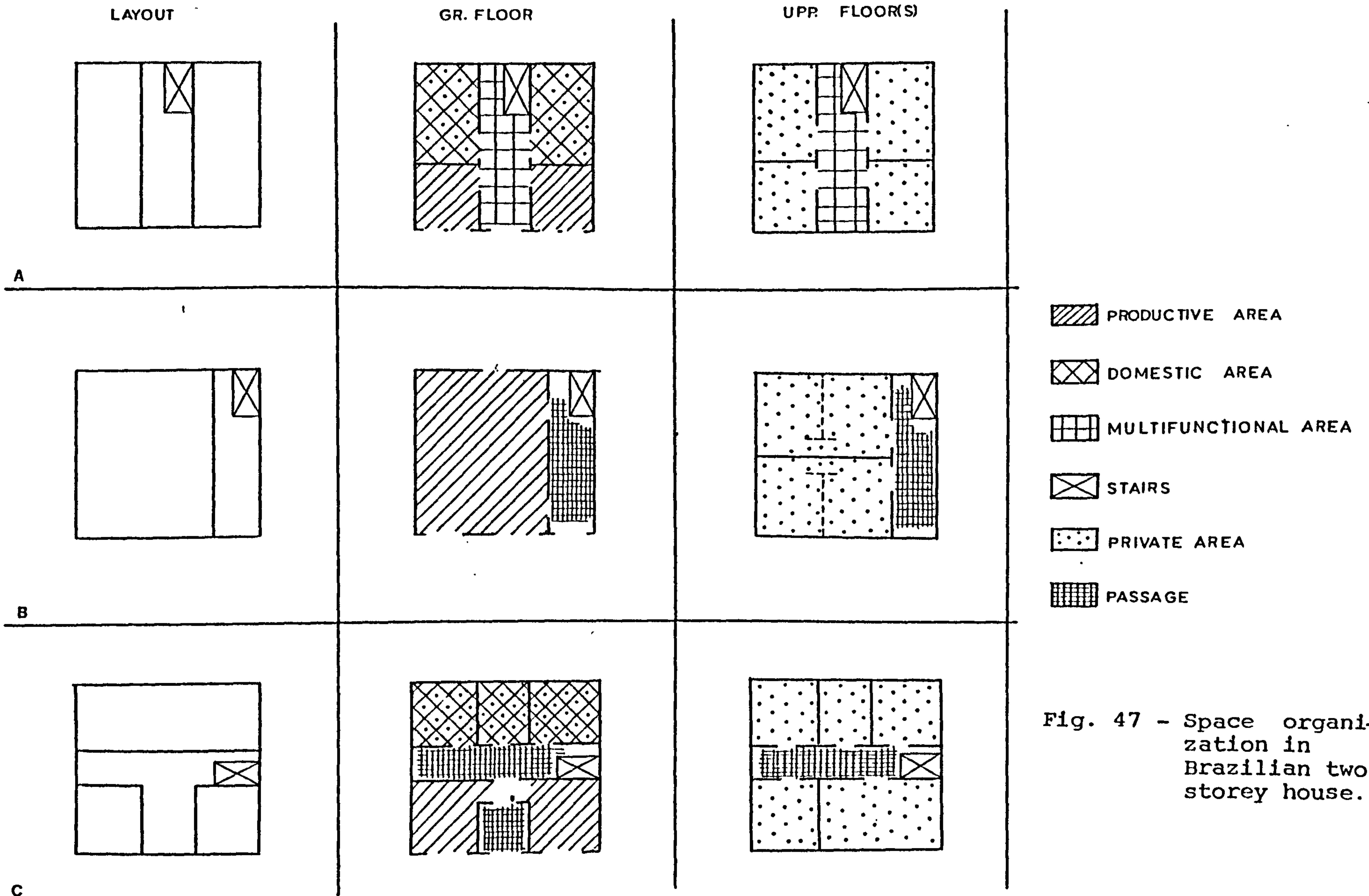
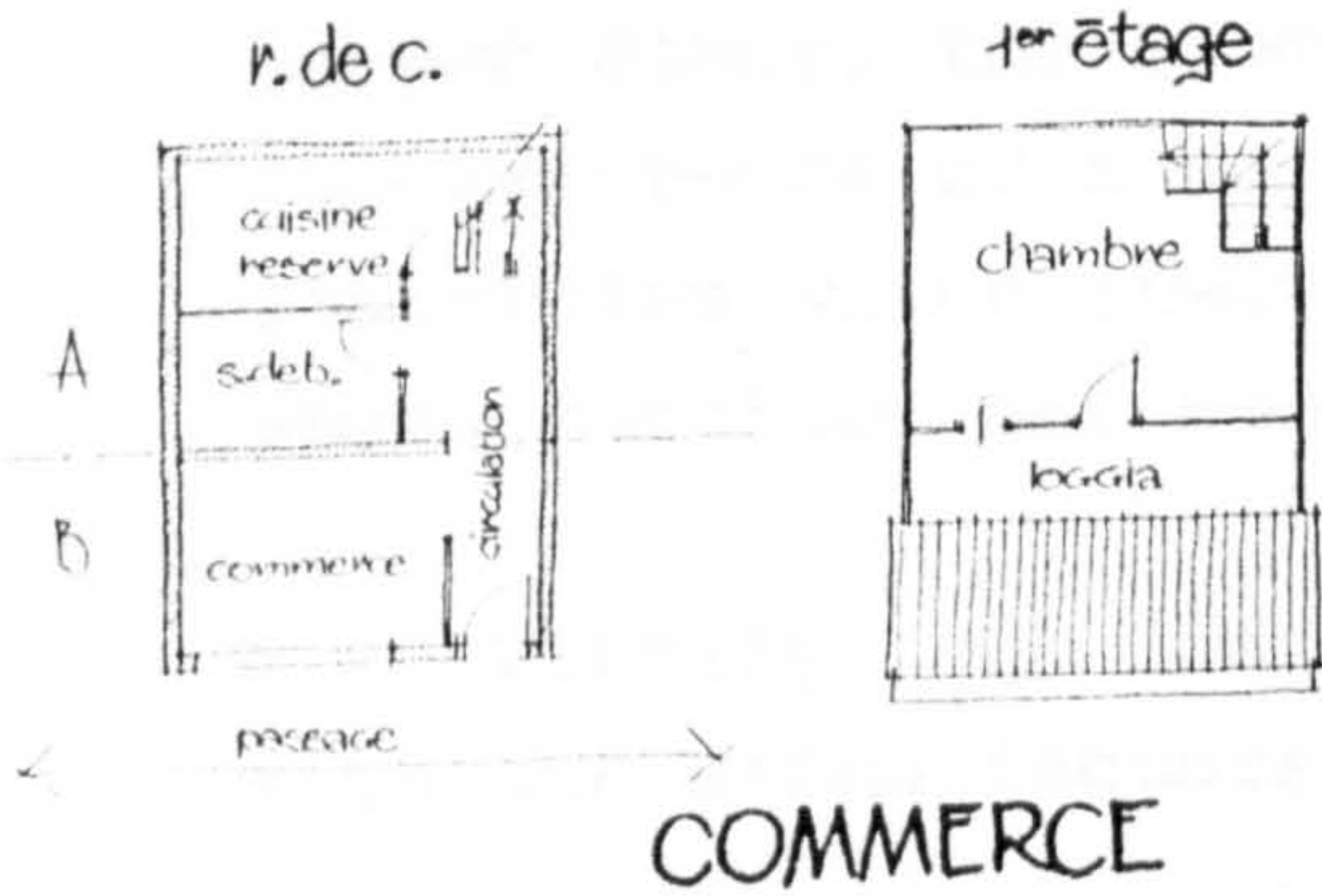
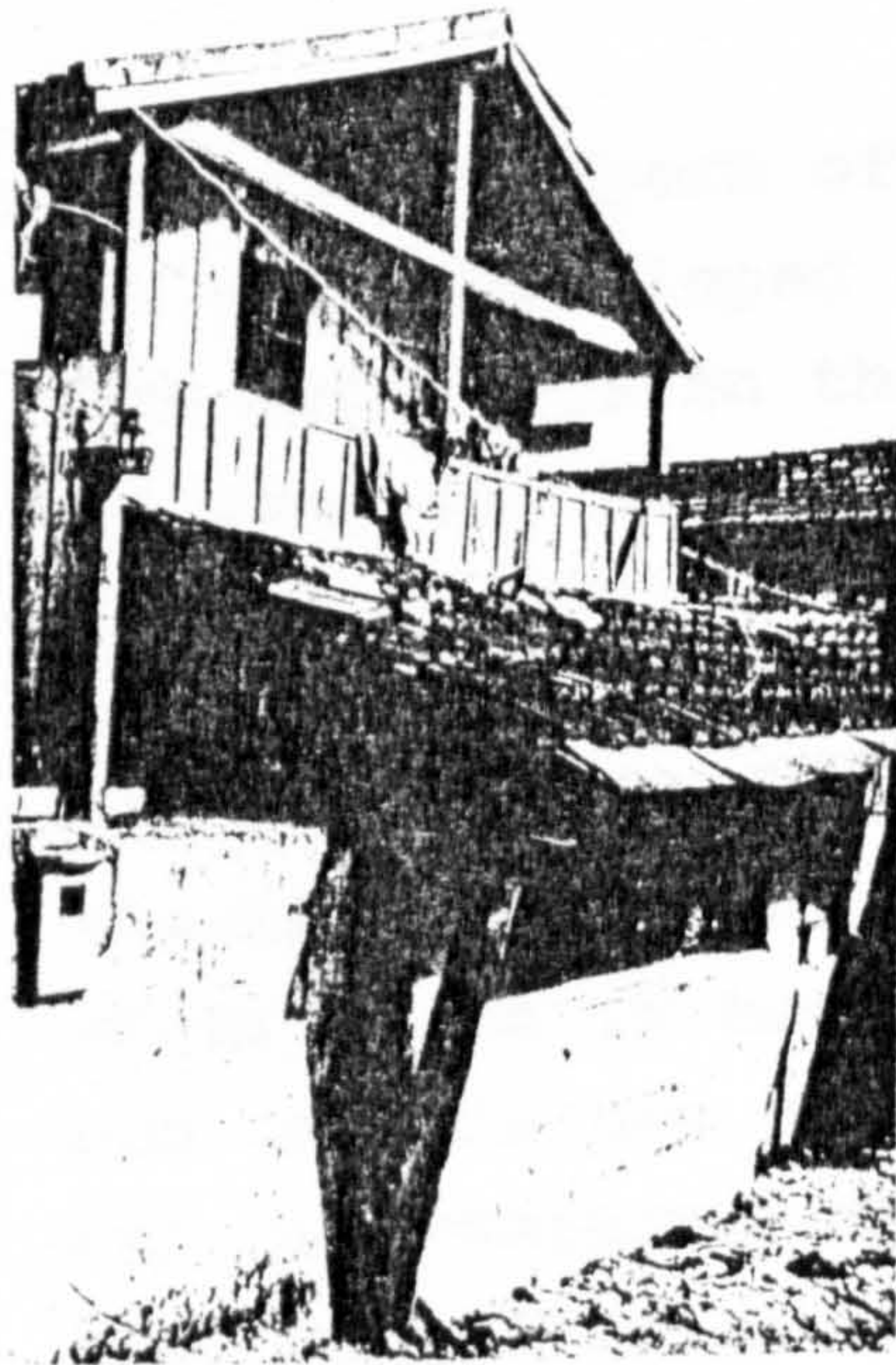
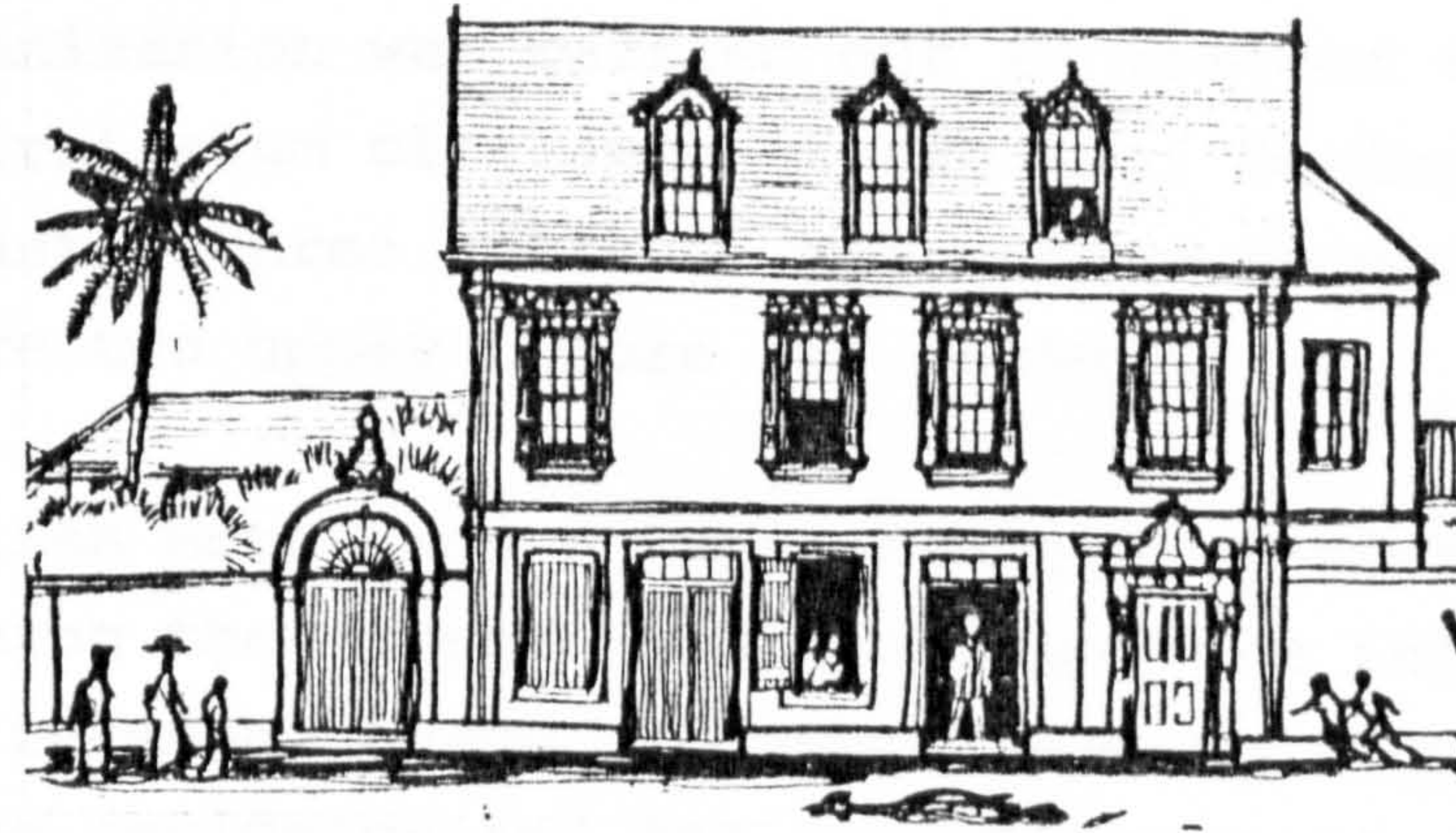


Fig. 47 - Space organization in Brazilian two storey house.

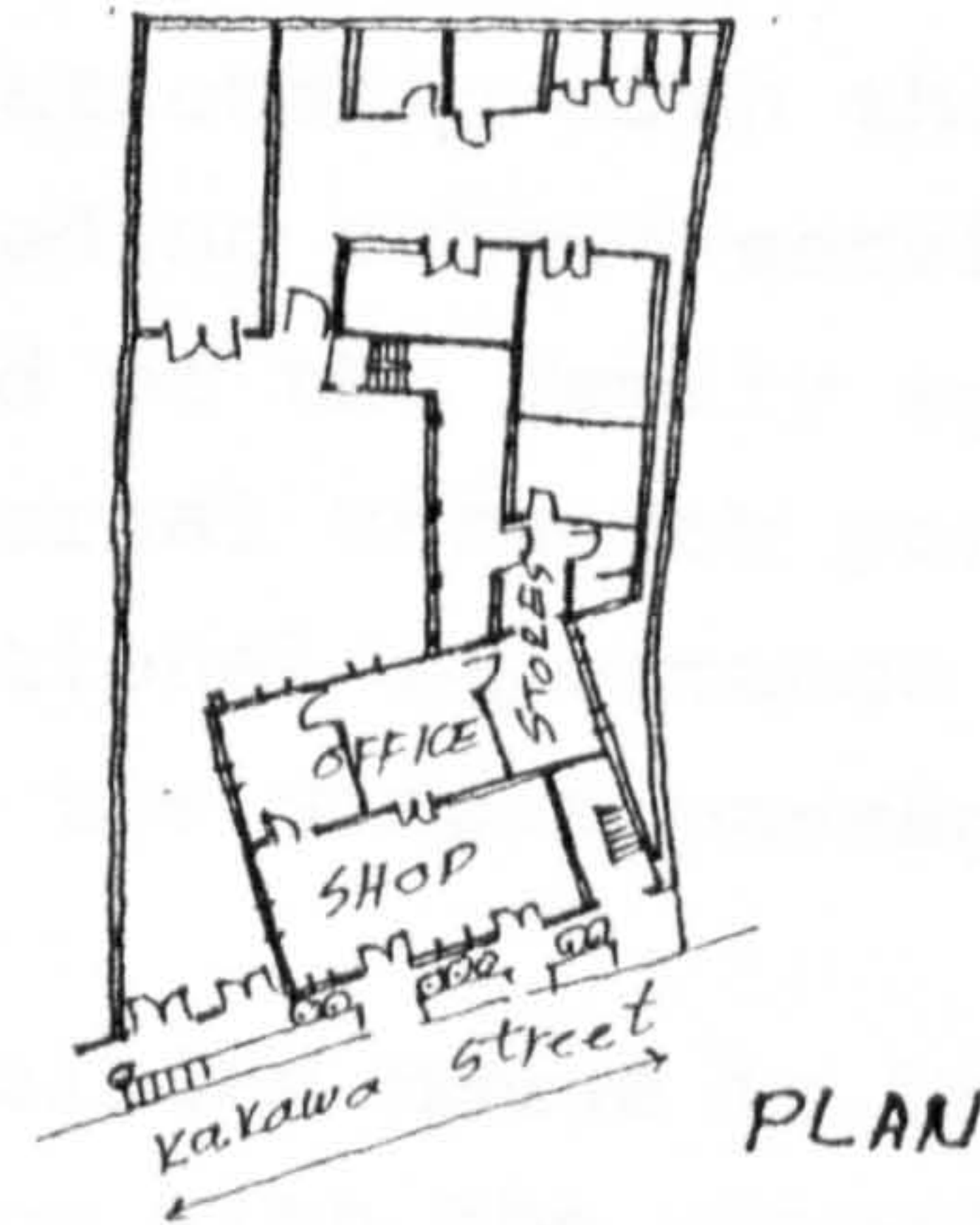


House with shop on the ground floor, in Brazil.

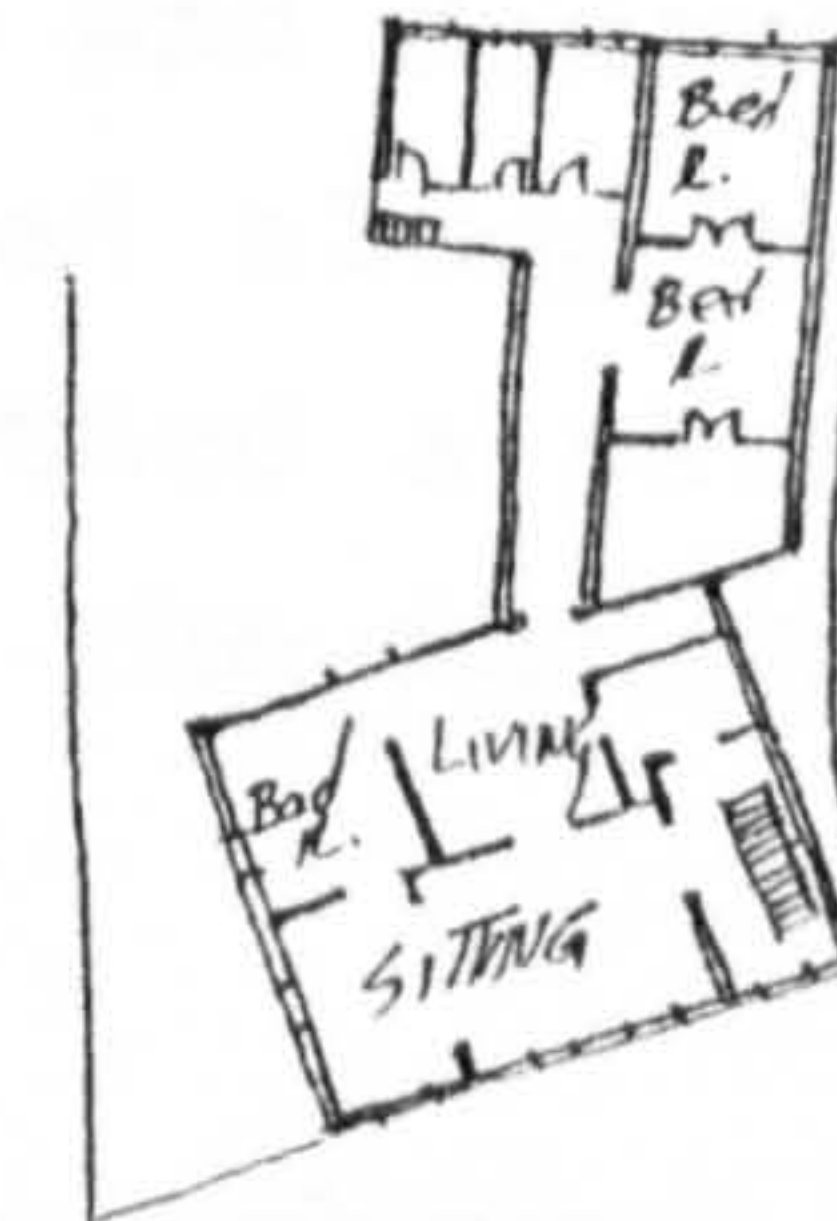
Source: Drummond, D., 1981.



ELEVATION



GR. FL. COMMERCIAL



F. FL. RESIDENCIAL.

Vaughan house in Kakawa St.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, V.A., 1977.

The same pattern of internal organization was carried out in most of the buildings in the redeveloped area of the first slum clearance at Oko-Awo, during the 1930s. The buildings in that area are mostly three storey. The entire ground floor area is used for trade activities where two upper floors are residential.

C - Further development of Brazilian House was a type of building with the addition of a verandah and portico, facing the street, which changed the internal organization of space. Formerly the internal space was determined by rooms and a corridor which in turn determined the residence and the activities performed there, but in this new type there are many details that show the tendency towards external entertaining and more open relationship with the street. The internal spatial organization follows the preceding scheme service and domestic area on the ground floor, the rooms of the head of the family spread along the upper floors. The existence of a portico and external verandah permitted a series of outdoor activities which limited the dimensional importance of the internal corridor, whose function has been reduced to the simple passage.

D - Finally, the last type of Brazilian House in Lagos, shows a dynamic relation with the urban factors in comparison with the preceding models.

This type of buildings, distinguished by a greater territorial influence, and were built to house the noblemen who wished to maintain their social prestige in society. The buildings were immense in size and had decorative motives on the facade<sup>+</sup> This type of building, developed during the first and second decade of the twentieth century did not intervene in the original site of the city, but

+ see Plate 22.

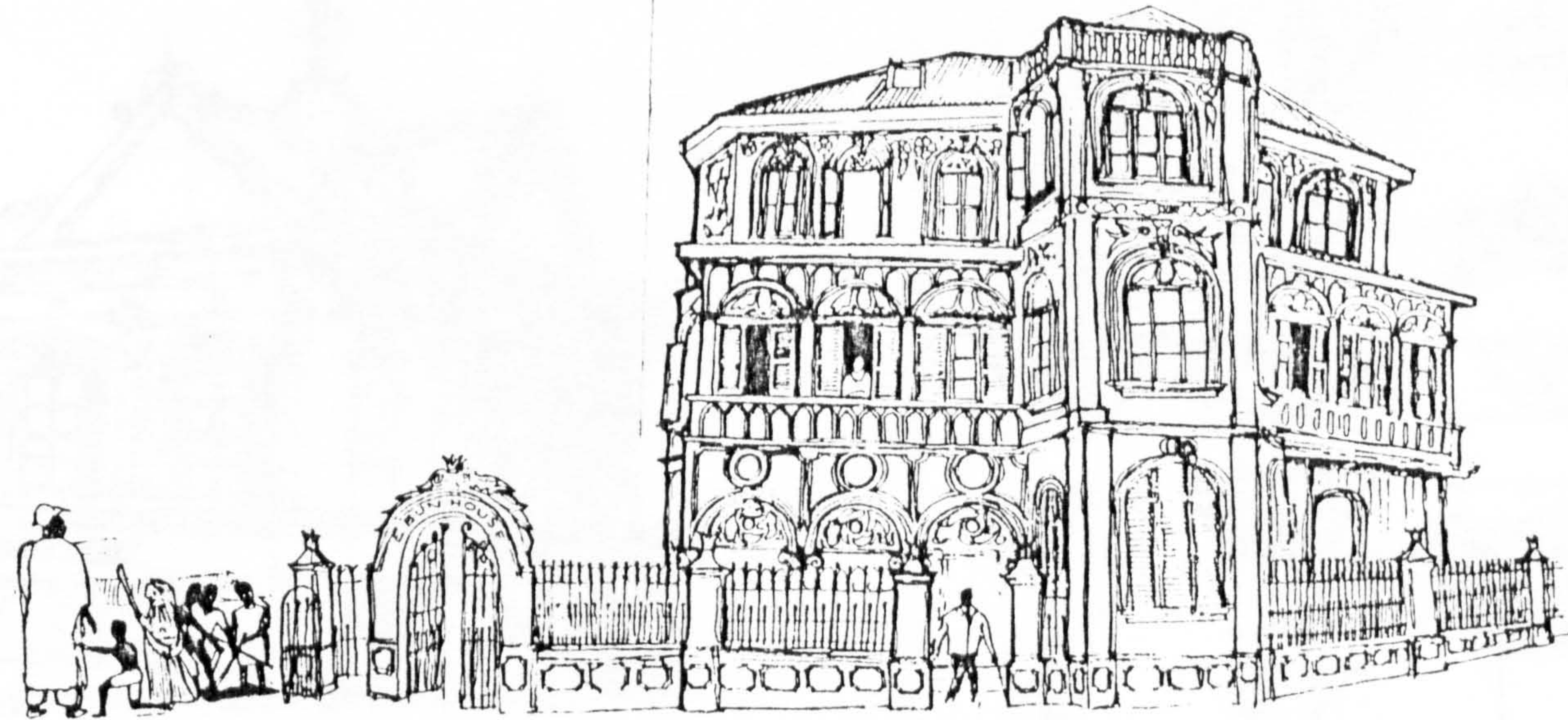
had a dominant position within the neighbourhood.

Unfortunately, most of the old Brazilian Houses were demolished as a result of various slum clearance schemes in central Lagos, and those that remained have undergone numerous alterations, losing their characteristic features.

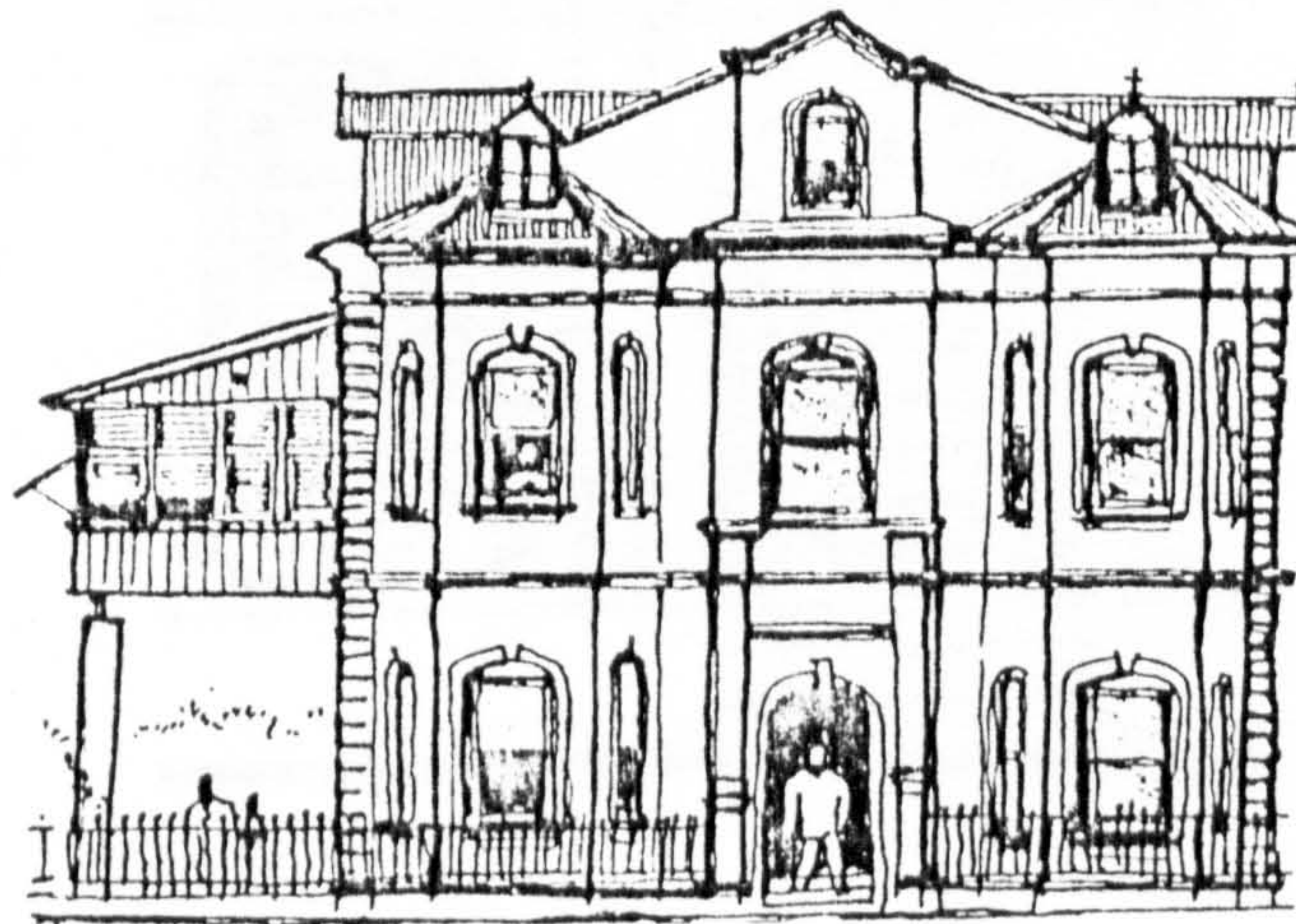
However, the Brazilian style of house dominated housing construction in Lagos for nearly a century, from mid nineteenth century till 1950s. Among the various types of this style, the single storey type with central corridor and rooms on both sides of it, developed very fast. The advantage of this type was due to the rental value of each single room, that could give a fast return of the capital.



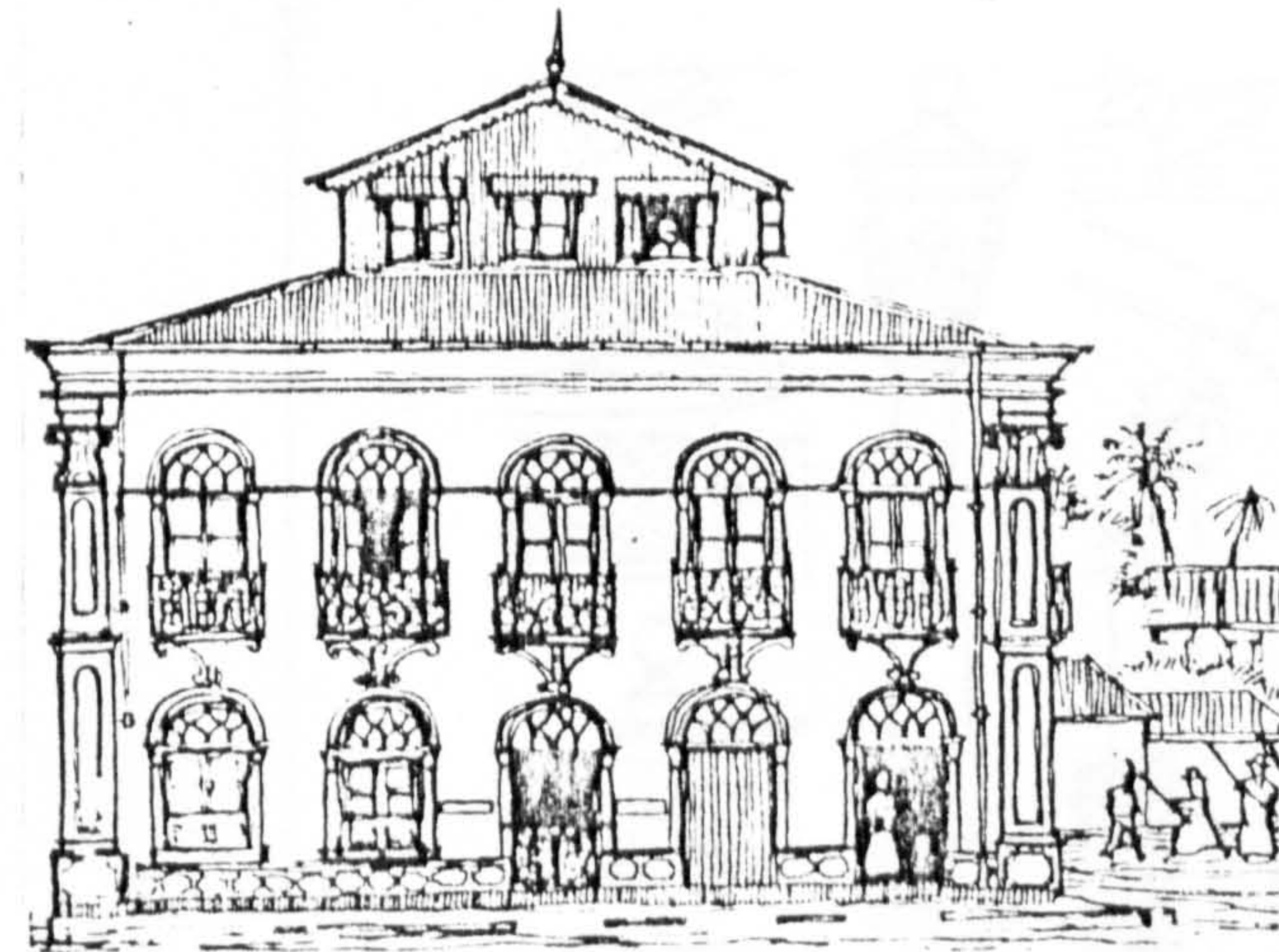
plate 20 - Fernandes House, two-storey Brazilian House at Tinubu Square.



Thomas House in Odunfa Street, built in 1913, one of the finest of the late Brazilian House



Manchester House, in Broad Street.



House at the junction of Broad and Davice Street, now Elegance Store.

Plate 21 - Brazilian House in Lagos

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, A. V., 1977.

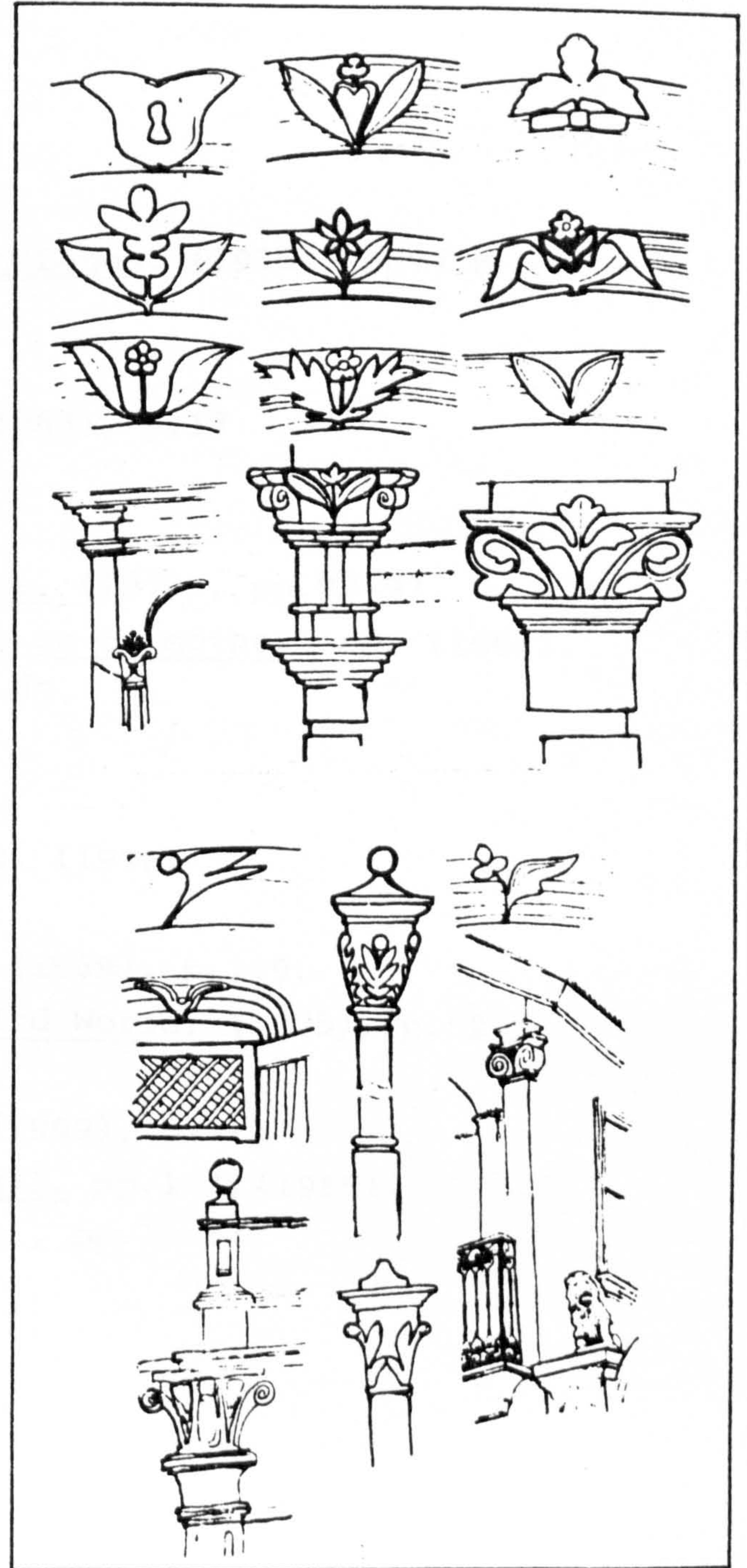
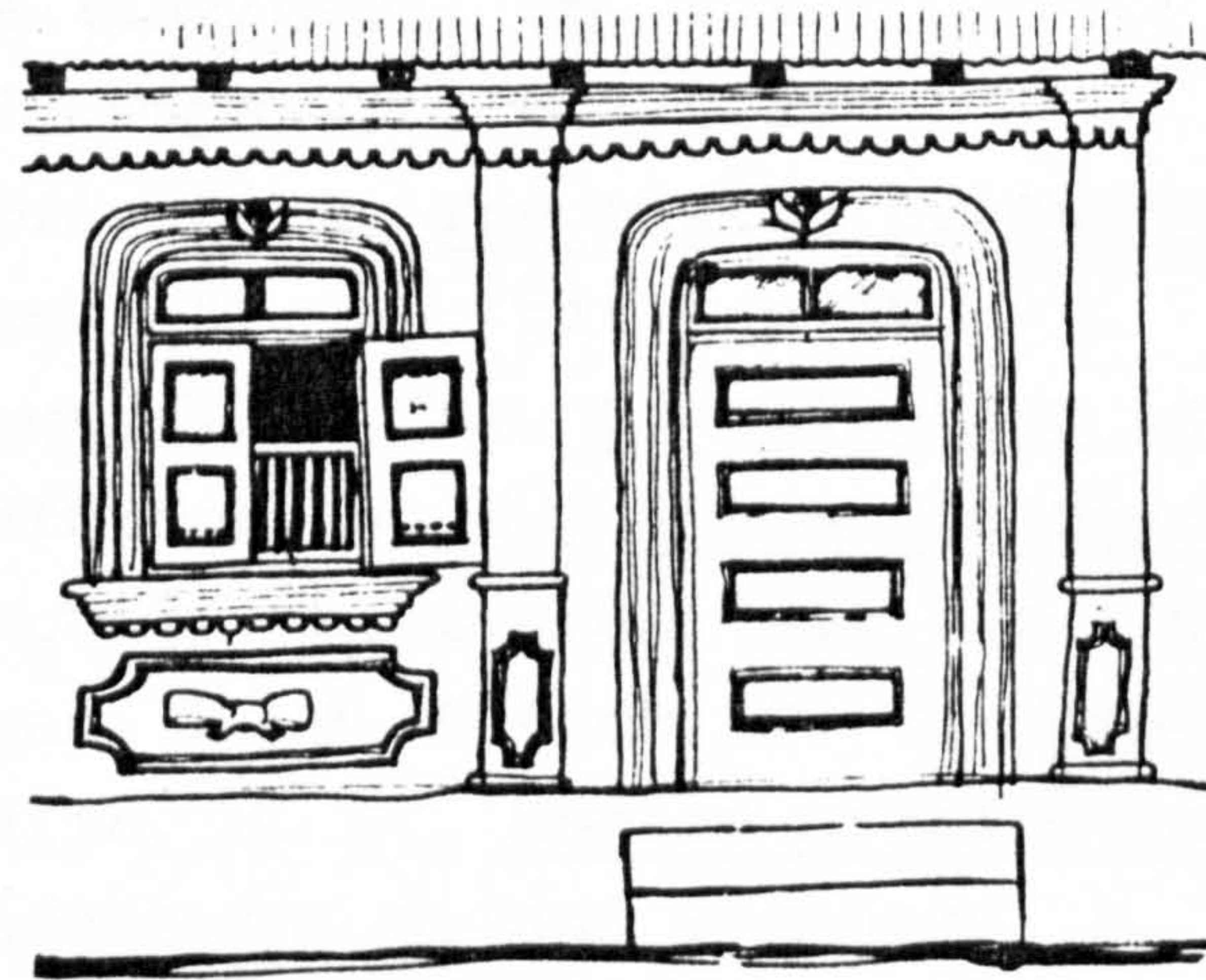
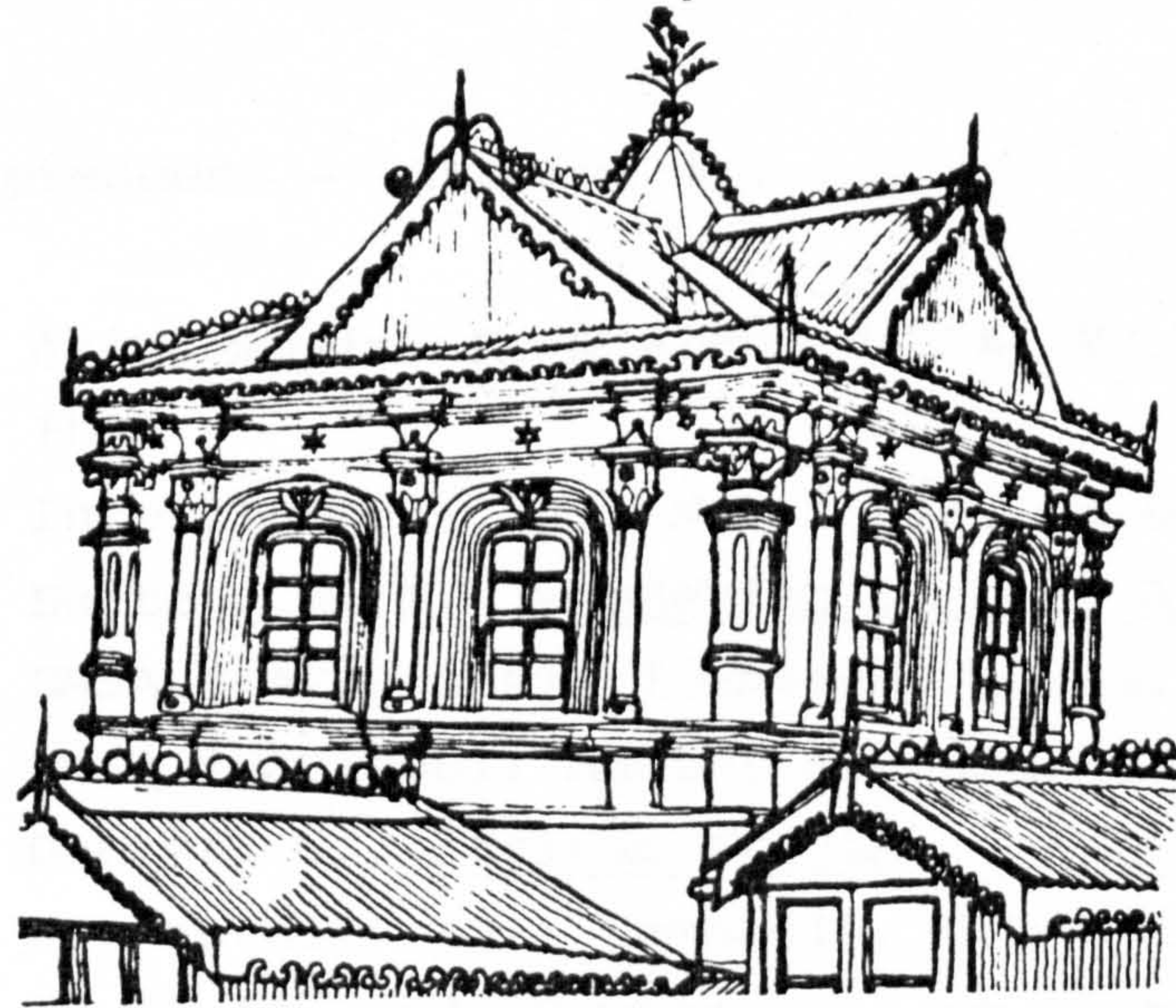


Plate 22 - The vocabulary of Brazilian Architecture  
 Decorative motives used on the elevation show the  
 social prestige of the owner.

Source: Akinsemoyin, K. & Richards, V. A., 1977.



## References - Chapter 4

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## CHAPTER FIVE

## CONTEMPORARY HOUSING

### Government Intervention in Housing

By the end of the nineteenth century the Public Work Department of Colonial Administration, which among other responsibilities, like sanitation and improvement of European residential environment, was also involved in providing residence for senior civil servants. These quarters were built in newly developed residential neighbourhood on Ikoyi Island. The houses were built as bungalows and also as two storey buildings. The ground floor was used as reception area, together with dining room and all its related facilities, while the first floor was planned for living room and bed-rooms. The characteristic feature of this type of colonial building was the existance of large balconies in front and at the rear of the building, and large windows opening to it, directing the cold breeze of Lagoon into the building.

However, not much has been done by Colonial Government to improve the living condition of indigenous people, though they had shown their dissatisfaction with the living conditions, through various demonstrations, since late nineteenth century. "The low income urban dweller in Lagos has for many years voiced his opinion through participation in public rallies and protest meetings. As early as 1895, 5,000 demonstrators were mobilized before the Government house in Lagos to protest the tax measure. In 1908 and 1917, public rallies were to succesfully oppose raises .. Most of the interest groups in Lagos extended their pressure directly on Government and skirt the party structures. This pattern of preasure and protest tend to

give great strenght to the opinions of particular groups when an issue is raised within their specific of interest."(1)

The Government's attention was drawn to the unhealthy condition of the old part of Lagos because of the outbreak of two epidemic plagues, during the 1920s. Aderibigbi remarks that: "People of Lagos were living in areas with primitive roads, open drains which were not made of concrete, and many makeshift houses, sprang up between the more traditional houses of town dwellers. It was not surprising therefore, that in 1924, bubonic plague broke out in Lagos."(2)

The enormous number of deaths draw the attention of the authorities to the unhealthy condition of some of the old and dilapidated residential buildings that were overcrowded by poor families. The first action was taken by Dr. V. S. Clark, the medical officer of Health in Lagos, by demolishing some of the dilapidated buildings in respect of preventing the disease.

The following plague of 1928 was another social event that proved the need for a continuous and long term programme for improving the condition of housing in Lagos. In respect of this idea, the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB), was established in 1929. The organization was in charge of planning and development and introduced the need to ensure that the development was carried out as planned. This organization was the main agency of the Government in the planning and development of the city.

The activities of this new agency were:

1. Planning of new estates,
2. Vetting and approval of new building plans,

3. The clearance of swamps and slums, starting with Oko-Awo area and a part of Idumagno,
4. The resettlement of people displaced by slum clearance,
5. The provision of industrial and residential estates.

Its first major task was the reclamation of Oko-Awo and slum clearance of Idumagbo areas during the 1930s.

Perhaps the most important task of this agency was to abandon the growth of unhealthy residential buildings in the Lagos city by introducing the building regulations, which were similar to the building regulations in the U.K. According to these regulations, erecting any new building on the site should be approved by the Council; the maximum coverage of the site and the size of open spaces were restricted according to the regulations. "No person shall construct any building intended to be used as a dwelling house see that the area covered by the building together with outbuilding appertaining thereto and any existing building exceeds fifty per centum of the area of the whole site. There shall be provided in front of every new building and extending through the whole frontage and height of the building, an open space free of any erection whatever other than a boundary wall or fence three feet six inches in height. Such open space shall for the whole of its length be not less than 15 feet in depth measured to the centre of any street on which the building site may abut."(3)

About the size of the rooms and ventilations it is recorded that: "No room shall have an average height of less than eight feet and every room intended for use as

a dwelling room shall have a floor area of not less than 120 sq. ft., a width of not less than 8 feet measured at right angles to its longest wall and a height measured from floor to the ceiling .... according to the following rules:

- a) If a room is on the ground floor the height be not less than 10 feet,
- b) If the floor of the room is more than ten and less than 19 feet above the highest part of the adjoining ground, the height shall be not less than 9 ft; provided that if the room has a floor area of not less than 125 sq. feet, the foregoing height may be reduced by not more than six inches.
- c) If the floor of the room is not less than 19 feet above the highest point of the adjoining ground, the average height shall be not less than 8 feet 6 inches."(4)

"A sufficient number of suitable windows shall be provided in the front and rear wall of each storey of every new building. Every room shall contain one window at least opening directly to the external air and the total area of such a window or windows shall be equal at least to one eighth of floor area of such room..... Every room in a dwelling house shall be so designed that a current of external air may pass completely through it. If windows or window and door are not placed on opposite sides of the room there shall be provided in a wall of the room or passage, opposite a window, a ventilation having a clear area of at least one-sixteenth of the floor area of the room."(5)

Apart of various reclamations of swampy areas of Lagos Island, during the 1930s, LEDB also prepared the layout of Yaba, located north of Lagos Island. This new

developed neighbourhood was called "Yaba Garden City" and the layout plan was laid out similar to the Garden City Movement in city planning in the West.

During the Second World War, the activity of LEDB was limited to confind to vetting and approval of building plans.(6) By the end of Second World War, the workers' strike and problem of housing shortage featured prominently in its settlement. The Government was committed to build workers' houses and they were eventually settled at Surulere in Lagos.

The Lagos low-income housing scheme in Surulere, which was built by the Federal Government, consists of 1,300 houses to accommodate low-income workers. These houses had been rented out, at 30 per cent lower rate than the economic price, to the occupants who could fulfill specific eligibility requirements. The houses in this scheme were of various types, all with toilets, showers, electricity and adequate water supply.

Further development by LEDB in Surulere area were Scheme No. 1, 2 and 3 (Surulere Rehousing State) which were built to accommodate a large number of families, an estimated 20,000 persons, that were displaced as a result of slum clearance in central Lagos, in 1956.

The Act of Slum Clearance in Central Lagos, in 1956 was introduced because of two major reasons:

- 1.) A decade after the Second World War it was obvious that the independence would soon be granted to Nigeria. The question then arose about the fitness

of Lagos as the capital of independent Nigeria, which would soon celebrate this event.

2.) The unsanitary condition of Central Lagos was the centre of all sorts of diseases. In 1947, nearly half of the deaths registered were caused by such illnesses as diarrhoea, malaria and pneumonia. These are all diseases likely to be aggravated or spread more rapidly through dirt and overcrowding.

Annual report on the Medical Services of the Federal Territory of Lagos for the years 1957 and 1958 comments that "the main killers are still pneumonia, malaria and dysentery and these three account for nearly half of the deaths in Lagos."

These two major reasons, especially the need to improve health, forced the implementation of the Act of Slum Clearance, in 1955. "The scope of the scheme comprises the clearance and re-development of seventy acres of built-up land bounded approximately by Broad Street, Balogun Street and Victoria Street. Streets will be widened to meet the increased traffic demands and, at the same time, rear access service roads to the commercial premises fronting these main streets will be provided. Of the total area developed there will be available twenty nett acres of residential development and twenty-two nett acres of commercial development." (7)

The displaced families were to stay in the Surulere Rehousing Estates temporarily, pending the construction of new buildings in Central Lagos.



The duty of the L.E.D.B. was to provide infrastructure amenities like road, electricity, water and drain, but not to be involved in rebuilding housing.

The experience of Surulere's various housing schemes will be discussed later on (under the title of Public Housing); here it suffices to say that the Slum Clearance Rehousing Project has been considered a failure in many respects:

- 1.) The Rehousing Project constitutes too radical a break in the social and economic life of the people, as families were separated and petty traders deprived of employment.
- 2.) It was unrealistic to expect the impoverished indigenous to be able to afford the construction of the expected fabulous homes in the redeveloped land.

Not surprisingly, many of the displaced persons sold their rights in Central Lagos and even leased out their new accommodation, while moving into the new shanty areas of Mushin or Shomolu.

In 1956, the first step towards independence was taken in Nigeria, by attaining internal self-government. It was the time for Nigerians to take positive steps in improving their social and economic attitudes which had been neglected by the British. In housing aspect the effect of this change was the enactment of Town and Country Planning Law, in late 1956, in most parts of Nigeria, especially in the western area, and, also the establishment of Housing Corporations in western and eastern regions.

In 1956, the Ikeja Planning Authority (IAPA) was established by Western Regional Government. Its activities covered the outside area of Federal Territory, and included the approval of building and layout plan. Because of the vastness of the area under the IAPA's control and because it was required to produce a plan to cover all the vast area, it had to rely on layout plans prepared by the large land-owning individuals and families as a mean of stopping the hazardous developments that were going on before it came to existence. One of the authority's major planning activities was therefore, the development control of the many private layouts within its area of jurisdiction in Mushin, Ikeje, Agege, Ajegunle, Itire, Oshodi, Shomolu (outside the scheme areas) and Bariga; but the control of such vast areas proved unwieldy for the size and structure of the IAPA. Consequently, most of these areas developed without being planned and became overcrowded a decade later.

In 1958, another government agency was established by Western Region Government, the Nigerian Housing Corporation, and was charged with:

1. Responsibility for providing housing finance,
2. Building houses on its Estates,
3. Allocation of residential and industrial plots to individuals.

In 1972, all these bodies came together and formed the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation - (LSDPC).

In 1962, with the existence of L.E.D.B., the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation, the North Nigeria Housing Corporation and the Eastern Nigeria Housing Corporation,

the entire country had the necessary machinery for giving a thorough and practical effect to housing problems. Each of these bodies in its own area of jurisdiction, set up housing estates, mostly for the middle or higher income class. In Lagos, with the workers' state as a forerunner, the Metropolitan Housing Scheme was carried out in the annual estimates of the L.E.D.B., for many years. Its implementation was hampered by the lack of Government financial provision, until about 1964 or 1965, when the implementation of the first phase commenced. It was doubtful if those housing units ever went to the low-income workers.

As for the houses of the middle/high income groups, their implementation presented no difficulties. Loans were readily available from Commercial Banks to the Housing Corporations, and these were repaid from the funds obtained from purchasers, who very readily mortgaged these houses for loans. This aspect of housing programme has been so successful that no one ever bothers talking about housing these groups of people. (8)

In Lagos, the concern of L.E.D.B. was to provide housing for the Government senior workers, or for higher and middle income class, in Ikoyi, Ikeja, Apapa, Victoria Island, etc.

Low income housing programme was always suffering from lack of funds. It is clear that without establishing a generous financial base, it would be impossible to find any answer to the housing needs of the masses, especially low income workers.

With the establishment of the Federal Housing Authority in 1973, and the Mortgage Bank (formerly Nigerian Building Society), all possible actions had been taken, like the declarations of various governments that Nigerians deserve to be decently housed, the statutory involment of employers in housing their workers etc.; what remains is to identify the reasons why performance has not matched the intention that would insure a continuous growth of the national housing stock.

The formation of the National Council on Housing led to the establishment of a National Housing Programme, in 1972, during the Second National Development plan period. The selected target of this programme was to construct 54,000 dwelling units nationwide, with 10,000 in Lagos and 4,000 in each of the other 11 states' capitals. The Federal Housing Authority was created (October, 1973), to oversee this programme along with the associated urban development authorities, with the states acting as targets of the FHA. In addition to providing technical assistance to the states, the Federal Government was also to provide the infrastructure for an additional 4,000 units in each state.

The Third National Development Plan initially set a target for production of 60,000 dwellings. As the oil boom increased, federal revenues and a new government took over the administration of the Country in 1979. This programme was increased to the direct construction of 202,000 units to be completed during the Third Plan period (1975/80), 8,000 units in each of the 19 states and 50,000 in Lagos, under a defined Federal Housing Authority.

As a result of financial and other constraints only 12.5 per cent of the later

target was achieved at the end of planned period. The failure of the programme was not only for the lack of funds (decline in oil revenues) but also some other problems like the shortage of building materials and skilled manpower, inadequate planning and lack of co-ordination.

Among all these problems, two of them were very serious, which affected drastically the failure of the programme:

1.) Institutional change - Initially, the National Housing Programme was meant to be the responsibility of FHA, operating through state ministries. However, slow implementation due to a shortage of executive capacity, in the light of nationwide programme, led to the decentralization of the programme on the state-by-state basis, in 1977. In the guidelines prepared by the FHA, the states were given full authority for their share of the national programme, with FHA monitoring and reporting progress and ensuring compliance with standards: "Each state is to determine its needs and distribute the houses geographically within the state. It shall also determine whether in the town in which the houses are situated if they are to be in one location or several. Because the cost of providing infrastructure is high, the aggregation of houses in units of 500 or more in each state is to be encouraged. A state can, if so desired, provide less than 500 housing units in a town. The Federal Housing Authority shall not finance infrastructural works in any estate with less than 500 housing units."(9)

More emphasis in the guidelines, regardless to the poor condition of housing stocks within the core area of the cities, was on the creation of new estates. "The principal of locating the housing units to form an estate or New Town is

acceptable. A state may therefore, if so desires, aggregate the housing units to form a new town."(10) State Governments were also responsible to provide land and to prepare layout plan and programme. "It is the responsibility of each State Government to make land available from all financial commitments to the Federal Government for the execution of the programme. Before commencing any construction, it is necessary that a layout plan be prepared for each estate or New Town.(11) Many states had little experience with such programmes, consequently the programme development was extremely slow.

2.) Escalating Costs; - The original 1973 FHA programme assumed an average unit cost of ₦10,000. Actually, average unit cost has been between ₦20,000 and ₦30,000, due to unrealistic standards, lack of cost control, inflation in labour costs, dependence on imported materials and lack of realism of the original programme.

Overall, little substantial impact was being made during the First (1962-68) and the Second (1970-74) Plan periods on housing needs, especially for the low income majority. It was estimated that only about 500 dwelling units per annum were built by the public sector during the First Plan period and less than 1000 dwelling units per annum during the Second Plan period of which less than 40 per cent were for low-income group.(12)

However, a variety of policies and institutional actions was taken or suggested in order to deal with some of the major problems, such as:

a) In 1975, a Committee on Standardization of House Types and Policies was set

up by the Ministry of Works and Housing. The Ministry, in its review of the housing programme policy, increasingly recognized the failure of the programme to reach low-income groups.

b) The Committee on the Nigerian Financial System, in 1975, reviewed the financial structure of the Country, with respect to housing finance, the Committee recommended specialization of the FHA, in low-income housing and the establishment of Federal Mortgage Bank to take over the activities of the NBS with Federal Capital support.

c) An Anti-Inflation Task Force, in 1976, recommended various fiscal and monetary actions, impacting the housing sector, in particular the attempts to control price of building materials (especially imported cement), reductions in the FMB interest and downpayment levels.

To resolve a lack of co-ordination among the various planning authorities, like Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB), Ikeja Area Planning Authority (IAPA), the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC), was established in 1972. The new body, LSDPC, was completely divested of development control powers, which were taken by the Lagos State Ministry of Works and Planning. In respect of its housing activities, it covered the whole Lagos State, so that low-income housing schemes spread over the five divisions of Lagos State, i.e. the city of Lagos, Ikeja, Badagry, Ikorodu and Epe.

During the period of seventeen years, from 1955 to 1972, the LEDB constructed only 4,502 housing units, and LSDPC, between 1972 and 1979 was only able to built 700 units and was working on an additional 500 units. From 1979 till January 1983,

only 2,000 units, out of 8,000 promised by the Federal Government for Lagos State, have been built. The figures for other states is even less than 2,000 units, and only 80 families out of 2,000 have so far been able to move in. The rest are still unable to occupy them because, as yet, there is not water or electricity in the estate.

The progress of Lagos State Government is more successful. They have constructed and allocated 30,000 housing units (out of 50,000 promised in 1979) located at Amuwo-Odofin, Iponri, Abule-Nla, Dolphin, Abesan, Isolo, Iba, Ikorodu, Epe and Badagry.

The main attraction of the Lagos State Housing Scheme is the involvement of prospective home-owners in the process of funding the project, thereby generating mutual interest and responsibility, by both the Government and the citizen to be housed. The prospective low-cost unit owner buys an application form for ₦50; once he qualifies he pays ₦1,600, which he can borrow from Lagos State Investment Company (LSBIC), as a deposit.

The total cost of the unit, which is ₦8,000, is repayable in 15½ years. He pays ₦31.20k per month, for the first five years, ₦40 for the next five years and for the remaining five and a half years, he pays ₦50 per month.



## PUBLIC HOUSING

### Surulere Estate

The experience of public housing in Nigeria started with the Workers' Housing Estate and Surulere Rehousing Estate. These schemes were developed by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB), in late 1950s, to provide cheap accommodation for the low-income workers and to rehouse the displaced families affected by the slum clearance in Central Lagos.

There were three kinds of development:

1. - Freehold Plots Scheme (FPS)
2. - Freehold Housing Scheme (FHS)
3. - Rehousing Schemes

The site was located in the Surulere area, four miles from the centre of Lagos, between the two built-up neighbourhoods: Ebute-Metta in the south and Yaba in the east. Western Avenue (express road) is the main access to central Lagos through Eko Bridge. (Fig.48)

The first two schemes were designed for the new professional class of the Capital, those who were not affected by slum clearance but had become fed up with the living conditions, which they had to put up with.

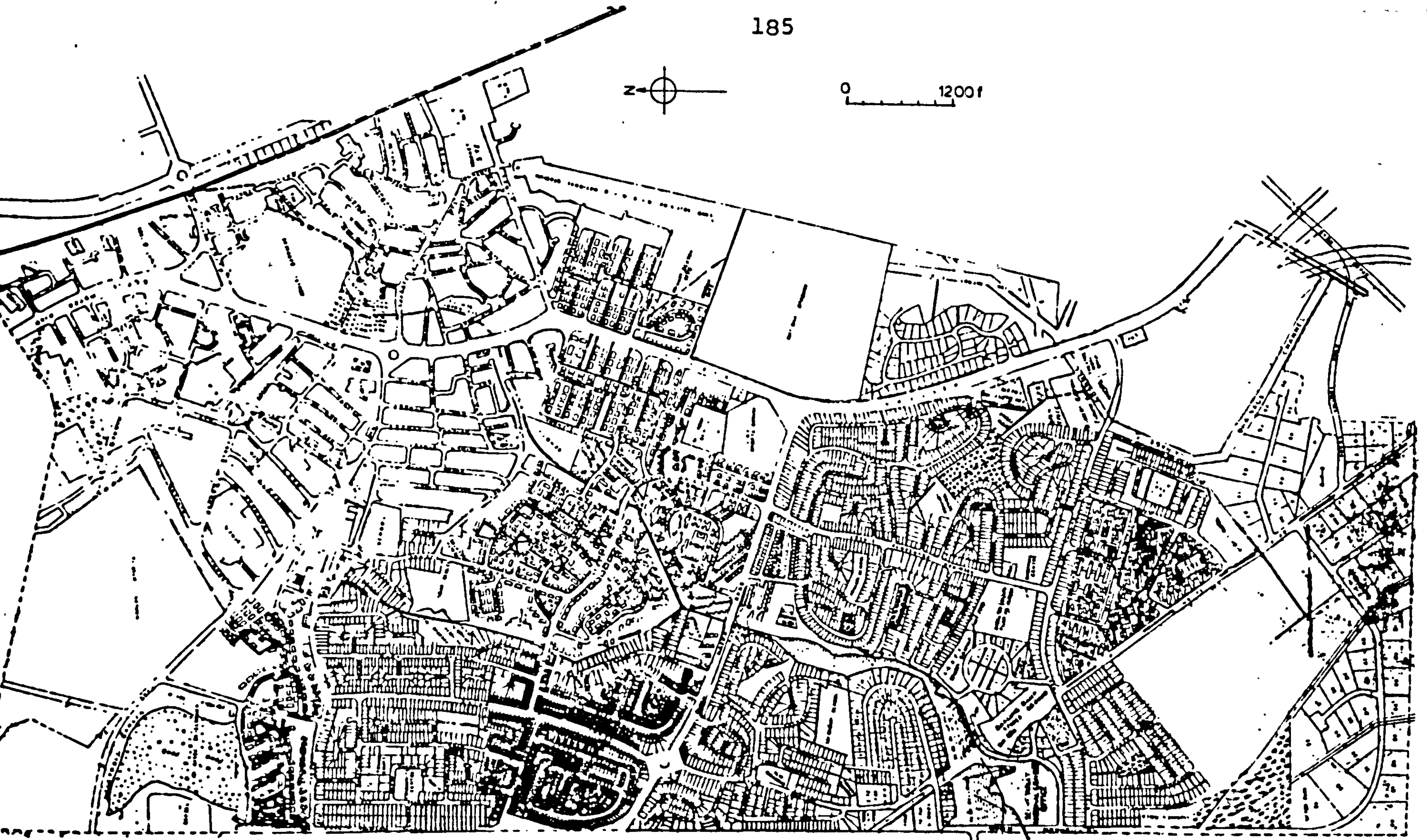


Fig.48 - Plan of SURULERE AREA

Source: LSDPC., 1980

### Freehold Plots Scheme

The responsibility of the L.E.D.B. in the first scheme (FPS) was to provide service roads. The first stage of this scheme covered 132 acres and provided 670 residential building plots together with a neighbouring centre for shopping, market and church.

### Freehold Housing Scheme

This scheme, which was the largest development in the Surulere area, known as New Lagos, was developed during the 1960s. The whole development was based on owner-occupier system.

The responsibility of the L.E.D.B. was to develop the whole neighbourhood, to build houses for the people and sell them on mortgage basis. The layout plan was similar to a British Garden City style. The streets were designed and very well laid, with sidewalks on both sides, but without proper sewage system. The houses were two to six bedrooms, being detached and semi-detached bungalows. Open spaces, which were to be parks and green areas, were left without proper maintenance and now are dumped with garbage and junks.



plate 23 - Aerial view, Surulere Freehold Housing Scheme in early stage of development



Plate 24 - Aerial view, Surulere Freehold Housing Scheme

### Surulere Rehousing Schemes

There were four schemes in this area:

1. Surulere Rehousing Scheme 1 with 1,355 units,
2. Surulere Rehousing Scheme 2 with 857 units,
3. Lagos Housing Scheme (Workers' Estate) with 931 units, completed in 1957/58,
4. Olowigbowo Rehousing Scheme with 1359 units, completed in 1962/63.

Schemes No.1 and No.2 were built for the people displaced from central Lagos by the slum clearance. Some of the houses in Scheme 2. were built in the form of two storied flats and the rest of the houses were single storied, mostly in blocks of four units. The roofs are of corrugated sheets and the walls of cement blocks, painted with bright pastel washes. The houses vary from one to four roomed types, each house having its own self-contained amenities of kitchen, water-borne sanitation and bath, except for the single roomed houses, for which communal lavatories are provided in a separate block. The site is arranged in cluster of six blocks (three blocks each side), and in between is an open space. The front door of each unit opens to the living room and the back door to the open space. In one side of the back door is a kitchen and on the other a lavatory and a shower. The access to the bedrooms is also from the living room. Buildings are set back about five meters from the street to form a pedestrian sidewalk, and a narrow balcony raised about one foot, separates the building from the pedestrian. (Figs.49-52)

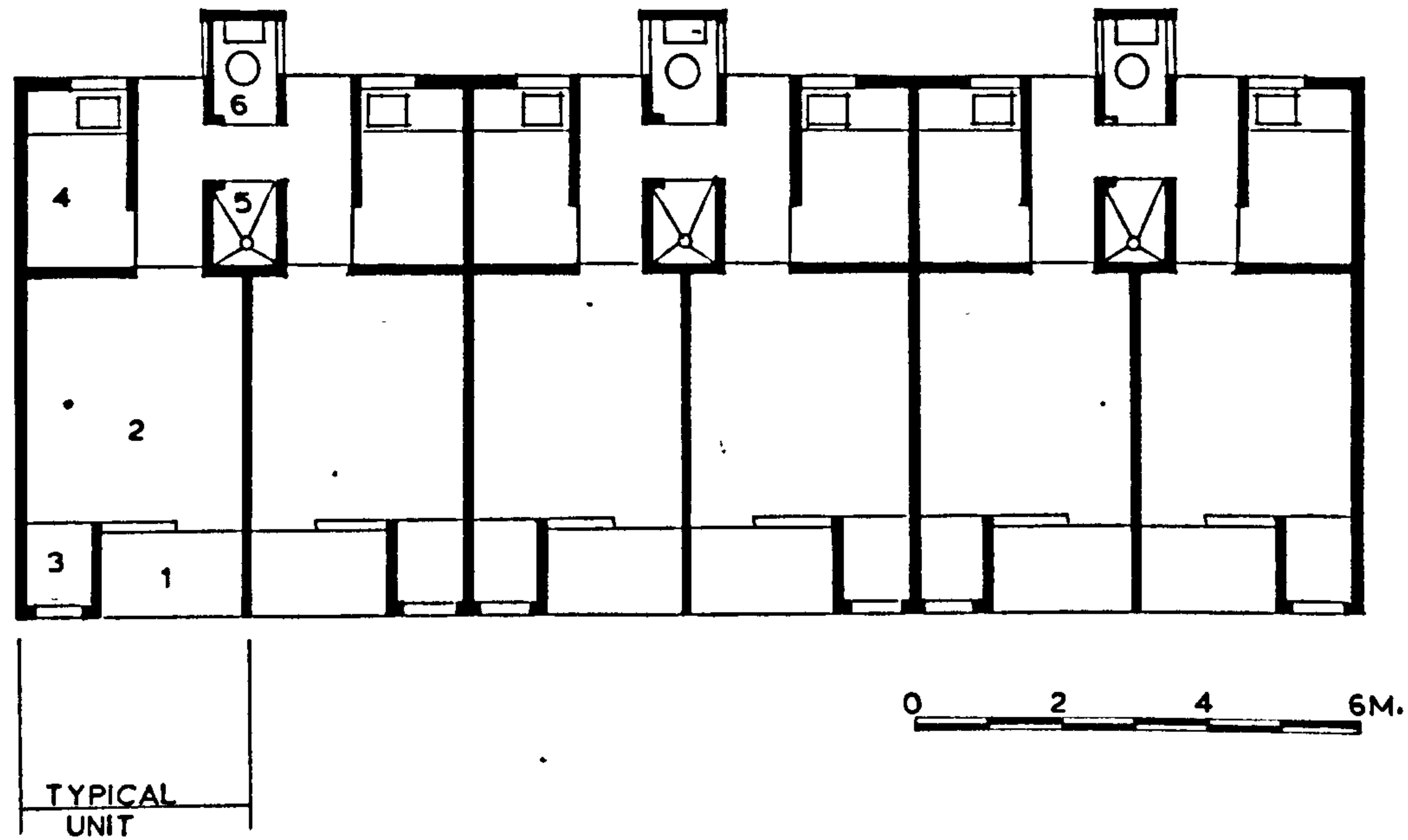
The houses were rented on a room-unit base and subsidised by the government. In 1979, the newly elected State Administration focused its attention on the owner occupied housing. In respect to this idea all the houses in Surulere Housing area were sold out to their allottees. The prices for the houses were as follows:

1. one single room only = ₦1,000.
2. sitting room and one bed-room = ₦2,000.
3. sitting room and two bed-rooms = ₦3,000.

Lagos Housing Scheme, which is popularly known as Workers' Estate, was initiated by the Federal Government in 1955, to provide low-cost houses for low-income group workers. The houses were built in blocks of four, similar to Schemes 1. and 2. Two types of houses were built in a pattern of one single room only and one bed-room/sitting room. These houses were also sold out in 1980 at the price of ₦1,200 per single room unit and ₦2,400 for two rooms unit.

In 1966, five hundred more units were built in twenty five blocks of five storey building in Surulere area to provide accommodation for displaced people from Olowogbowo area. Each floor containing four flats of two bedrooms with necessary amenities.

Slum clearance caused fundamental social changes in Lagos, for the displaced people. On one hand they had lost their houses and were financially unable to rebuild them, since the amount of compensation was divided into smaller sums among the owners. On the other hand, moving out of Lagos Island to the Surulere

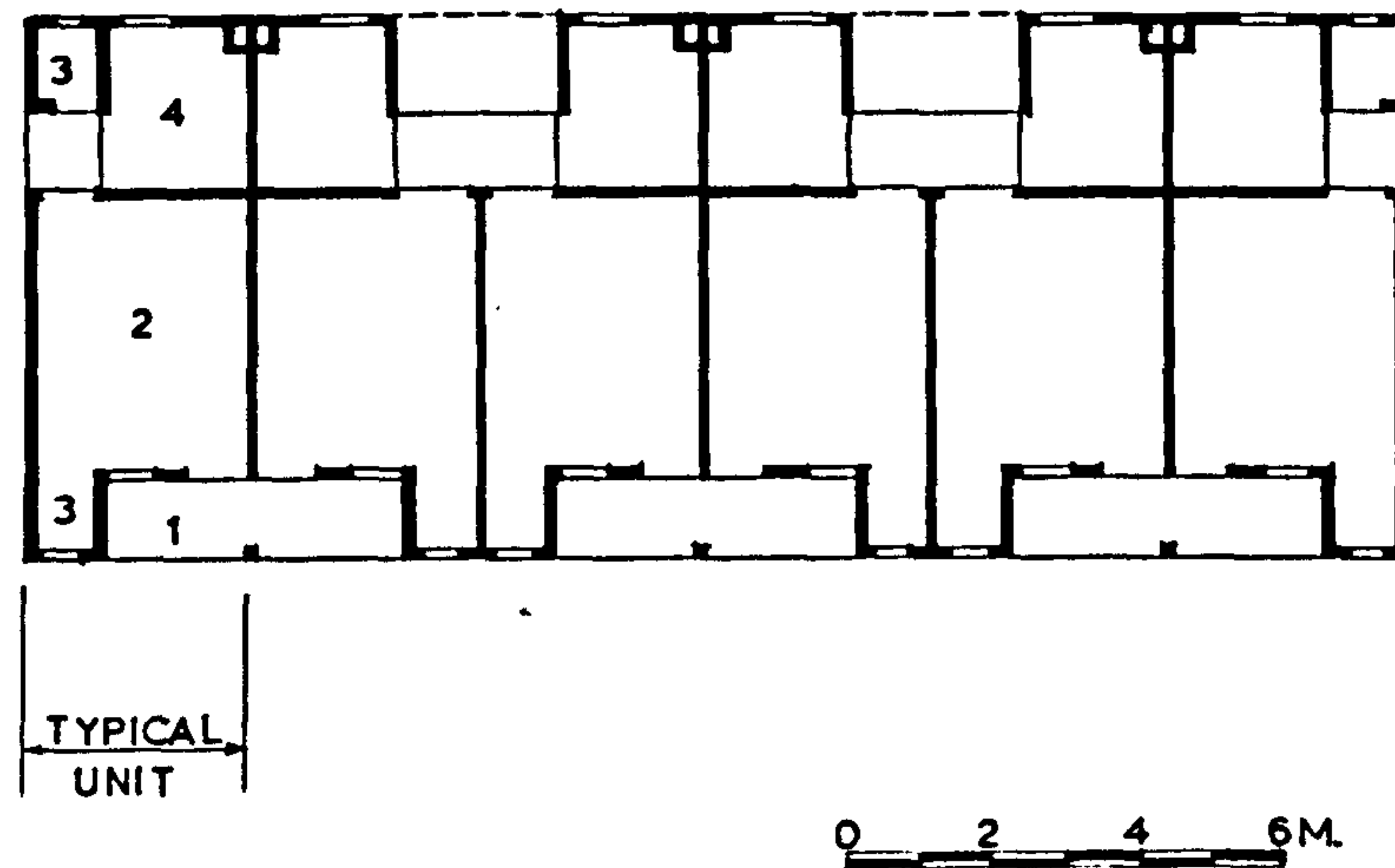


**LEGEND:**

- |               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| 1 VERANDAH    | 4 KICHEN |
| 2 LIVING ROOM | 5 SHOWER |
| 3 STORE       | 6 TOILET |

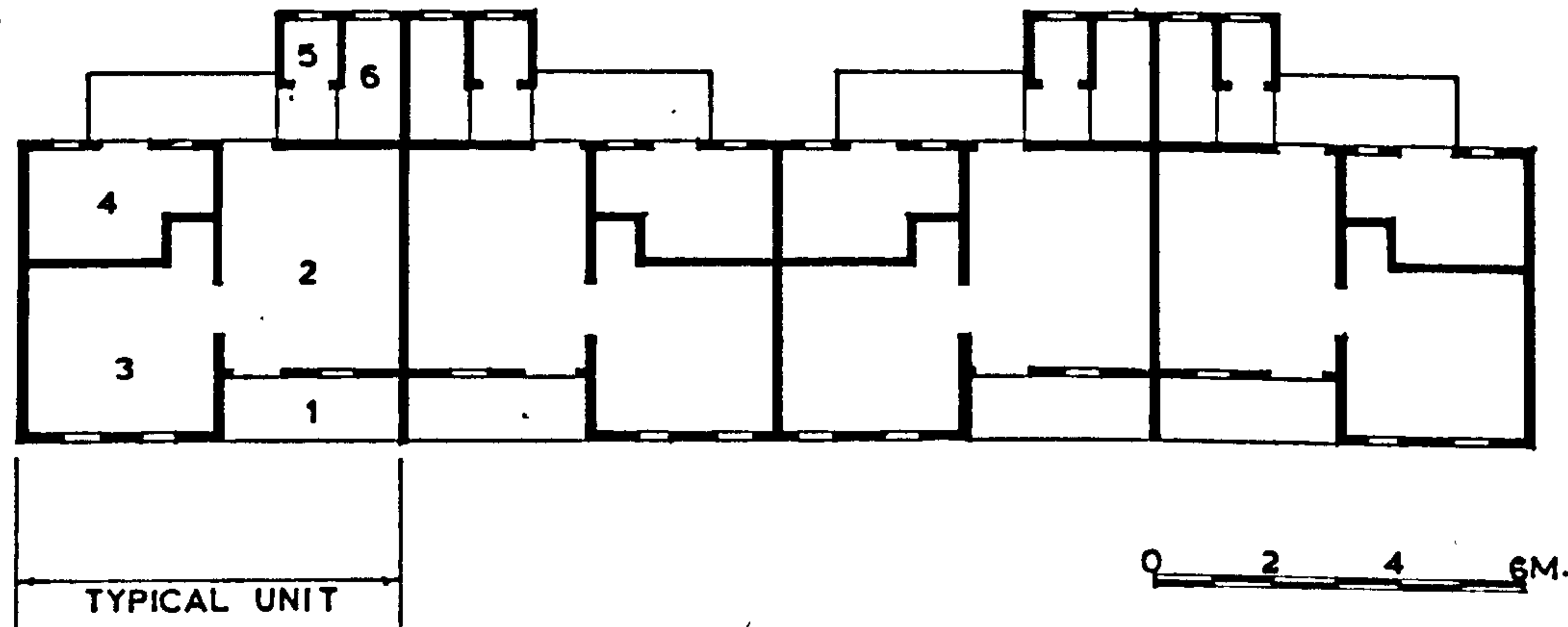
Fig.49 - FLOOR PLAN OF ONE ROOM UNIT SURU LERE REHOUSING ESTATE.



LEGEND:

- |               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| 1 VERANDAH    | 3 STORE   |
| 2 LIVING ROOM | 4 KITCHEN |

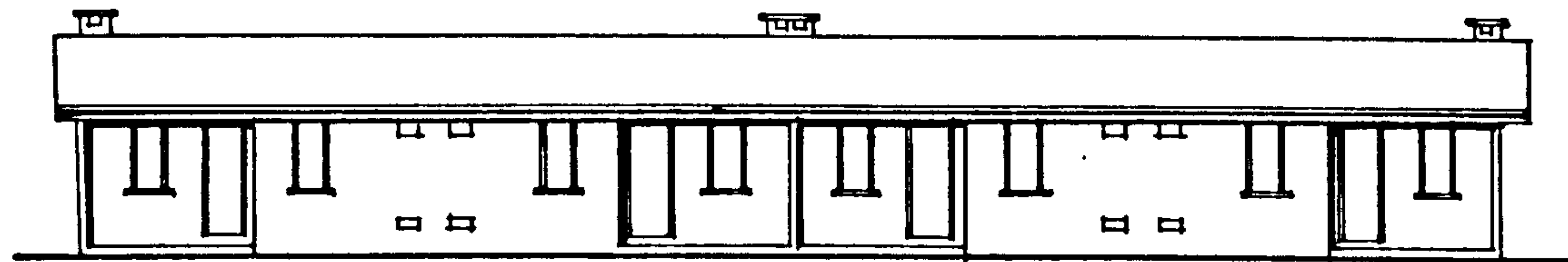
Fig.50 - FLOOR PLAN OF ONE ROOM UNIT SURU-LERE REHOUSING ESTATE



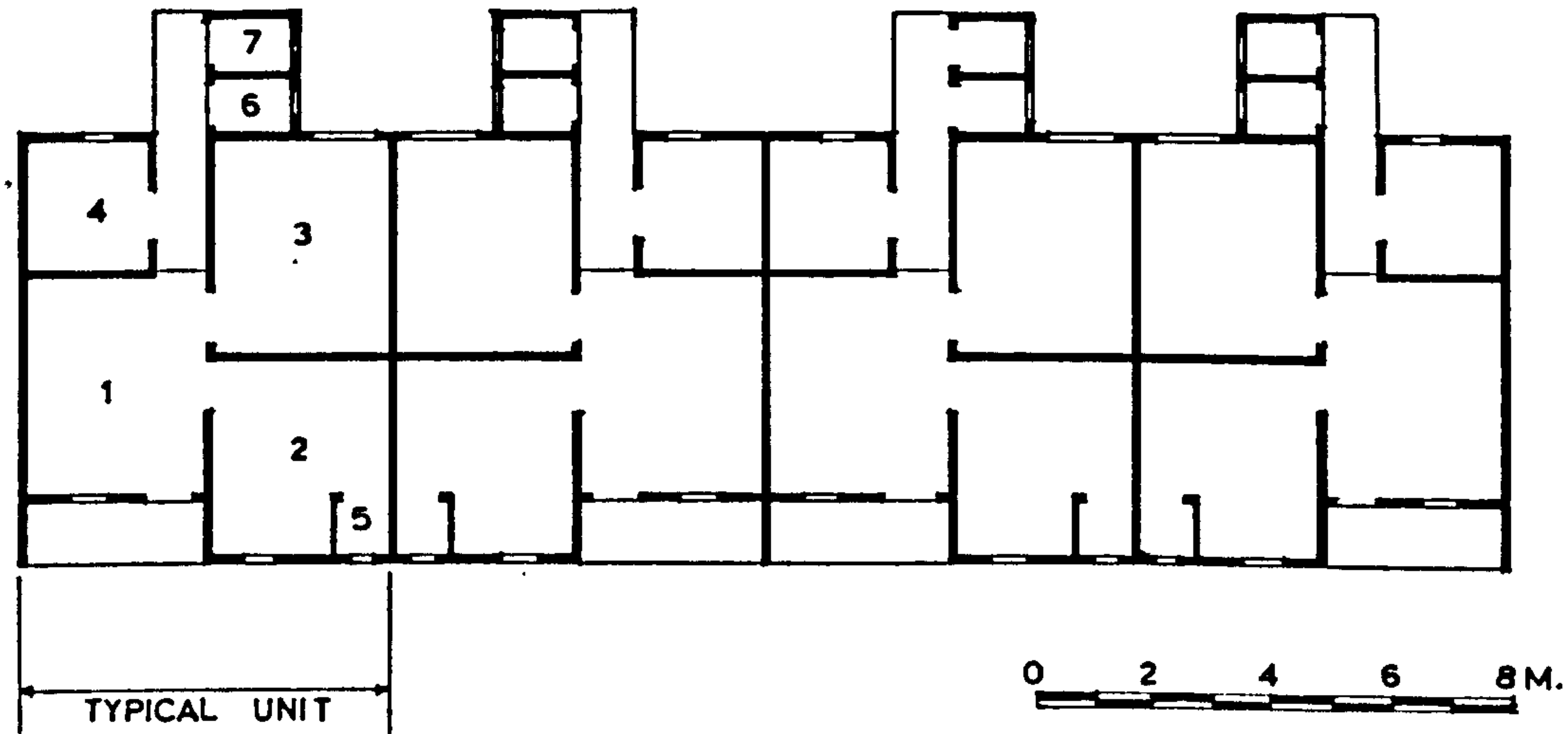
**LEGEND:**

- |               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| 1 VERANDAH    | 4 KITCHEN |
| 2 LIVING ROOM | 5 SHOWER  |
| 3 BEDROOM     | 6 TOILET  |

Fig. 51 - FLOOR PLAN OF TWO ROOMS UNIT SURU LERE REHOING ESTATE



FRONT ELEVATION



**LEGEND:**

- |                |          |
|----------------|----------|
| 1 SITTING ROOM | 5 STOR   |
| 2 ALCOVE       | 6 SHOWER |
| 3 BEDROOM      | 7 TOILET |
| 4 KITCHEN      |          |

Fig. 52 - FLOOR PLAN SURU LERE REHOUSING ESTATE.



Aerial view, Surulere Rehousing Scheme, four or five storey buildings to house the displaced people from Olowogbowo area.



Aerial view, Surulere Rehousing Scheme for the displaced people from central Lagos.

Estate housing in the suburb, meant leaving fathers' land, relatives, business, social life, while anticipating the high cost of living in suburban areas.

Peter Marris (13), in 1961, wrote that: "Some of the families who moved from Central Lagos to Surulere Estate Housing were not satisfied; as a result, some of the families affected by slum clearance refused to move to Estate Housing, they went to live with relatives or friends and found accommodation in Lagos or Mushin areas."(14) He further describes the contrast between two neighbourhoods (in Lagos and in Surulere) as follows: "Everything about the estate contrasts with Central Lagos. The streets are wide and empty, the doors shut, the windows' slats pulled down; here and there a woman has set a tray of cigarettes and provisions on her porch, but there is no bustle of traffic, no one passes by; only once in a while a school-girl may pause to buy a penny worth of toffee; the residents leave early and return late, and their homes wear an air of quiet self-containment. It was this peace and isolation, the self-sufficiency of a well appointed house, which most appealed to those who liked it there and underlay the frustration of those who hated it."(15)

As it was stated before, since 1979, the effort of Lagos State Government in building houses for low-income families was significant. They succeeded in building over 30,000 units in different parts of Lagos, within four years time. These houses were built in blocks of six flats of two and three bedrooms. The policy of bringing down the prime cost of purchasing was laid down in such a way that, the completion of some of the finishing works like painting, floor finishing, kitchen cabinets, wardrobe and also some electrical instalations

were left for the owners to finish according to their tastes and financial abilities, which approximately would cost ₦1,000. In these schemes, the buildings are generally poorly executed with no provision for outdoor space. The layout plans of the buildings are designed in such a way that they do not identify any positive outdoor space.

A lack of basic consideration for the concept of Nigerian life in the design, suggests that the authorities have been in too much hurry to provide shelters and to house people. It reveals that the housing is measured by quantity, rather than quality. If this policy continues, by the end of this decade, the overall view of Lagos will be the ugly feature of those four storied conc-block buildings, poorly constructed, and the same pattern of life as in the old parts of Lagos, will grow among these inanimate buildings.

#### The Structure of Residential Neighbourhoods

Nowadays, roughly over 80 per cent of population of Metropolitan Lagos is living on the mainland, bounded from the east and west to Lagos Lagoon and city boundary and from the north to Ikeja Industrial Estate and the Airport, continues further up along Agege Motor Road, and finally from the south side to Apapa Industrial Estate and Apapa port. Apart from four large industrial estates, hundreds of small industrial establishments, markets and business centres are mixed up with residential neighbourhoods, both on the Island and on the mainland.

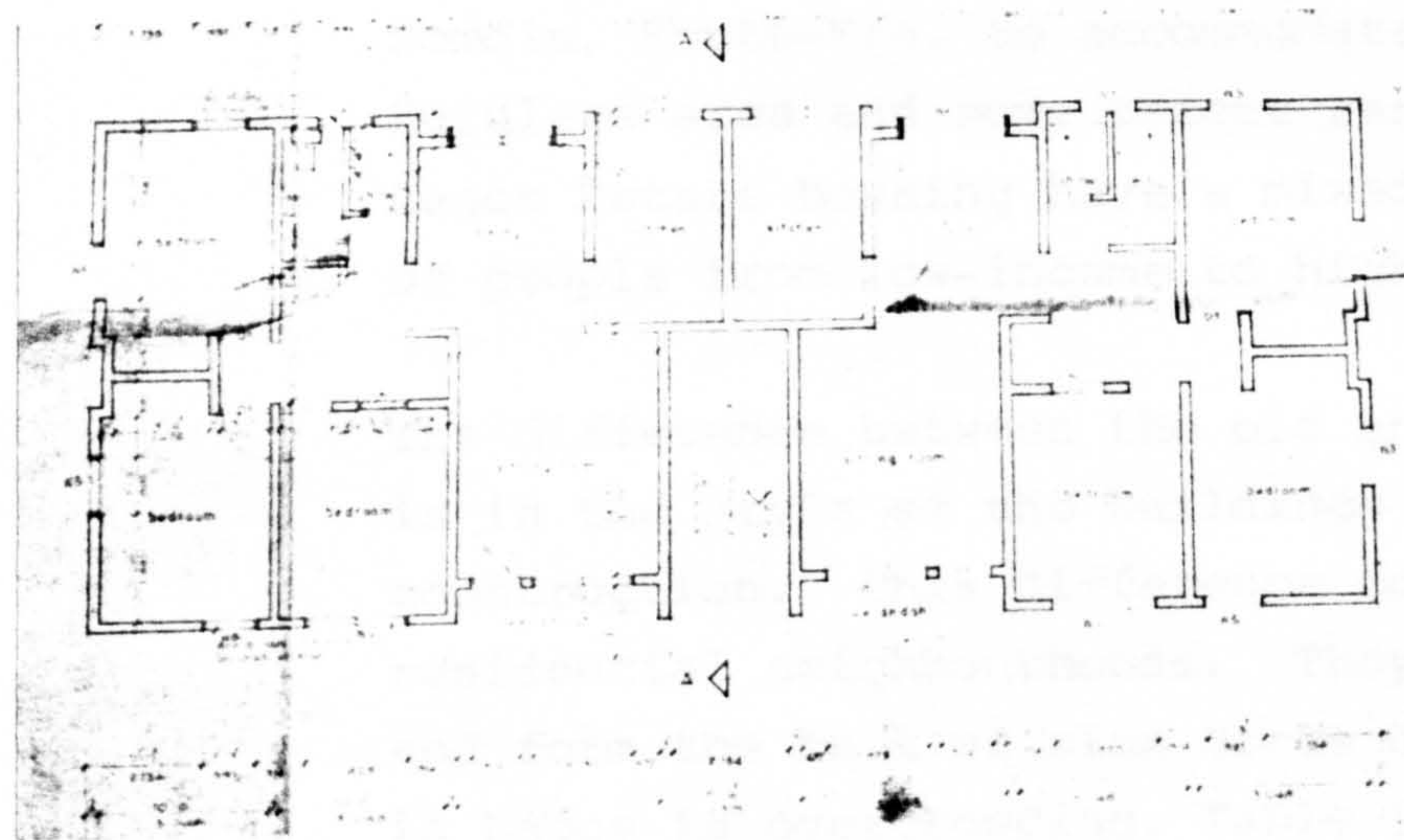
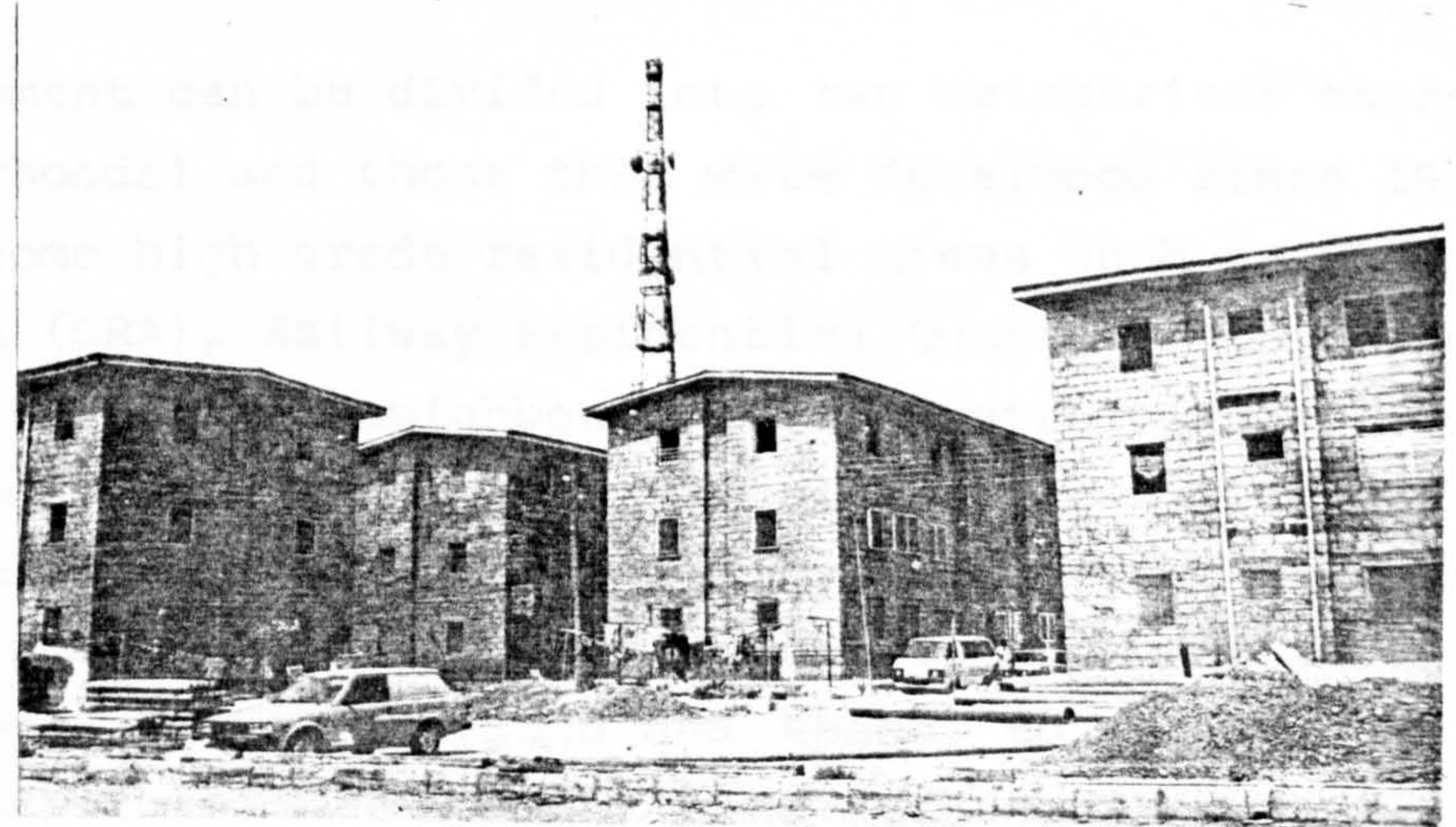
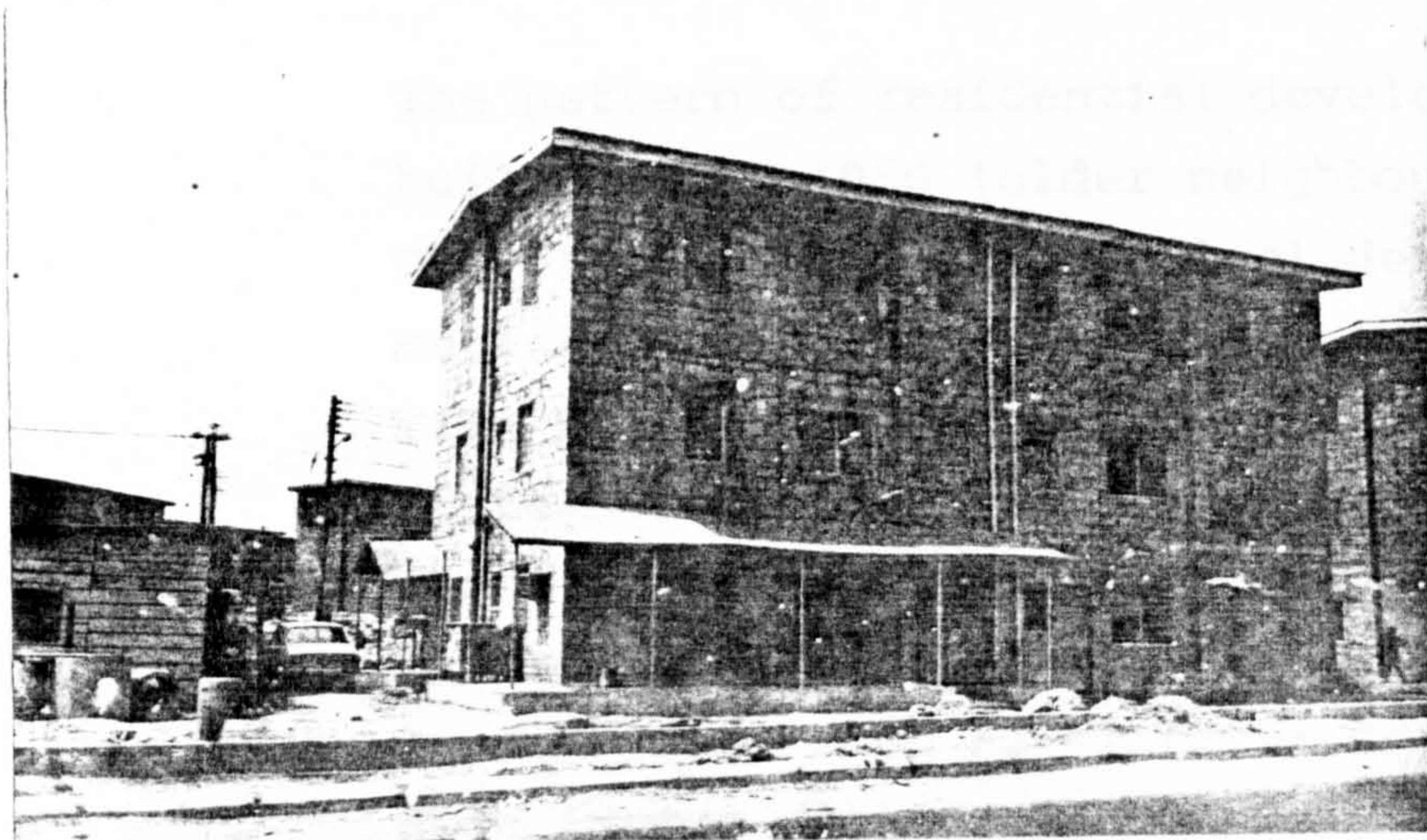


Plate 26 - Lagos State Low Income Housing Scheme (Ipanri)  
 (Notice tenants' modifications of the outdoor space and lack of any open space on the top floors)

The pattern of residential development can be divided into two categories: those built before 1950 (older neighbourhoods) and those that were developed since 1950. The older neighbourhoods include some high grade residential areas such as East Marina Government Residential Area (GRA), Railway Residential Quarters, Apapa and Yaba North, as well as low grade residential neighbourhood of Central Lagos, Ebute-Metta and Yaba South. The post 1950 residential development can also go under the above two categories, these that were developed by the government or government-sponsored agencies, with a high standard of amenities and very well layout plans such as Victoria Island, Ikoyi, Maryland and Apapa, to accommodate high income people, and those of unplanned development like Mushin, Yaba East, Somolu, Ebute-Ero, to accommodate the increased number of working-class migrants. Surulere area and some recent residential developments such as Festac Town and Lagos Estate housing have a mixed character. They accommodate different grade of people from low-income to higher medium income people.

The difference between the old and the new high grade residential neighbourhoods is in the style of the buildings and in the use of modern materials in building construction. This difference does not exist in the old and the new low grade residential neighbourhoods. They are all the same, as in the old part of Lagos, and form the bulk of slum areas of the Metropolis. The main problem of housing in Lagos is overcrowding. Table 12 shows that overcrowding exists not only in low grade residential areas but also in some high-class residential areas like Ikoyi West, where the average number of persons per room is as high as 4.1. This table also shows that the higher densities in 1977 were found on Lagos Island (5.4) than in Agege (5.0) or Mushin (4.3) These figures rose to 8.0 for



Table 12-Housing Characteristics in Lagos, 1976

<u>Zones of the Metropolis</u>	<u>Total No. of houses</u>	<u>Inhabitants per house</u>	<u>Inhabitants per household</u>	<u>Inhabitants per room</u>
Agege	13,404	29.4	3.1	3.0
Airport - Sogunle	4,006	32.9	8.2	3.7
Ikeja	6,040	23.9	5.7	3.8
Oregun, Ketu	2,513	54.9	4.7	3.2
Mushin NW.	1,115	27.4	4.5	2.5
Ijeshatedo, Itire	5,943	43.1	5.9	4.0
Mushin W., Surulere N.	4,627	64.6	5.1	3.5
Mushin Central	4,301	67.4	6.1	4.5
Mushin E., Bariga	9,431	50.9	5.1	3.1
Surulere S., Ebute-Metta	5,762	24.9	-	-
Yaba S., Ebute-Metta E.	5,864	41.4	5.1	4.1
Amuwo, Festac Town	721	16.9	3.7	1.6
Iganmu, Ajegunle - Apapa	9,318	55.7	5.8	4.2
Lagos Island N.	5,487	44.3	8.8	5.4
Ikoyi W.	1,247	27.1	7.6	4.1
Ikoyi E.	2,332	21.9	-	-
Victoria Island	939	15.3	-	-
Maroko	3,117	27.4	5.4	3.7
Total	86,197	40.8	5.8	4.1

Source: Lagos State Ministry of Works and Planning (1977).

Mushin area and 6.0 for Ajegunle, by 1982.(16)

The level of residential environment corresponds to the level of income and occupations. Poor people live in poor houses and rich people live in substantial houses. The general validity of this indication can hardly be disputed. Residential districts can be divided into three grades, according to the average rental value of a house unit. It should be noticed that, unless in a very high grade and low grade residential districts, where there is not much difference in house type, this subdivision is not accurate for the rest of Lagos, since the diversity of house types is immense.

### High Grade Residential Districts

High grade residential districts cover the residential areas of East Marina, Ikoyi, Apapa, Ikeja, the Railway Compound in Maryland, North Yaba, Palm-Grove Estate and Itire Estate.

East Marina is the oldest part of high grade residential neighbourhood which was developed in 1850s to accommodate expatriates in government. "Ikeja and Ikoyi provide housing for the senior governmental staff as Apapa does for the commercial and industrial sectors."(17) Ikoyi was developed in the late 1920s to provide extra space for the increasing number of European civil servants coming to Lagos. Up to 1952 it retained this exclusive character. With the political development of the country since then, it has become not only considerably mixed in its population but also vastly expanded its area. The programme of expansion had involved extensive land reclamation of the swampy parts of Ikoyi Island on the north-east, south-east and south-west.

The development of Victoria Island, Ikeja, Apapa and Maryland started in late 1950s and most of these areas were laid out for private development. Density in these areas is usually one or two houses per acre and layout plan is based on gridiron pattern and well equipped with facility services. The houses in the older areas are mostly of colonial type of two storey building, painted in white with tiled pitched roof and large balcony in front. Doors, windows and roof construction in some big houses are of fine timber construction. The houses in the newer areas have concrete construction with aluminium roofing sheets. Apart

from minor consideration of tropical climate in design, they are heavily equipped with modern mechanical equipment and represent a western style of architecture in Lagos.

Rentable value depends on the size of the house and its location, but it is generally high. Maybe, the cheapest accommodation in this category can be found in Northern Yaba district, where a house of two bed-rooms will cost approximately ₦10,000 per annum and the highest in Ikoyi and Victoria Island which will cost about ₦50,000 per annum and increase up to ₦100,000 per annum for larger house type.

#### Medium Grade Residential Districts

This covers the neighbourhood of north-eastern and some parts of central Lagos, Ebute-Metta, south of Yaba, Obalende and Surulere area. Among them, it is Surulere, originally developed in 1958 to house displaced people from slum areas of central Lagos, that has better social and internal amenities. "The Yaba South and Ebute-Metta East districts represent some of the earlier planning programmes in Lagos. They form a continuous layout from the Glover layout of 1867 to the Garden City of the 1930s. These neighbourhoods were planned on a gridiron pattern and the houses closely set on small plots of about 35 by 100 feet in Ebute-Metta and 50 by 100 feet in Yaba. This gives a housing density of 16 per acre in Ebute-Metta and about 14 at Yaba."(18)

The oldest area of this type of residential units is north-eastern Lagos which is popularly known as 'Brazilian Quarters' and has been described before.

The rentable value of a three bedroom bungalow in Surulere area is as high as ₦18,000 per annum, it declines up to ₦8,000 in Yaba South and even less than that in Ebute-Metta. The average rent per room is about ₦80 to ₦100 in better location with minimum amenities and goes down to ₦30 in some overcrowded parts of Ebute-Metta and Yaba, where the density rate per room is about 4, and over 90 per cent of the houses depend on bucket latrine.

#### Low Grade Residential Districts

This covers the old part of the Island, Ajegunle-Aigetoro on the mainland, next to Apapa port, Olowagbowo, Ebute-Ero, Yaba East, Somolu and Mushin. The common characteristic of these neighbourhoods is the natural growth without any planning. The Central Lagos is the first part to be developed in the form of traditional Yoruba structure: large rectangular compound with an open courtyard in the middle and a vast open area around it, which contained numerous dwelling places is now broken up into the small units, and also all open spaces are built up to give more room to the increasing population. This part of the Island has the worst housing conditions, with the density of 8 persons per room. Most of the existing houses are parts of old buildings or compounds which have been altered and repaired. The north-eastern part of old Lagos was cleared in 1930, because of its insanitary condition, which gave rise to the outbreak of colera

in 1920s. The houses in this area are built in different sizes and heights. The most notable are those three storey buildings with balconies in front, along Dacemo Street.

Apart from Lagos Island, the rest of the low grade residential districts in the Metropolis are not old. East Yaba development started in 1930, while Mushin and Somolu development started during the 1950s. The characteristic features of all these neighbourhoods are their narrow and confused lanes, insanitary and poor housing condition and overcrowding.

Table 13 - Housing Characteristics in Slum Areas of Lagos, 1982

	Slum Area			
	<u>Abule-Ijesha</u>	<u>Mushin</u>	<u>Ilasamaja</u>	<u>Ajegunle</u>
Average size of household	9.50	10.60	9.34	12.00
Average No. of persons per room	5.0	8.0	5.0	6.00
Houses with flush toilet, %	3.2	0.8	4.0	9.1
Houses with tap or running water, %	3.3	7.3	18.0	13.6
Houses with electricity, %	75.4	48.8	88.0	95.5
Households using pit toilet system, %	1.6	50.4	74.1	4.5
Households using pail toilet system, %	3.2	33.8	14.0	4.5
Households without any toilet facilities, %	14.7	5.7	6.0	13.6
Average monthly rent per room, ₦	20.0	25.0	20.0	22.0

Source: Akom, A. (1984)

Table 13 shows that the density is ranging from 5 persons per room in Abule-Ijesha to a very high of 8 persons per room in Mushin. Generally, over 90 per cent of houses lack flush toilet or running water. "The pail toilet system dominated in Abule-Ijesha and Ajegunle accounting for 85 per cent and 82 per cent respectively, whereas the pit toilet system was dominated in Mushin and Ilasamaja with 50 per cent and 74 per cent respectively. As many as 33 per cent of households in Mushin were without any form of toilet facilities, depending on a nearby house, gutters and open drains or the bush. The water problem was so severe that people had to buy water or fetch it from streams."(19) All these low-grade residential areas originally grew to provide cheap accommodation for migrants. In these areas houses are built with all kinds of cheap material on every open space among the buildings. Commercial houses are also built in these areas in a form of two to four storey tenement, containing up to 30 rooms with the central corridor and public facilities at the backyard. The rentable value of each room varies from ₦20 up to ₦40, depending on the size of a room or the amenities available. Although since 1978 Lagos State Government took an effort to improve the condition of living in the low grade residential neighbourhoods, still it is far below the average standard.

### Housing Stock

It is very difficult to give an accurate figure of the housing stock in Lagos, since no comprehensive official estimate of its size and distribution is available. Doxidis Associates, in their report in 1972, estimated the total number of dwelling

units in Lagos to be about 224,500 with the density of 62.5 persons per acre, (154 persons per hectare). The following figure of 1978, estimated the total number of dwelling units in Metropolitan Lagos to be about 393,000 with an average of ten persons per dwelling unit.(20) This means an increase of about 28,000 units per annum.

The types and sizes of dwelling distribution are different and depend on the residential grade. In the low grade residential districts, such as the old part of Lagos Island and some parts of the mainland, rooming type of dwellings are dominant, while a house type dwellings are dominant in high grade residential districts.(Tables14,15,16)

In 1978, an estimated four per cent of the stock was provided by the public sector for sale or letting. They included:

- staff quarters for government officials and also about 859 units for railway staffs,
- housing units provided to be rented to the people displaced by slum clearance. These houses were sold out to tenants, in 1980.
- housing units provided for low-income families at very low rent.
- low-cost housing projects to be sold to low income families.

Private sector accounts for over 95 per cent of the total housing stock in Metropolitan Lagos. According to L.S.D.P.C. (21) report, three categories of developers are responsible for the contributions from the private sector. These are:

- 1) The private single plot owner, who secured his plot legitimately from, the



Table 14 - Types of Dwelling in Metropolitan Lagos

<u>Area</u>	<u>House Type</u>	<u>Flat Type</u>	<u>Rooming Type</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lagos Island	3.9	0.2	95.9	100
Ebute-Metta	4.8	4.8	90.4	"
Yaba	3.0	9.6	87.4	"
Surulere	38.1	12.0	49.9	"
All areas	19.5	7.3	73.2	"

Table 15 - Types of Dwellings, Distribution by areas

<u>Area</u>	<u>House Type</u> %	<u>Flat Type</u> %	<u>Rooming Type</u> %
Lagos	5.2	0.9	34.2
Ebute-Metta	4.9	13.2	24.6
Yaba	1.3	11.4	10.3
Surulere	88.6	74.5	30.9

Source: Report on Master plan Lagos, 1972.

Table 16 - Plot Allocation in Metropolitan Lagos

<u>Scheme Areas</u>	<u>Total No. Allocated</u>	<u>Total No. Developed</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Surulere	1,936	1,661	85.5
Apapa	1,144	1,125	98.3
Ilupeju	403	349	86.6
Ogba	328	34	10.4
Oshodi	104	32	30.8
Gbagaba & Anthony Village	515	84	16.3
Omole	867	1	0.1
Amuwo - Odofin	1,749	-	-
Total	7,046	3,286	46.6

Source: Lagos State Development & Planning Corporation, Housing Schemes in Metropolitan Lagos - Summary, December, 1978.

the plot scheme developed by the housing authority. After securing this plot he usually plays two games:

- i) - puts up only one dwelling unit for his family or the permitted maximum number of units. However, after getting a permission for maximum built up area for a single unit, the owner usually divides it to a few smaller units and hires it out. Table 16 shows that only 46.6 per cent of the LSDPC 7,046 residential plots allocated in all its plot schemes scattered all over Lagos, had been fully developed as in December, 1978.
- ii) - puts up a single storey rooming house and lets out the rooms to recover his investment quickly. If he does so before the authorities become aware of it, he can proceed to add more rooms, expanding horizontally at first and then vertically, as he becomes bolder.

## 2) Squatters' Area

The builder is not the owner of the land; he usually puts up a shanty type of building of temporary structure and is ready to dismantle it, or can afford it to be demolished by the authorities. However, these squatter settlements have provided cheap accommodation for the migrant population and introduced urban way of living to the rural migrant population.

The squatter settlements have made some major positive contributions to the efforts being made to house the rapidly growing population of the Metropolis - they account for an estimated 93 per cent of dwelling units.(21) Therefore, it is clear that the pressure of urbanization, economic growth and resulting distribution of wealth now appear to be principal factors in the composition of urban housing.

### Residential Space and Crowding

The traditional form of compounds are no more common in new developed areas; most of the old compounds are broken down to smaller units. Newer housing have been laid out, and still the construction is going on in newly developed areas, in a block of six to eight rooms, face to face along narrow corridor, with its residents not necessarily being of one family, but sharing service facilities such as shower, toilets and kitchen. This type of buildings has a rectangular shape covered by metal sheets; a middle corridor links the entrance to the back-yard. Most of the households' activities are, in this middle passage, which is usually not more than 1.5m wide (= 4 to 5 feet), such as cooking, storing, children's play area and in the much overcrowded areas, people also sleep in this corridor.

In this type of houses, each single room is hired out by the owner to one family, at the average rate of ₦30 per month, depending on the size of the room. In some areas that were surveyed, it was common that a family of eight persons is living in a room not bigger than 12 sq. m. (= 3.5 x 3.5m).

Data on the size and occupancy of dwelling units in Lagos (Table 17) show that 38.1 per cent of dwelling units have floor area of less than 11 sq.m., 36 per cent have floor space of 11 to 13 sq.m., and only 5.6 per cent have floor space over 46 sq.m.

Occupancy rates are high, especially in low grade residential districts, and

Table 17 - Dwelling Unit Size in Metropolitan LagosPercentage of Dwelling by floor space (sq.m)

<4.6	4.6 - 9.2	9.3 - 11.1	11.2 - 13.8	13.9 - 27.8	27.9 - 46.5	> 46.5
~ 2.3%	~ 21.7%	~ 14.1%	~ 36.0%	~ 14.0%	~ 6.3%	~ 5.6%

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Household Survey Unit, Housing Enquiry Report, 1972/3, 1973/4, 1978.

Table 18 - Occupancy rate (average number of persons per room) in parts of Metropolitan Lagos

<u>Area:</u>	<u>Occupancy Rate:</u>	<u>Area:</u>	<u>Occupancy Rate</u>
Victoria Island	1.6	Yaba	5.8
Ikoyi	2.0	Ajengunle	5.8
Abolende	8.7 8.5*	Surulere	3.9
Lagos Island	5.4 2.7** 4.8*	Mushin	8.0 4.5* 8.2*
Ebute-Metta	7.4	Ikeja	2.7 3.9*

Source: Sada, P.O. and Adegbola, O., "Migration and Urban Development; the Case of Lagos", seminar on migration in Nigeria, Ile-Ife, May, 1975.

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\*\* Federal Office of Statistics, Household Survey Unit, Housing Enquiry Report, 1972/73 & 1973/74.

\* Field study in December, 1982, children under seven years are counted as half person.

overcrowding is a serious problem. Table 18 shows that room occupancy rate is as high as 8.7 persons per room in Obalende area and 8.0 persons per room in the Mushin area, dropping to 2.0 and 1.6 persons per room in Ikoyi area and in Victoria Island area respectively.

What would be, therefore, the rational rate of room occupancy in Lagos? If we consider Western standard and calculate any rate more than 1.5 persons per room as overcrowding, than 90 per cent of the households are experiencing severe overcrowding. Since roughly 70 per cent of the households lacking adequate indoor space are poor, one might argue generally that the problem is a manifestation of low income people.

#### Dwelling Structure

In the old parts of the city, a high percentage of buildings are single storey, with mud construction and timber's roof, covered by iron sheets. Most of the expansion and alterations on the old houses are made with temporary structures of timber, covered by corrugated iron sheets. Because of the various alterations and expansions, specially during the past ten years, the original structure is lost. The remainder is a collage of all kinds of materials such as: timber, corrugated iron sheet, plank wood and sometimes tins and cans filled with sand.

There are four types of houses in Lagos:

1. Mud walls plastered with cement and timber roof covered with corrugated iron sheets.

2. Timber structure; walls and roofs covered with corrugated iron sheets (temporary structure),
3. Cement block walls; timber roof covered with corrugated iron sheets.
4. Concrete structure, cement block walls roofed with asbestos or aluminium sheets.

With the exception of houses for low-income families provided by Government, there is a relationship between the status of household and the choice of building materials. Most of the lower-income family houses belong to the type one or two. A proportion of lower middle class and low-income wage earners' houses belong to type three. Upper middle-class and high-income family houses belong to type four.

#### Cost of Housing

The cost of the cheapest low-income house in Lagos, constructed by Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (L.S.D.P.C.), was about ₦5,000 for two bed-roomed flat, and ₦6,000 for three bed-roomed flat (in 1982). The LSDPC required applicants to pay application forms for ₦50 each and to pay deposit of ₦1,000 for two bed-roomed, and ₦1,200 for three-bedroomed flat. It would cost the owner an additional ₦1,000 to put fittings (cost of painting; kitchen; electrical and floor fittings). The total cost then increased to between ₦6,000 and ₦7,000 respectively, which is more than eight times the basic minimum wage of ₦720. The cost of the cheapest house constructed by the Federal Housing Authority (F.H.A.) is even higher than the LSDPC's; it is about ₦7,300 (the cost does not include the price of land and infrastructure), which is more than ten times the basic minimum wages. If we consider that the basic minimum wage is

paid only by the public sector, and in informal sector wages are less than that amount, then we realize the gap between the cost of housing and the purchase power. The high cost on building in Lagos is due to the use of limited sources of materials. Cement and reinforced steel are the only materials used in building construction in Lagos and also in other urban areas in Nigeria, and because of limited production, a huge quantity of these materials should be imported. The same could be said in the case of sanitary ware and electric fittings. Moreover, the quality of the locally produced materials are cheap. Therefore, the bulk of building materials has to be imported.

A lack of adequate supervision over the imported materials, their prices and the system of distribution to the market has increased the cost of building, and seriously affected the purchase power.

Unfortunately, most of the leading architects and planners in Nigeria are thinking that the mass production of housing is the only solution to the housing problem. In 1977, Dr. Sinha wrote that: "Certain types of houses can best be built by a system whereby entire rooms or whole flats are made in factories and put into place by a crane on site. Technologically speaking, prefabrication provides a very quick and economical method of building houses on a small scale continuously over a period of time. In the housing for the low-income group, adoption of prefabrication can be considered to be of advantage in view of the following: mass housing, speed, disciplined use of materials, better quality, cost reduction, industrialization, type housing and continuous employment."(22) In some other statements the traditional method of construction has been dis-



couraged to give way to the prefabrication system. "The traditional method of placing one lonely brick or block over the other, a method normally used for wall construction, must give way to an industrialised prefabricated system of building construction which allows whole components of a house or blocks of flats to be delivered on site and assembled like a mecano set in shortest possible time."(23) The fact is that Nigeria does not have technical ability and skilled labour to embark on prefabrication system of housing production, she has to get aid from international companies. Moreover, the cost of such a type of housing is not within the financial abilities of low-income group, and it is economically quite impossible to house huge low-income and unemployed population of Lagos by state subsidy.

We have already observed that the contribution of industrialisation in Nigeria not only did not increase the opportunity for employment but on the contrary, it has increased the poverty of the informal sector within the society, and, consequently affected the problem of housing. An average low-income person who could afford to build his own house by local materials in traditional way, is unable now to do so; he is totally dependent on so-called 'sophisticated' materials, about which, apart from being too expensive, he does not have the knowledge of using them in building construction.

Maybe the most important contribution of the Government to the housing shortage is to bring down the high cost of building construction by improving the quality and increasing the quantity of locally produced materials and to search for the new sources of local materials. This would encourage the owner-financer to

build his house and also to create new job opportunities. But, unfortunately, in most of the housing programmes in Nigeria, many of the components of the housing and infrastructure have been imported.

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## CHAPTER SIX

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### THE PATTERN OF LIFE

#### Social Life in Lagos

Though the presence of the Europeans since 1860, fast economic growth and rapid urbanization affected the traditional way of living, the structure of life is still based on the traditional background.

Lagos was originally the land of Yorubas, and even now they are the dominant ethnic group. According to the census of 1953, 73.29 per cent of population were Yorubas. The Ibos and Hausa-Fulani comprised 11.92 per cent and 1.55 per cent of the population respectively. In the old areas of the city, Yorubas comprised over 90 per cent of the population, so consequently, the way of life derives from Yoruba tradition. Communal living and the origin of compounds are two major characteristics of Yoruba social structure. In Yoruba tradition, behaviour is based on mutual respect, especially on the respect for the elders. All the men from the father's side are called 'fathers', all the women 'mothers' and the rest of the relatives are 'brothers'. This tradition is also common in other ethnic groups as well.

As a traditional rule, a man can have more than one wife. Usually, when the wife moves to her husband's house or a compound, her closest relatives move there as well. In a survey of some old houses and compounds in Lagos and some rural areas in Western Region, it was found that there were separate rooms for wife's relati-

ves. This tradition still exists in Lagos; if there is any spare room in the house, the wife's relatives would live there. Any relative from the husband's or wife's side, who came to Lagos, will stay with them. A junior civil servant who was living with his wife and four children in two rooms of a compound indicated that every year he spends all his savings during the school holidays, when his relatives' children come to Lagos to live with them. At that time he had six guests from his home-town. If a man with two or three wives and a number of children can not support them he will easily send some of his children to his brother's place or another relative to look after them.

Marris, P. describes one of the households as follows: "Apart from his wives and sixteen of his children, he lived with his mother, a sister, two of the sister's children, two grown sons of his mother's sister, two young cousins, and three nieces. They all ate together, catered for by his senior wife and depended upon him for his support. The young children were with him for the sake of their education: 'the house' he explained, 'belongs to my father's side. They were brought to me for teaching; their father is helpless and they want them to go to school.' The father of the nieces was in Government service and transferrring up and down the country, the children did not get proper education. The sons of his aunt helped with his business: one had been an English tailor 'but Lagos has changed to native dress, so there is not much for him to do: He helps me a bit; the other wants to a bit of trade in sand and like. He calls himself a contractor. But they are bound to me. I give them board money just to live on.' Finally, his sister had joined him at his special request. 'I begged leave of her husband for her to stay here to look after my mother, as she can't see, and

I would not like to bring a stranger into the house to lead her about, and know her secrets."(1)

The family problems are usually discussed at weekly or monthly family meetings. Sometimes women have a separate meeting, discussing family affairs, and men have their own meeting to discuss business. It is the duty of all relatives to contribute financially or morally to one another's problems. If there is any marriage ceremony, funeral or any other occasion, all relatives contribute financially. The closest relatives come a few days before the ceremony and work together; they usually stay after the ceremony to help in cleaning up and ordering. The most important ceremonies are funerals, marriages and child's naming ceremonies.

Lagosian women lead a very active life, by taking part in all sorts of activities. They are working as ministers, senior officers in the Government, shop-keepers and traders as well as petty-traders, selling goods and food on the streets. The nature of the business depends on the class of the family. In high class families women work as traders; they are involved in import and export of goods as wholesalers. Middle class women very often run their own shops, which is usually a part of a room, converted into a shop or a small kiosk, built on the sidewalk at their doorstep. This enables them to run their shops and at the same time do their house-work.

In old parts of Lagos Island and in all low-income neighbourhoods on the mainland it is difficult to identify the function of each room in one compound. All single rooms, facing the street are converted into shops. At the same time

these shops serve as living, dining and in most cases as sleeping areas. All members of the family help in running the shop, especially children who are brought up in it and learn from their mothers how to run the business.

A family of six persons (parents and four children) are living in two roomed accommodation in Lagos. The larger room (3m x 2.10m) is used as a private bedroom and a store, while the front room (1.50m x 2.10m) has been converted into a shop. Children are used to sleep in the shop or in the neighbours' rooms. They spend their day there or around the shop, which is also occupied by other petty traders. If the mother's business and the room is not at the same place, children go with their mothers and hang around the area of her business.

Women from low income families establish their businesses at every corner of the street, preferably closer to their homes or in the market places under the bridges. They sell food, cigarettes, matches, minerals, nuts, drinks, fruits and vegetables, all kinds of tinned food and many other things. Those who can not establish their places carry their carefully selected and arranged goods on their heads, on big trays and sell them around.

For women who are well-off, business is a hobby which brings also a social dignity. In low-income families, women have to work if the family is to survive.

A lady who has her kitchen on the side-walk of the Western Avenue, (next to the new scheme of state housing) stated that her husband is a cleaner in a private



office in Lagos, earning ₦140 per month; they have three children in their teens, and two of her husband's cousins are living with them. They pay ₦65 for accommodation which includes two small rooms at the first floor of an old house. She usually starts her work at 6 a.m. (to prepare breakfast and lunch for workers) and closes around 5 p.m. Her children come from school to replace her for lunch. She earns ₦20 per month apart from their food, which is free of charge

Some women go to market early in the morning and carry fruits, plantains and eggs on their heads and try to sell them around. They walk a few miles a day in order to sell their goods. Work is compulsory for the women of low income; without their hard work the family could not survive.

#### Low-income families

The contribution of industrialization to the transformation of poor nations into the developed countries is usually expected in terms of employment and income generation. Evidences have shown that not only these expectations have not been met in most developing countries, but, on the contrary, they have created many social and urban problems. For example, in Nigeria, out of 26 million work force in 1977, only about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was employed in industrial sector.(2) The actual rate of unemployment in Lagos is unknown. Although the unemployment rate for urban areas, in Nigeria, was suggested to be about 8 per cent in 1974, (3) it can not be considered as an accurate figure since many job-seekers do not register with the labour exchange, which produced this information. According to the

World Bank survey, unemployment rate in most African cities is usually more than 10 per cent; this rate increases as high as 30 per cent in some major African cities.(4) With such high unemployment rate it is very difficult to give exact definition of low-income family in the Metropolitan Lagos. According to the Authorities the minimum salary is ₦720 per annum and up to grade level GL.06 in Government sector with the salary up to ₦2500 per annum is considered as a low-income group. Grade level GL.07 to GL.10, the salary ranges between ₦2500 to ₦6400 and falls into medium-income group and above that is considered as high-income group. However, this classification varies in different states of Nigeria for allocation of housing.

Table 19 - Income Group Classification in Some States of Nigeria

<u>Location</u>	<u>Low-income under ₦ p/a</u>	<u>Lower Medium Income, ₦ p/a</u>	<u>Upper medium Income ₦ p/a</u>	<u>High Income over ₦ p/a</u>
Lagos State	2,400	2,400-5,000	-	5,000
Imo State	2,000	2,000-5,000	-	5,000
Kaduna State	1,500	1,500-2,500	2,500-5,000	5,000
Cross River State	1,000	1,000-2,500	2,500-4,000	4,000

Source: Based on balloting advertisements for allocation of dwelling.

Although Table 19 shows that families in low-income group are those with income less than certain amount, the minimum income of the families who were to be eli-

gible to apply for a house was usually higher than the salaries of the low-income group. For example, a minimum income of ₦1,600 per annum was considered necessary if a family was to apply for a house in Festac Town in Lagos in 1976; it reveals that the families with an annual income less than the required amount had less opportunity to become owner-occupiers. This also applies to a high percentage of families in Lagos who are working in informal sector, (over 50 per cent of the work force)(5), or running their own businesses as petty traders, earning far less than a minimum salary and can hardly afford to hire a room in Lagos. It was observed from the report in 1978, that in Lagos "the average paid-up capital for the 813 enterprises that supplied information about their capital outlay, was ₦486.40. This is a small sum of money considering the fact that at the time of the survey the least paid Government employee with just a first school leaving certificate on level GL.01 and working as a messenger or cleaner was earning ₦720 per annum. A person who hold a secondary school certificate was on level GL.04 earning ₦1,080 per annum, while a person with a university first degree was earning ₦3,264 per annum on level GL.08."(6)

The family income in rural areas is even worst; about ₦120 per annum, (see Appendix 1, page ) showing that the imbalance between rural and urban economies is increasing, which means that even the lowest income groups are better off in the cities. This is the main reason that stimulates people, especially the younger generation, to rush to the big cities, where they may find better job opportunities, and cause rapid development of overcrowded and slum neighbourhoods at the greater rate than any other aspect of physical urban development.



Plate 27 -

A kitchen at the  
corner of a street  
Obalende Area,  
Lagos



Plate 28 -

Children helping  
their mother in  
business



Plate 29 -  
Business at a  
doorstep, Surulere

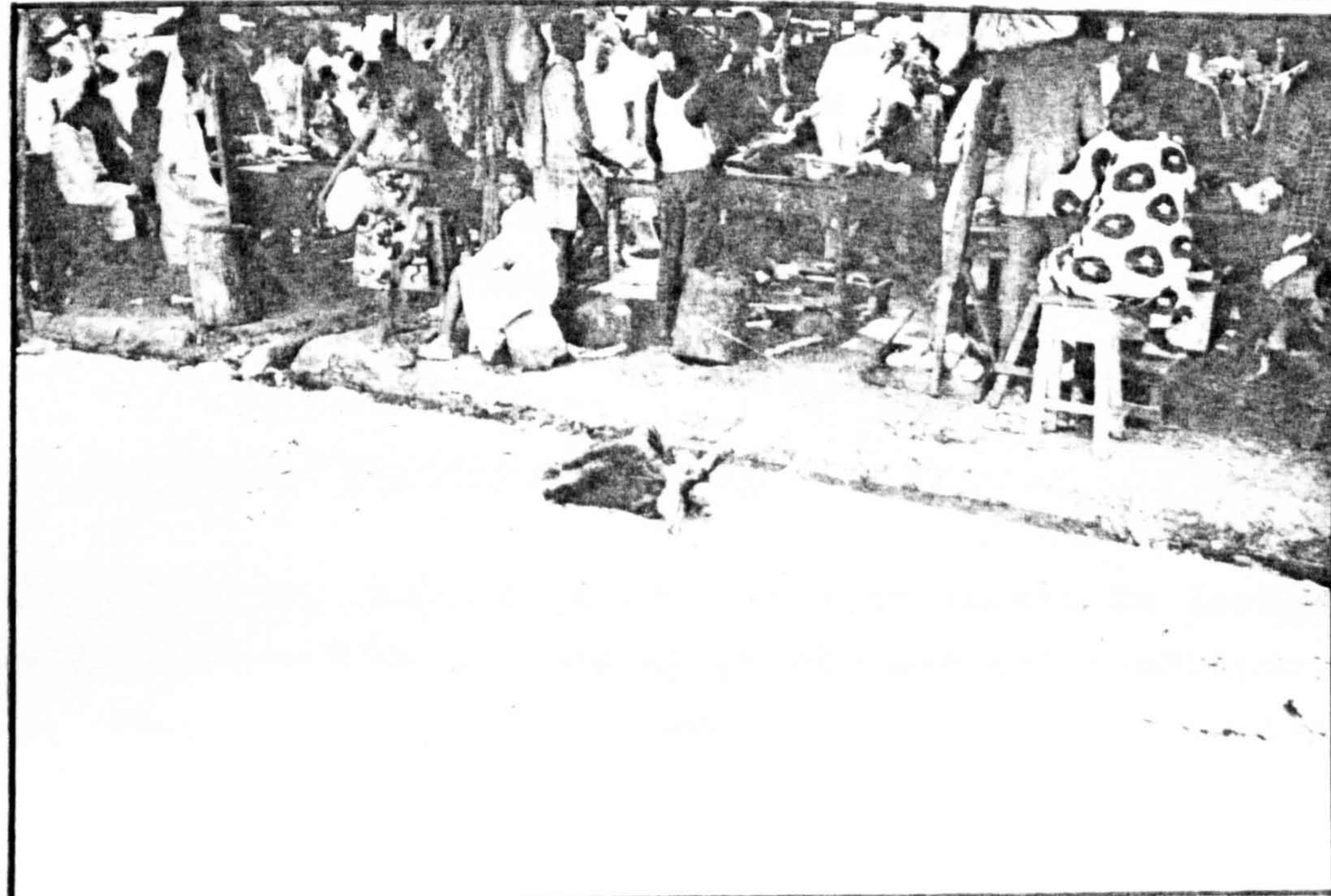


Plate 30 -  
Market place at  
Surulere area,  
Lagos

The nature of employment in Lagos reveals that a small, skilled and well-paid group co-exists with a large semi or unskilled, low-paid group. Un and under-employment is high. Moreover, a small group of educated people who are active in private sector (privileged group), obtaining a high percentage of national income, had created an extreme polarization in urban incomes. This imbalance in incomes has caused a social segregation in the community and also made it impossible for lower-income group to improve their life.

Considering the above facts, as Turner (7) describes, the solution does not lie in 'housing' if this is conceived as the provision of conventionally designed and built physical shelters by a paternalistic authority. It simply will not suffice to 'house' a poor person (even if his house is subsidised) if, at the same time, we do not make it possible for him to improve his earning capacity and thereby his access to many other benefits of community life. Without new employment (which a house building programme can help to stimulate), people will not be able to afford improvements in their houses, whether they are built conventionally or by self-helping methods. Therefore, the emphasis must be on the creation of employment as a prerequisite to housing development. (8)

#### Study of Low-income People in their Homes

We need to identify the quality of housing that exists in low-grade residential areas in Lagos, and to find out how do people use and subdivide the space within their homes. What are the rooms and furniture actually used for? Which functions

are private to the principal household and what can be shared with others?

For this purpose three low-income residential neighbourhoods were chosen for survey study (old part of Lagos-Mushin area and Surulere) to help us to understand better the family life, their living arrangements and their needs. The result of the survey study showed that in high density residential areas (Lagos Island and Mushin on the mainland) the use of the outdoor space was limited to a small passage and in most cases there was not any useful outdoor space. On the contrary, in Surulere area there is a vast outdoor space and the immediate open space in front and at the rear of the house, is utilised. The effect of such a contrast was that in the first two neighbourhoods people were claiming a lack of outdoor space, whereas in Surulere, they were not satisfied by a large scale of open space. Apart from the problem of overcrowding the living arrangement of indoor space follows the same pattern and each room has multiple function.

The following is a description of an ordinary working day in the life of an ordinary working class family in Lagos. The family members are: Mr. Doherty, the father and the head of the household, his wife and four children; Fausat, a girl of 15, is the oldest child. She attends the Government secondary school in Lagos Island. Bolaji, a boy of 12 and Rashid, a boy of 10, attend a Government primary school in Lagos. Finally, Supo is 6 years old and spends most of his time with the mother. There are also two cousins who are working with the mother in her shop and are living with them in one room apartment in Lagos. (room No.5, Fig.53)

All the children have assigned household tasks, that they perform every day. Mother runs a small restaurant, an open space off Awolowo Road, beside the Lagoon. She and her two cousins usually wake up at 3 a.m. to prepare food at the corner of an open space in their compound and she leaves the house not later than 6 a.m. to arrange the shop and serve the customers who start coming from 7 a.m. for breakfast. She runs the restaurant up to 3 p.m., when she goes back home, but her older daughter comes from school to take her place in the shop.

Children usually wake up at 6 a.m., and the oldest daughter arranges breakfast, brings water from the tap and takes them to school. With the exception of Faust who goes to shop after school, the other two come back home at around 3 p.m. while their mother joins them. The senior sister and the workers reach home usually around 7 p.m. They all help to clean and make order in the house.

The father is an electric technician at N.E.P.A. He is on shift duty, day and night, and he takes a rest during the day when he is on the night-shift.

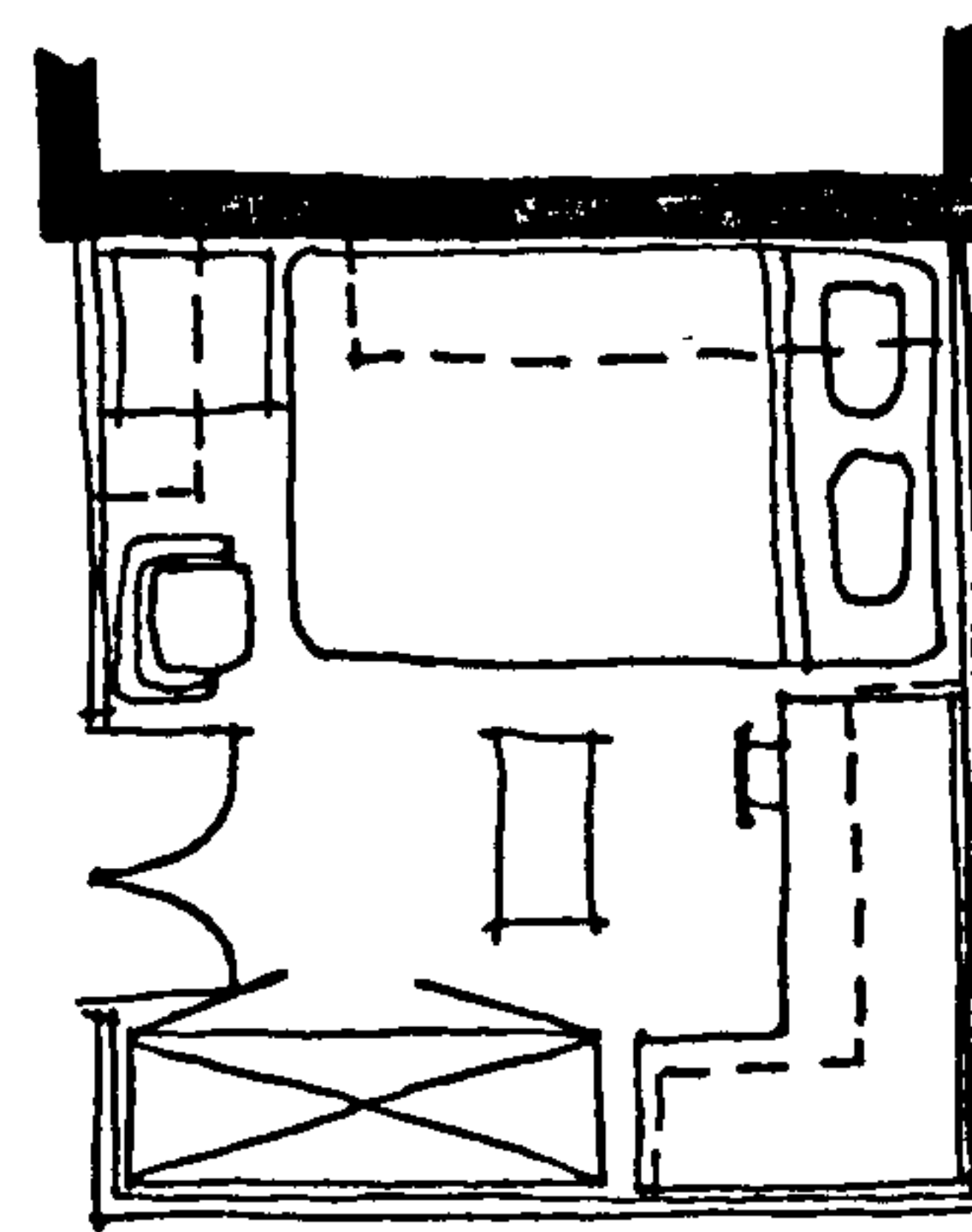
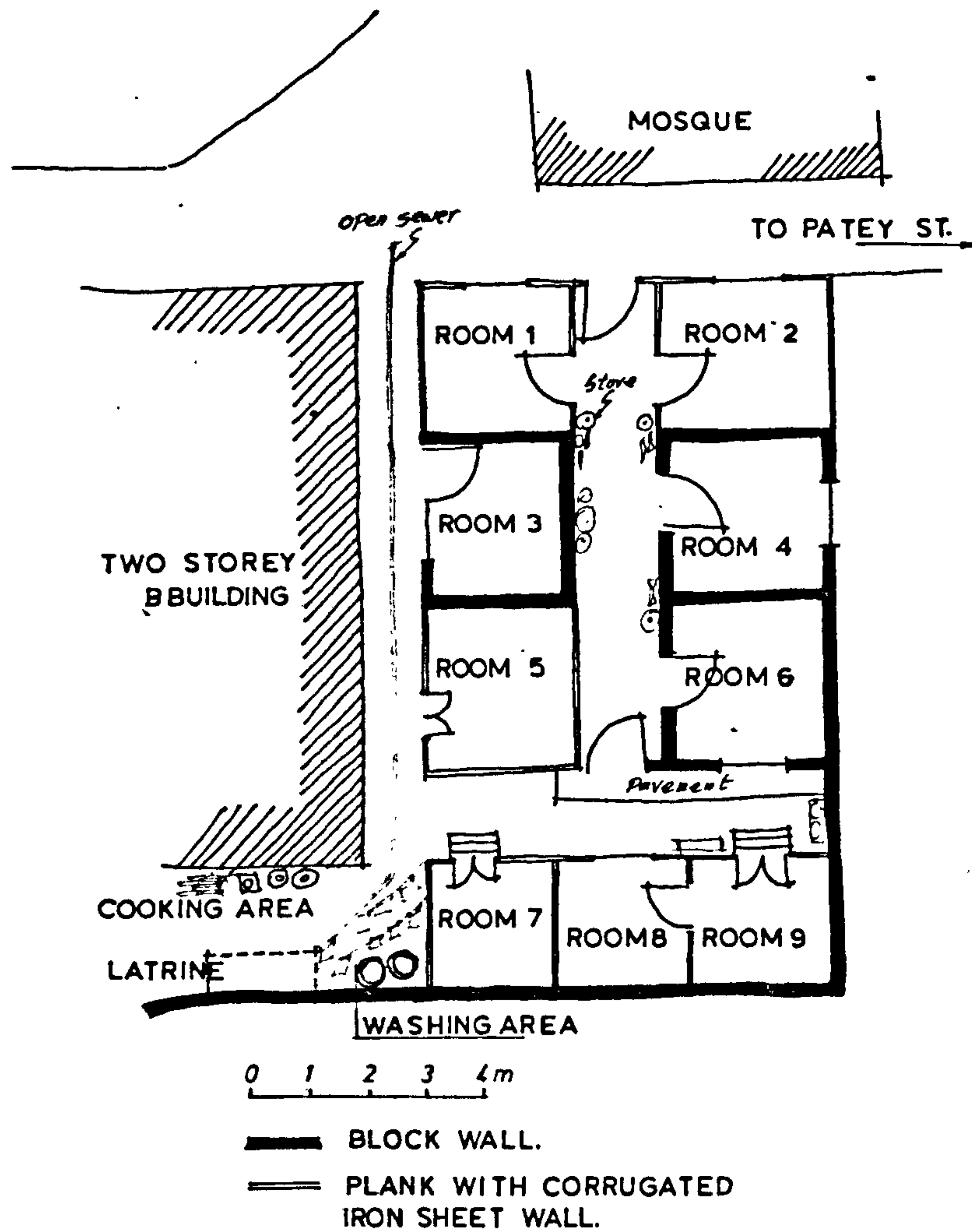
Their accommodation is a room of 8'x9', with a temporary construction of planks with corrugated iron-sheet wall. There is no window, apart from two openings at the entrance door. The parents sleep in this room during the night; children and other two girls lodge with an old lady who has two room accommodation (Rooms No.8&9) at the back of the premisses. They are not the only guests of the old lady; she usually has up to five more persons who come to sleep there.

Cooking is done in the backyard but there is no exact time for eating; anyone

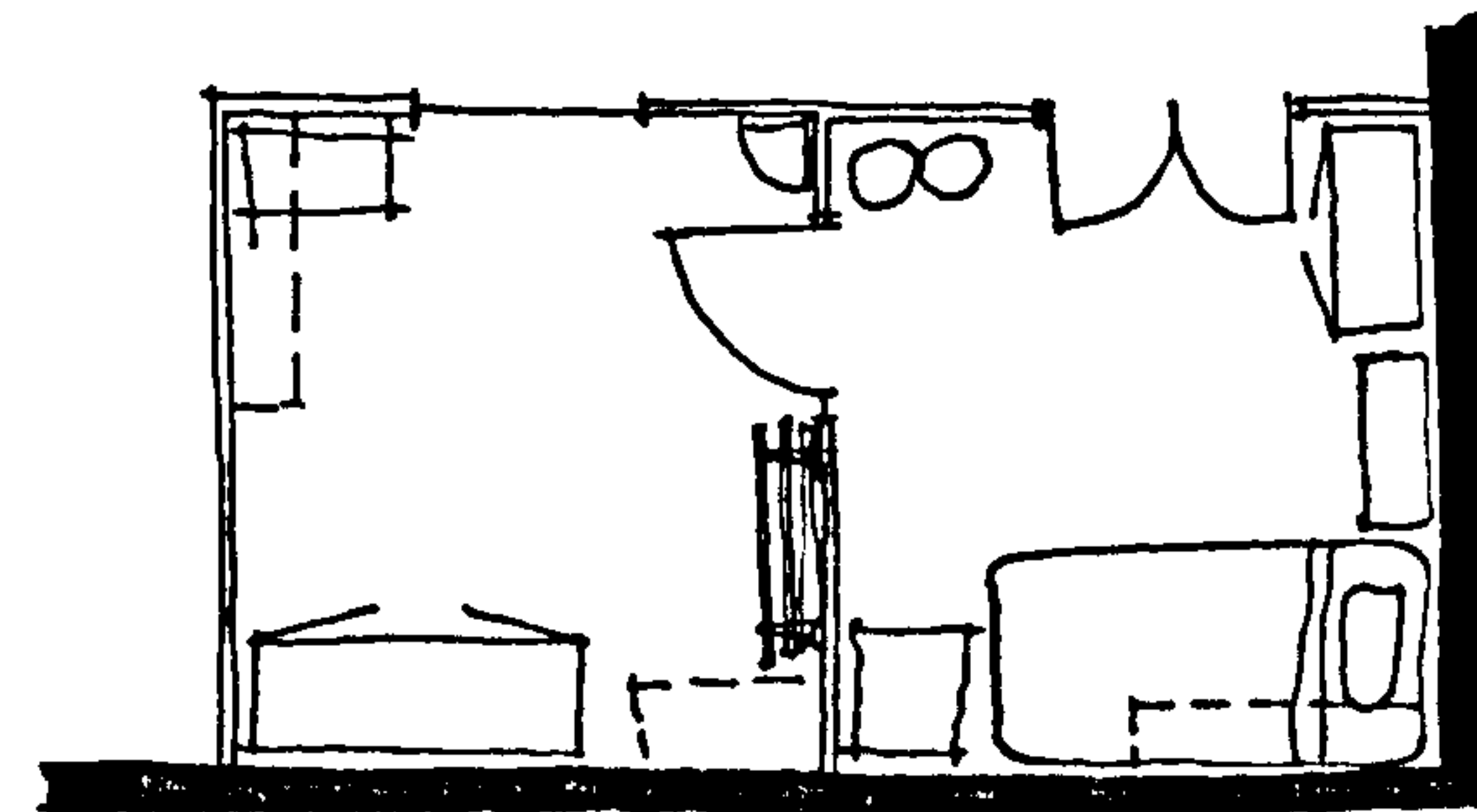


who feels hungry can have some rice or yam and a piece of meat. Father is the only one who usually eats his food at the table, except when there are visitors who would usually join him. If the father works a day shift, after dinner he will have time to discuss with his wife the family matters and her work, while drinking a beer. They go to sleep soon because mother should start another hard-working day at 3 a.m.

The single room (Room No.7) at the backyard also belongs to an old lady who has four children of her cousins. There are usually 12 tenants in those three rooms, but sometimes the number of guests increases, making up to 20 persons.



ROOM 5



ROOMS 8 & 9



PLAN OF FURNITURE ARRANGEMENT

Fig.53 - Plan of House No.14, Sumonu Bale Court, Lagos.

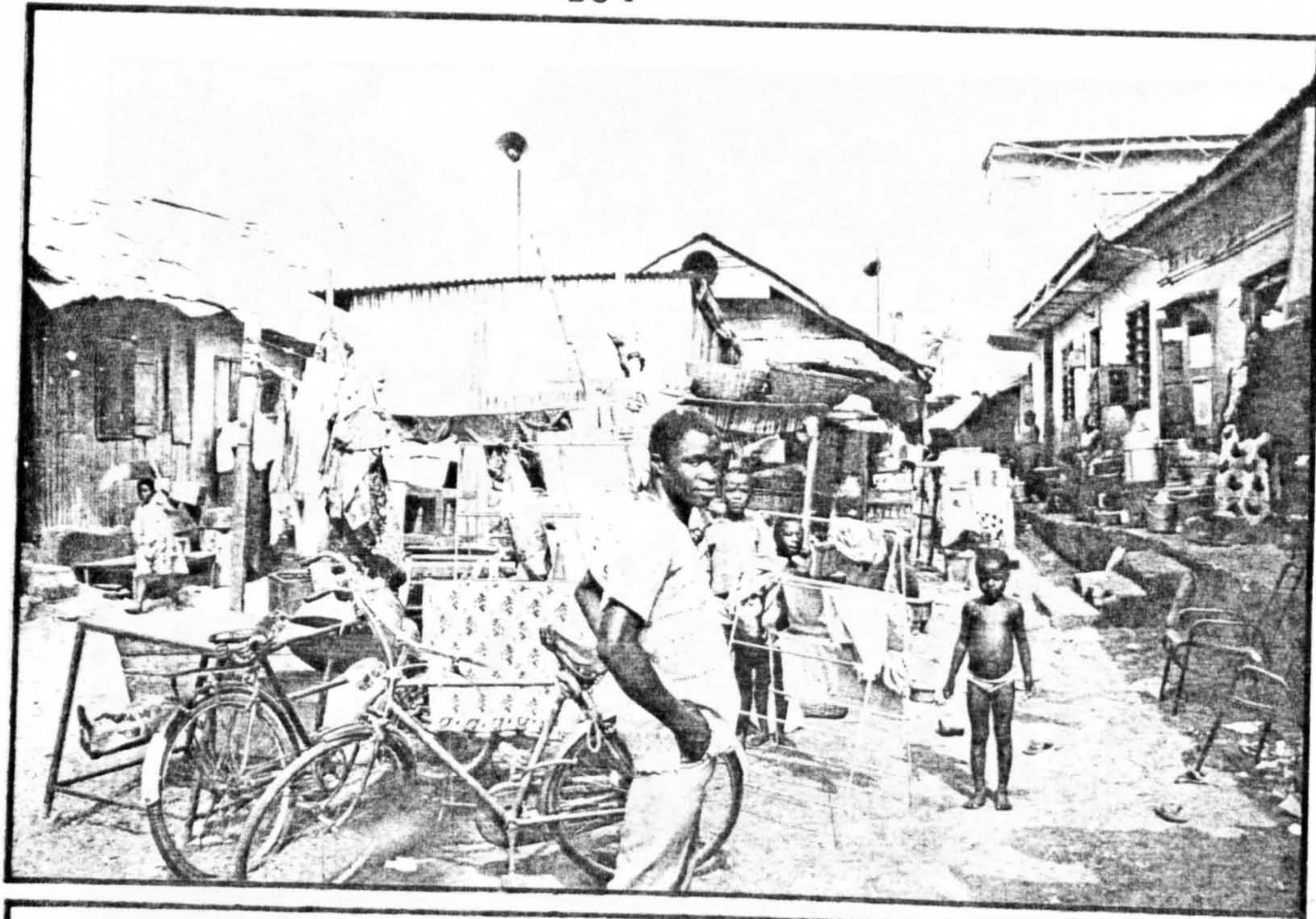


Plate 31 -  
Entrance to the  
Sunmonu Bale  
Court, Lagos

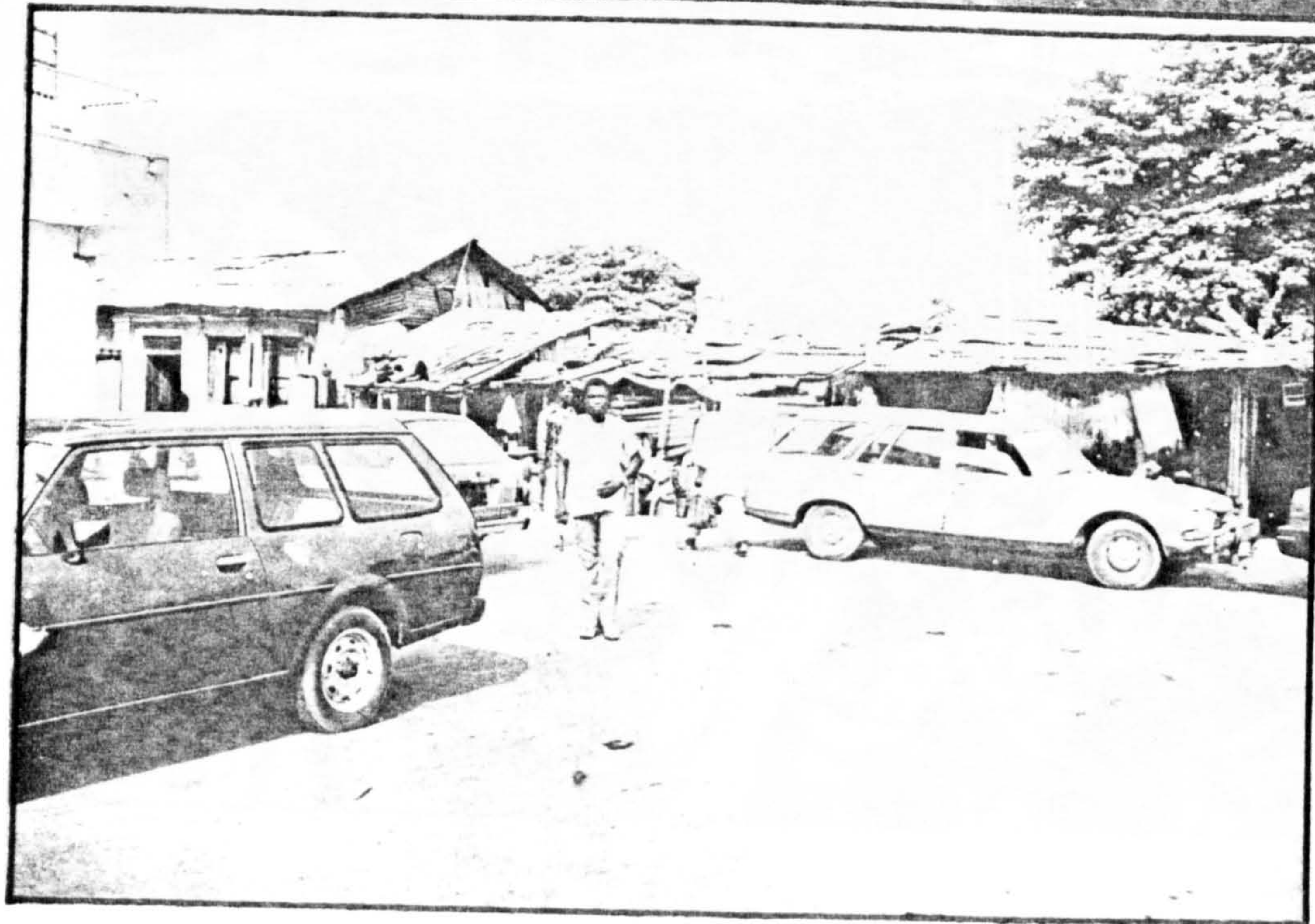
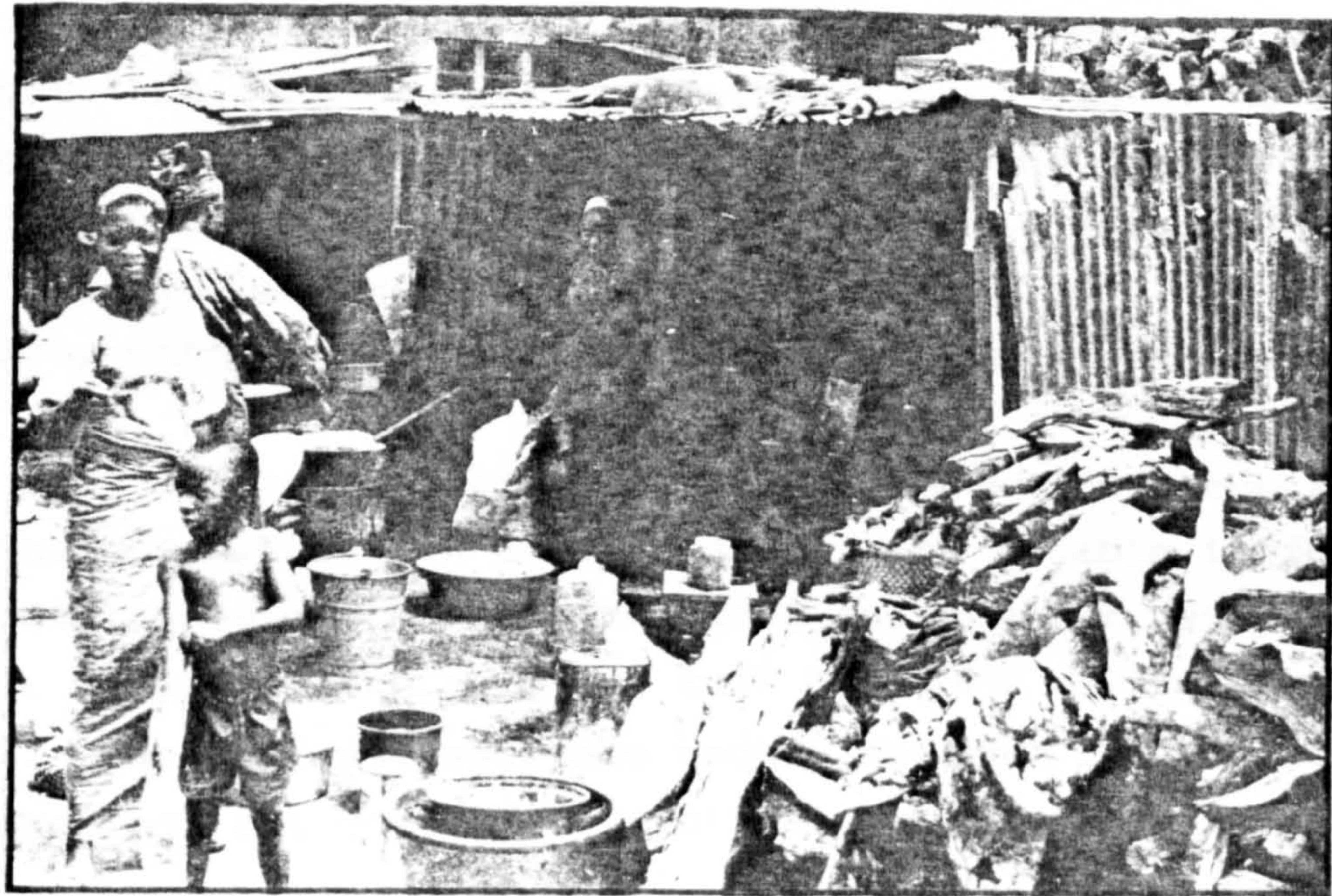


Plate 32 -  
A view from  
Patney Street,  
Lagos



Plates 33& 34 -  
Views from  
Mrs. Doherty's  
Kitchen, off  
Awolowo Street

### Life in a Single Room House

Family life and arrangement in each single-roomed house in Lagos follows the same pattern. The following is a characteristic example of such a house: The number of occupants in this 8.64 sq.m. room (3.60m x 2.40m) was eight persons. (Fig.54) The head of the household is Alhaji Karim, with his wife, mother-in-law, four children and one cousin of his wife. He was very happy to say that he usually had a few guests from his village. Since his wife is working in a school for handicapped children, her mother is in charge of the housework. The wife usually comes back home around 3p.m. to help her mother at cooking. Alhaji works as a messenger in a private company; he usually gets home around 7p.m. By that time his dinner is ready at the table, and after having his meal he would go out to see his friends or sit on the verandah in front of the house and chat with his friends. He come back into the room around 11p.m. to sleep. Children usually eat their food whenever they feel hungry; they carry their plates and eat wherever they like, usually not inside the room. Mother and grand-mother eat whenever they are hungry, usually not inside the room. They eat in the kitchen or corridor, where they chat with other housewives of the compound.

The furniture of the room consists of one twin bed which occupies one side of the room, two narrow benches on another side, with a table in front, two small cupboards on both sides of the entrance door and one T.V. set. Four shelves, hung at the far corner of the room are full of books, pictures and some important documents. Two big suitcases are under the bed, full of clothes. All the walls of the room are covered by pictures, photographs and calenders.

At night, table and benches will be shifted out, into the corridor to give enough sleeping space. Alhaji, his wife and the youngest child sleep on the bed and the rest of the family manage to sleep on the floor. Apart from grand-mother, who is the last one to go to sleep at the door-step, the arrangement of sleeping space is not the same every night, depending on who will go to sleep first and at which corner. The grand-mother mentioned that sometimes, the number of people who sleep on the floor is as high as eight persons.

Spending evening time within a family circle is not common in Nigerian social life. Every member of the family organizes his own pleasure time separately. Father usually goes to see his friends or receives them on the verandah. Mother and grand-mother chat with the other housewives in the corridor or in the street, while children are hanging around, playing or watching T.V., making themselves busy.

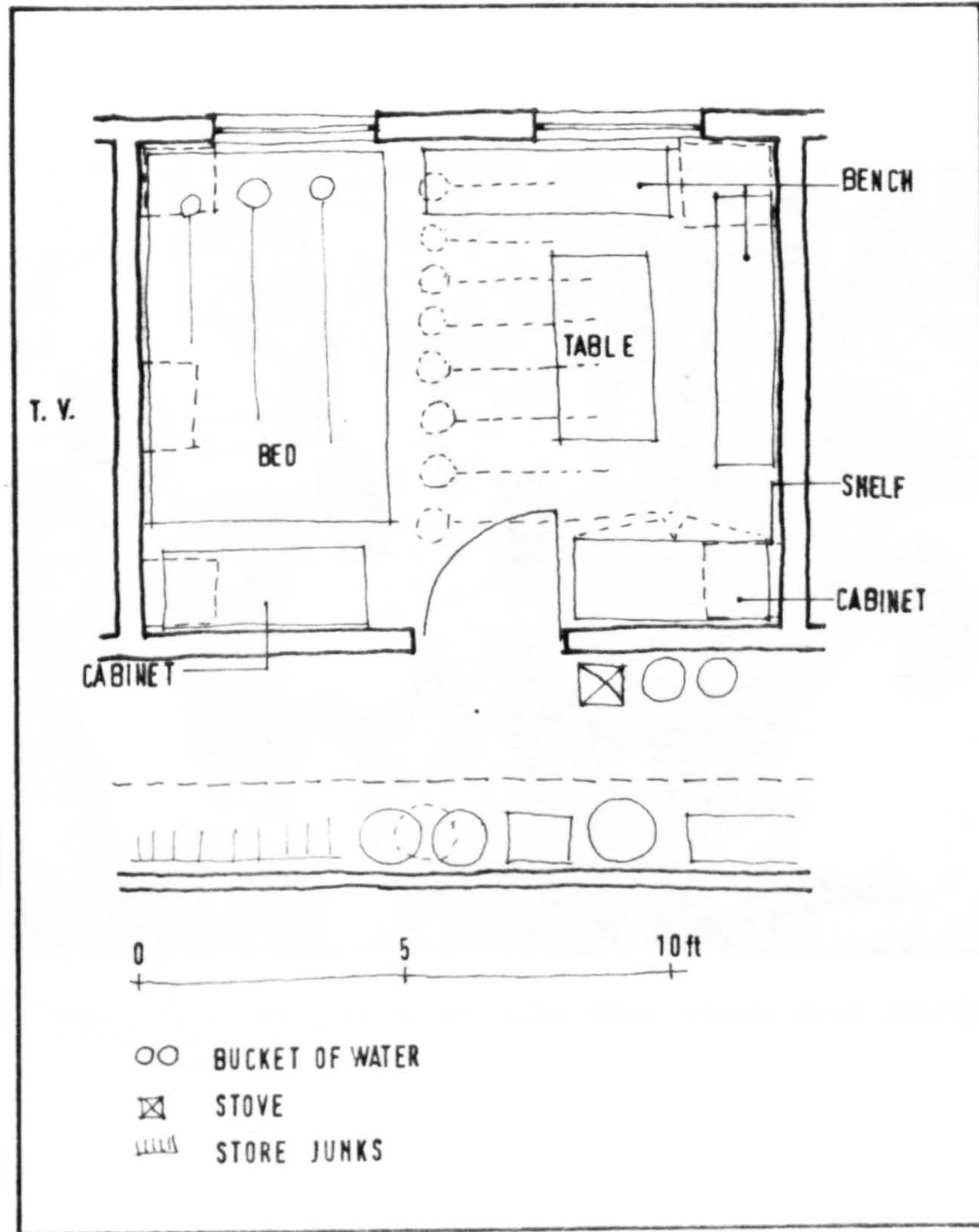


Fig.54 - Plan of the room of Mr. Karim's family, Mushin.

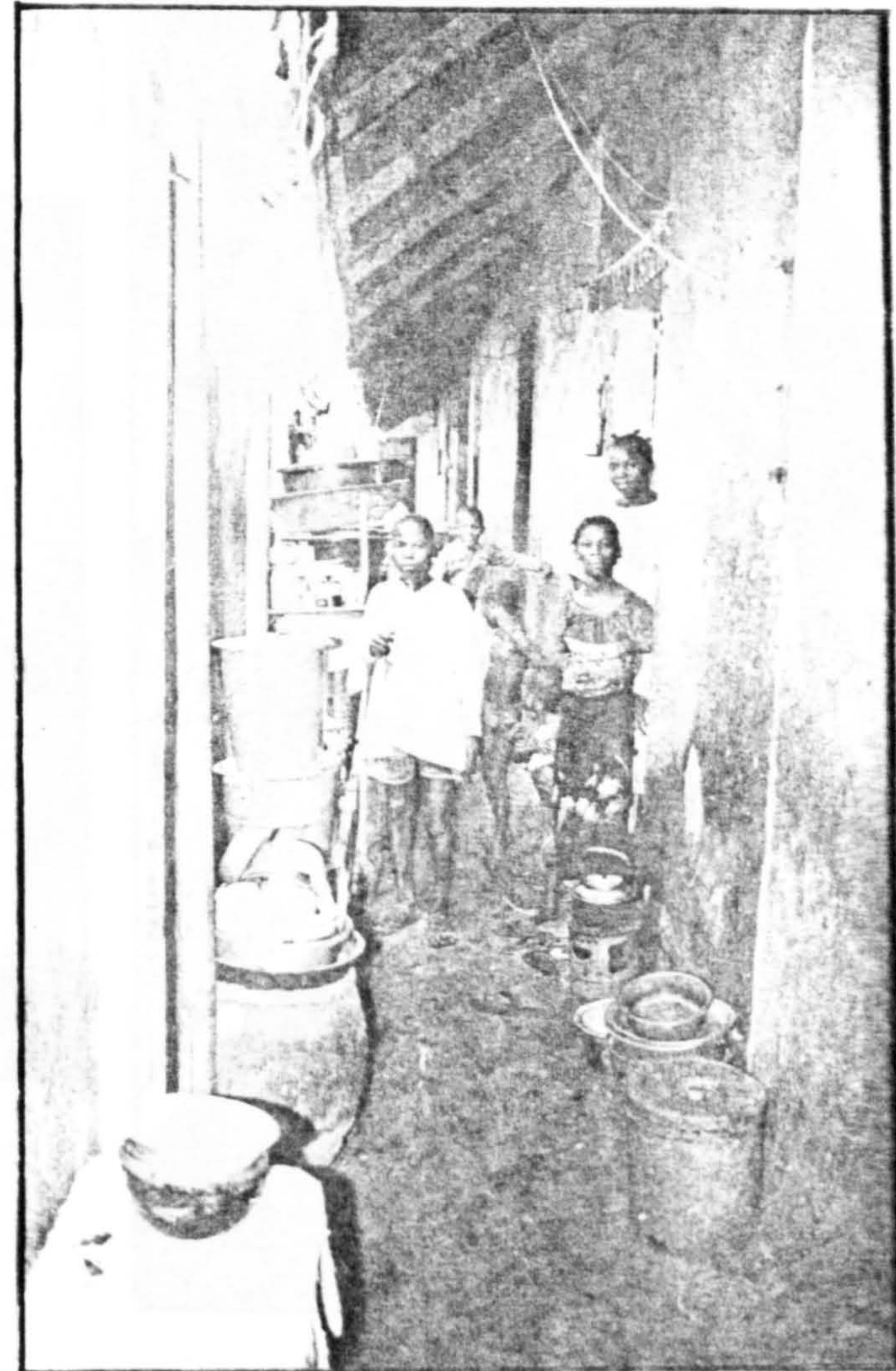


Plate 35 - A view from the access corridor.



Plate 36 - A view from inside the room and Karim's family

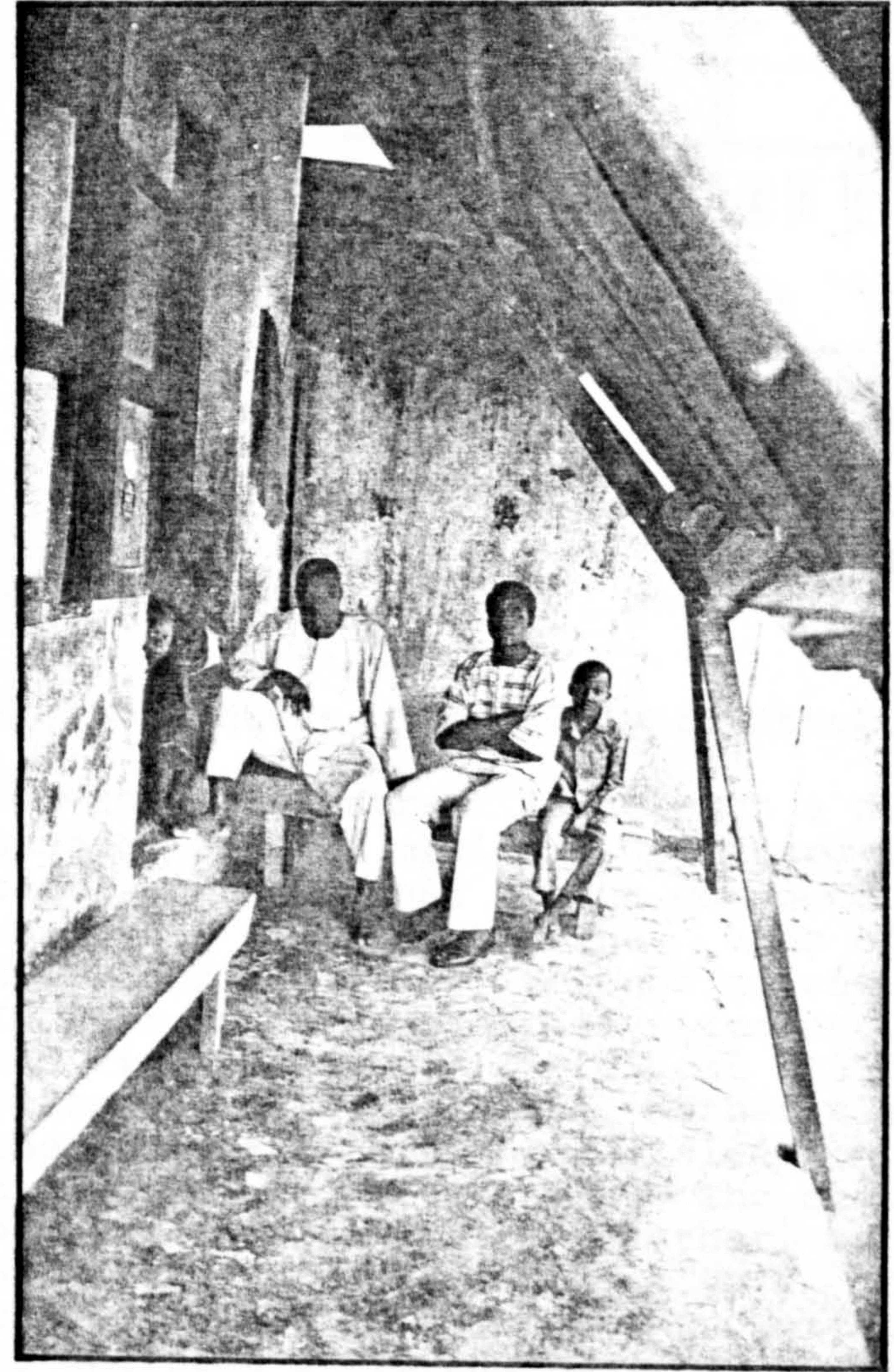


Plate 37 - A view from the verandah and the entrance of the compound.



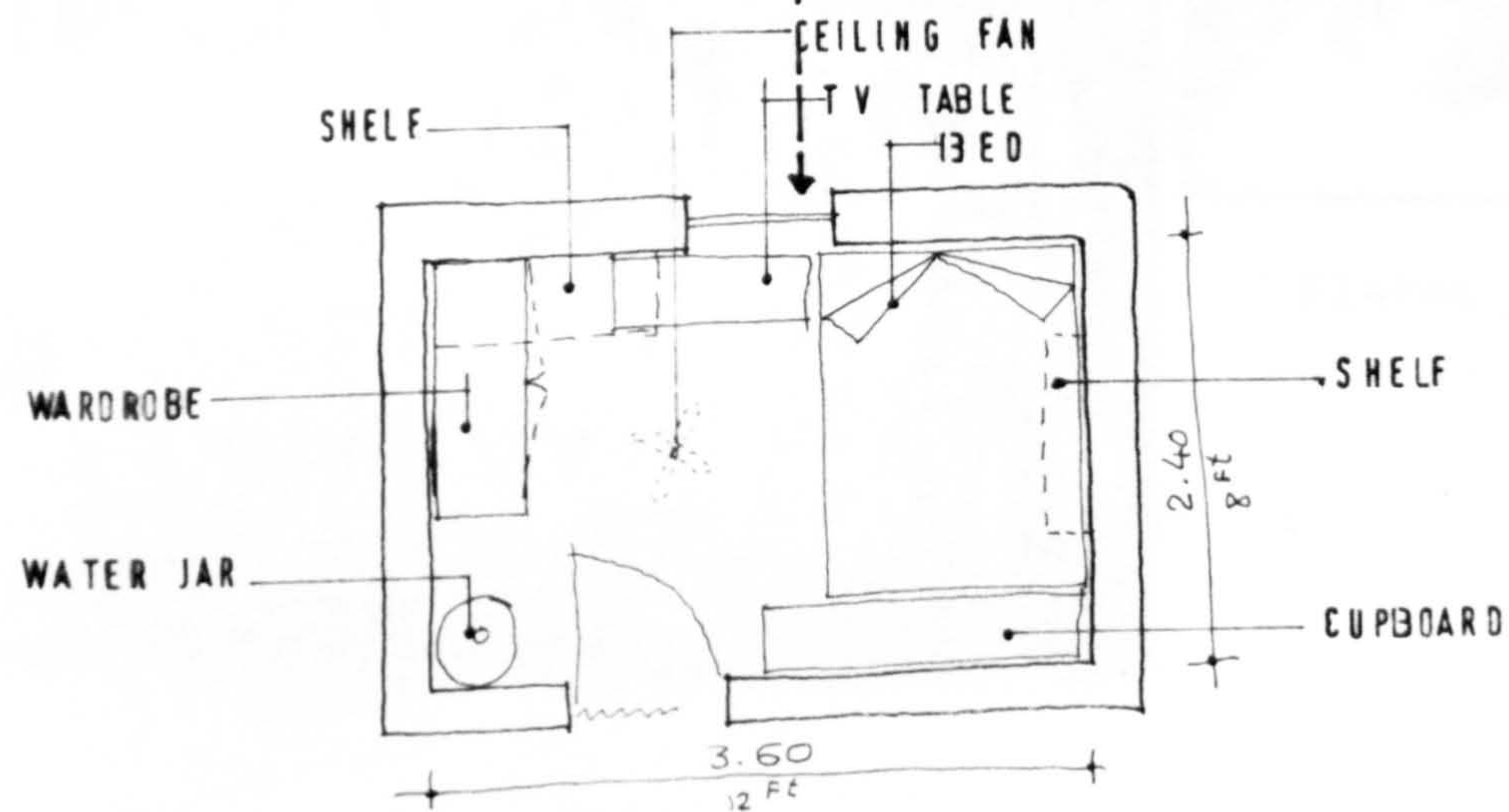
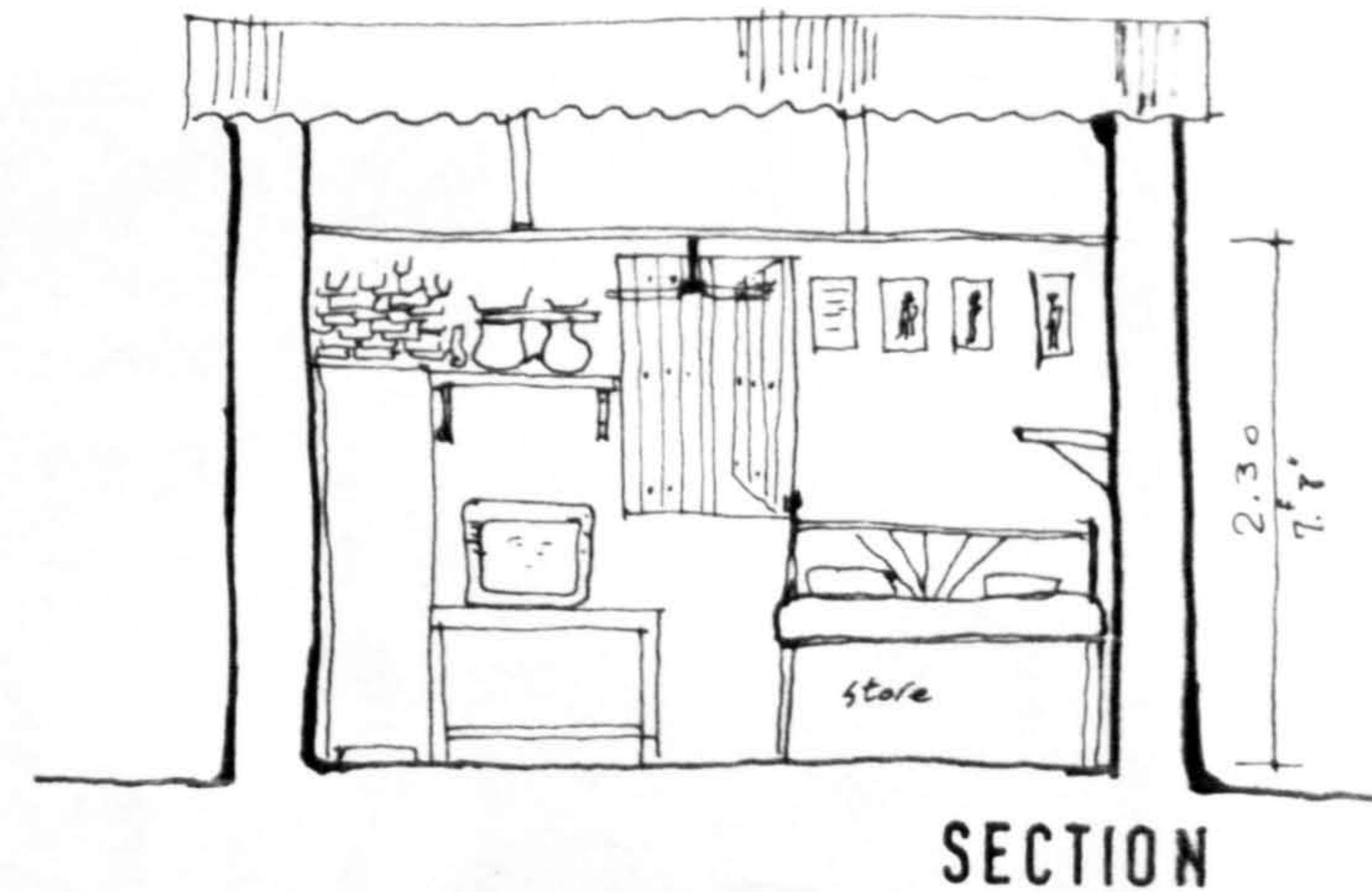
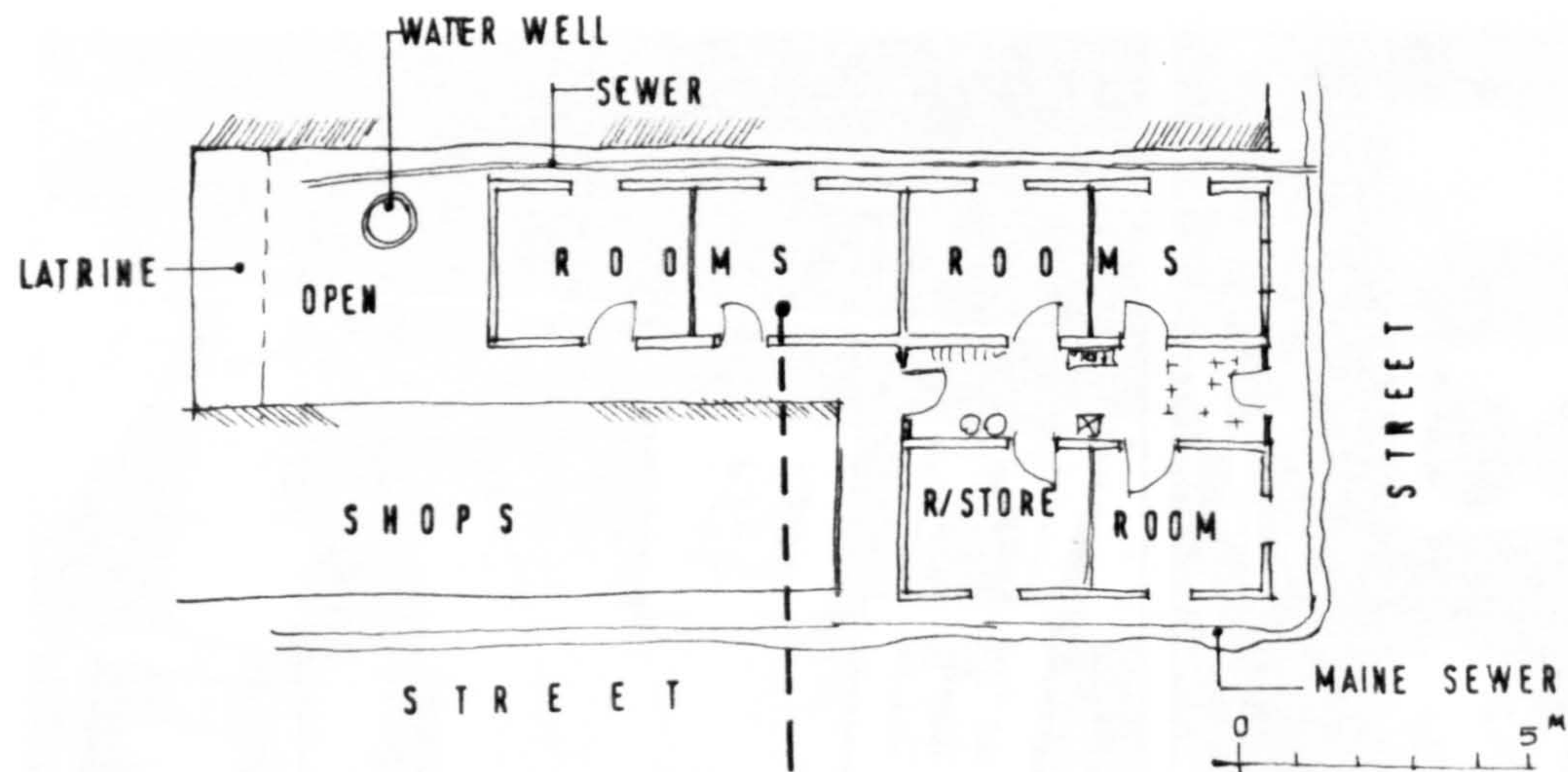


Fig.55 - House at No.23 Imoru Street, Mushin

Access to the street is through a narrow passage of 1.20 m wide. Courtyard is located at the corner of the compound, used as drying area and latrine. Each of the two rooms (no 1 & 2) belongs to one family. In room no.2 there are five tenants, a mother and five children. The oldest child is 36 years old. In the night, mother sleeps on the bed while her children sleep on the floor of 3 sq. m. in area. The occupants of the house no.3 are 8, father, mother and 6 children, aged from 2 to 9. Middle corridor is used for cooking, eating and as children's playing room, one bed-room is master-room, one is used as a store and the other two are mother's and children's bedrooms.



plates 38 & 39 - Internal views from one-room house,  
at No.23 Imoru St., Mushin



Plate 40 - A view from the central  
corridor of the four-room  
house, at No.23 Imoru St.,  
Mushin

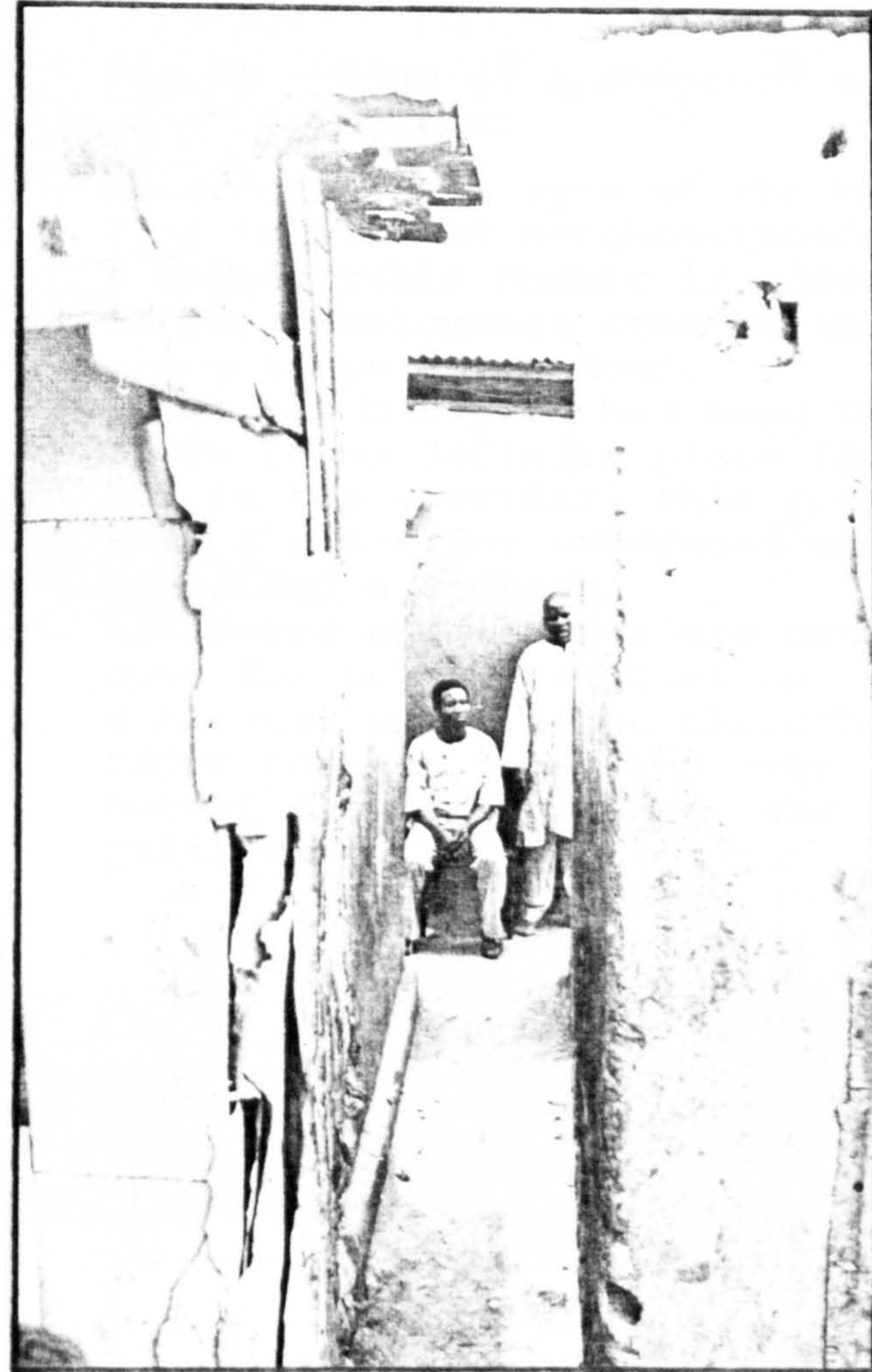


Plate 41 - Entrance to the house No.23,  
Imoru St., Mushin.

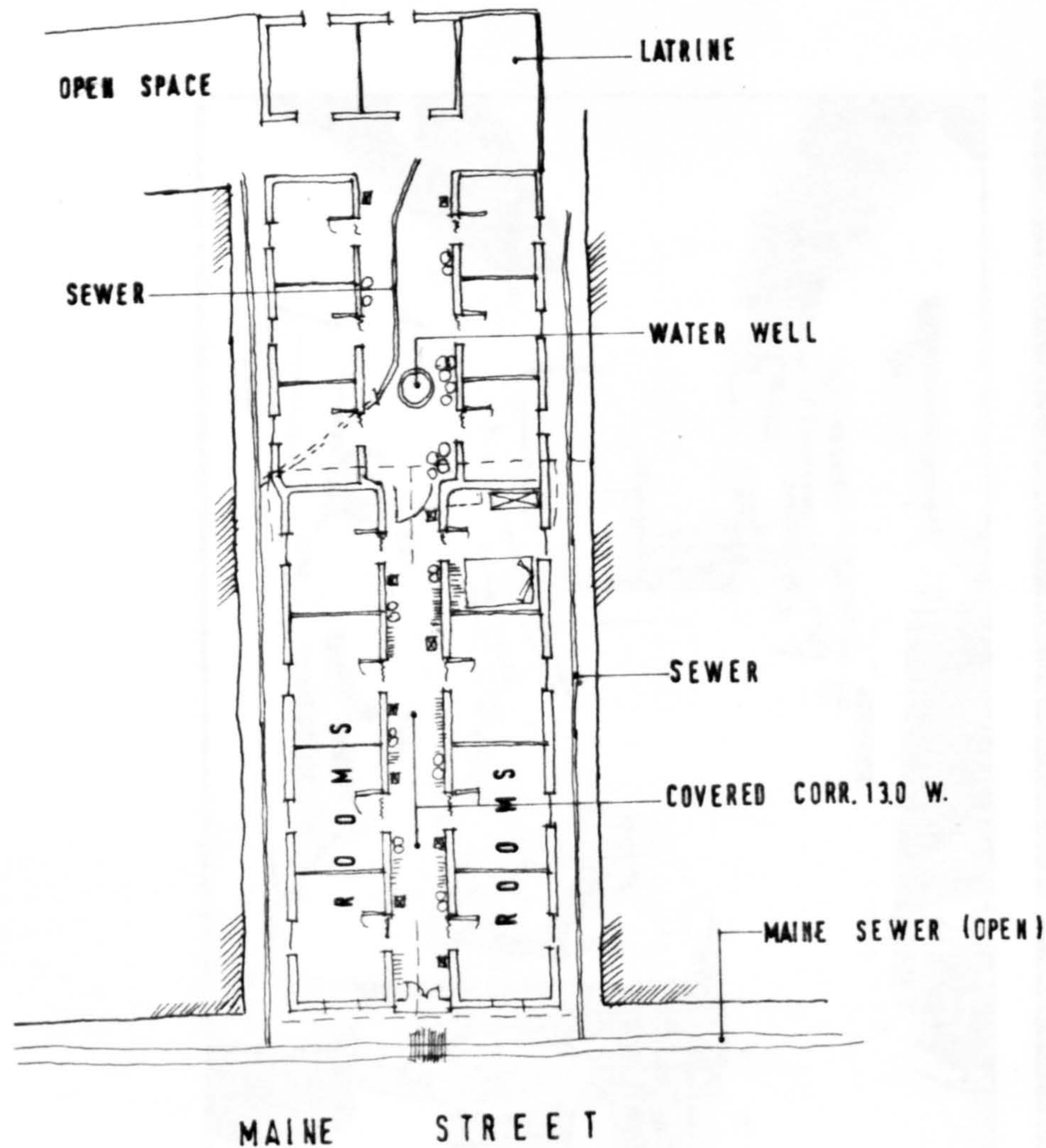
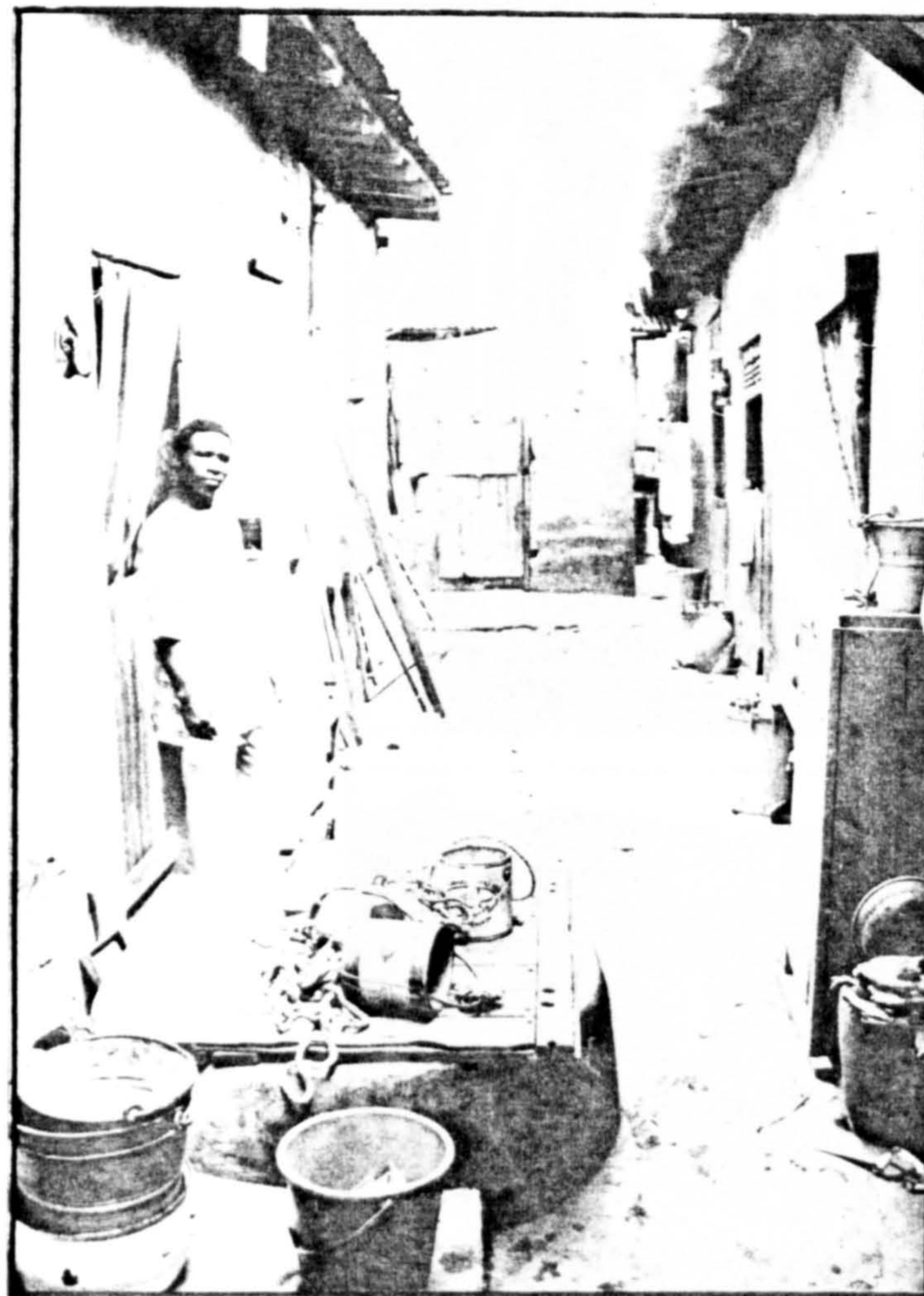


Fig.56 - Plan of a compound at Ogidan St. Mushin.

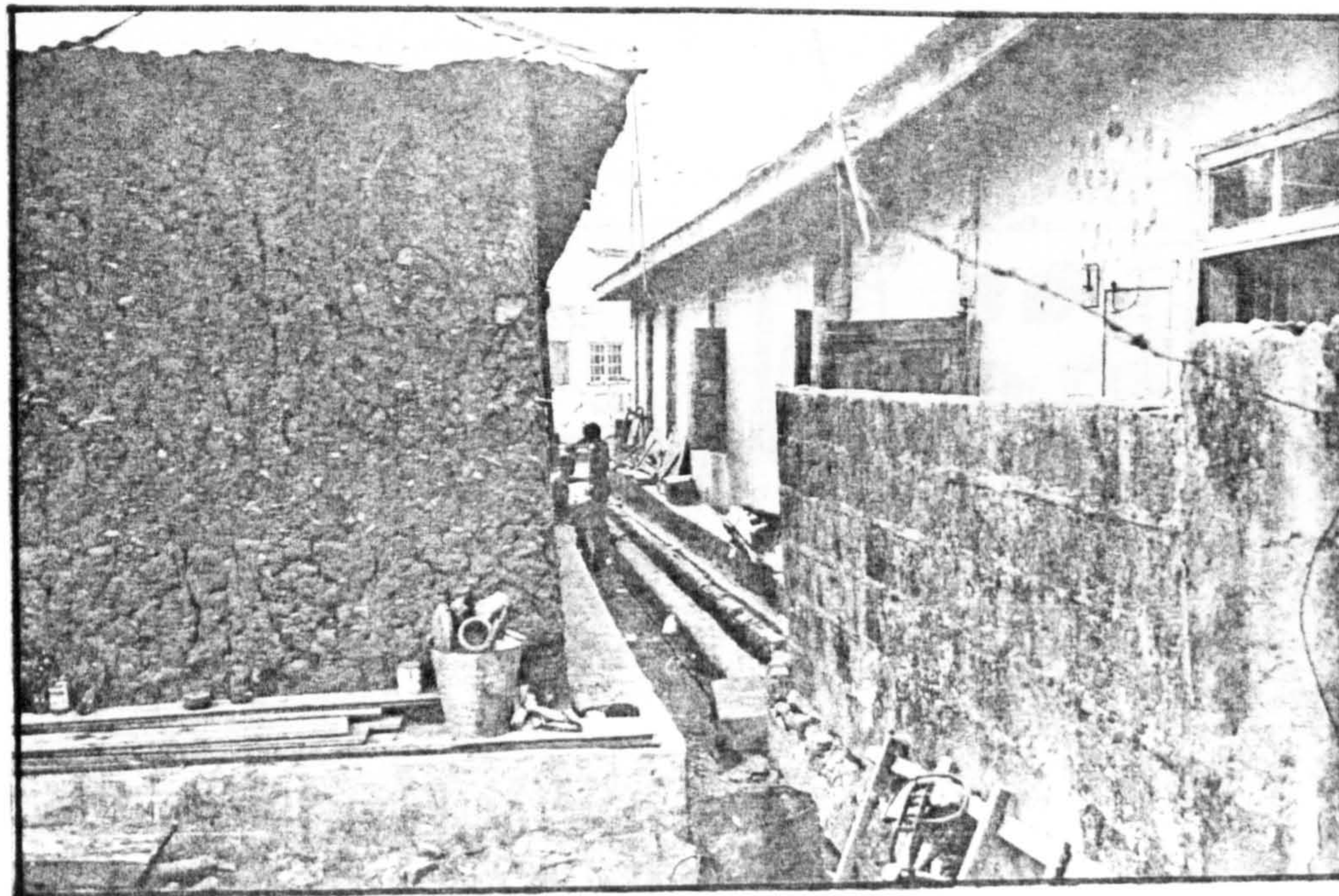
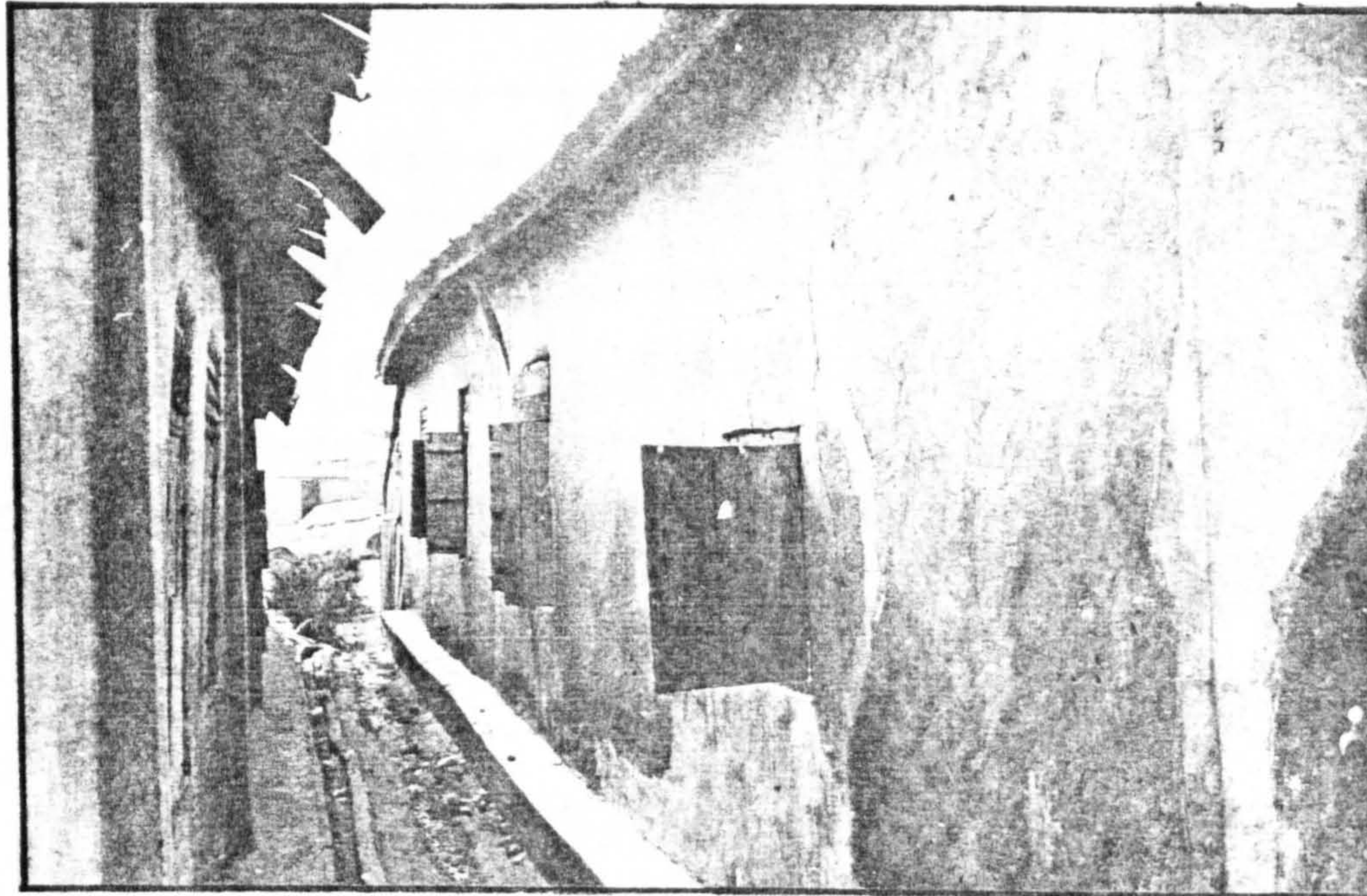
This commercial type of the house can be found in all old neighbourhoods, and, still a considerable number is under construction in new development area on the mainland, along Agege Motor Road.

Since the backyard has been built-up, there is no definite place for cooking, but in the corridor; this corridor is also a place for underaged children to play, and a storage.

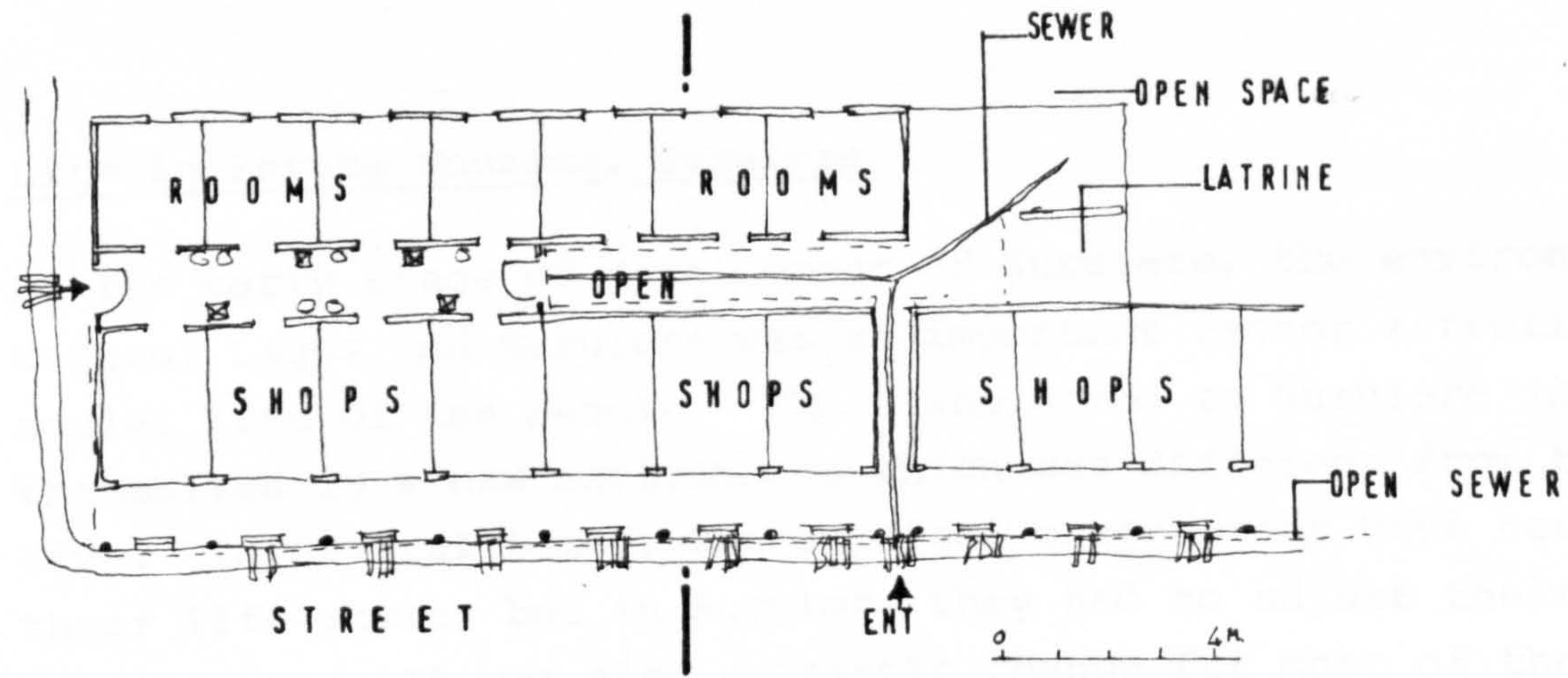
All doors and windows are usually kept open for better ventilation. There is a natural ventilation through the corridor to each room, and even in the hottest days of November, the rooms are quite cool.



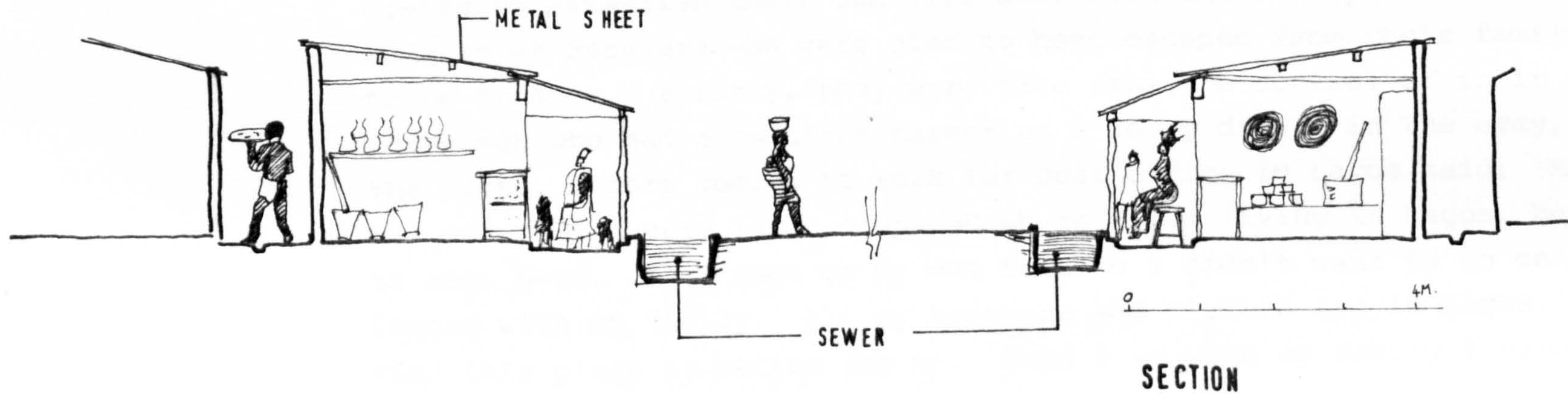
Plates 42 & 43 - Views from open yard and central corridor of the compound  
at Ogidan St., Mushin



Plates 44 & 45 -  
Views from narrow  
lanes, leading to  
the compounds,  
Ogidan St., Mushin



PLAN



SECTION

Fig.57 - Plan and cross-section of Alcala St., Mushin, Lagos

Life in Estate Housing, Surulere

At the early stage of development of Surulere, the environmental contrast between Central Lagos and Surulere was an important factor affecting the business and social life of the people. Those who moved to Surulere in the early 1960s, found themselves in a new environment which was different from the place they used to live. In Central Lagos, the physical environment have been formed according to their life style, but in Surulere they had to adjust their lives to the physical environment. It was also a drastic change for most of the families who were used to live together with relatives, and there they had to live on their own.

Marris (1961) describes the satisfaction and disappointment of the families who moved to Surulere and he remarks that, those families who were glad to come to Surulere were young couples who were employed and had no business to lose and wished to establish their own life away from the family influence: "The householders at Surulere who were glad to have escaped from their family group gave three reasons. Firstly, they were free from the control of their elders. A young man who had a restless career as a lorry driver in the army, and then in the North, before coming to work for Post Office in Lagos said: 'My father was the owner of a very large compound where I was living in Lagos, but he refused to come here. So I came on my own because I didn't want to go on living any longer with my family. All my brothers and sisters are in Lagos. Actually, I find this place is better for me. When I am with my family I can't do what I like. For instance, I wanted to marry a girl, and they would not allow it. ... Or I came at midnight and find the door locked - too many things like that.



Here they can't lock me out, I am free to do what I want.' A well-to-do trader who had refused herself to move to Surulere, made the same point about her children. They are free from my discipline there - they can go where they like and return when they like, keep any friend they like. They are free in all sorts of ways which I kept a strict chek on when they lived with me. But for that, they wouldn't prefer Surulere - it has many things against it compared with the life in our old home, before it was pulled down.

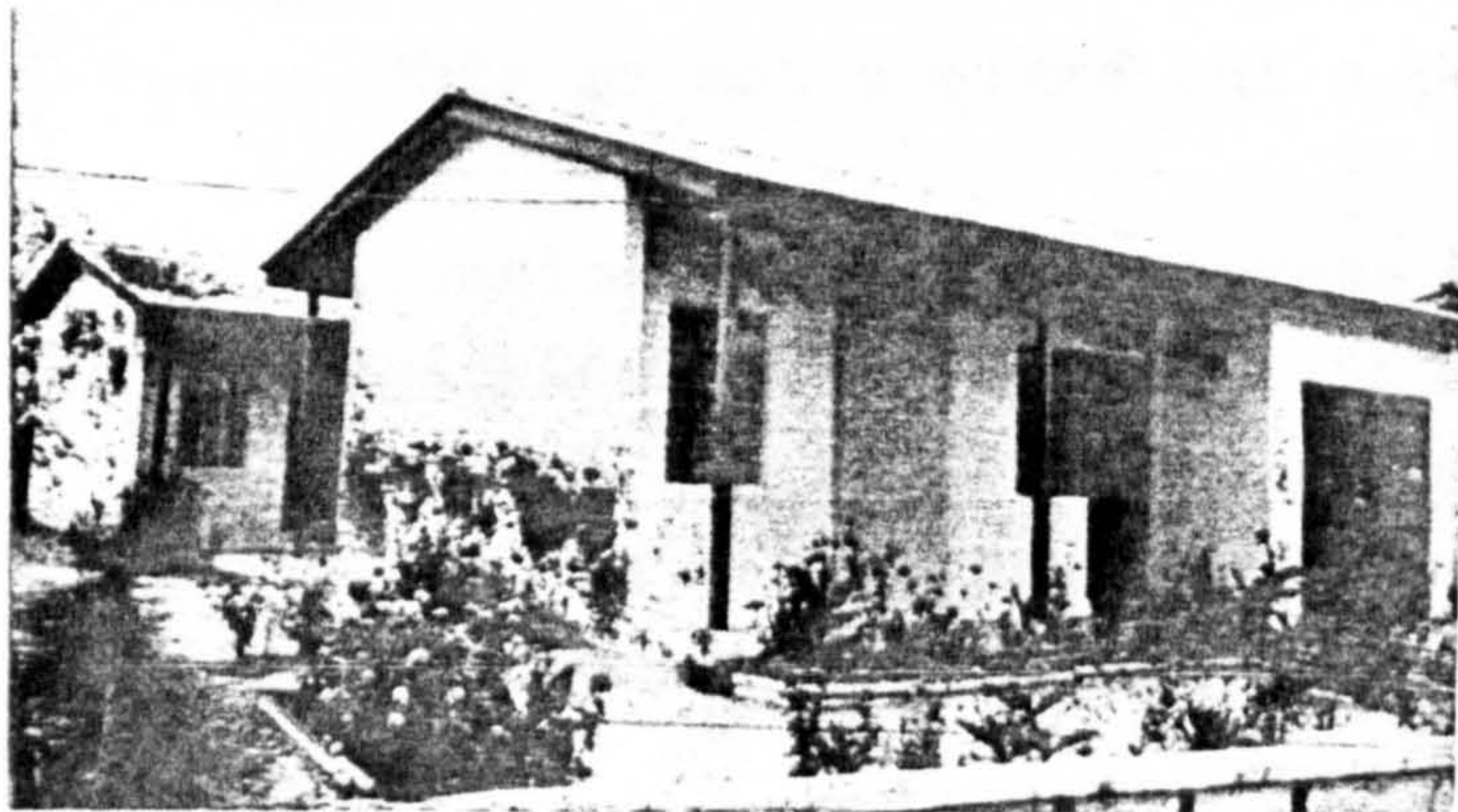
Secondly, they were free from family quarrels, especially between their wives and their mothers, in which their own loyalties were divided. A young Yoruba explained: 'To live with my family brings disrespect to elders when you see them all the time. But if you see them once in a blue room, so to speak, there is more respect. If my mother and my wife live together, my wife may be disrespecting my mother, and that will not be good. Even if I agree with my wife, I can not show it to my mother. I believe in living with my wife and children separately.'

Lastly, they were free from continual demands for money. They don't stop to think what you can afford, anything they want, they just come and demand money from me, because of fares. It's ten pence to this place: suppose they want a shilling, they can't give ten pence fare to demand a shilling. Besides the independent young couples, the rehousing estate appealed particularly to outsiders who had felt at a disadvantage in the predominately Yoruba culture of Central Lagos. A prosperous contractor from Calabar explained: 'What I can say I like about Surulere is this - it's self-contained. You know Lagos, you have

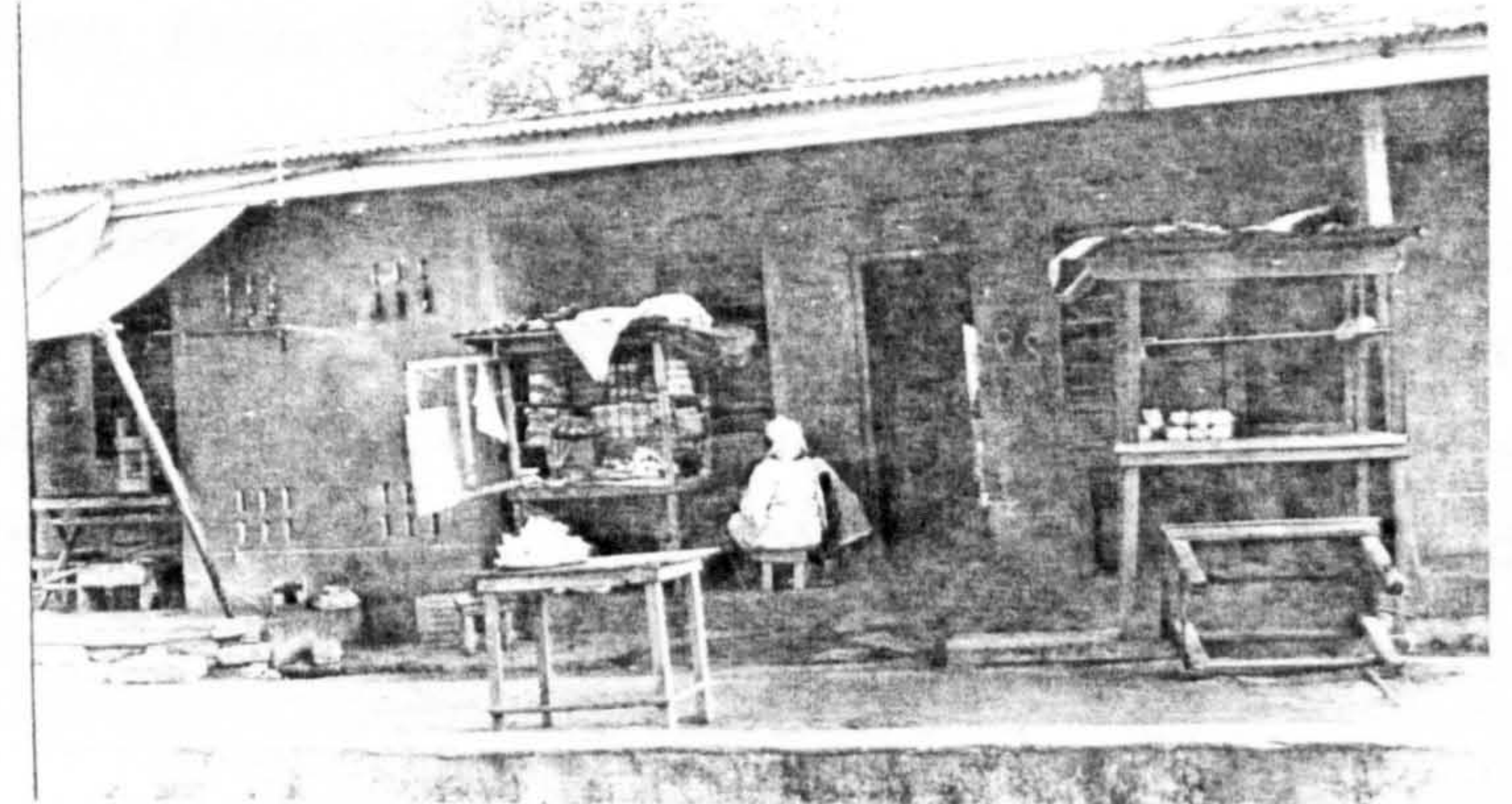
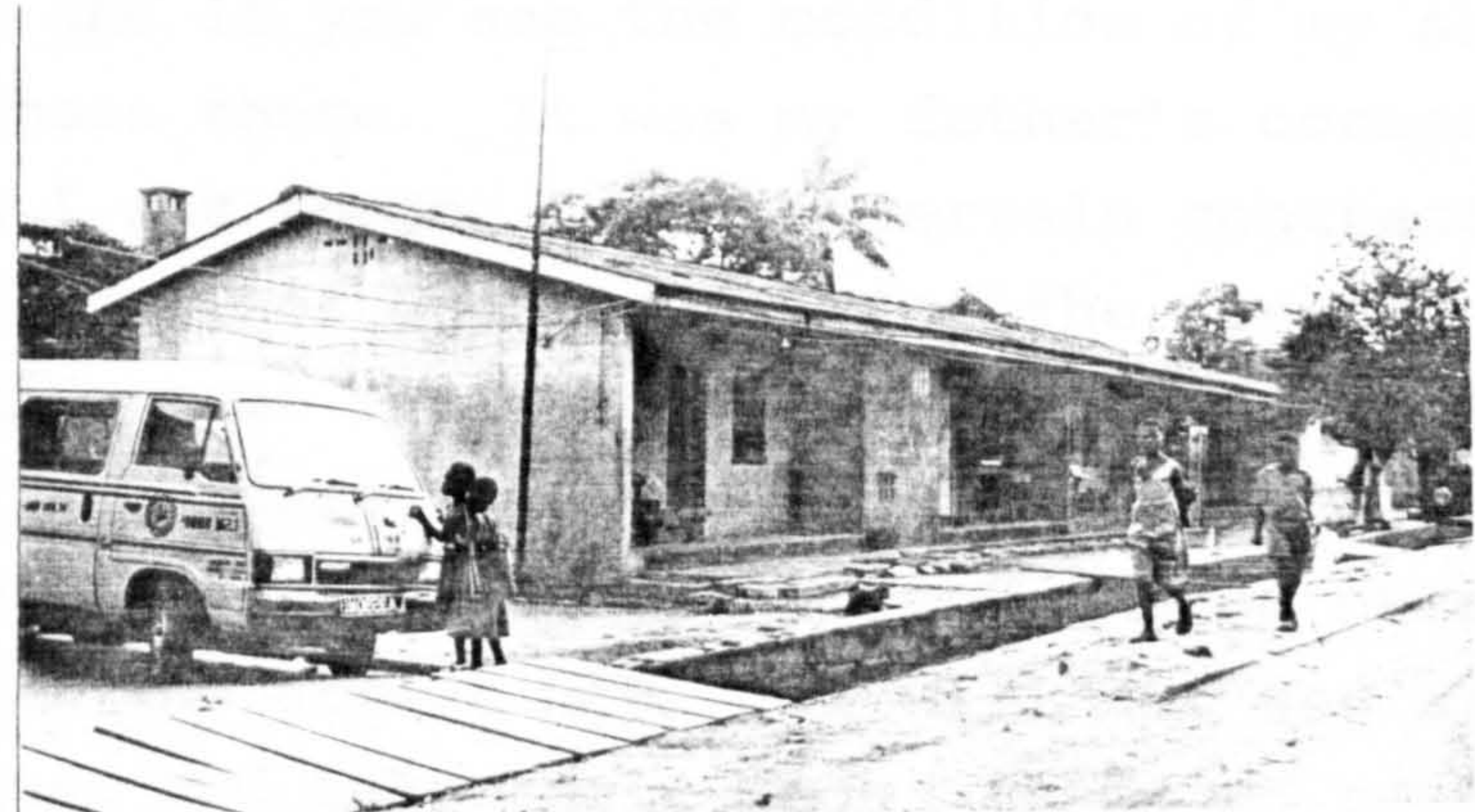
other people on top of you, and perhaps they are not from your country, you can't always hear what they say and because you do not hear each other well, there will be quarrels. But here I am just on my own, self-contained, and I don't have anything to do with my neighbour . . . . The Yorubas don't like staying with other tribes, they call them Kobokobo and Ibos, too, they are not in co-operation with people from other places. That's number one, and number two, a Christian can't live with a Muslim, they will be quarreling all the time. A Muslim starts to shout at five o'clock, at the hour of prayer, when you may just be trying to get some rest - a Christian can't tolerate it. That's why every stranger likes to come up here. As a whole, 32 per cent of the heads of households said that they were, on balance, glad to have exchanged their old homes for rehousing estate. A further 11 per cent were undecided or indifferent. But 57 per cent wished they were back in Central Lagos. It seems that this last percentage might have been higher, but for those who refused even to try the experience of Surulere, and went elsewhere.

About a third of the residents of Central Lagos had avoided the rehousing estate when their old homes were pulled down. They went to stay with relatives, evicted tenants from other properties they owned, or preferred to rent cheaper accommodation at Mushin or Shomolu on the outskirts of the town."(9)

The problems of Surulere for most of those who rejected it were the distance from Central Lagos, losing their already established businesses and the single family type of living. "They think these houses here are not the kind of houses in which we Africans live - you know we live in groups, not one here, one there."(10)



in 1960



in 1982

Plates 46 & 47 - Views of Surulere Rehousing Estate in early 1960 and in 1982.

The change of business place from busy area of Lagos to low-populated area of Surulere was the most important factor for those who had their own businesses. "Before I moved here, I was first class shoemaker, having shoemaking machine I had a shop that was in Broad Street - and if you see the condition of my shop in Lagos you will like to repair your shoes there. It was my father's occupation, so I have sufficient tools. When I was there, I had a certain contract with the police force, and another from the Elder Depster Co. for the Crew's shoes. And the Crews themselves when they came from England, they bring their shoes for repair ... All now - nothing from there now.' He used to make £200 or £300 a year. 'Since I came here, not sufficient money to rent a shop here, let alone work there ... If you look at the street now, you will not see a single man. They have all gone to Lagos, and take their shoes there to repair. .... This is not a place but a punishment from God.'"(11)

The situation in Surulere estate housing has drastically changed from what has been described by Marris, in 1960. It is now a populated area where the poor and the rich are living next to one another. There is enough crowd and a bustle of traffic to make petty traders, at every corner of the streets and at the doorsteps, happy and satisfied.

During the past twenty-three years, since the houses have been occupied, and especially since 1980, when they were sold, people have felt free to make necessary amendments to make their houses more adequate to their needs.

In overcrowded areas of central Lagos, Mushin, Ebute-Metta and many others,

families of six or more people are forced to live in one room house. There seems to be no alternative because of the following factors:

- 1) the financial problem (the cost of hiring more rooms) and
- 2) they are not the owners, which means that there is no possibility to extend their accommodation, since all courtyards and open spaces within the property or adjacent to it have been built up with temporary structures of timber and corrugated iron sheets and hired out.

But, in Surulere, when the tenants became the owner-occupiers, they had the opportunity to build more rooms and to modify them as they wished. Much of the open spaces at the rear and between the blocks, which were left as green areas in the early sixties, and tenants were encouraged by garden competitions to keep it green and clean, are built up in the same way as in Central Lagos. The only difference is that the newly built-up rooms are used as additions to the units, and in most cases do not have a commercial purpose. But it is predictable that by the end of 1990s, when the population of Lagos will rise to 10 million, the number of these rooms will increase and they will be hired out, forming another overcrowded residential neighbourhood with all its problems.

In survey study of Suenu Road in Surulere Estate Housing, which was carried out in March, 1983, there<sup>were</sup> 64 units of two rooms, one parlour, one bed-room; in 16 blocks of four units, two units of two rooms in block of two and six units of three rooms, parlour and two bed-rooms, in blocks of three units, 72 houses making in total along both sides of the streets. In this street almost all open spaces have been divided by corrugated iron sheet walls, with some built-

up space inside, functioning as an extra room, workshop or store for business. Nine out of 72 houses had surrounded the front space (the space between a house and the street) by metal fences or wall, and the space is used as a parking space or as a private front yard for establishing the shop. Two houses have extended their balconies up to the street, 5 houses had covered the whole set back area up to the street and use it as a private space for their children or for the shops. The rest of the houses have somehow managed to have the set back area as a private space by constructing the floor on different levels and put some barriers to identify it as private. (Figs. 58, 59)

In most of the houses, the parlour has been separated by a wall or a curtain, a corridor that ends up at one side by the entrance door, and at another side by the backyard door. This corridor links the backyard (which in most houses is used as a store for business) with the front street, where business runs without disturbing the indoor life.

Women are running the business; at the time of the survey, there were nine kiosks at the front doors and two more to be opened. All together, 22 out of 72 families were in the business of so-called petty trading, selling drinks, food, cigarettes, tinned food, kerosine, coal, etc. Two families were in the business of hiring out chairs, tables and canopies, etc., for party and ceremonial purposes. In two houses, the families arranged an open restaurant in front of their houses at weekend evenings, serving their customers with drinks and food; they are also in catering business for ceremonies. The seating is a few benches with tables in front; the customers sit together or take their drinks and hang around.

In five houses women were working as tailors; they moved their sewing machines and other equipment outside, at the front door and carried out their jobs. Three families were in business of buying goods in bulk and selling them to petty traders. Apart from business, some housework, such as ironing, preparation of food etc., is carried out outside.

Front door space is also used at leisure time as in the evening, when members of the families or neighbours come together for a chat, watching the by-passers and having drinks.

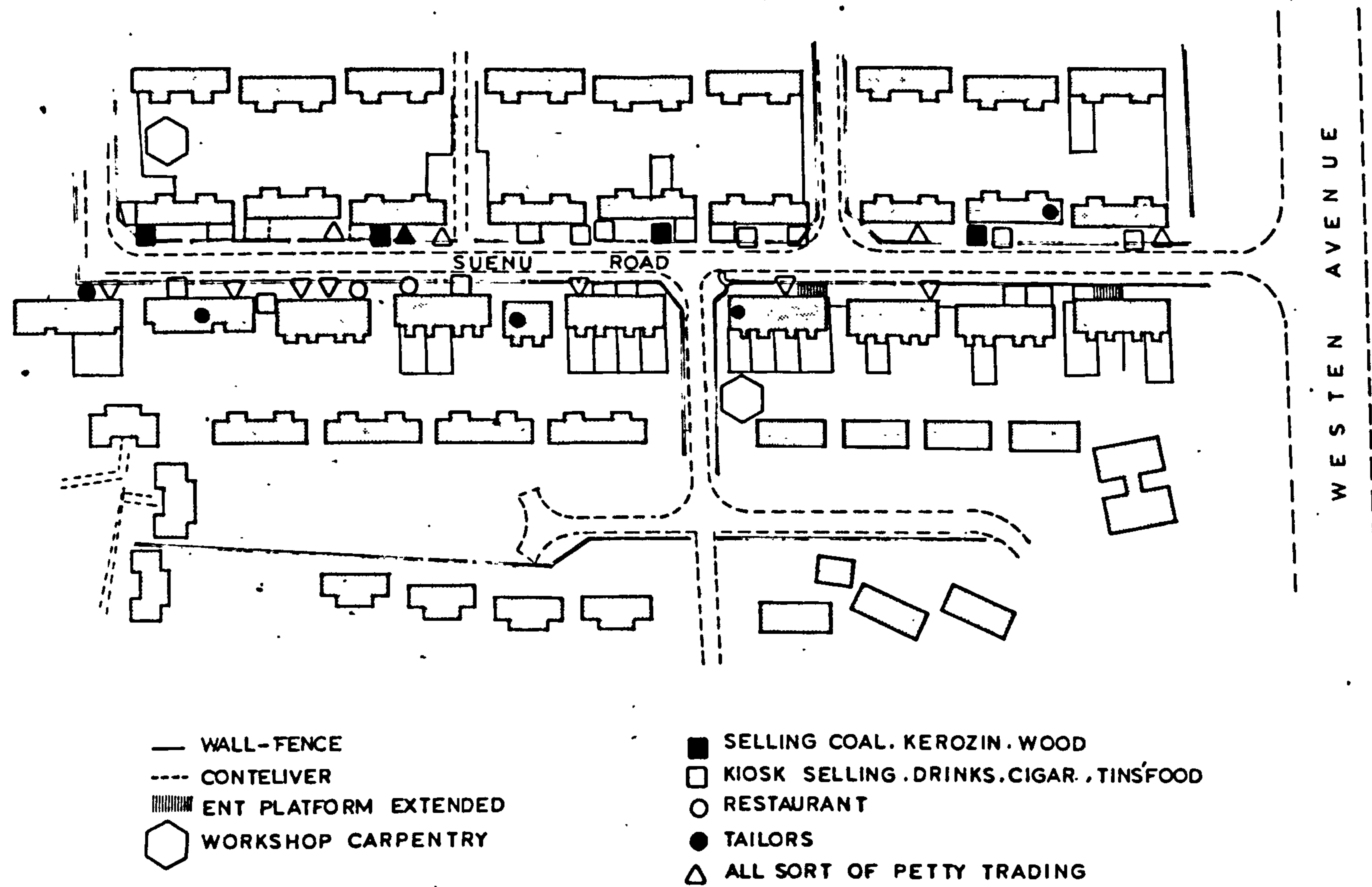


Fig.58 - Outdoor space utilization for business activities, Suenu Road, Surulere.



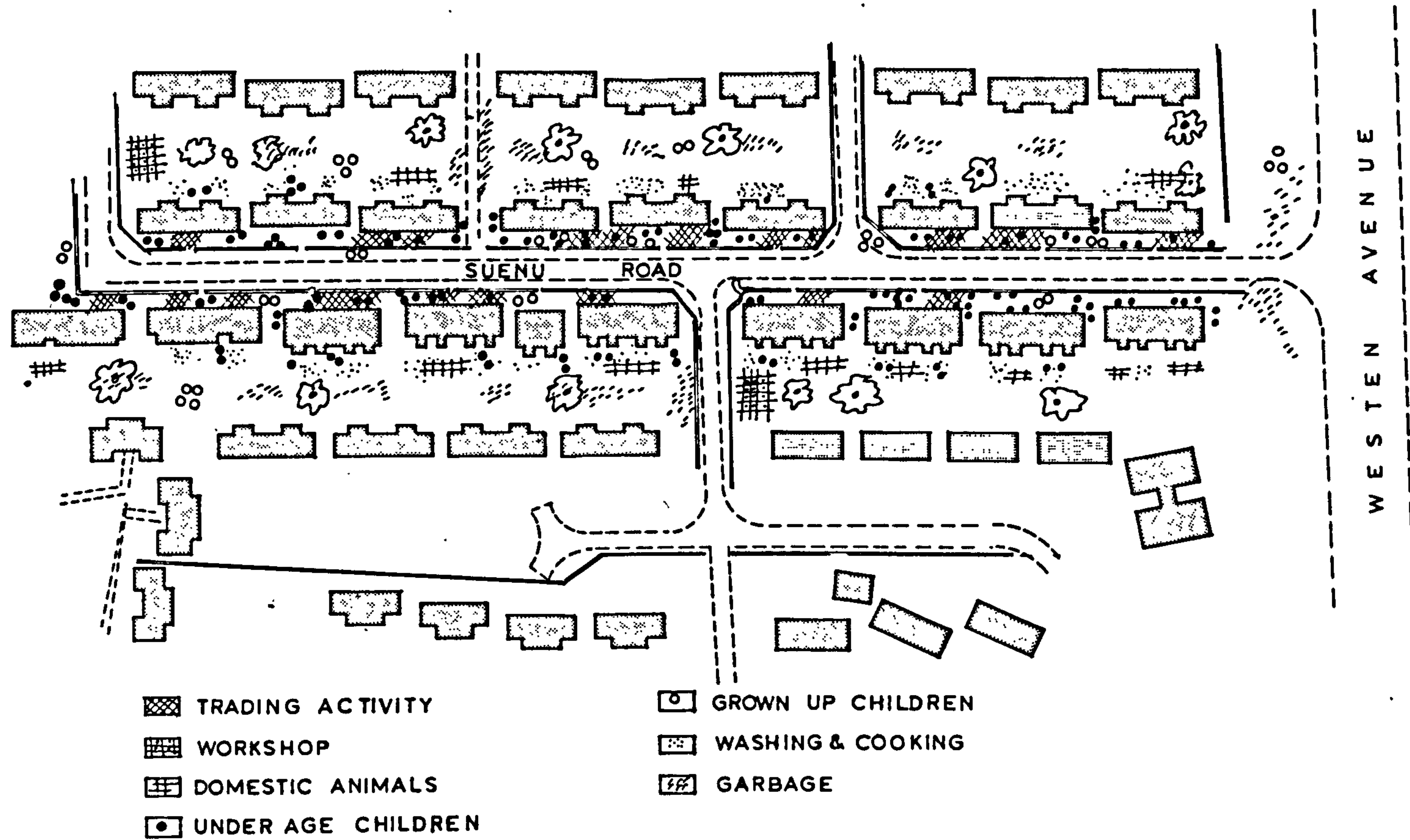


Fig.59 - Outdoor space utilization for business and domestic activities.

The relationship between two opposite neighbours is not so close as with the two adjacent ones. The street is the main cause of this phenomenon. The front door space of the houses are kept clean on both sides of the street; garbage and disposal are either dumped at the edge of the street or at any left space at the back, where it is no one's property. The average number of persons living in a house is five (parents and three children) but, usually, there is an elderly mother and one or two relatives' children, who are living with the family.

The floor area for two-room unit is 33.60 sq. m. and for three-room unit is about 50.70 sq. m. In the case of one room unit the area is about 25 sq. m. and there is not a guiding order in the design of the facilities provided. For instance, some designed types have self-contained facilities, shower and toilets, whereas some other types provide public facilities for each block of four units, grouped together at the rear of the building.

Although the climatic factor has an effect on the overcrowding problem and the outdoor life is important, the suggestion of having a one room unit, in Lagos, is not justifiable, since the household size is large, even for a newly married couple. They will have four children in four years time and in addition to that, they usually have some permanent guests. A relative who has more children and cannot meet their expenses, will send them to those who have no children. In most of the houses that I surveyed in Lagos, there were minimum of two relatives' children living with the owners, in one room accommodation.

The interior function of one room house is similar to that of Lagos and Mushin

area; it is a place to keep furniture and valuable commodities and to sleep in. (Fig.60) The only difference is that here the room is also a place for running business. The rest of the family activities were carried out outside, at the front door space and at the backyard, similar to what has been discussed in traditional form of compound.

Having an additional room at the back side was the basic desire of all tenants interviewed. Though they had built some sheds with timber and corrugated metal sheets, they were not satisfied with it.

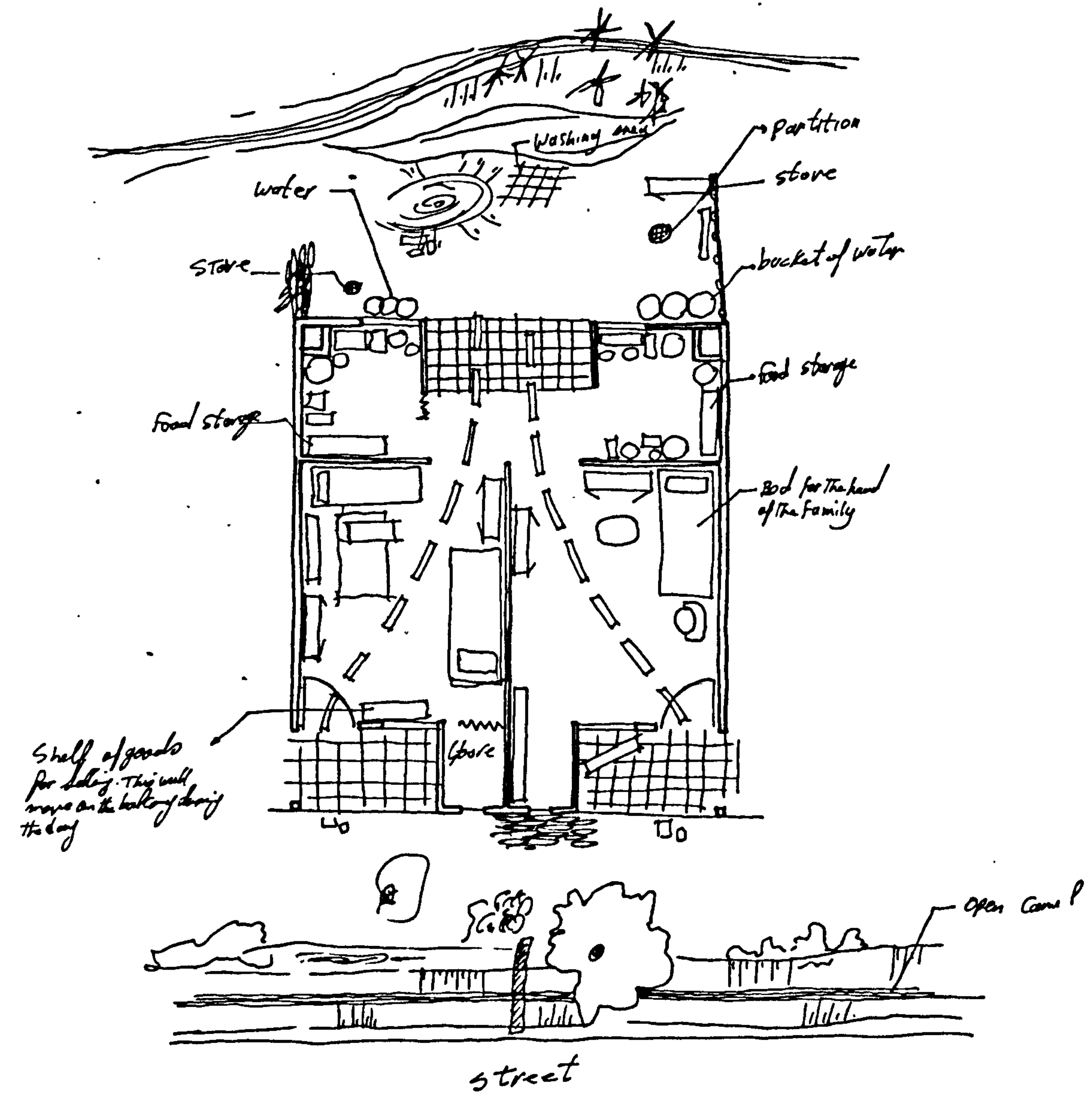


Fig. 60 - Living arrangement of one room house in Estate Housing, Surulere

### Creation of Slums

As it was described the spatial form of Lagos reflected the structure of colonial society. Privileged people had strong position in the society and reinforced their position by having access to the resources, while the poor were left behind with no possibility to enter the circle of economic and social power. This particular social structure of Lagos, in contrast to the industrial cities of nineteenth century Europe, did not bring any social reform in respect of upgrading living conditions of the poor and their accessibility to urban facilities and employment. As we have noticed, during the colonial era, the colonial society and later on the privileged indigenous elite seized every possible advantage and benefited from the available resources. This social imbalance led to the polarisation of the society. As we have described, the result was that by the end of the nineteenth century four social divisions were identified on the Island: the Europeans, the educated Africans, liberated slaves and indigenous people; the European society living in better urban environment and indigenous people in the worse. Later on this unequal social pattern of the city during the colonial era, together with the rapid increase and change of socioeconomy and an increased number of migrants led to the creation of poor settlements. Up to mid twentieth century, Lagos Island accommodated a large portion of migrants, but since 1950, the flow of migrants was so high that peripheral settlements were established on the mainland. As the rural-urban migration increased and so did the demand for cheap accommodation, people were forced to find means of housing by subdividing the old houses or by setting up sheds with substandard structure at every corner of the neighbourhood. This intense pressure on housing affected the low

density and traditional urban pattern of Lagos Island which changed gradually into a high density and overcrowded neighbourhood without any urban pattern.

As early as the 1920s, European society was the first group to move out of the Island, settling on the neighbouring island of Ikoyi and separating their area from Lagos Island by a mile of green space. The unlucky high and middle-class Lagosians in spite of their desire to move out of Lagos had to wait longer since there were neither proper urban facilities out of Lagos nor sufficient transport. However, we noticed that since the 1960s, the construction of new bridges connecting the Island with the mainland, the increase of private cars and the development of high and medium grade residential areas on the mainland, have provided the opportunity for the high and middle class people to move out. Most of the high and middle class people who moved out were a new elite together with civil servants who had no economic connection with the area. Among those who stayed were mostly local businessmen who were engaged in trade and commerce and who preferred to live adjacent to their work place. However, irrespective of middle class minority groups who are living on Lagos Island, the majority of the residents are poor and unemployed. A family of five and more is living in a rented single room, where they run their business as well. The rentable value of a good standard room accommodation with an area of 11-14 sq. meters, shared kitchen and toilet in high density area of Lagos, according to Rent Control Edict of Lagos State (1976), should be ₦12 and for two rooms accommodation ₦24 per month. The rentable value in the market is much higher than that amount in Central Lagos. The rentable value of a room depends on the location and its proximity

to the crowded business area. The rent of a single room in a good business area of Lagos is about ₦40 per month, which is affordable for the families who would establish their businesses. The rentable value of a room inside the compound is between ₦20 to ₦30 per month and since there is no possibility of running a business, this amount is hard to afford for many families. However, in both cases, neither the landlords nor the tenants can afford to spend extra money to improve the units and poverty is the main cause of the deterioration of the neighbourhoods. Therefore, the deepest cause of the formation of slum areas in Lagos lies in the socio-spatial form of the society. The polarization of the society has created poverty for the majority of the people. This poverty does not allow people to enhance the standard of their living and limits their financial abilities in improving their living conditions. This is the main contributing factor to the creation of slum areas of central Lagos.

#### Evaluation of Slums

There is no doubt that the physical qualities of residential areas in central Lagos are below any acceptable standard, but on the other hand, these slum neighbourhoods accommodate a very strong social and economic life that cannot be found in any other part of the city. People like to live there, because of social links strong sense of identity with the place, 'father's land', traditional pattern of living and economic life. These social factors are more important in the lives of the Lagosians than physical standards. They prefer to live in a one-room house with substandard structure, without any sanitation, rather than to live in a higher standard house outside Lagos. Life in central Lagos is full of memories

for the people who are living there. High density and overcrowding have become a social phenomenon which is advantageous to the life of poor people. This has turned the whole neighbourhood into a self-contained community with easy access to the necessary facilities without being mobile or having to afford extra expenses. Being among the kinship groups is an advantage, it creates more security and less work for the people. The complex and rich social life is derived from the structure of traditional pattern. The informal physical pattern is unplanned and seems to be in chaotic form, but it represents a gradual change without affecting or disturbing the social structure.

The contrasting situation of poor environmental qualities and the rich social context of central Lagos is an important factor in choosing the right policy for housing in Lagos. As early as the 1950s, the central areas of Lagos were evaluated by its physical qualities and were proclaimed as slum areas that should be demolished. What we noticed was that the slum areas were not created initially or in isolation but were the result of spatial socio-economy of the city or the whole country as a whole. What is perhaps more disturbing in Lagos, is that despite such condition people are still coming to the city and remain there rather than return to their villages, because as we have noticed the economic situation is worse in rural areas. It is within this context that we look for a realistic solution for the slum areas of Lagos.

There is enough evidence in the Third World countries to prove the unrealistic process of slum clearance and problems of relocation. The study of slum clearance and relocation schemes of the 1950s in Delhi, show that about 25 per cent



of 50,000 families returned to their initial location. In Lagos we noticed that the slum clearance of the 1960s brought about more problems to the families than it has solved. It was unexpected to observe that a high percentage of displaced people preferred to move to other overcrowded areas of Lagos rather than to go to the newly developed low density area of Surulere. Those who moved to Surulere changed the environment to suit their social life. An advanced stage of such changes can be noticed in the area of slum clearance of the 1930s, where the same pattern of life in central Lagos have been carried out with different physical structures of neighbourhoods. Therefore, the social evaluation of slum areas should be considered as important as physical factors in deciding whether to clear a certain area or not. This means the desirable neighbourhood for Lagosian people is not just having an organized setting of physical elements, but is to find positive satisfaction in their relationship with the people who live around. Even if overcrowding could be relieved by providing more houses and rooms, as the Lagos State Government is doing, still the problem of central Lagos would exist for the following reasons: firstly, most of the new Estate Housing Schemes are located on the mainland, which is far from Lagos Island, and we have noticed that people are not willing to move out of Lagos because of many social and economic reasons. Even if they were permitted to keep their business places there, still the travelling cost, time factor and separation of business and family life would deeply affect them. Moreover, business is a part of family life which cannot exist separately from the family. Secondly, multiple ownership of houses is another problem; if one family moves out, another family will move in. Thirdly, the flats provided in three and four storey buildings in Estate Housing Scheme are not adequate for Nigerian life. Apart from lacking open space, living

in upper floors means being isolated from the community. Many town planners concerned with tropical societies have pointed out the importance of having a space of family groupings. Dr. Koenisberg (1953), remarks that: "Social pattern in tropical countries differ widely from those in the West and unless the planner is aware of differences he can not hope to render useful service. This is illustrated most strikingly by the question of the unit of a household. In England the single family household forms the basis of all planning work. It is almost axiomatic for planning in the tropics to think in terms of multifamily households. Professor Holford has mentioned the experience of the Singapore Improvement Trust, where new single family units were split up into multi-family units almost as soon as they were built. This experience illustrates not only the almost insatiable demand for accommodation in Singapore, but also the fallacy of thinking in terms of single family households. A more detailed study of social traditions in Malaya and China would have resulted in the recognition of the fact that the unit of the household and the basis of residential planning in Singapore should be either a joint family or a single family with friends and boarders, or both combined."(12)

## References - Chapter Six

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8. Since the characteristic nature of the economy in developing countries is so called 'dualism' (see the Urbanisation Process in the Third World.), my definition of employment comprises both informal and formal sectors, with substantial income.
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10. Ibid, p.101.
11. Ibid, p.106.
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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ENVIRONMENTAL EVALUATION

#### Housing and its Effects

In the previous chapter some aspects of housing problem for low-income families in Lagos have been discussed. It has also been pointed out that the most critical aspect of the past and present urbanisation trends is the imbalance between the urban population growth and the urban economic growth, which resulted into acute shortages in the resources needed to improve and add to the existing infrastructure. Unfortunately, the situation seems bound to worsen rather than to improve, considering the projection of population of Lagos by the end of this century and the variety of problems they are facing. The important factors that inevitably affect the problem are economic, social, environmental and political. Economic problems include low incomes, high under and unemployment and most jobs being in informal sector. Social problems are the variety of ethnic groups, each with its own culture and tradition, low educational and health standards, and high population growth. Environmental problems are poor infrastructure, shortage of water and electricity supply, unpaved roads, open sewerage and insufficient urban management, and, lastly, the unstable political situation. Moreover, social imbalance created huge gap between poor and rich people and, unfortunately, this gap is widening. Poor people, who are the majority of the population are living in very bad environmental condition, in substandard houses. Government action in improving the condition is neither consistent nor adequate for low-income people. Major Federal Government Housing Scheme such

as Festac Town and the Government Residential Housing Schemes have had nothing to do with poor people. Maybe Lagos State Government's programmes have been more successful in providing shelter for medium and low-income groups, but what has been provided is considered inadequate for Nigerian way of life. The major challenge for Lagos State Government is to arrive at a satisfactory balance between the demand and the production. In other words, the housing problem is measured by quantities only, though despite quantitative measurement, there is a variety of factors that relate to housing. The desire of human being for having a decent home is an important factor that has to be considered in the debate as to whether to pursue a quantitative housing programme for low-income group. The existing situation dictates that any housing programme for the low-income group should contain two methods of approach. This is because any programme is involved not only in providing housing for the poor, but also in the formation of the housing stock. But, unfortunately, quantitative way is adopted in Lagos because of its political issues. This means to risk sentencing future generation into poor housing conditions and high cost of maintenance of the housing stock.

However, evidence shows that similar policy was practiced in the West, at the beginning of this century. Various standards of building codes 'came up' to evaluate physical quantity of dwellings. "Since 1920, when welfare housing programmes began to emerge in the West, almost all quantitative assessments of housing have been couched in terms of physical quantity of the dwelling and its component parts. The human element has been incorporated into the calculation only as a symbol, for example in numbers per room or per toilet."(1) The fact

is that most of the so-called 'housing standards' today reflect the minimum situation; they reflect the level below which housing is considered unsafe or unsanitary. However, a house that is safe and sanitary does not necessarily represent an adequate or desirable home. No definition of a 'decent home' or a 'suitable living environment' has yet been established or accepted by the people as a whole. Turner(1980) argues that in the case of housing and infrastructure legislated standards are not usually helping to provide desirable model. He remarks that: "According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, a standard is a 'thing serving as a basis of comparison' or a thing 'recognised as a model for imitation.' Clearly to have high standards in performing any activity does not necessarily mean that they are always attained. Standards are something to be aimed for: desirable models. Unfortunately, in the case of housing and infrastructure, legislated standards are not usually seen in this way, but are mandatory and inflexible, requiring an absolute level of service or specification before, say, a house or a sewer can be approved under the law. Minimum standards are required in new construction by housing authorities or building codes, but are not achieved in the vast mass of existing housing which in theory becomes 'substandard'. This applies in developed and developing countries alike; it is safe to say that most of the older houses in the cities like London or New York do not fully comply with the building codes, but millions of people of all income groups live happy and healthy lives in them. (This, of course, excludes slums where environmental standards are by definition unacceptable.) Clearly, standards are relative and must vary from place to place and from time to time. They can not have general applicability and should not be thoughtlessly transferred from one environment to the other where they may be economically and culturally irrelevant."(2)

The first proposed building regulations for Lagos were similar to the building regulations in the U.K. It introduced restricted rules in building construction and left no room to encourage designers and builders to develop their experience and imagination by using local materials.

The construction of buildings according to these regulations was limited to a few items such as concrete, brick or cement block work. For example, about the wall construction it is written that: "The foundation of any new wall shall be constructed of foundation concrete or reinforced concrete, filled into trenches and rammed solid. The external and internal walls of any new building shall be constructed of bricks, stone or concrete blocks properly bounded and put together with grade B mortar, ... etc"(3)

About the site coverage and open spaces it is written that: "No person shall construct any building intended to be used as a dwelling house see that the area covered by the building together with outbuilding appertaining thereto and any existing building exceeds fifty per centum of the area of the whole site. There shall be provided in front of every new building and extending throughout the whole frontage and height of the building, an open space free of any erection whatever other than a boundary wall or fence three feet six inches in height. Such open space shall for the whole of its length be not less than 15 feet in depth measured to the centre of any street on which the building site abuts."(4)

The open space in front of the building was totally a new phenomenon, introduced to the dwelling houses. We have already seen in traditional and in Brazilian

style of the houses that relationship between a building and a street was either through a verandah and an arcade in front of the building or the door was opened straight to the street. This enabled a household to have direct communication with the street, or any other open public space, without being interrupted by an intermediate and traditionally unknown space. There are many evidences in Lagos, showing that people have not found any proper value for the front space of their houses. It neither has an aesthetic value, as we find in some countries in the West, symbolising the status of the owner through good maintenance and display, nor the proper functional values for domestic work as backyard. Therefore, people's behaviour, in most low and middle income neighbourhoods, in such spaces is incongruous, affecting the quality of a neighbourhood.

There were also, in the regulations, some definitions for the size of the rooms, ventilation, number of the windows and height of the buildings.

However, these regulations were revised in the late 1960s and the new draft model bye-law left flexible options for the site coverage, room size and also materials for the construction.

In the period between two World Wars, with the development of the building industry and technics in the West, architects and new professional sector 'planners' were busy with standardisation of building construction. New technics gave way to the idea of mass production of housing. After the second World War, large housing projects were considered the most efficient way to overcome post-war housing shortage, and later on the idea of housing people in high-rise buildings



came up as the best solution to prevent the vast expansion of the cities, as well as minimising the use of social amenities. It was within this period that the social effects of newly built housing projects began to receive attention from a few socially conscious professionals.(5) These attentions opened a new dimension in the field of housing, which looked at the relationship between people and their dwellings in the context of environmental standard. "Soon after World War II, with moderate and high density housing projects being constructed in major Western cities, questions were asked for the first time regarding the social and psychological effects of the residential environment. It was assumed by this time that housing quality had tangible effect on physical health, but only in the late 1940s were questions posed on the effects of housing on psychological health. Urban anthropologist, Anthony Wallace, for example, was hired by the Philadelphia Housing Authority to study some of its problem housing projects (Wallace,1952), for the first time some of the effects of housing design on individual and family behaviour were pointed out."(6)

Since 1950s, social critics on housing projects have emphasised that dwelling units and complexes should respond to a variety of factors of which the most important one is cultural continuity. Experience has shown that the dimension of cultural continuity in a settlement project is a vital factor. Any interruption of such a continuity will be challenged by people and may result into the failure of any housing scheme.

In the history of housing, the two decades of the 1950s and the 1960s can be called the slum clearance period. Undoubtly, most of slum clearances and re-

Housing projects in the Third World Countries are considered as a failure to meet all factors related to housing shortage. In the case of Lagos, we noticed that the radical change in social and economic life of the people were the most important contributing factors responsible for the failure of many housing schemes.

Payne (1972) remarks that: "Slum clearance and relocation policies do just that- they relocate and do not change or improve the housing or other conditions of the poor, even though they may remove them from view - in most cases the problem is even made worse." (7) Marris (1961) gives similar opinion about the consequences of Lagos slum clearance and Rehousing Scheme. He found people reluctant to move to the newly built Rehousing Estate, although the living conditions in the slum areas were worse. He describes that: "They mostly lived in dark cramed rooms, without sanitation or running water, the roofs often leaking and the walls begrimed ... 'I would be sorry to go for two important things,' a teacher said, 'I work in Lagos and for all my expenditure I depend on my wife. The condition of life in Surulere does not suit me. It's a European style of building, there is no yard. They are just self-contained houses and I am used to communal living. When you come into the yard you see people coming and going.'" (8)

This should not be surprising in a culture where the settlement pattern is ground-oriented, around private outdoor space.

The socio-economic history of the Third World countries is teaching us that any imposed, hastely analysed change in the way of life will not be accepted by people. We even face more problems in dealing with the societies that are not homo-

geneous. Payne describes that: "The predominance of urban social groupings on a fragmented tribal pattern reflect the manner in which various sub-groups react to the socio-economic changes affecting them."(9 ) Badly planned modernization can produce unpredictable side effects, creating more problems than bringing about the solutions. Since 1950s, various researches have confirmed that the problem of housing is more socio-cultural than physical phenomenon, and have suggested a line of interactions between culture and design. Rapoport(1969) denies the definition of a houseform as a physical force or any single casual factor. He describes it as the consequence of the whole range of socio-cultural factors, seen in their broadest terms. The specific characteristics of culture - the accepted way of doing things, the socially unacceptable ways and implicit ideas - need to be considered since they affect housing and settlement form. This includes the subtleties as well as the more utilitarian features.(10)

Maybe the best example is given in Appendix-1.7 and another similar case can be described in building rehabilitation centres for the indigenous displaced people of a new Federal Capital Abuja territory, where the units were built in a box form of single room, congested together in the rows of ten units. These units were left empty in 1982 and native people have moved out of disturbed land and built their own huts. Another example is the low-cost housing in Bauchi State of Nigeria, where the houses contradicted with the Muslim sense of privacy and family living. As a result, Muslim indigenous people rejected the units and stayed in their traditional and less sanitary but culturally more appropriate units in the old settlement. On the contrary, it has been found out that when all socio-cultural parameters are incorporated in house form, higher satisfaction

rate is achieved.

Of course, there are some other factors such as climate, technology, finance and materials, which, as an overall force, influence and shape human space. These are actually the elementary requirements of any housing project, which have been discussed in previous chapters. As soon as these elementary requirements are settled, the socio-cultural parameters should be met.

The vital question, therefore, would be: what are the suitable form(s), the relationships among house form, environment, and different contributory factors. The answer certainly can not be defined as an 'universal standard', applicable in every society, but rather is laying within the context of each society(11). This means that for providing an adequate human environment, one must recognize and evaluate diverse variables (socio-cultural parameters); which change from place to place. This is not a difficult task, but rather time consuming job, since human behaviour in the environment and space is regular and purposefull, and therefore can be observed and measured.

Much of the study in this chapter is dealing with this aspect of housing in Lagos. The intention was to examine the residential neighbourhoods in old and newly developed areas, to find the varying degrees of problems which exist in both neighbourhoods and to meet the needs, values and expectations of their users. We, therefore, deal with the problems of identifying the quality of the environment that exist and the level of satisfaction that people derive from it. This suggests how the information gained can be used to give body to the proposals on

housing strategy.

### Residential Environment

The term 'residential environment' is used here to describe the mutual interaction between residents (users) and their built environment. Within such a concept the residential environment can be defined as the way in which people use the available facilities in relation to other people. Therefore, it includes both physical and social aspects of residential environment.

The physical aspect of residential environment includes, generally, the quality of public areas, streets, roads, alleys, public facilities, outdoor spaces, parks, parkings and public amenities. The arrangement of residential units on the site, the number and the type of units on the selected site (density), and finally, their location and relation to each other, play an important role in the quality of residential neighbourhood. For example, it was observed that several types of physical environmental problems have contributed to the decline of the quality of many neighbourhoods in Lagos. They include traffic, pollution, bad condition of access roads, open sewerage ... etc. It was also observed that people's behaviour within their rural territories is congruent, whereas in the city neighbourhoods it is incongruent. What is making this contrast are the habits of their rural background. The explanation is in the cultural transition from purely rural people and culture to an urban civilization and culture in which the society found itself at this stage of development. They have changed their place of

living from rural to urban area, but have not changed the rural habits to urban behaviour.

The social aspect of residential environment covers the area of behaviour and relationship of the residents within the environment. The behaviour of each cultural group varies and depends on many factors such as culture, religion, climate, ... etc. For example, we noticed that among the Yorubas, because of their tradition of communal living, social interactions are more intense than in other cultural groups with nuclear family structure. Consequently, the structure of residential neighbourhood, in each cultural group, reflects the way in which people live together and communicate among themselves.

In architectural theory there is a belief that physical change of environment can lead to major changes in behaviour. In Lipman's words "the social behaviour of building users is influenced, even determined, by the physical environment in which the behaviour occurs. Thus the belief system includes the notion that we architects direct social behaviour patterns through our work."(12) In contrast to the above belief an idea has been developed in recent years that the built environment has no major effect on people's behaviour. If the built environment changes, the possibility of choice may increase, but will not change people's behaviour. Built environment can be seen as setting for human activities which facilitates human behaviour, but can not determine or generate activities.(13)

In Lagos, it was noticed that in Surulere area, people changed the built en-

vironment according to their needs and life style, but did not adapt themselves to the environment. The same practice has been observed in newly built low-cost housing schemes (Plate 26). These experiences would lead us to understand that the environment which is created to accommodate human behaviour should have certain qualities in accordance with people's way of living. It reveals that we have to understand the way in which the built environment is used, understood and interpreted.

A great deal of work has been done, especially during the Past three decades, emphasising on the importance of neighbourhood environment in the attainment of decent housing in urban areas. The general questions in this field are: How do people shape their environment? What is the effect of physical environment on people? And, lastly, what are the mechanisms which link people with their environments? (14) By studying the above questions, one can understand the important role of human behavior in designing the human environment. Since human behaviour varies in different societies and is defined by culture, the built environment in each community is different. This means that the settlement planning in any community involves new problems that can not be solved by transferring pre-established methods. Unfortunately, the attitude of Lagos Government towards the housing problem in Lagos has been based on pre-established methods. Their policy is to introduce the same housing style which is used in the developed countries, regardless of social differences, and to provide a mass production of shelters. This, of course, in short term will help to increase the housing stock but will not guarantee that new residential neighbourhoods will not turn into slums, in the course of time.

### Environmental Problems

Residential neighbourhoods in Metropolitan Lagos suffer from many physical environmental problems. In central Lagos and also in other low grade residential areas on the mainland, overcrowding, high density and lack of open spaces have given monotonous shape to the whole neighbourhood. Buildings are all the same, streets and narrow lanes have the same features, and even shops on both sides of the streets sell the same commodities. People were claiming to feel tired of the monotonous environment. The result of the interview with 30 heads of families in central Lagos (May, 1982), with an average income of about ₦200 per month, was that eleven of the respondents travel to their villages (home towns) twice a year, eight of them once a year and the rest of them have no regular journeys, it depends on their financial abilities. The purpose of their journeys was to go out of busy Lagos. The percentage among higher income families which are mobile is much higher.

For measuring the environmental deficiencies in residential neighbourhoods, seven areas were selected initially, three sites in Surulere area, two sites in central Lagos Island and two slum areas on the mainland (Mushin and Somolu); the results of the survey showed that, all slum areas of central Lagos and also on the mainland have similar problems. Therefore, Fig.61 represents all slum areas. The selected three sites in Surulere were chosen because of their variety of buildings types and densities. Generally, it was observed that the most serious environmental problems in all neighbourhoods were: open sewerage, poor condition of streets and alleys and quality and cleanliness of open spaces. These problems



affect the city as a whole. As it could be expected, the environmental problems were more heavily concentrated in low grade residential neighbourhoods. The results of the survey study (Figs.61-64) showed that in the middle to high-income neighbourhood, the immediate physical environment was in worse condition than dwelling units, whereas, in low income and slum areas, both the quality of physical environment and condition of dwelling units were about the same.

Survey method:

My objective for this part of survey study was to provide qualitative results rather than quantitative. To achieve such a result, I tried to establish a direct contact with people with whom the study was concerned. Therefore, analytical work was based on observation, preparing sketch drawings and face to face interviews with people, usually in the company of someone who was known to the locals. During the course of interview respondents were asked to comment upon the problems of traffic, noise, pollution, neighbourhood safety and crime, efficiency of public services, public space and physical quality of their neighbourhood. Sketch drawings were prepared to show the dimension of neighbourhood environment and observation was made to measure major physical deficiencies.

## Sample of recording list

## Neighbourhood quality

Dimension of neighbourhood environment	Type of environmental deficiency
Streets Alleys and access to units Sidewalks Housing condition Open space condition Front space condition Rear yard condition Sewage system and Disposal Traffic	

Definitions

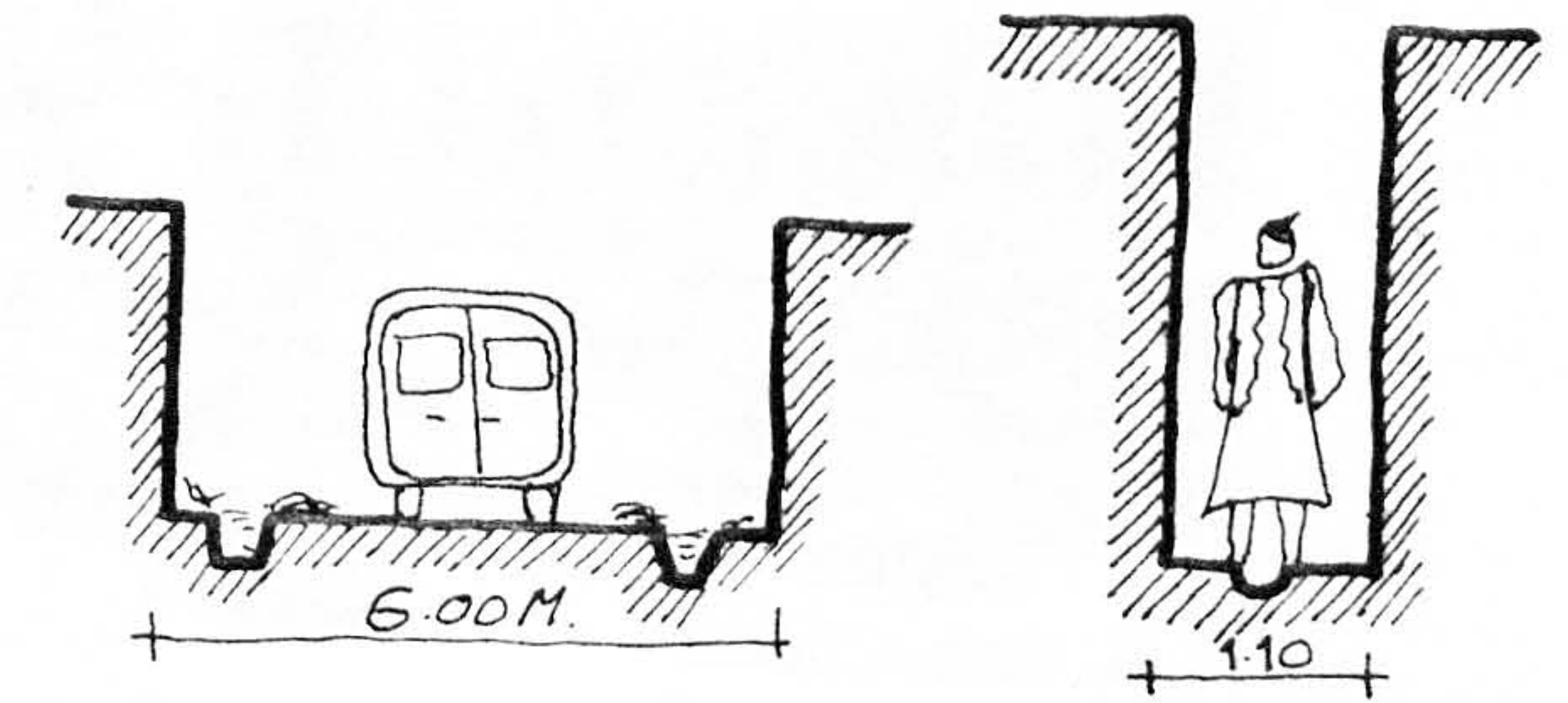
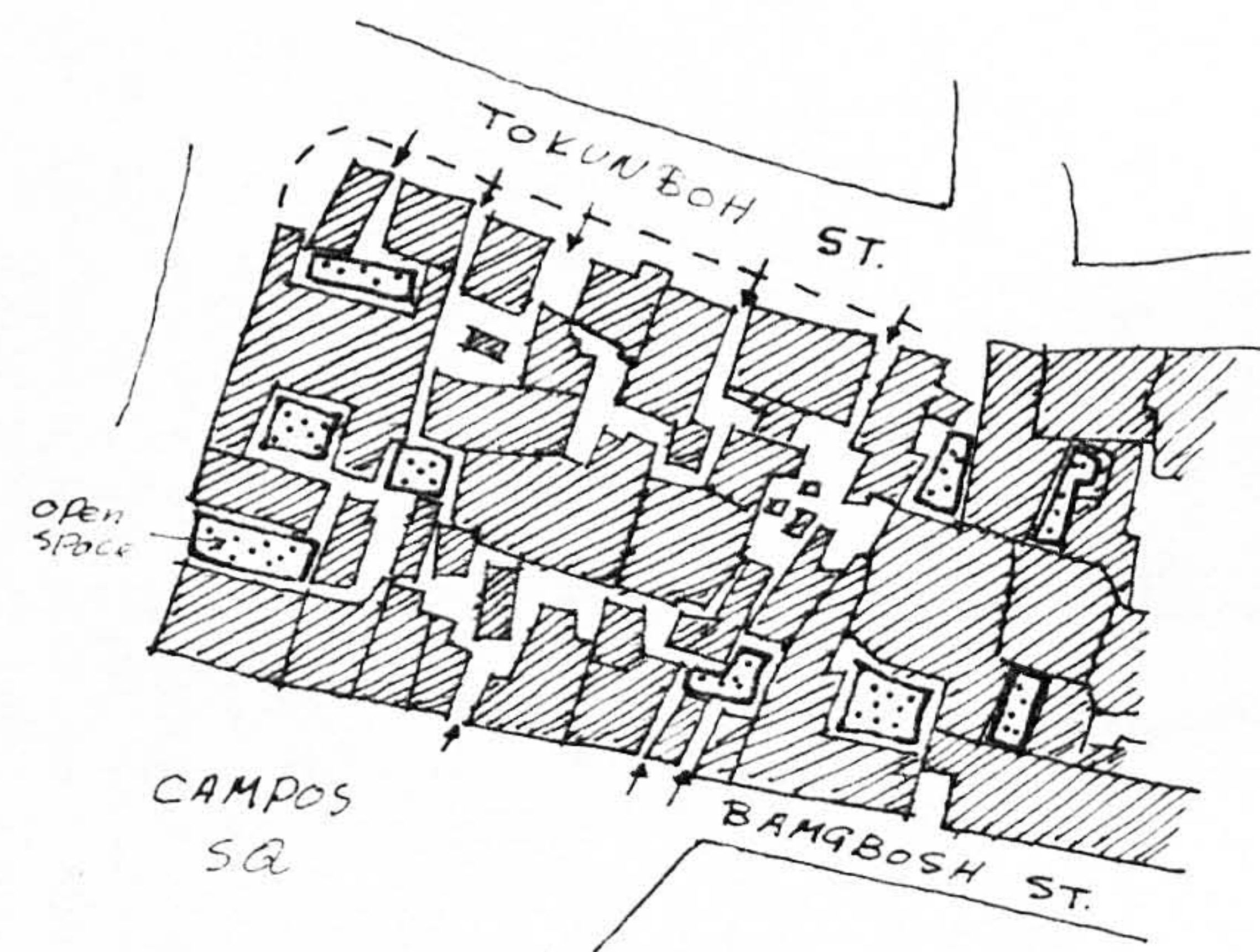
The following are the briefs of the terms which are used in the survey to explain the physical quality.

**Poor Condition:** this term is used where the space was clean but uneven on surface, having serious structural deficiencies, prone to flood during the rainy season.

**Insanitary Condition:** this term is used for the area where: open sewerage was running across, dumped with garbage or occasionally used as latrine.

**Domestic activities:** this term is interpreted to include all type of household activities such as cooking, washing, drying, ... etc.

**Good Structure:** this term is used for the dwelling units with permanent structure and also for those units which were not structurally in need of major improvement.

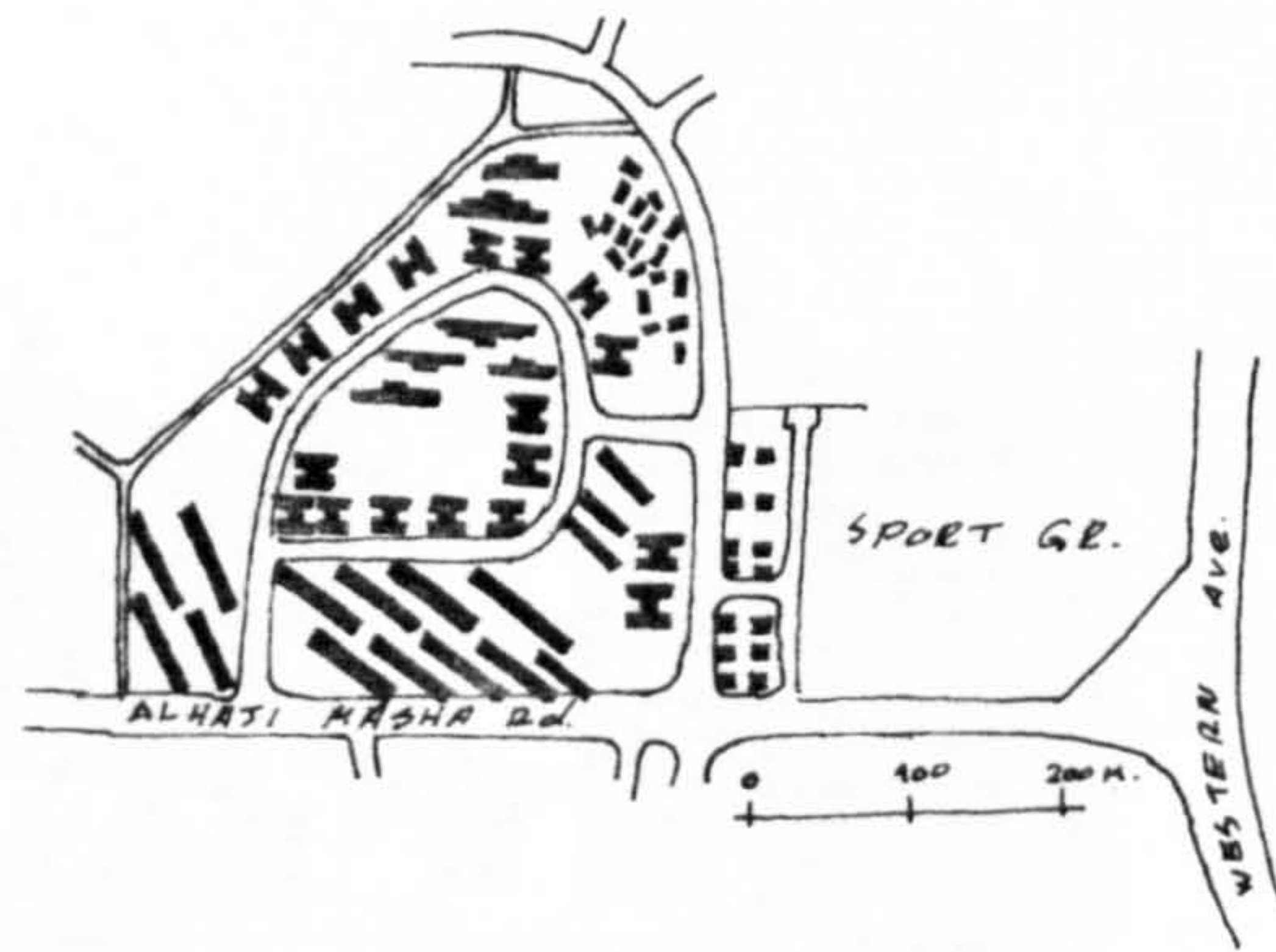


Plan of Residential Neighbourhood, Campos Sq., Lagos

Cross section through access rd.

Fig. 61 - Environmental Deficiencies in Lagos Island

1. Inside open spaces were clean but in very poor condition. They were used mostly for domestic activities, store for abandoned furniture and business commodities. Larger spaces were used as workshops.
2. Narrow access leading to the inside of compounds are in very insanitary and poor condition. Waste water is running in a narrow channel through the middle of passage to the main channel along the street.
3. Occupied dwelling units were in very poor condition, with serious structural deficiencies.
4. Streets were unclean and uneven in surface.
5. There were no sidewalks along the streets and open sewerages were running along both sides of the streets.
6. There was a heavy traffic during the working hours.



Layout plan and view, Rehousing Scheme,  
(four storey building, Surulere)

Fig. 62 - Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere Area, Lagos.

1. Inside open spaces were unclean and in very poor condition.
2. There were 32 abandoned cars among the blocks and street front.
3. There were dumps of garbage and scraped furniture on 18 locations among the dwelling units.
4. Open sewerages were running along both sides of the street and were usually blocked by garbage.
5. Sidewalks were in poor condition covered by the dust of Harmatan wind.
6. Occupied units were structurally in good condition but needed major improvement.
7. Streets were in poor condition and uneven in surface.



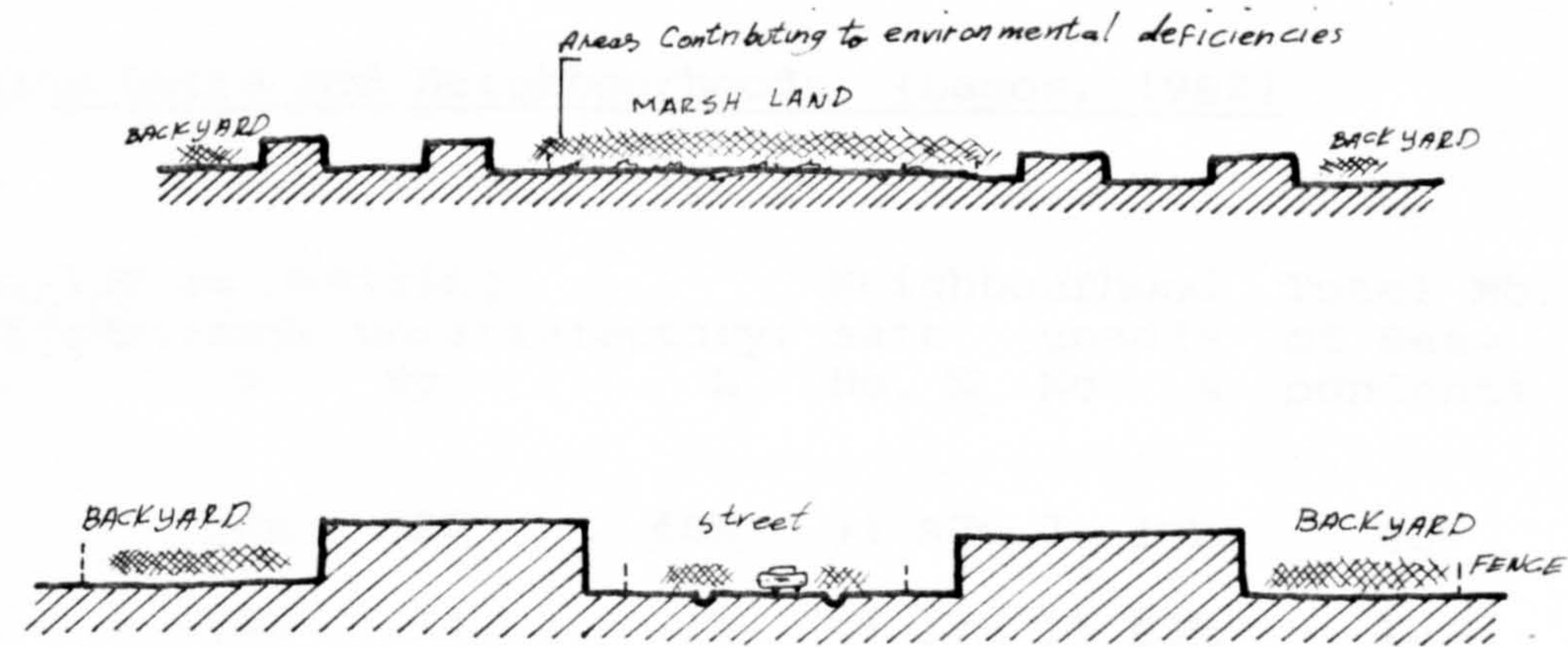
Layout plan, Rehousing Scheme, Surulere

Fig. 63 - Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere area (Rehousing Scheme)

1. Inside open spaces were dumped with garbage and scrapped furniture.
2. There were 18 abandoned cars on the street front.
3. Dumping of garbage and waste was found on every vacant land.
4. Open sewerage runs along both sides of the street.
5. Sidewalks were in very poor condition.
6. Occupied units were structurally in good condition, but needed sanitary improvement.
7. Streets were in poor condition and uneven in surface.



Layout plan, Freehold Housing, Surulere



Sections

Fig. 64 - Environmental Deficiencies in Surulere area (Freehold Housing)

1. There is a lack of adequate open space.
2. The existence of marshland within the neighbourhood contributes the most to the environmental deficiencies.
3. Uncollected waste was dumped in front of every house.
4. Sidewalks and streets were in poor condition.
5. Backyards were generally uncleaned.

Table 20 - Households' Attitudes towards Dwelling Units and Neighbourhoods, (Lagos, 1982)

Location	Quality of Neighbourhood				Quality of Dwelling				Neighbourhood				Total No. of Res-pondents
	Satisfactory: No.	%	unsatisfactory: No.	%	Satisfactory: No.	%	unsatisfactory: No.	%	safe No.	%	unsafe No.	%	
Central Lagos°	9	22%	31	78%	15	34%	25	66%	33	82%	7	18%	40
Mushin°	-	-	18	100%	4	23%	14	71%	3	17%	15	83%	18
Somolu°	-	-	11	100%	2	18%	9	82%	-	-	11	100%	11
S/L site A°	6	20%	24	80%	19	62%	11	38%	12	40%	18	60%	30
S/L site B°	4	8%	36	72%	14	28%	36	72%	21	42%	29	58%	50
S/L site C°°	5	29%	20	80%	25	100%	-	-	9	36%	16	64%	25

°: Low-income neighbourhood  
 °°: Low/medium-income neighbourhood  
 °°°: Medium-income neighbourhood

Site A: Surulere Rehousing and Workers Housing Scheme  
 Site B: Surulere Housing Scheme, Highrise Buildings  
 Site C: Surulere area Freehold Housing

Source: Field Study, May, 1982.



Table 20 shows that dissatisfaction with quality of residential environment was generally more vivid than with the quality of dwelling units. In the slum areas of Mushin and Somolu the total number of respondents stressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of their dwelling units.

The striking point was the high percentage (about 82%) of the respondents who expressed their satisfaction with the safety of neighbourhood in central Lagos. This was mostly due to the compound form of dwelling units, with limited access into the compound. This percentage in Surulere area, on the site A where the units are built in the form of a flat in four to five-storey buildings and, in the form of row-houses on site B, is higher than detached houses on site C. The unsafe neighbourhoods of Mushin and Somolu were because of the type of residence tenure. A high percentage of dwelling units were occupied by migrants who were unemployed and were lodging in those areas because of the availability of cheap accommodation.

Survey study of environmental problems in Surulere areas showed that the open spaces within the neighbourhood have increased environmental deficiencies. It was noticed that this area was developed in late 1950s, and the design was based on low density residential development. Consequently, a vast green area was left among the buildings, regardless of the climatic factors.

### Underlying Factors Affecting Housing and Settlement Form.

We have observed that the fast growth of vegetation, the high amount of annual rain during the short period of rainy season and the dust of Harmatan wind are among those factors which seriously damage the green areas of Surulere neighbourhood and contribute to the environmental problems. Climate is generally accepted as the most important factor in design since its impacts are most readily felt, but it should not be accepted as the single most important determinant of design. Though climate is a physical phenomenon, the experience of climate has also a cultural dimension and varies in each society. For example: the way that Moslems experience climate is different from the way that non-Moslems experience it. Since privacy is important in Islam, Moslems' solution to the climate problem in their houses is different from the one of non-Muslim cultural group. The same reason can be given for all human performances in built environments. Therefore, a built environment is an object that has been formed to accommodate human activities according to their culture, life styles, technological abilities and aesthetic views.

People's activities are initially for the satisfaction of basic biological needs such as eating, drinking, sleeping, resting, etc. According to Gutman (15), these biological functions are necessary for the survival, their adequate provision is therefore a contribution to survival. The nature of these biological needs are similar for human beings in all societies, but the ways of performing them in satisfying manner vary and depend on the circumstances and conditions appropriate to the culture of participants. Psychological studies show that

different cultural groups require different rest periods (16), and different cultures rest in different ways and different context. For example, among the Masai and many nomadic groups, resting simply implies stopping, usually leaning on a stick with one foot raised. Among the Tivs, on the other hand, resting is primarily done by reclining on a specially designed enclosure called 'ate'. (17) In contemporary urban society, resting may consist of staying at home, reading or watching T.V., walking in the park or sitting on a bench at the corner of a street, watching people's activities. The same arguments apply to the performances of other human biological needs.

The built environment of each cultural group, therefore, is a form or a multiplicity of forms which has been shaped with specific structure and pattern to accommodate all human activities. An understanding of these activities, differences and priorities is time consuming, but, it is necessary in order to provide a proper design and plan for it. (18) For example, considering a function of an open space in a residential neighbourhood, the specific way of using it varies in different societies. The activities carried out may include walking, resting, reading, talking, socializing, playing, eating, meeting, using it for ceremonial occasion or a combination of them all. This will create a major implication for the design: what is the degree of importance of each activity in a given society? And what type of space enclosure, semi enclosure or any other form would suit these activities. When all these factors are carefully studied and incorporated into design, then the question arises what could be done to avoid monotony and to satisfy aesthetic value of users. We have already described two kinds of monotonous environment in the old and the new neighbourhoods

of Lagos. In both cases, physical shape and the totality of neighbourhood were either under social stress or out of social control, affecting aesthetic value of the environment. The same description apply to the new housing schemes in Lagos, where no attention has been paid to the aesthetic value of design. It is not justifiable to house people in ugly blocks of buildings because they are poor.

Aesthetic consideration play an important role in acceptability of housing and built environment. There are many factors that enter in the evaluation and definition of aesthetic aspect of design which include total sensory perception and bodily function of a building. Yet, the aesthetic judgements and functional values vary between individuals and cultural groups. The crucial issue in design is the relative importance of these two aspects of design: beauty and function. We again bring the example of open space within the residential neighbourhood. In a Western society the idea of 'Garden City' led to the increase of open space and consequently, to the reduction of density. It also gave some credit to the aesthetic value of residential neighbourhood. In contrast, in Surulere area, this concept did not achieve the same result and additionally, it created some environmental problems. The result of my interview with thirty-five households in overcrowded area of Lagos, showed that: twenty-five households (about 72%) gave more credit to functional aspects of open space; eight of them (about 23%) considered both beauty and function and the rest of five per cent showed no response. "We need more open space to do our housework, cooking, washing and space for our children to move about", stated most of the housewives. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the way that people used to live, 'life style' being

an important element in understanding how people utilize their built environment.

Life style can be defined as a complex phenomenon, containing many variables of which the most important one is culture. Different researchers have defined culture in different ways, but, they share the common concept of its broader meaning. Rapoport describes culture as a "very complex term, at a very least it concerns a group who share a world view, beliefs and values which create a system of rules and habits."(19) Thus culture includes at least three major elements, namely ideas including world views, values and priorities; institution like family structure, religion, ritual and group organisation; and, finally, conventionalised activities such as interpersonal activities and characteristic way of doing things. Cultures exist both as a context for human activities, as well as means for achieving desired objectives. Desired objectives in architectural terms is considered as 'physical environment' which is "the complexity that constitutes any physical setting in which man live, interact and engage in activities for either brief or extended periods of time."(20) Therefore, the influence of 'life style' on built environment needs to be reviewed in the context of what people do about and within their built environment. In other words "the purpose of planning and design is not to create a physical artifact but a setting for human behavior."(21)

### Residential Layout Planning in Lagos

We have noticed that, in the early stage of development, on the northwest of

Lagos Island, the residential layout formed the layout of a village, where the individual units were arranged around an open space to create communal space (see Chapter One). Where the units did not surround the middle space, the open portion was closed by wall or hatched. In this form of residential layout more activities were concentrated on this open space. (Fig.65a)

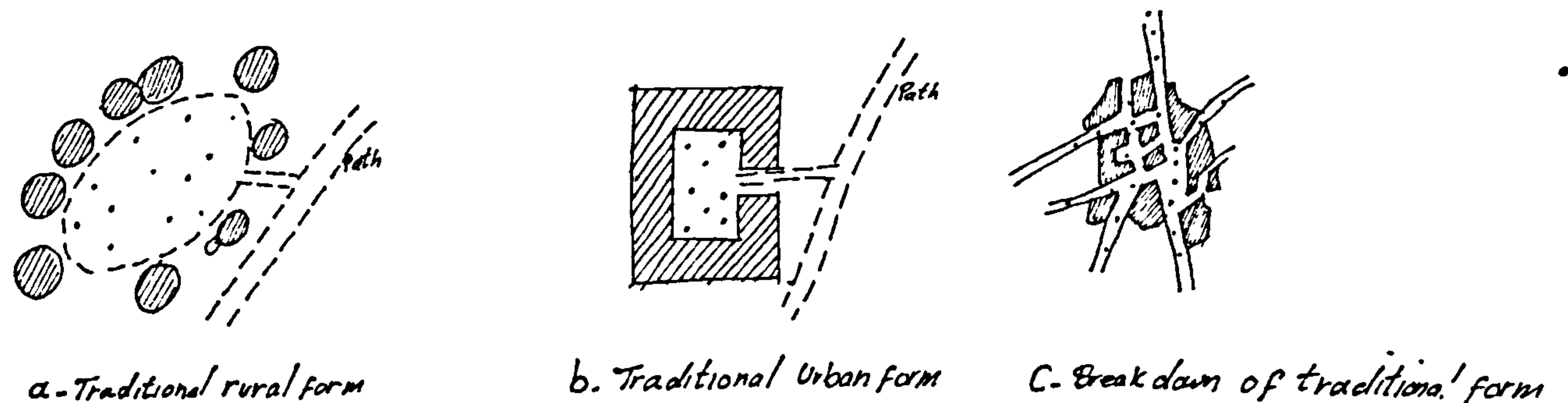


Fig. 65 - Diagrammatic form of relation between units and street.

Compounds had also the same inward orientation with only one access from the outside. In such layout plan, the space outside the compound was only used for access. (Fig.65b) This pattern broke when population increased. Houses no longer followed the form of compound and the old compounds were broken to small units. Consequently, the inward orientation of dwelling units became less important, and the street dominated as a place for trade and social interaction.

(Fig.65c) The whole area of Lagos Island now forms an irregular network of narrow streets and lanes. The informal pattern of incremental growth not only covered the whole Island, but also extended to the mainland as well.

In most residential neighbourhoods of Lagos, especially in the low-grade ones, public areas play an important role in the life of people. Like the courtyard in a compound, street is a place for children to play, to eat and to spend most of their time; it is a place to trade, to hold ceremonies and all social events and even in some areas a corner of a street is used as a classroom.

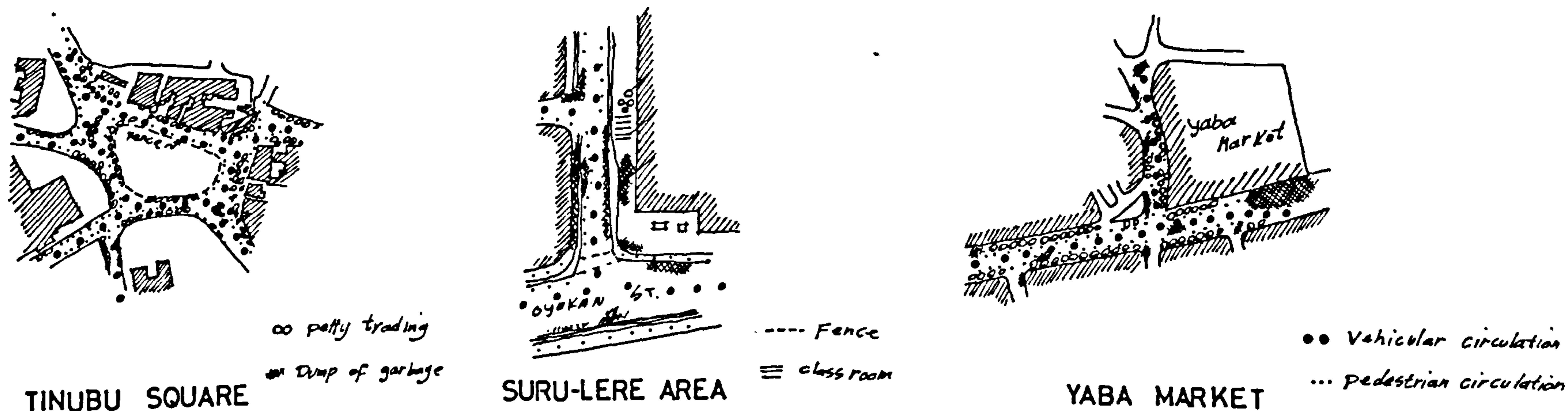


Fig. 66 - Use of Public Areas

It was also noticed that people extend their living space beyond the dwelling units, sharing the public areas, streets, sidewalks and any other open space, immediately outside their dwelling units for a variety of social functions.

The nature, location and the extent of the utilized areas are varied and depend on the type of dwelling unit, form of setting, and its function.

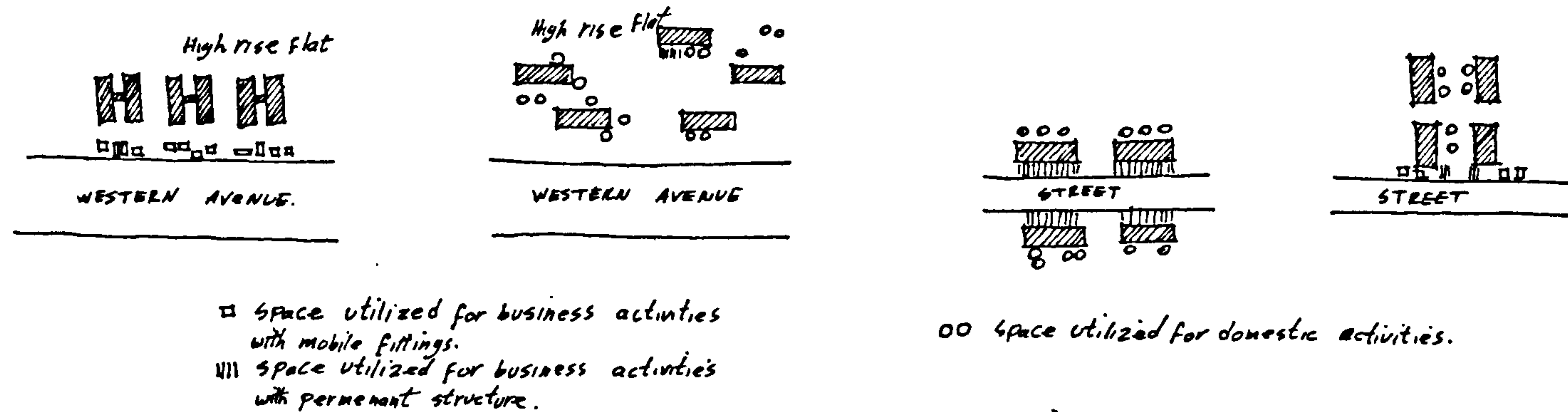


Fig. 67 - Outdoor Space Utilization

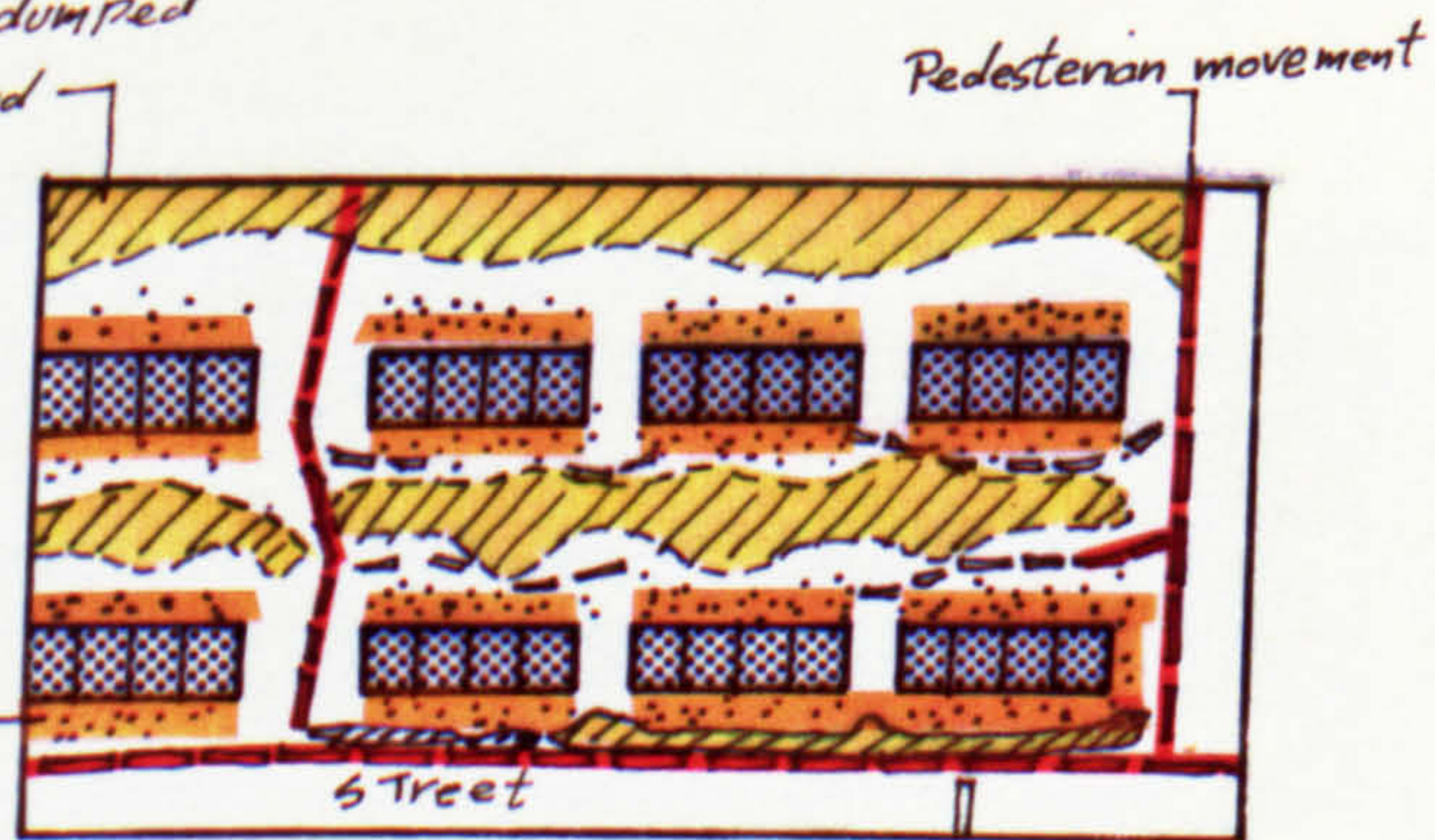
The spaces which are utilized for business activities are usually located along the main street and those for domestic activities are located on the immediate outdoor space of dwelling units. If there is a distance between the utilized space for business activities and dwelling units the structure of utilized space is not permanent, usually comprising a few benches and shades which are taken away during the night. However, large parts of street, alley, square and open spaces are no longer public areas. The community of each neighbourhood has extended its influence over it. But since there is a lack of territorial sense, or 'no man's land' as Lagosian call it, people do not care to keep it in good shape or clean (incongruent behavior). The same situation is found in open



spaces in Surulere area, where the bad layout plan of dwelling units have left inadequate open spaces among the dwelling units.(Figs.68-70)

No ones land, unutilized, dumped  
with garbage and abandoned  
furniture and cars.

Immediate outdoor space  
fully utilized



Aerial view in early 1960.

Fig. 68 - Layout Plan, Rehousing Schemes, Surulere (Suina Rd.), Lagos

In this district, houses are arranged along the street, two rows of units on each side, back to back with middle service yard and facing the street. The front space, area between the street and the houses, has gradually been utilized by occupants according to their needs (shops, playgrounds, private yards ... etc.) Service yard at the rear and in between the blocks are divided into small private spaces and the access to the street has been closed, creating a private enclosure. This enclosure is used for keeping domestic animals and for domestic household activities.

Almost all tenants interviewed in this area expressed more dissatisfaction with the environment than with their dwellings.

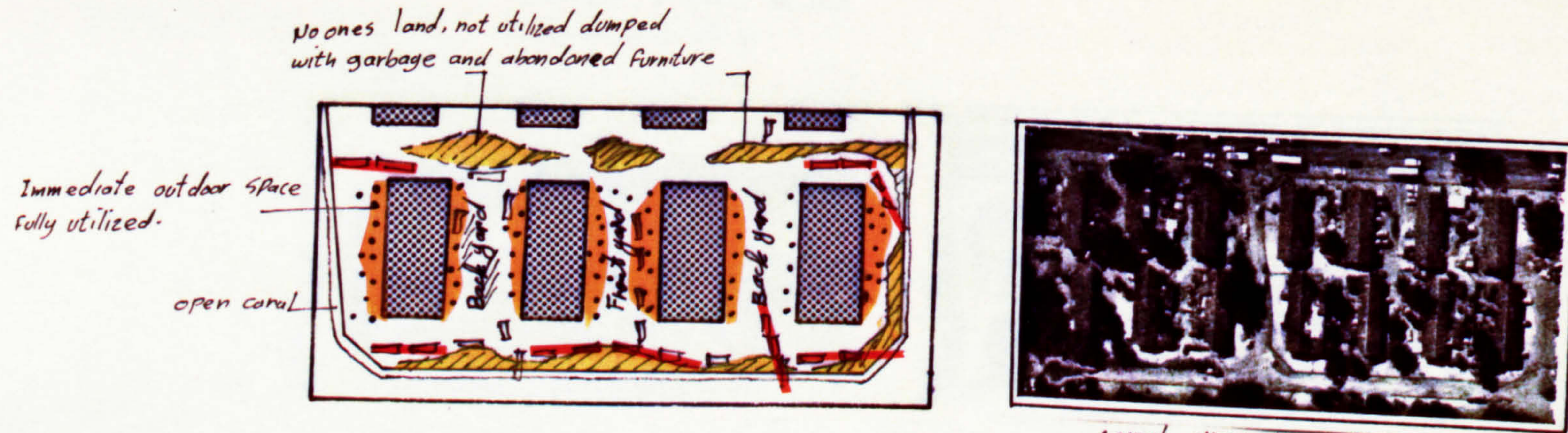


Fig. 69 - Layout Plan, Rehousing Scheme, Surulere (Akepele Rd.), Lagos.

In this type of layout plan there is no difference in size or shape of front or back yard. Two sides of service yard have been closed by occupants for security and privacy purpose. The set back from the main street is utilized for business by the family occupying middle units. Service yard has been divided and utilized in the same way as in Fig.59.

The tenants were also more dissatisfied with the environment than with their dwellings.

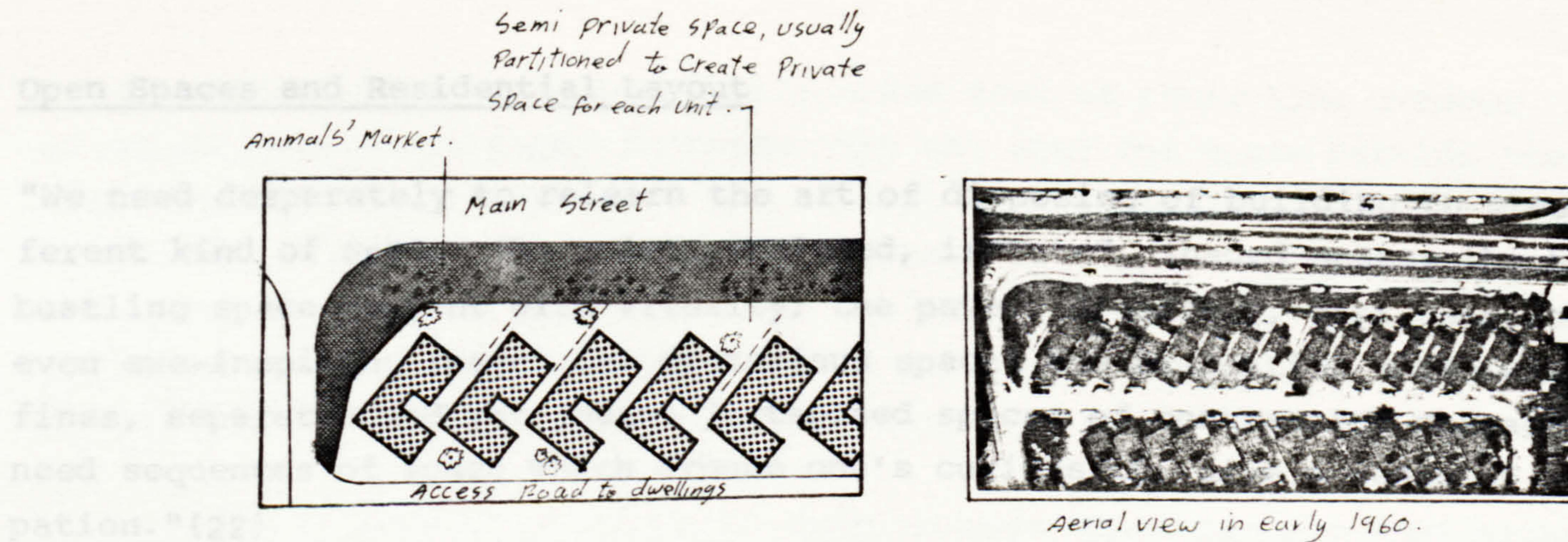


Fig. 70 - Layout Plan, Freehold Housing Scheme, Surulere.

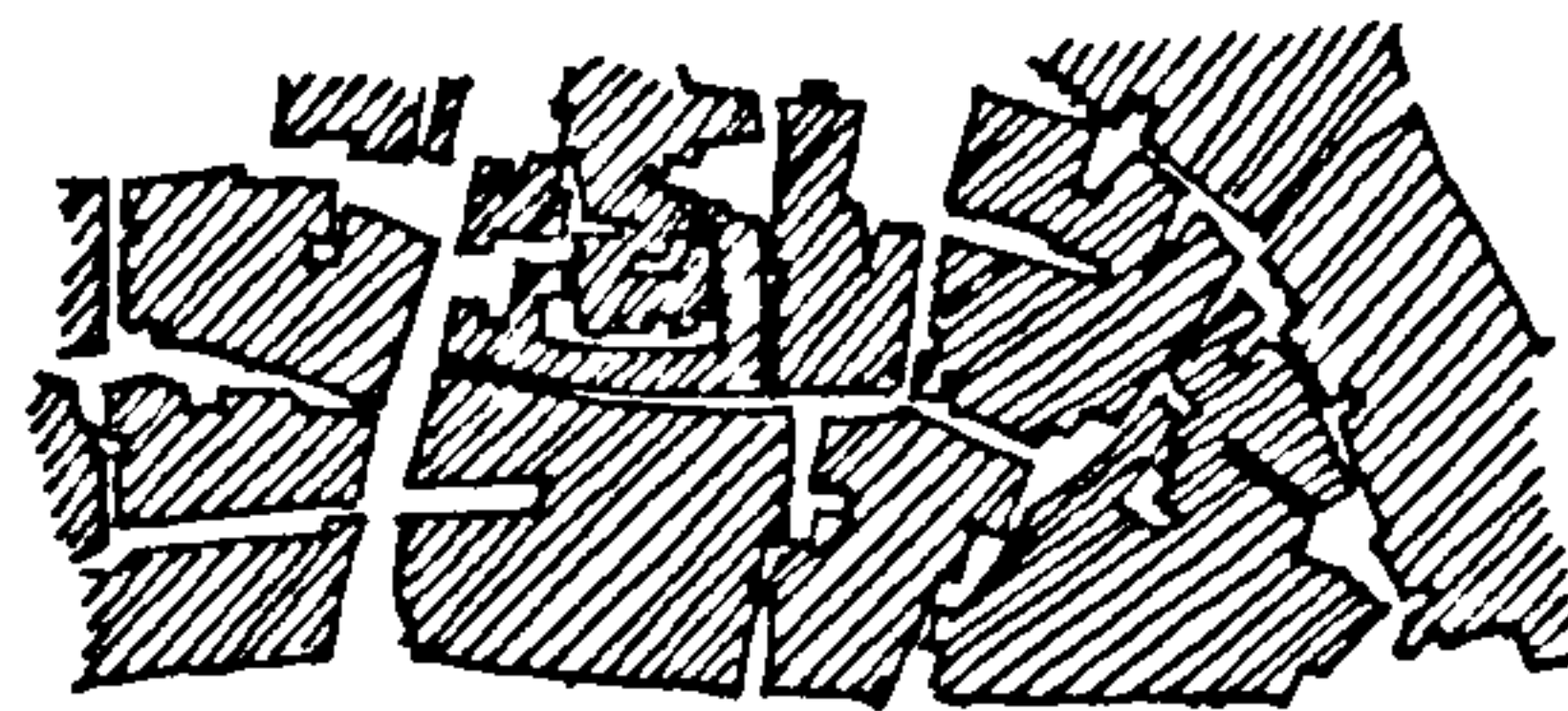
The green space between the dwellings and the main street was originally meant to prevent dwellings from the hazardous noise and pollution of the street. Later on, the tenants built walls to separate their buildings from public area for security. Now, the left overland along the street is animals' market, extended to under the overhead bridge over the main street. The main access to the dwellings is now through the inner road. The smell and dirt have affected the whole environment.

Fig. 71 - Incongruent open spaces in residential neighbourhood.

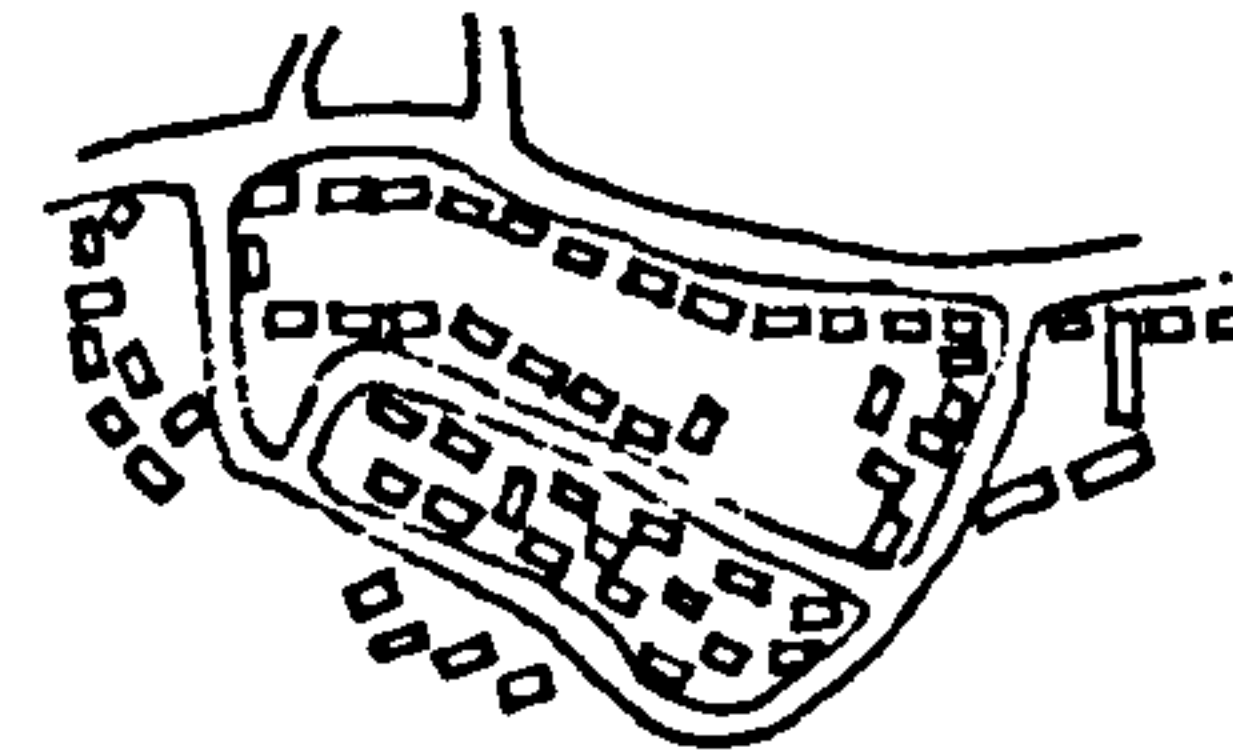
Residential neighbourhoods of Lagos suffer from having no open spaces, too much open spaces and wrong kind of open spaces; each of these conditions has affected the quality of a neighbourhood.

### Open Spaces and Residential Layout

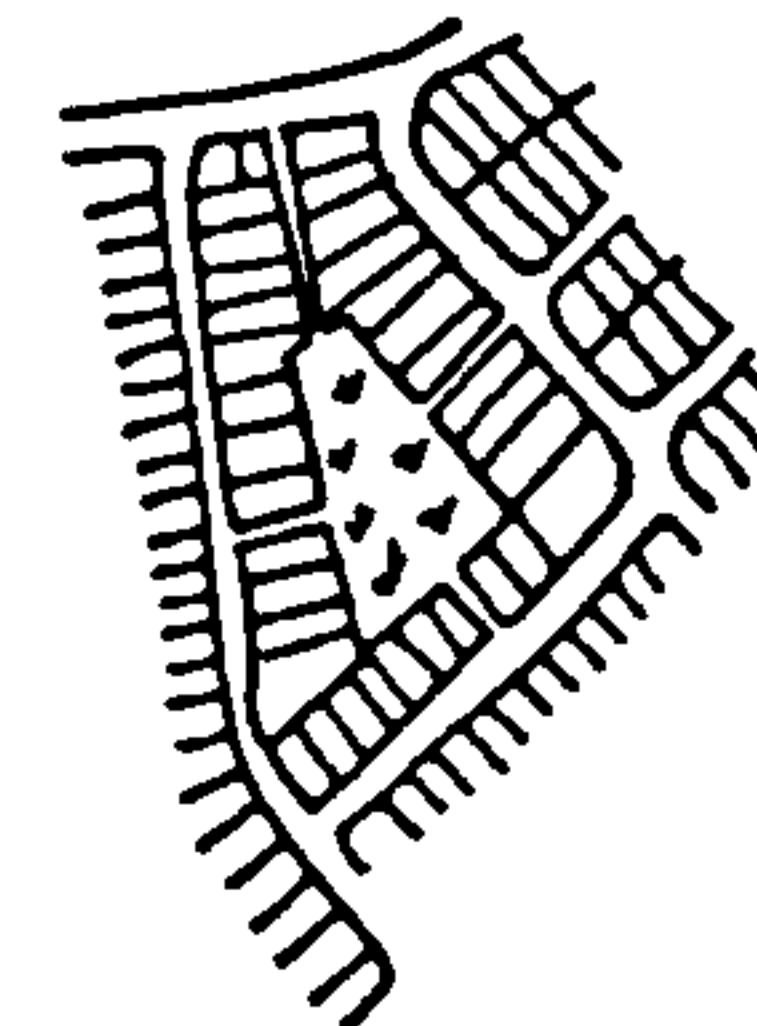
"We need desperately to relearn the art of disposing of building to create different kind of space: the quiet, enclosed, isolated, shaded space; the hustling, bustling space pungent with vitality; the paved, dignified, vast, sumptuous, even awe-inspiring space; the mysterious space; the transition space which defines, separates and yet joins juxtaposed spaces of contrasting character. We need sequences of space which arouse one's curiosity, give a sense of anticipation." (22)



*Residential Area in central Lagos  
with no open space.*



*Residential Area in Suru-Lere (worker's housing)  
with unproportional open space.*



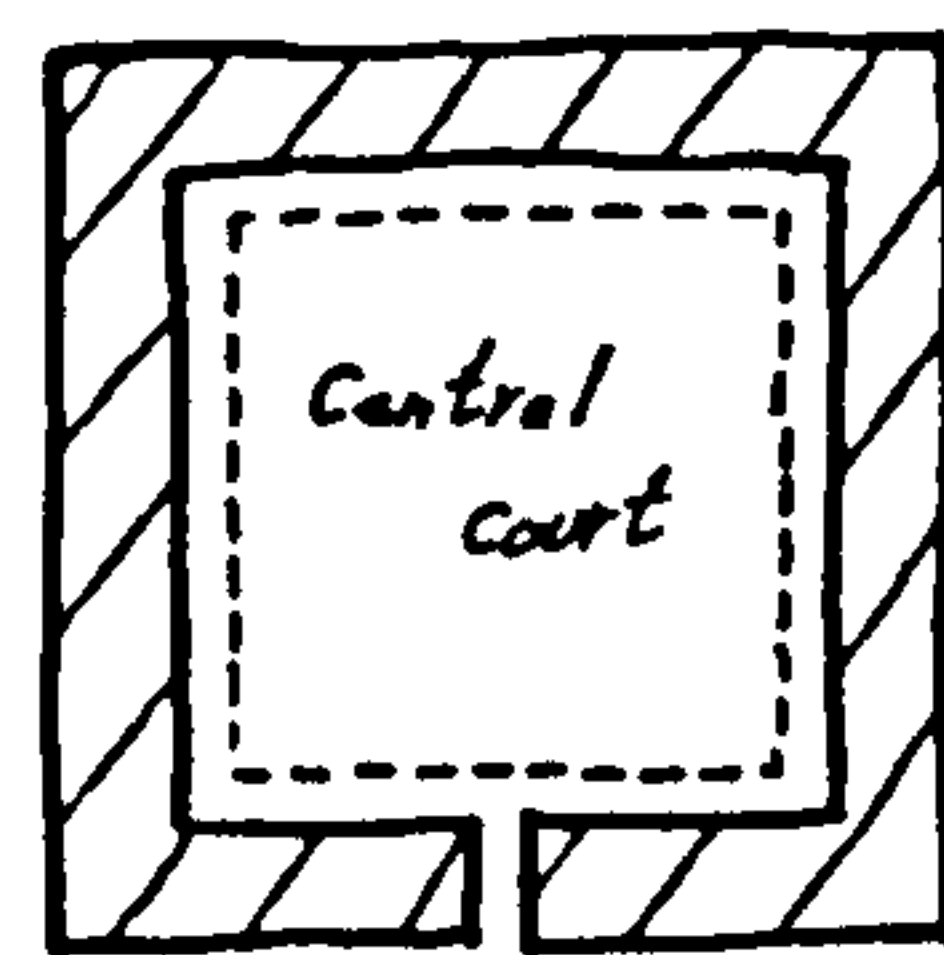
*Freehold housing Suru-Lere  
wrong kind of open space (marsh land)  
at the rear of buildings.*

Fig. 71 - Incongruent open spaces in residential neighbourhood.

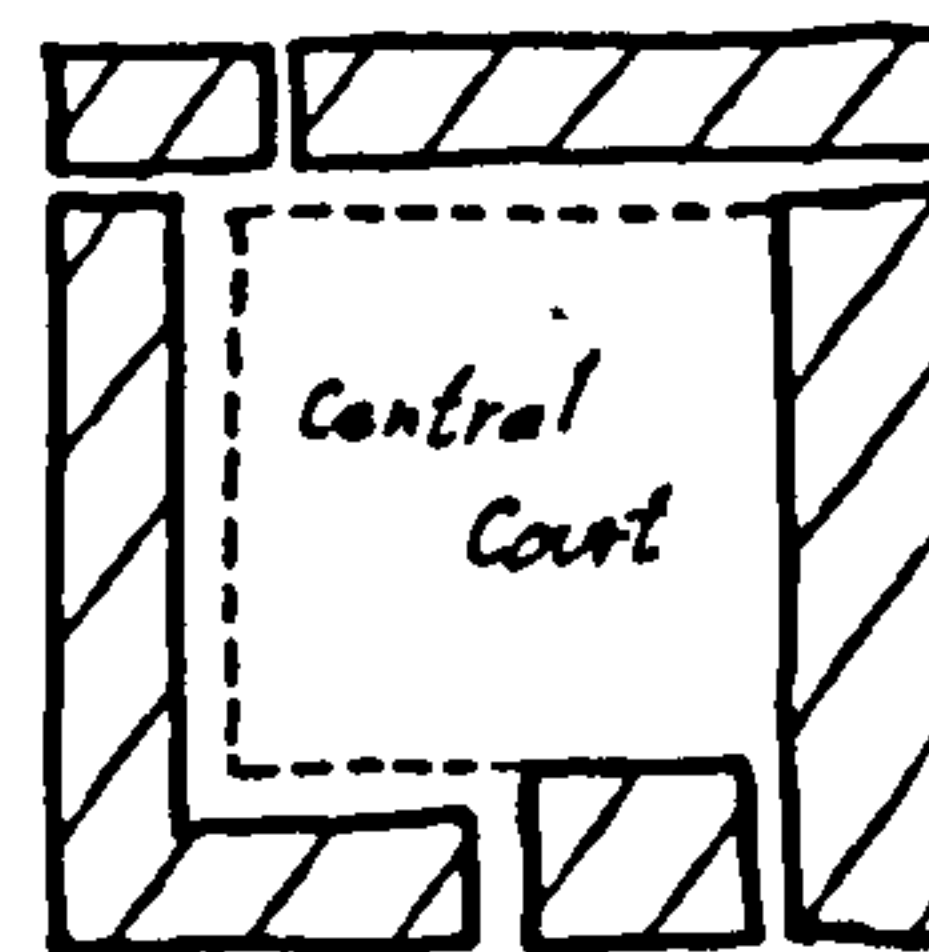
Residential neighbourhoods of Lagos suffer from having no open spaces, too much open spaces and wrong kind of open spaces; each of these conditions has affected the quality of a neighbourhood.

It was noticed that in Lagos, people spend most of their time outdoor. A study of neighbourhoods in Lagos indicates that the need for space outside one's residential unit is an important determinant of the quality of life. Residents extend their living space beyond the private space within their housing, sharing public spaces with neighbours. They use the streets, sidewalks and stoops immediately outside their dwellings for a wide variety of social functions. This indicates that having a space outside one's residential unit is very important.

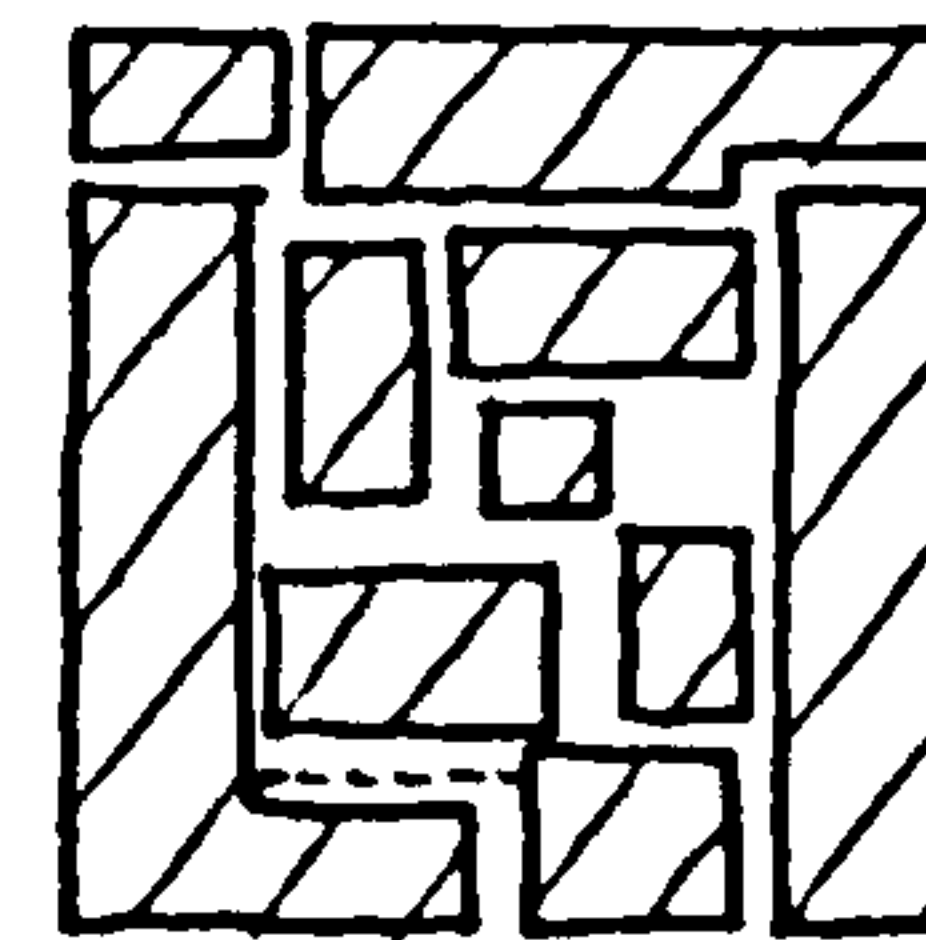
In traditional form of residential unit an open space was provided within such a unit (courtyard). It was used frequently by the members of residential community and was a place of interaction and a common property. We observed that since the traditional form of compound was broken, most of such spaces were built up and those left intact lost their function and character and are no longer vital spaces. All the old residential areas on the old part of the Island and also the slum areas on the mainland suffer from a lack of open space.



*Traditional Compound with  
rooms round a central court.*



*Beginning of breakdown  
at perimeter.*

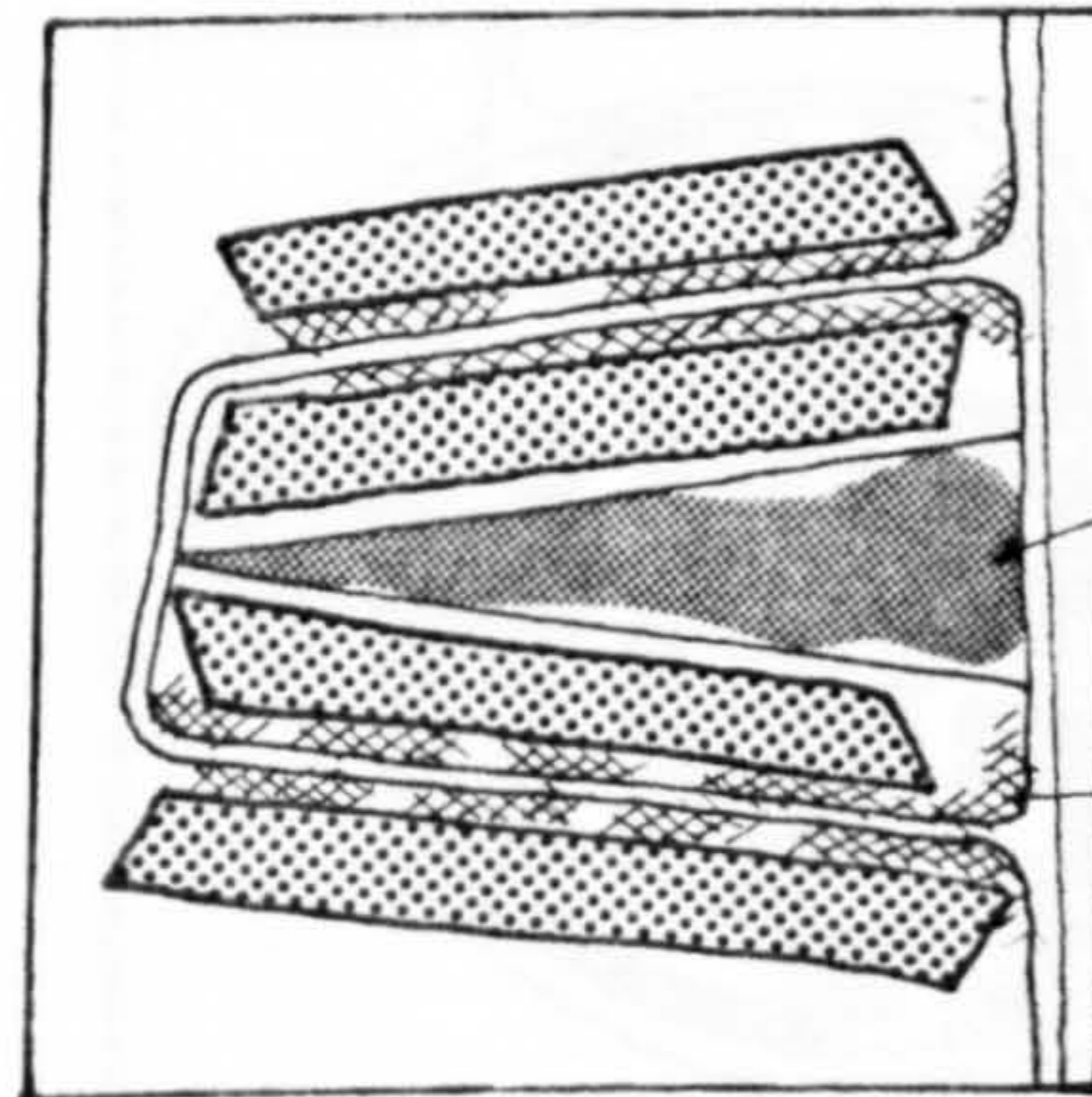
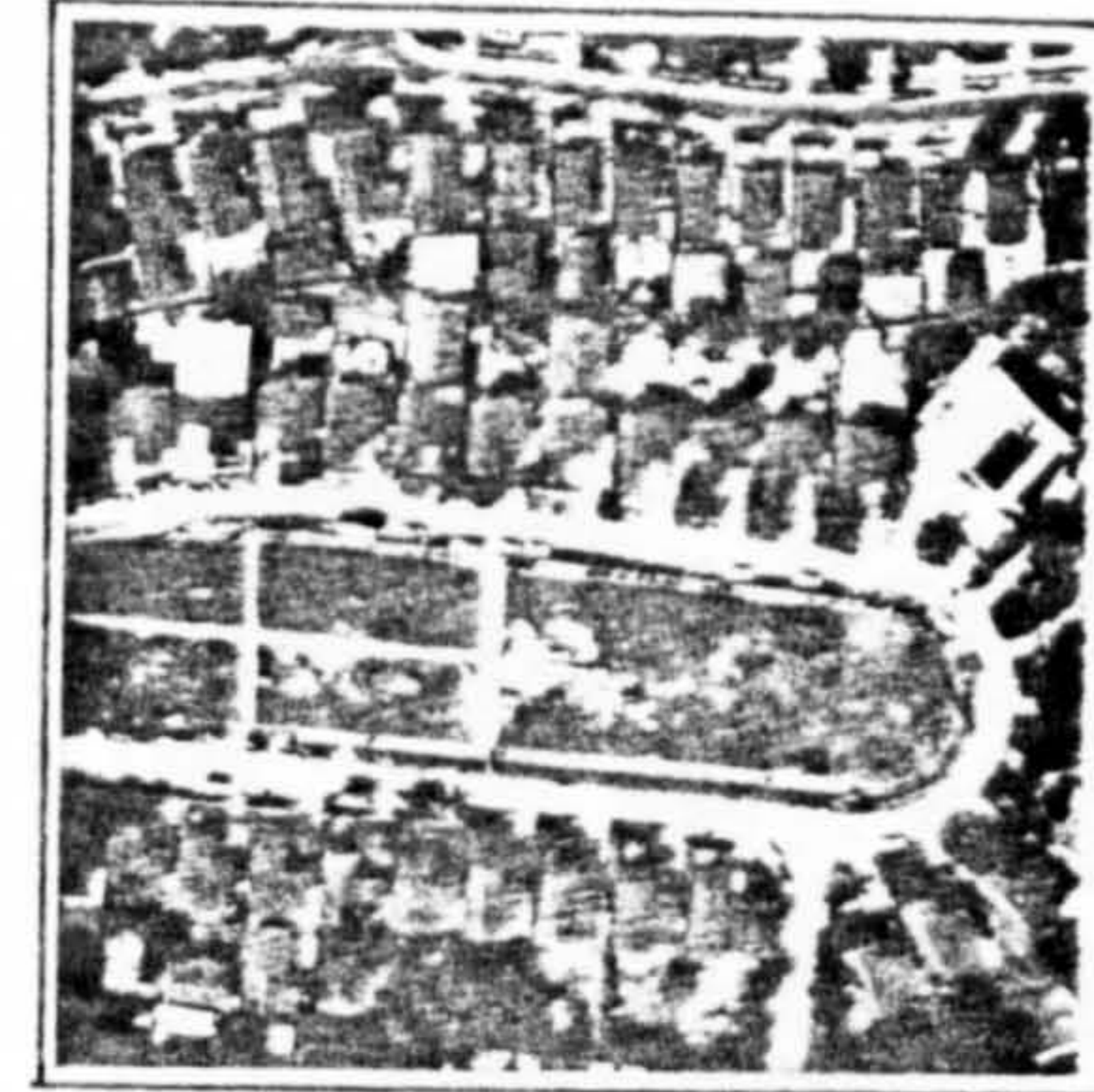
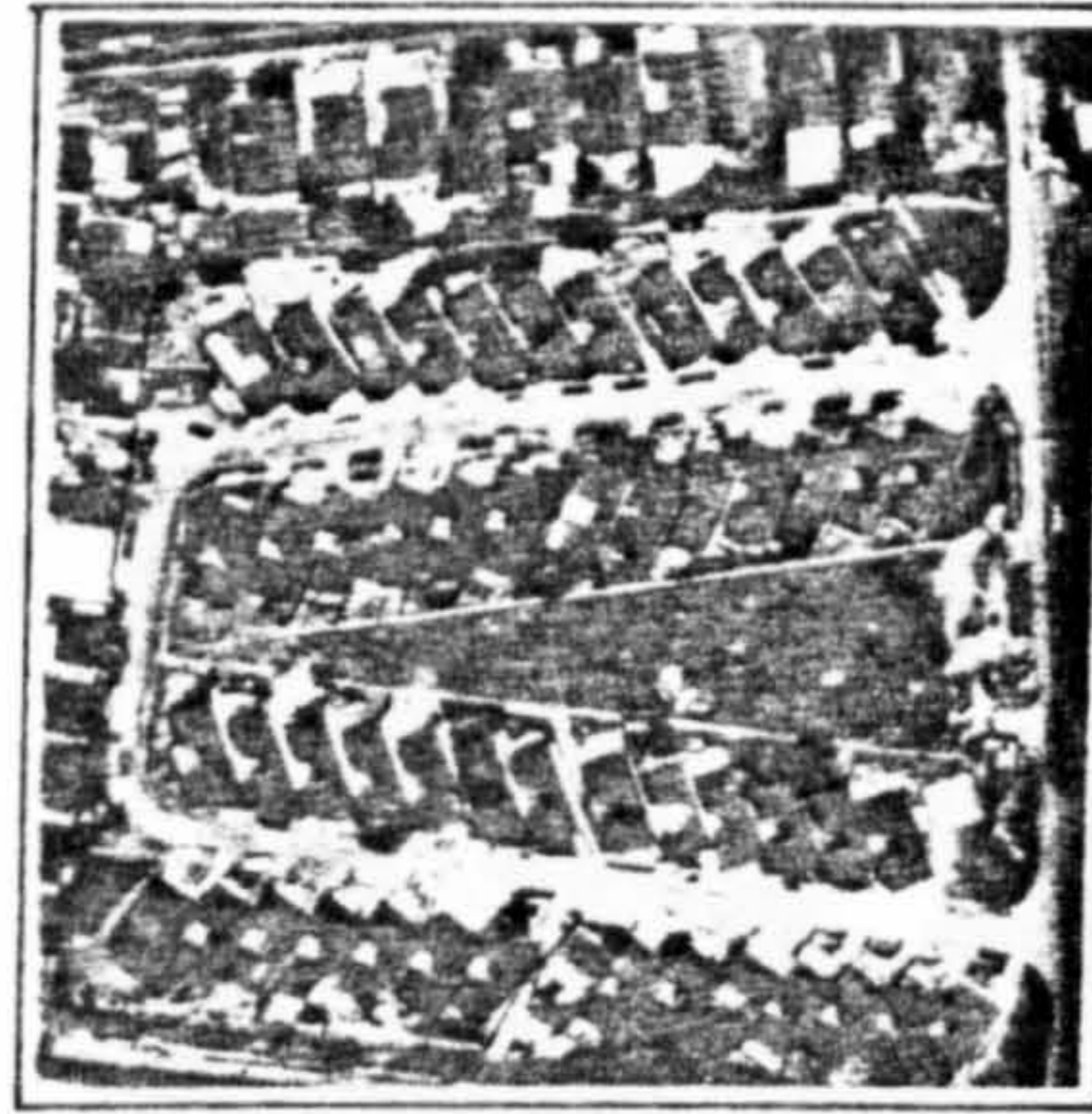


*Compound no longer exists.*

Fig. 72 - Breakdown of compound.

In the newly developed residential areas of Surulere, under the influence of Western style of residential layout planning, open spaces were provided outside dwelling units (green areas). Most of those spaces were either a large swampy area or vast area of land left among buildings (Figs.73-74). In both cases there is no relationship between dwelling units and open space to create a sense of intimacy and belonging among the residents. These open spaces are not used and are dumped with garbage and junks, disturbing the whole neighbourhood.

Our study indicates that, in both old and new developed areas, residents have to look for open space outside of their dwellings. This change from traditional to disparate form led to disintegration of social network. However, it was observed that the existence of open space, its form and location has substantial influence on social experiences and behavior of its residents. In the old part of Lagos, residents experience stress, because the arrangement of living space forced them to maintain regular contact with a large number of potential interactions, increasing uncontrollable and unwanted social encounters.(Fig.75a)(23)



open space, no one  
land - without any human  
activities

Areas of residents'  
activities

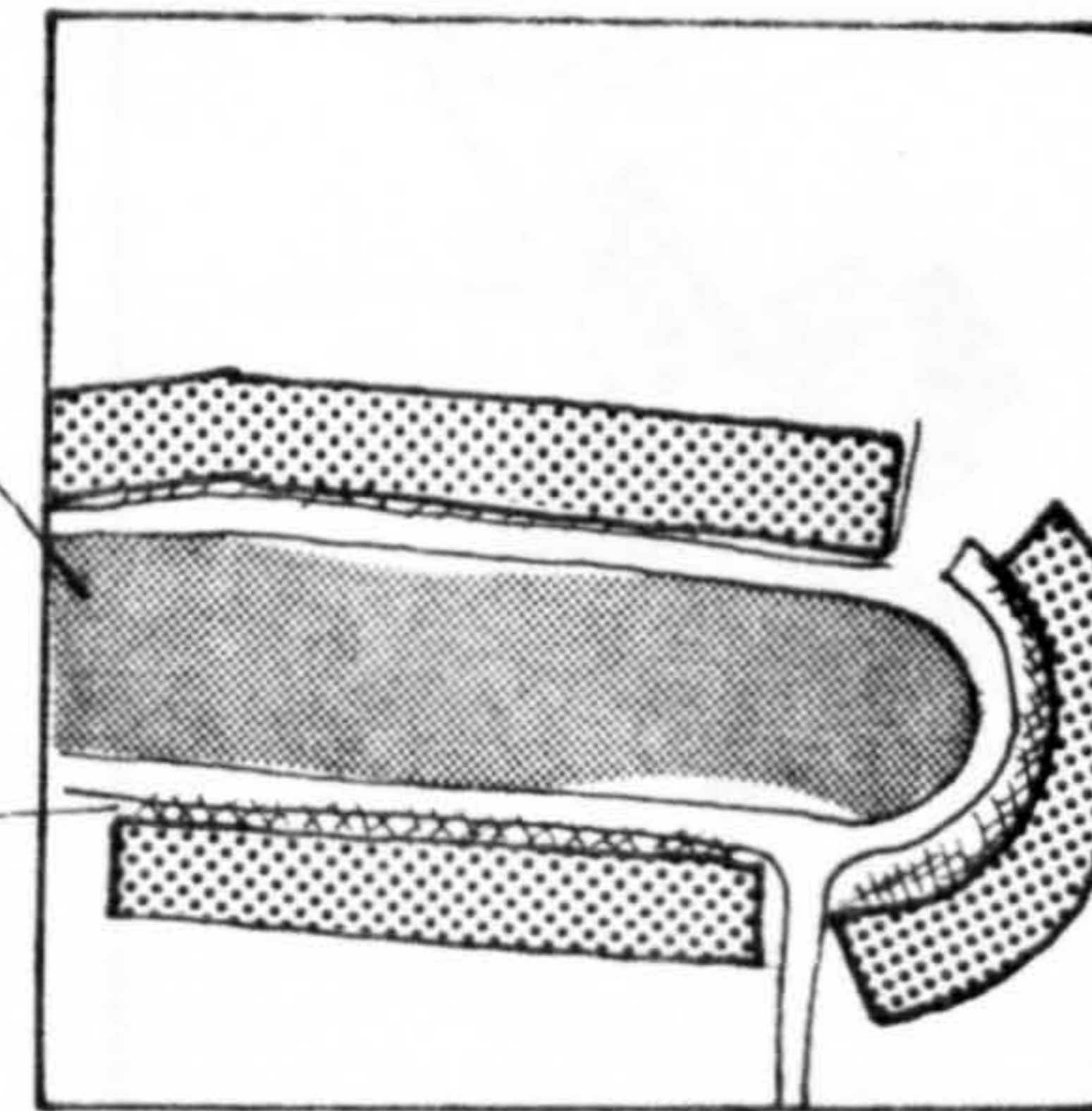
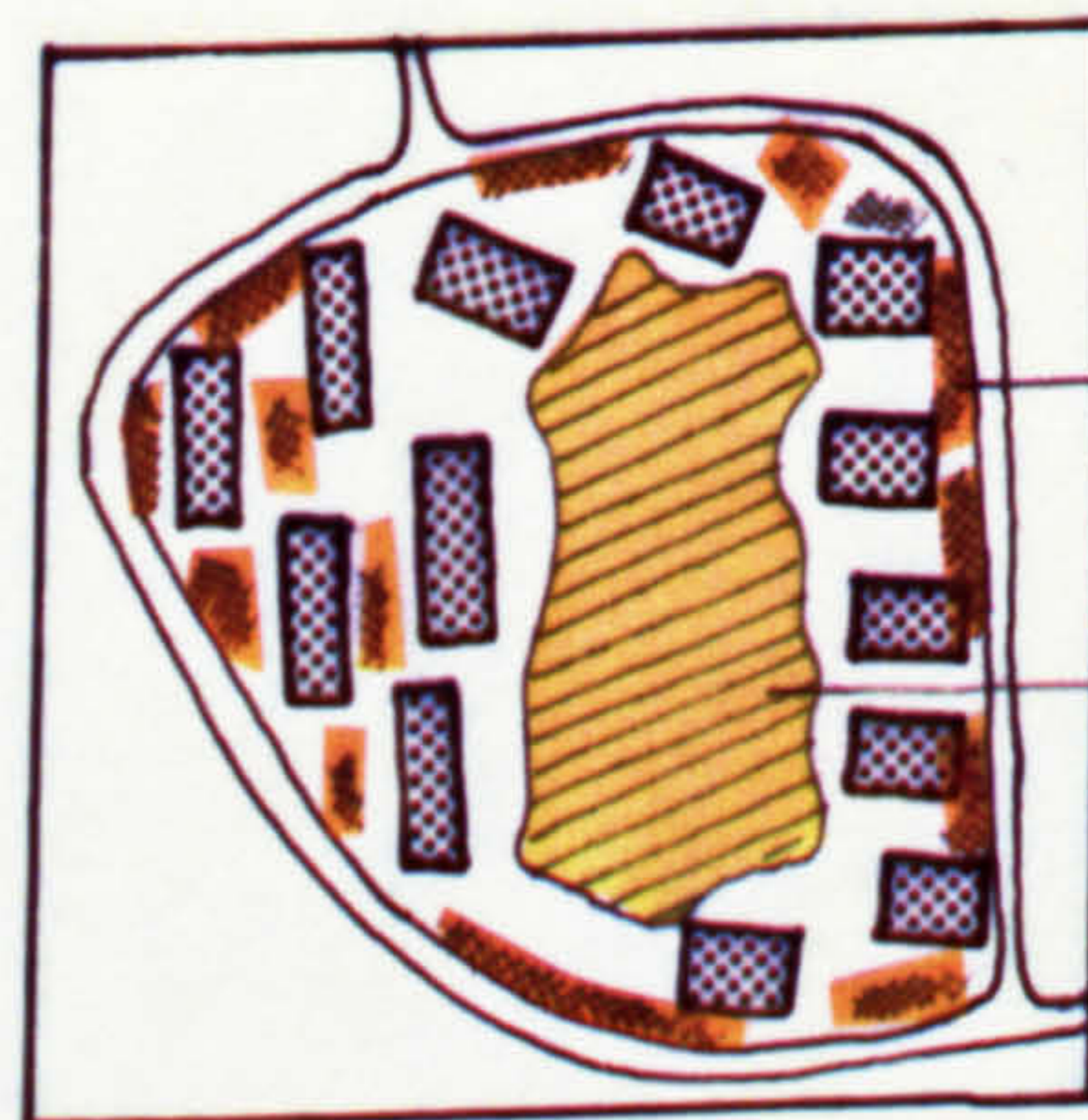


Fig 73 - Open spaces in Freehold Housing Scheme, Surulere

Large scale open space, marshland, left over in residential area.  
It needs to be humanised by breaking it into smaller units  
which could be shared by smaller number of families.





*Areas of residents' activity*

*Area without any human activity*

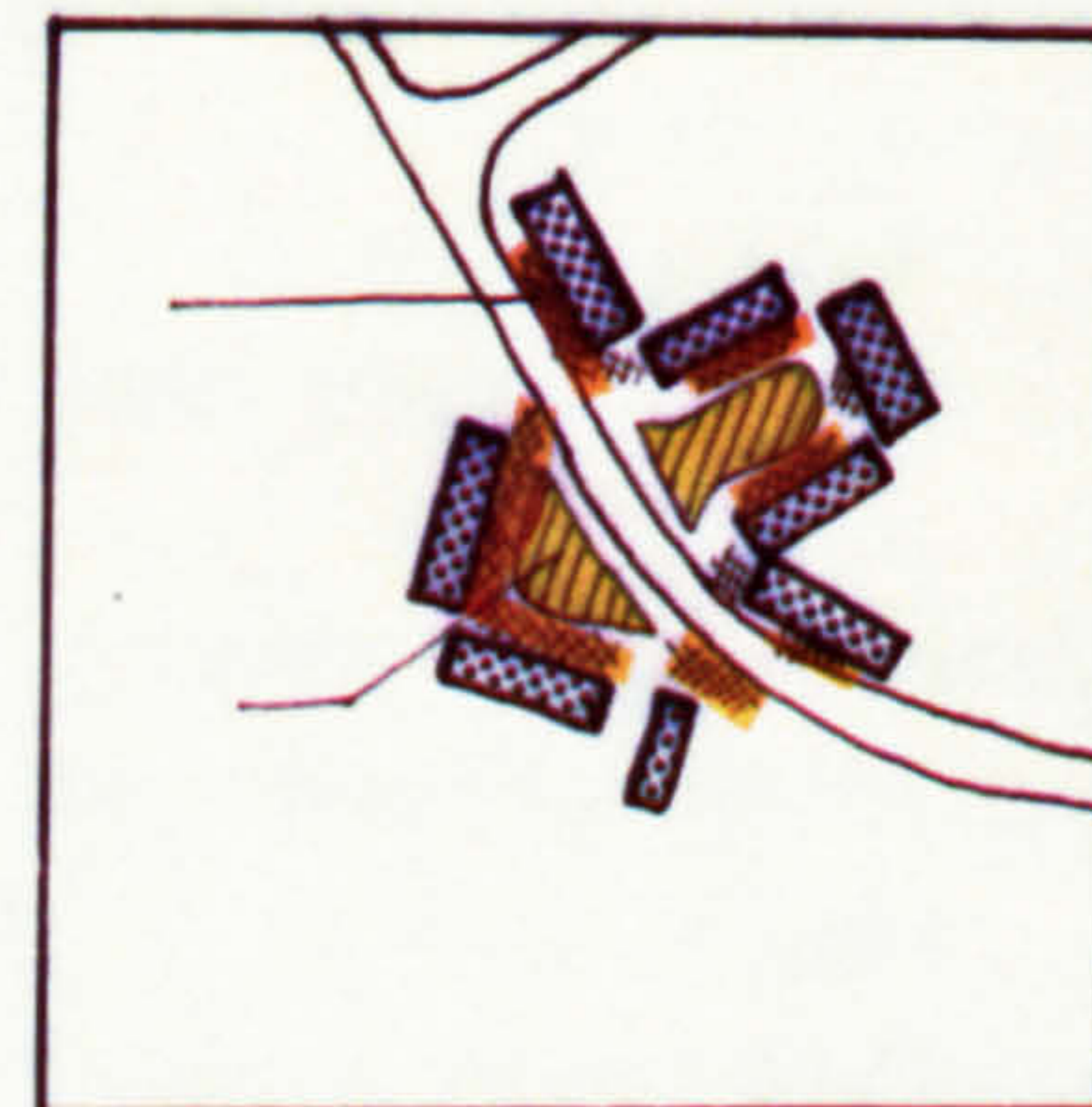
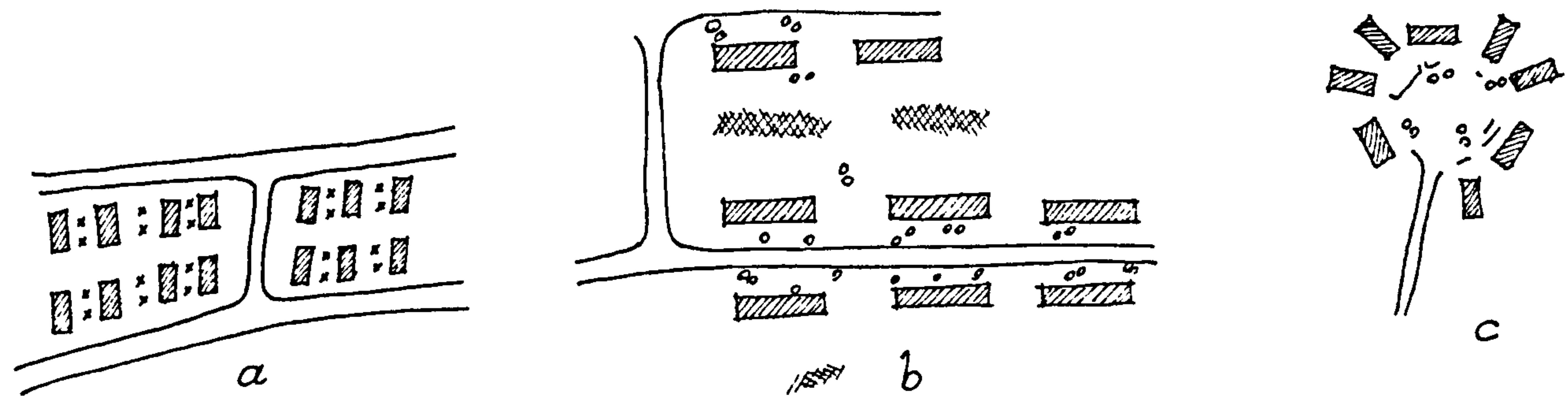


Fig. 74 - Open spaces in Rehousing Scheme, Surulere

When an open space is located at the rear of a large number of houses and isolated from family activities or it is not separated from public areas to form a semi-private space, it becomes less attractive and neglected by the people who live around it.



*x - Area of regular contact by force.*  
*o - " " contact by choice.*  
*hatched - " without any human contact.*

Fig. 75 - The Involvement of people in open space.

In Surulere (Fig. 75b), it was noticed that the development of relationships among residents is minimized and restricted to the adjacent tenant, though the people have choice of extending it to the residents along the street. In this area the development of social relationships and behaviour were affected by the street and a large area of land between the units, along each side of a street.

In the case of Fig. 75c, the development of social relationships among residents were stronger than in (b) and there was a sense of control and communal territoriality over the open space. It was under control and influence of limited number of residents, whereas in (a) and (b) there was a lack of such a sense. In both cases (a&b) residents were not able to structure their environment in

order to suit their behavior, either to develop or to control their social relationships.

In the study about people's behavior in the outdoor space in Lagos, it was observed that their behaviour in open space varied and depended on factors like: proximity, privacy, size, location and sense of territoriality. When all these factors exist within an open space, the best behaviour was performed, and good quality open space was achieved. "When people feel that they can control and influence the environment and have a visible imprint on it, they feel rather differently about it if they can not."(24) For example, it was observed that when an open space is small and shaped by limited number of households, like cul-de-sac, or even a short close lane, the quality of open space is high; the place is kept clean, the relationship among the residents is strong, safety is satisfactory and there is a communal sense about the physical shape and cleanliness of space.(Fig.76) This suggests that there is inter-relationship between people's behaviour and the size, form and quality of open space. Therefore, in residential site planning in Lagos the above factors should be considered in design and the effort should be made to:

- a - modify and develop the idea of enclosed space, which was the basic social pattern in Lagos.
- b - arrange each group of houses in such a way that it would provide a semi-public space, with the main access passing through it.
- c - give enough privacy to this semi-public space by locating it within a reasonable distance from the main street and make it as pleasant as possible.

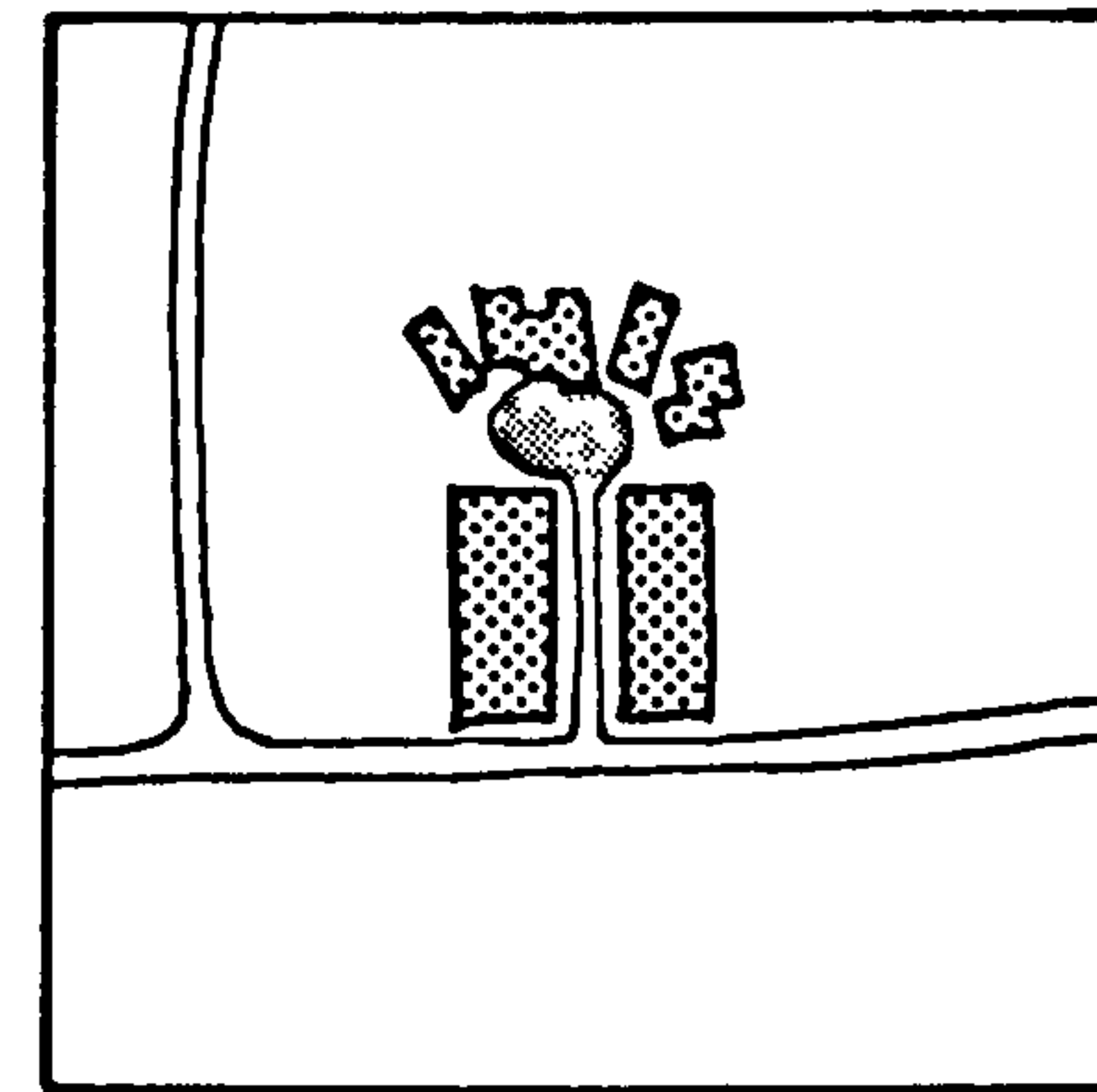
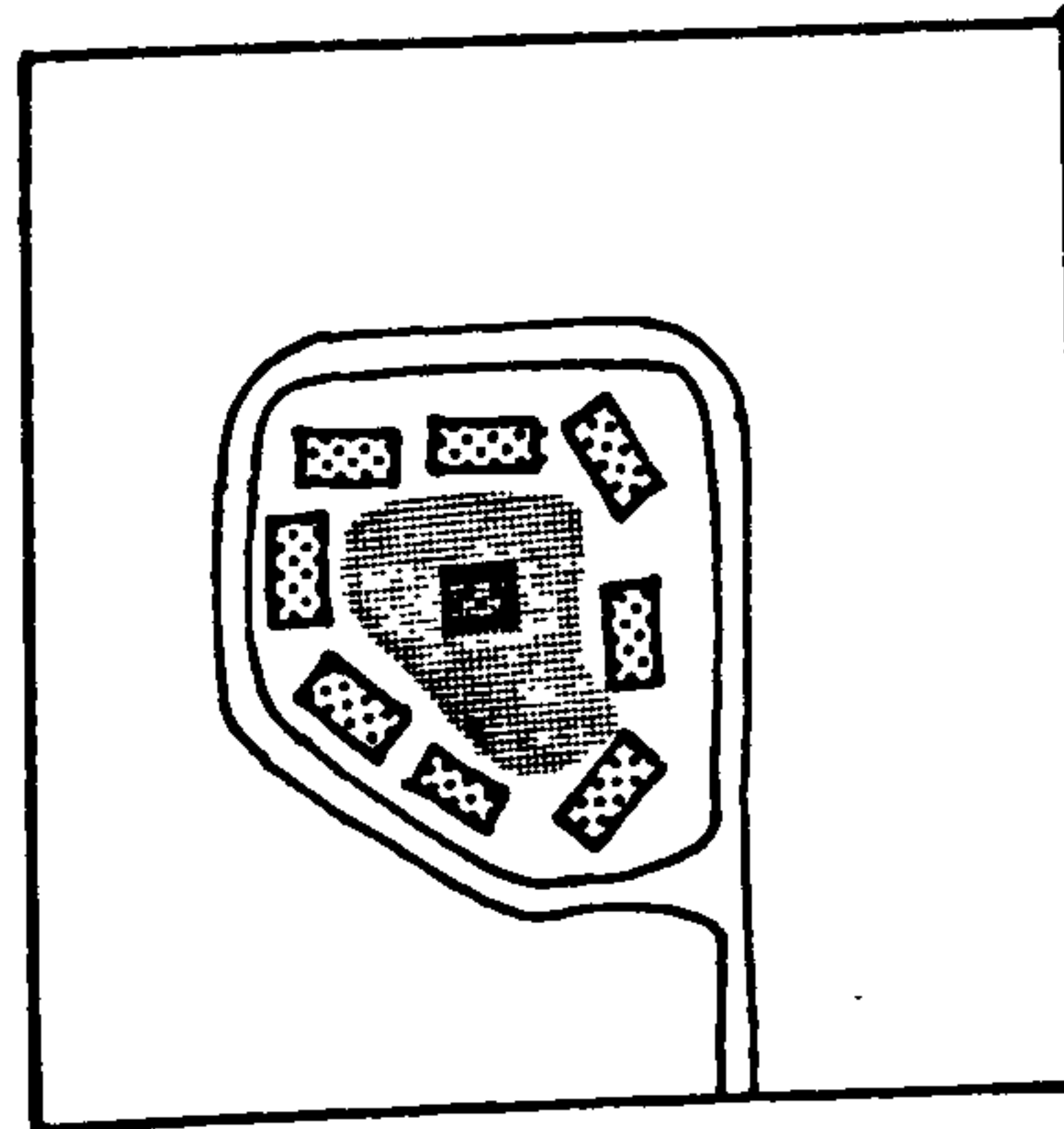
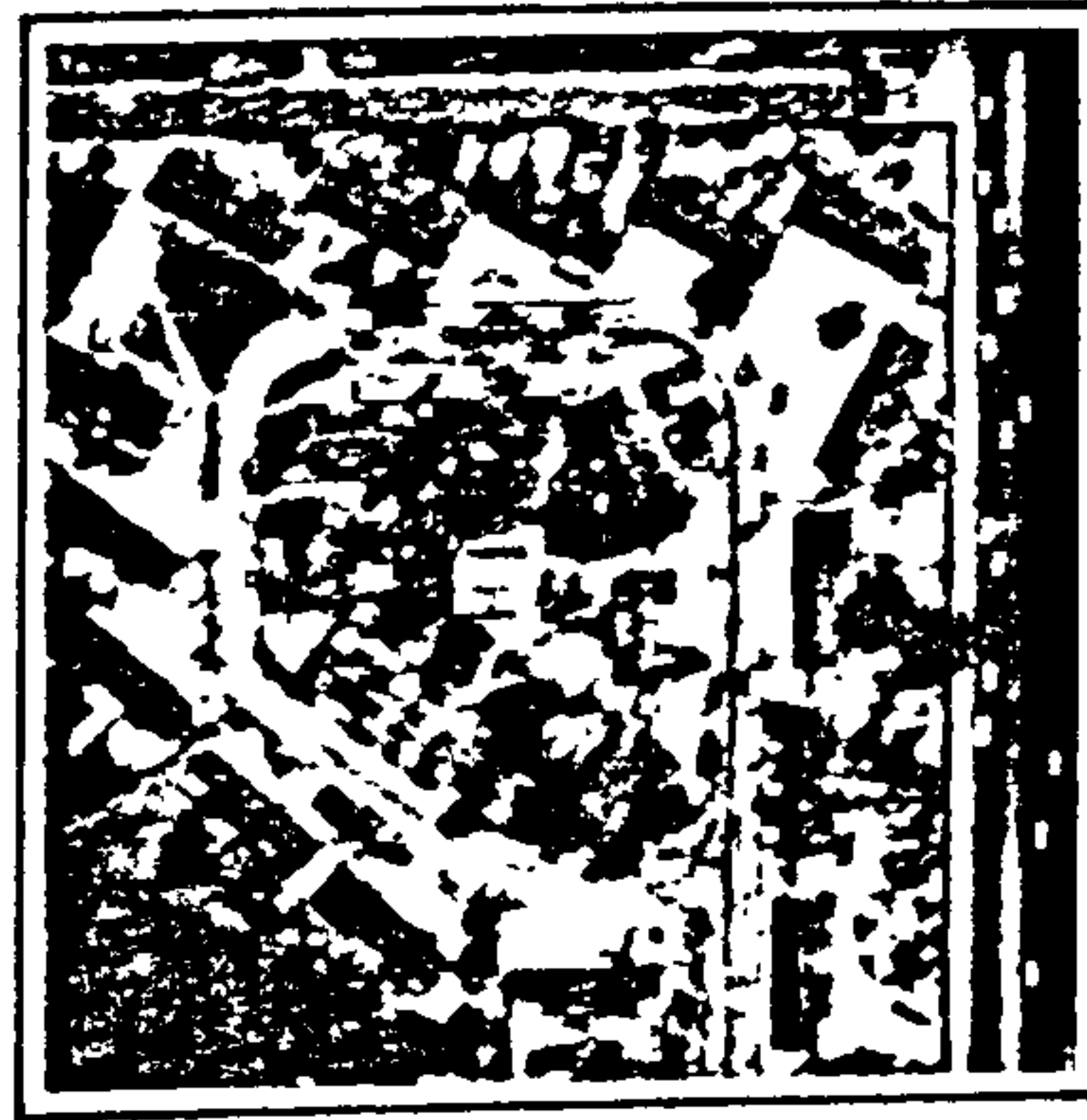


Fig. 76 - Open Spaces in Freehold Housing in Surulere area.

When an open space is well defined and shared by limited number of houses, it becomes a positive space.

## Appendix 1.7

A - Boen Zahra - Iran

As a consequence of a disastrous earthquake (in 1962), in the central northern part of Iran, over two hundred villages and small agricultural settlements were destroyed and about 20,000 casualties were reported. The earthquake area was located close to the big central desert with a dry and hot climate in the summer but very cold in the winter. The traditional houses in this area are built with mud construction and have a special characteristic form which is typified as 'desert architecture'. This type of houses has been developed in this area to suit climatic and geographical conditions.

After the earthquake the Government took a very quick action and typified two types of two and three rooms housing units. The houses were built with bricks, walls were about 20 cm thick, with metal framed windows and flat roofs. Hundreds of houses of the same style were built and handed over to the displaced people. After a period of one year, most of the families abandoned their newly built houses and built their own homes close to their villages, in the same traditional style.

The Government-sponsored houses were rejected by the families because of two major factors:

- 1.) They were located far from the destroyed villages, where people used to live,

2.) The form of houses did not suit their life style.

B - Rehousing Project, Tehran, Iran

In 1979, in order to improve the condition of life of the poor masses that were living in shanty towns in downtown Tehran, the Government moved some of them to the newly built blocks of flats in the northern part of the city (mainly upper-class residential neighbourhood).

Very soon, a considerable number of the people left their new accommodation and moved back to the areas where they were living before. Among the variety of problems they were facing in their new environment the most important ones were:

- 1.) In this high-income neighbourhood, shopping was restricted to a few big stores, where the prices were too high for them to pay and the choice of goods did not correspond to their traditional diet;
- 2.) They felt imprisoned in the upper floors, especially elderly people, who could not have an easy access to the street;
- 3.) The housewives claimed that they missed the social life of their former areas, the family and friends' gatherings, evening siestas at the doorsteps, etc.
- 4.) The husbands' jobs were downtown and they had to travel a long distance every day in order to reach their places of work.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE IMPROVEMENT OF RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT IN LAGOS

In previous pages some aspects of neighbourhood problems have been discussed and it was concluded with a plea for a revival of an urban pattern which would be more related to the social pattern of people's lives. The earlier chapters also described the events at the beginning of this century that put an end to the construction of the traditional housing forms, and the introduction of new layout planning and building codes based on Western standards, being against traditional patterns. Furthermore, since the authorities' programme for poor urban areas of Lagos has not yet been stated clearly, and from the economic point of view, it seems that it is financially impossible for the Government to deal with problems on a large scale. Therefore, the study that follows is to introduce the ways of improving the quality of residential neighbourhoods and to understand people's perception of the environment.

#### Case Study 1: Rehousing Scheme - Surulere

The intention of this case study was to examine the possibility of improving dwelling units, which would consequently lead to the improvement of residential neighbourhood, without expecting any government help. The study was based entirely on people's participation. The objectives were to evaluate people's participation, their financial abilities and their skills in building construction. My intention also was, if the project was to take off, to introduce the value of co-operative system to the people, by bringing down the cost of any alteration

of their dwellings. The important point was to persuade people that the Government has nothing to do with the study and no house or any other already built shed or store would be demolished. Moreover, nobody was forced to carry out any alteration if he did not want to do so.

The fundamental issue was then to understand the way in which families behave in their houses and utilize the existing spaces.

A - As regards the basic definition of the house, what we called the place for performing biological needs of human beings, it was observed that:

1. There was no identifiable space for eating; members of the family usually do not come together for having meals. The only person who takes regular meals is the head of the household; his food is served on a small table, where he sits on a bench to have his meal. In almost all houses a small table and a bench were identified for such a purpose.
2. Kitchens were used as storage places and cooking was done mostly outside<sup>+</sup>. This was not limited only to the single room houses but also to two and three roomed houses. Therefore, it is not because of scarcity of space within a unit, but cooking is performed outside where the heat is affecting less and the choice of using cheaper source of fuel is possible.
3. Front verandah or front space is the place for social intercourse, it is a place for sitting, resting and communicating with people.
4. In a single room unit, the room is the place for business, storing necessary furniture as well as the place for sleeping in the night. In two and three roomed houses the front is the place for business and the centre of activities where other rooms were usually used for sleeping.

+ - in a covered space.

5. Most of the activities were carried out and performed outdoors, the front door was used for performing, where back space served for preparing or doing housework.

6. Households' interference on environment is to provide additional room, to acquire more space for sleeping, especially separating the head of the family from the rest; to surround back side open space and utilize more of the front space.

B - As regards the family life it was observed that:

1. A housewife has to run her own business in order to help the economy of the family.

2. This business is the most important family affair which is integrated into family life.

3. Social life is still strong and dominant in its traditional concept but poor in performing rituals which is due to a change of physical environment.

C - Privacy and security

Privacy varies among the families and is affected by religion. Apart from Muslims, who care about privacy of the house, the non-Muslim families of Lagos pay less attention to it. The desire for privacy usually is seen more in connection with security rather than individual or family privacy. It was understood that, among poor families and especially among the migrants, privacy has the meaning of security and living among one's ethnic group in the city brings more security. This is due to the conflicts in the past between different ethnic groups, especially between Yorubas, who believe that Lagos is Yoruba land, and other ethnic migrants. This differentiation of ethnic groups is stronger in middle income and low income residential

areas of Lagos. I found out that most of non-Yoruba people, especially Ibos, who work in Lagos do not desire to build their houses or invest their money in Lagos. They prefer to live among their own ethnic group in Lagos and invest their money in their city or village of origin. Although, in these neighbourhoods, there is a problem of overcrowding, it does not affect security, since single family units (rooms) are grouped together under one roof with limited access to it (see Figures 53, 55, 56). Consequently, the households are identical and live close together. The form of this type of houses is closer to the traditional form that reflects more a group desire and family life than individuality. This pattern is missing in Surulere areas where the groups of two to four single units are laid along the main access road which does not permit traditional qualities to be shared among the residents.

From the layout of the built-up back yard and also from the discussions with the people it was understood that the best form of family security can be obtained where the communal security is provided.

One of the problems people worried about was the possibility of future expansion. The provision of adding one room at the time would reduce the room occupancy in a single room house unit, but the important issue was the possibility of expansion of the houses in order to provide accommodation for married children in the future. I was informed that it is difficult for younger families to afford the cost of buying or even hiring a place to live. Family should support them by providing a room in their house. In the traditional form of compound the possi-

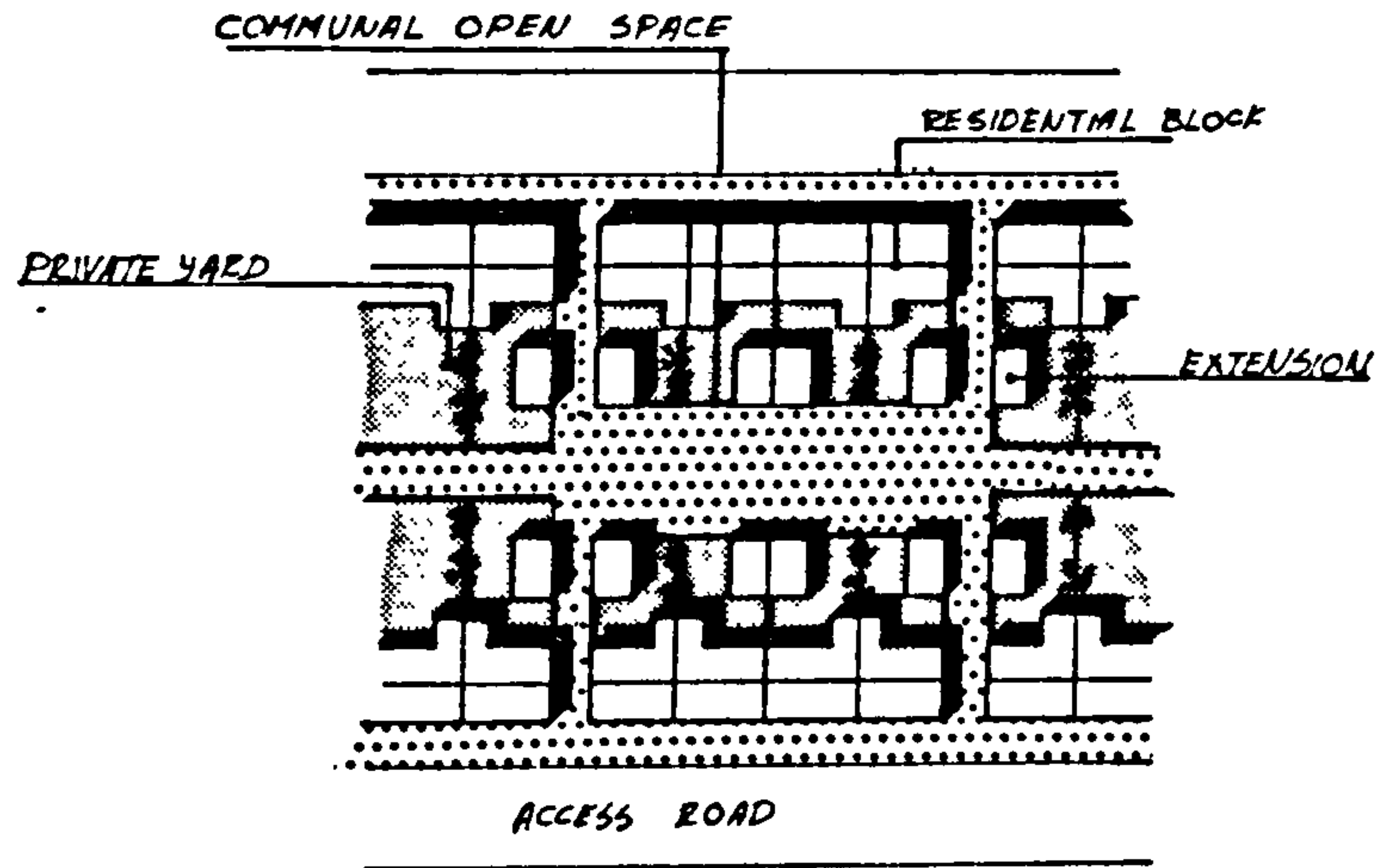
bility was high since a single unit could be added to the complex but now it is no longer possible even in the two and three roomed houses, since the rooms are not adequate in form and function. The form of houses are not adequate to accommodate two or three families without disturbing each other. This problem also exists among high income families of freehold housing.

With the above information a few alternative plans were prepared, to incorporate all the points which were raised by the tenants, to serve as a base for discussion. It was noticed that not only each unit did not have any relationship with its surrounding area, but also the whole neighbourhood was formed by dispersed bits and pieces, lacking order and unity. Therefore, the task was to enforce the totality of neighbourhood as a whole. This was not possible without changing the dispersed units into a coherent shape, and since the demand for internal space was high, I followed a traditional concept of inward orientation of houses. Therefore, in the proposed drawings, the effort was to build up the leftover spaces and to create an internal court.(Figs.77-81)

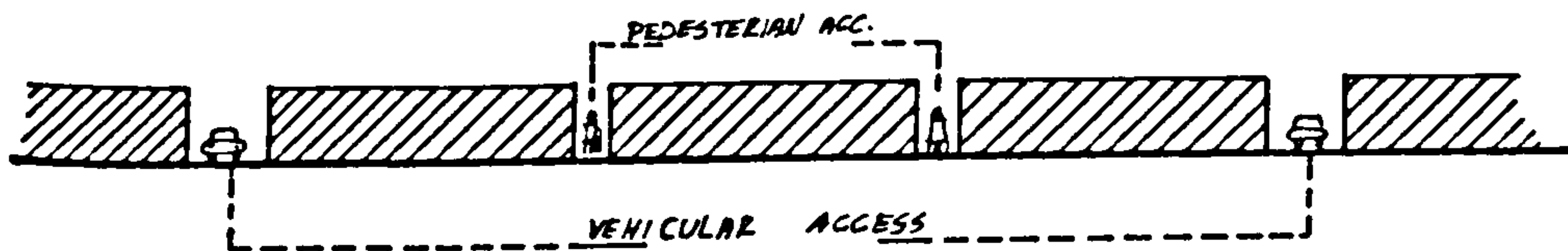
At the time of the study the cost of constructing a single room of 12 sq. m. (app.3m X 4m) and a toilet/shower of 2.40 sq. m. (app. 1.20 X 2.00) with cement blocks and timber roof covered by corrugated iron sheets was estimated to be about ₦1,000 (£750) and out of that amount about ₦650 (£487) was the cost of material and about ₦350 (£263) was the labour cost.

The significant fact that emerged from the study was that most of the families expressed that they can get sufficient money from their relatives to start the

construction, if they could get the authorities' permission. They also noticed that apart from skilled labourers like plumbers, carpenters, electricians and block layers (part time), they would be able to carry out the job themselves. Some families had skilled labourers among their relatives and their fellow villagers that could bring down the cost to 70 per cent out of the estimated cost. It is realistic to assume the completion period of ten years though most of the families were sure about financial and labour help of their relatives which could shorten the completion period.



SITE PLAN AFTER PUBLIC ENQUIRY



STREET BLOCK ELEVATION

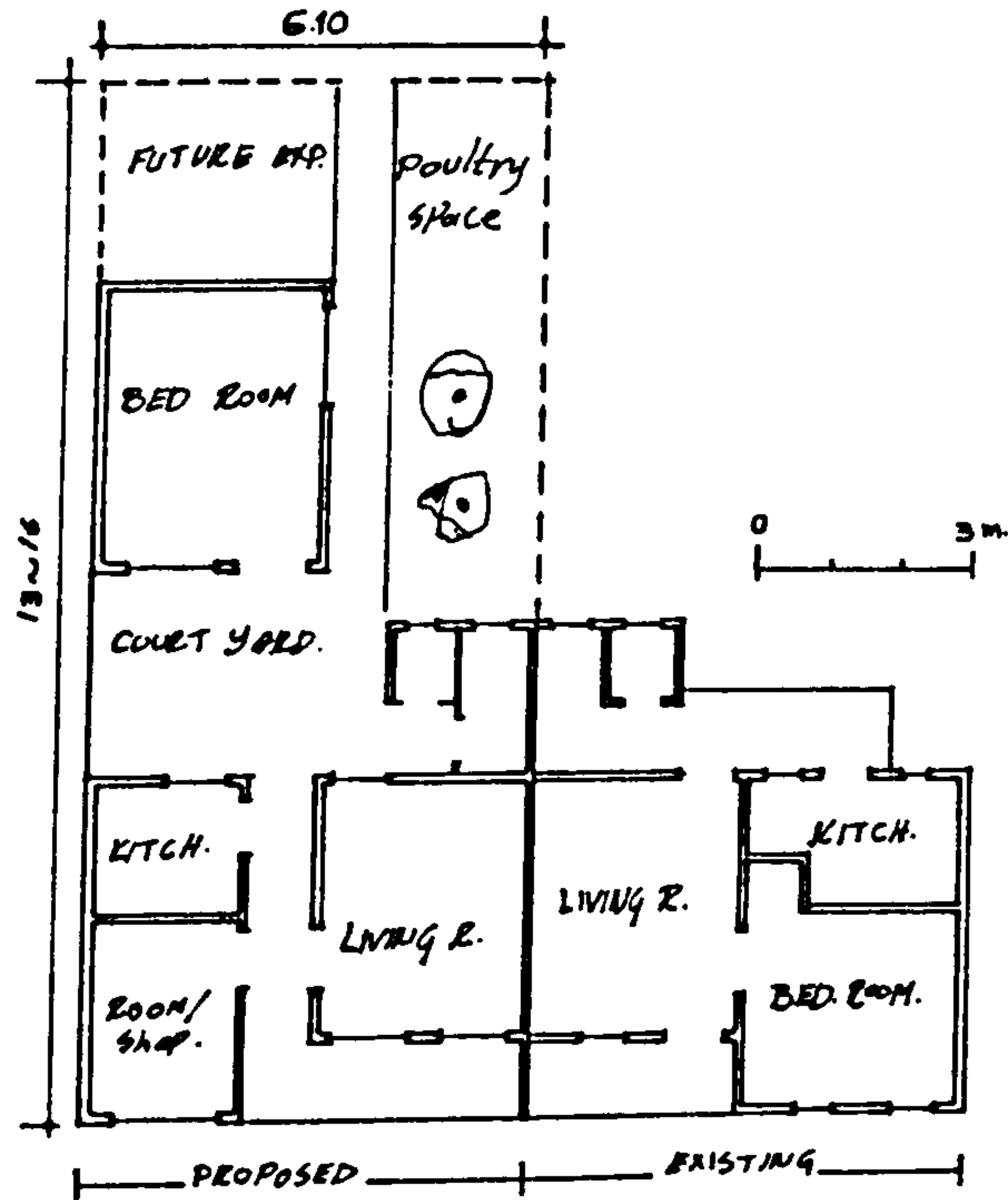
Objectives:

1. To bring the dispersed units into a coherent shape,
2. To provide a communal open space for each group of units,
3. To provide indoor open space for each group of units,
4. To separate pedestrian movement from the street.

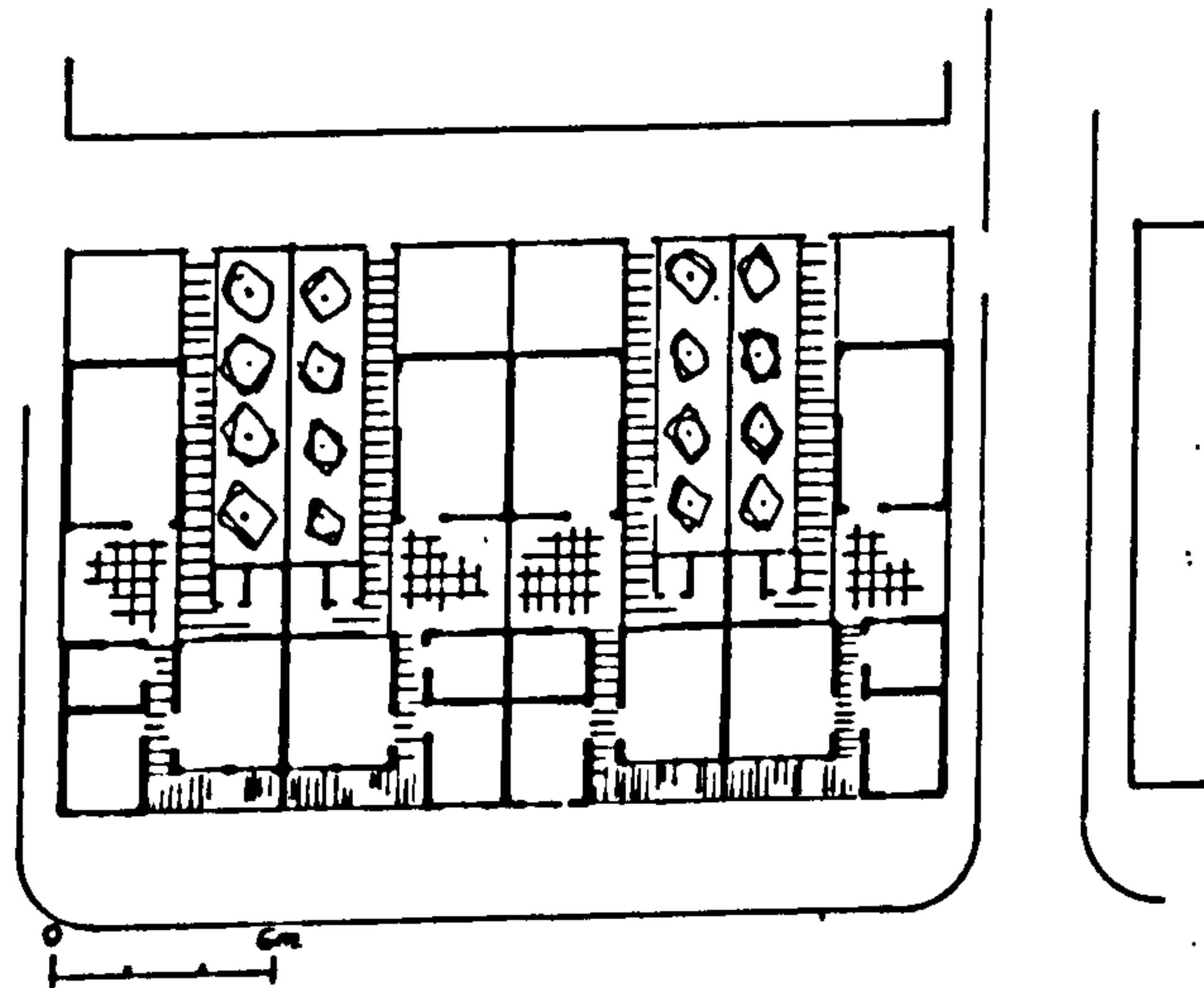
Response of 15 Households

	good	acceptable	not acc.
Privacy	15	-	-
Ventilation	15	-	-
Location of latrine	8	7	-
Access to courtyard	15	-	-
Security	5	10	-

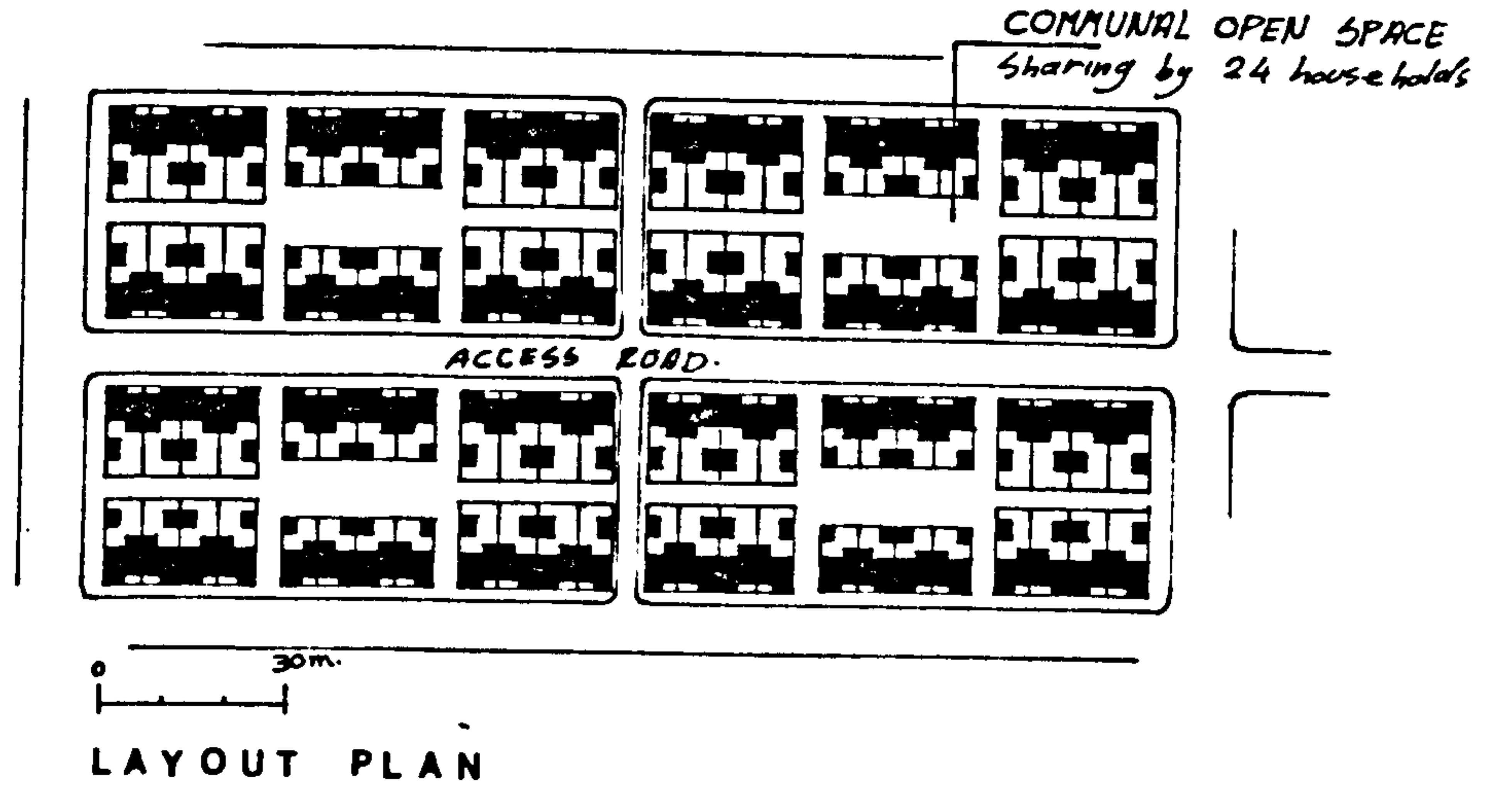
Fig. 77 - Proposed improvement plan of Housing Layout, R.H.S., Type 2B., Surulere, Lagos.



UNIT PLAN



BLOCK PLAN



LAYOUT PLAN

Fig. 78 - Proposed improvement plan of Housing Layout, R.H.S., Type 2B.



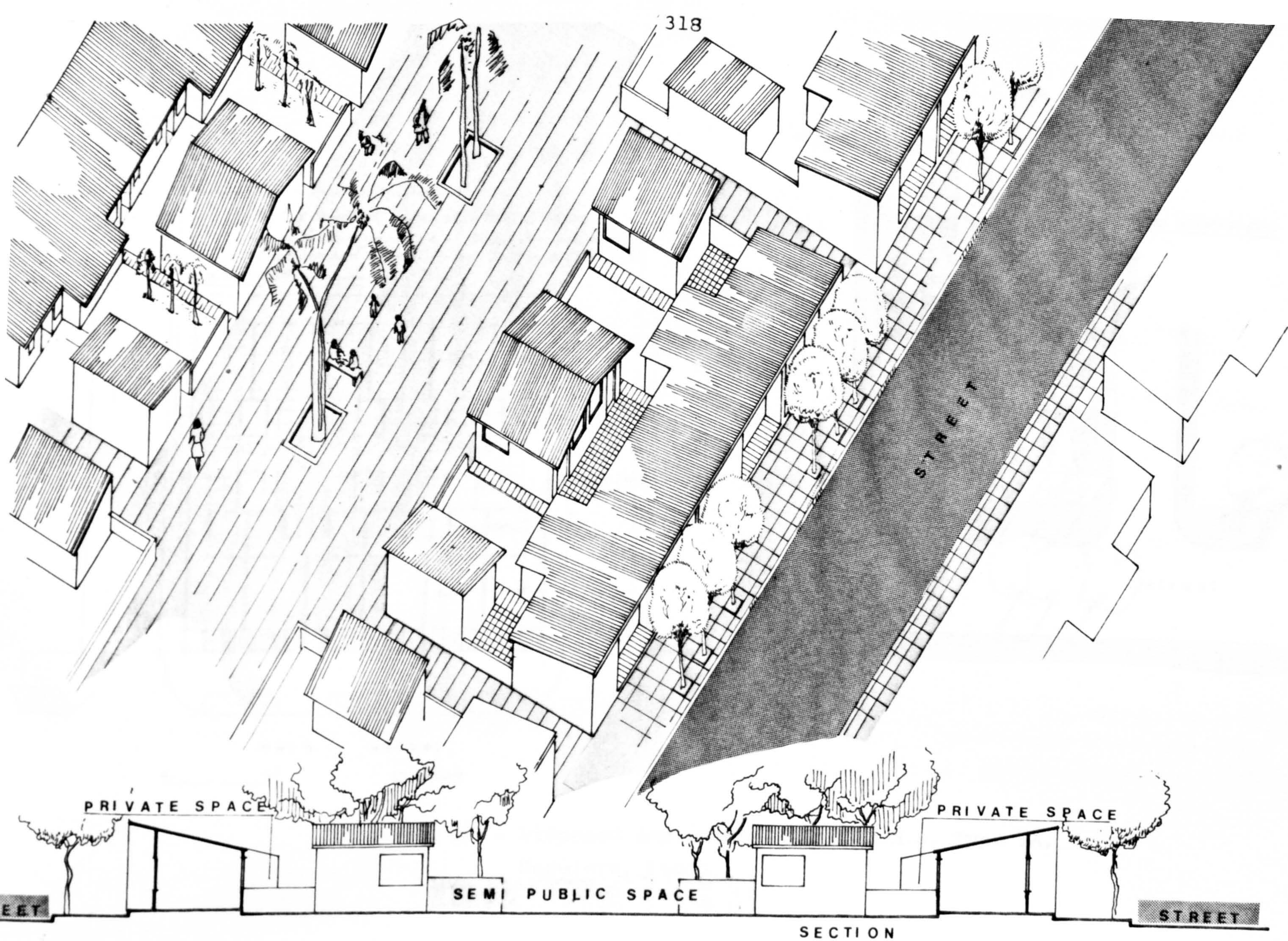


Fig. 79 - Proposed improvement plan, R.H.S. Type 2B.

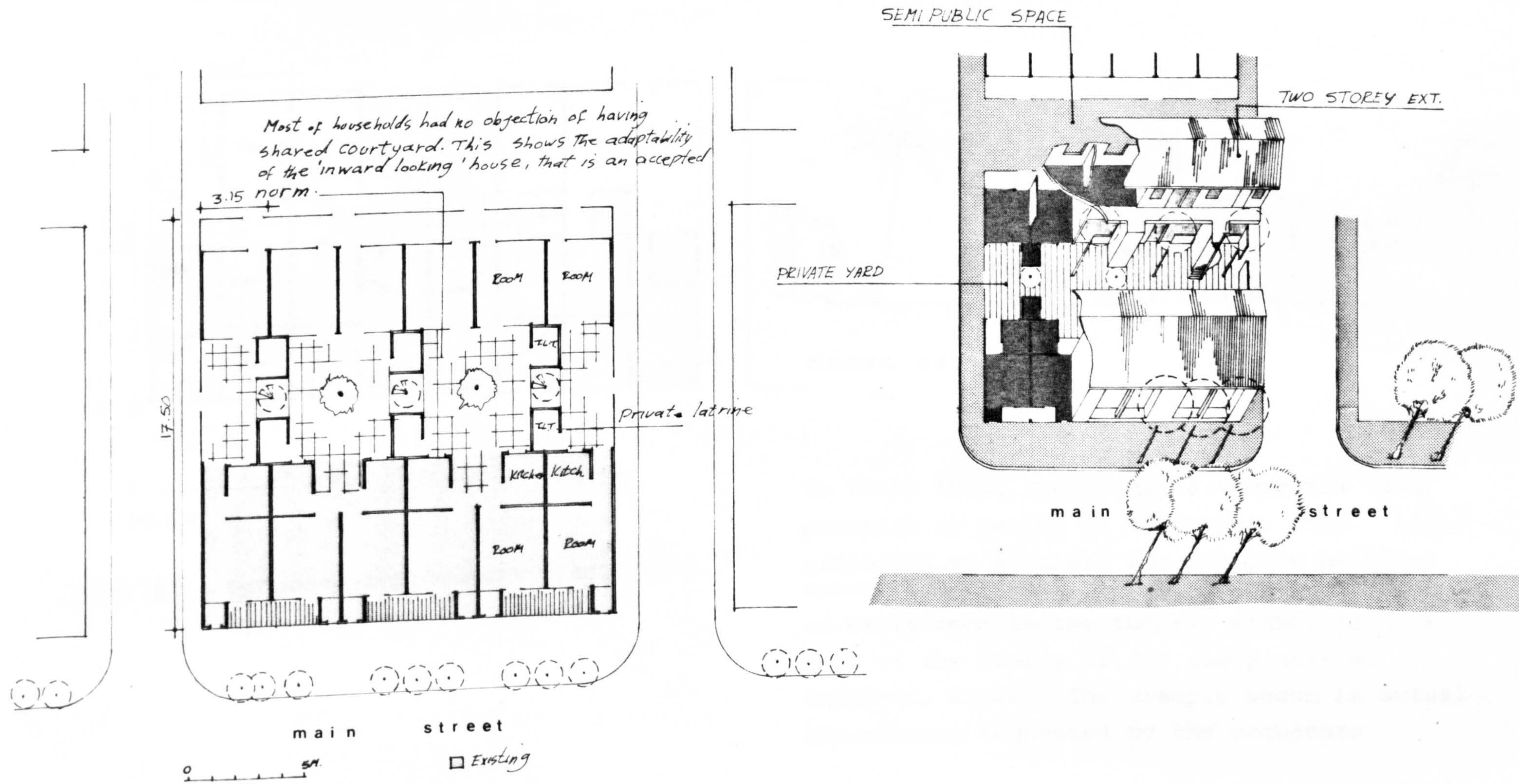


Fig. 80 - Proposed improvement plan, R.H.S. Type 1A, Surulere, Lagos

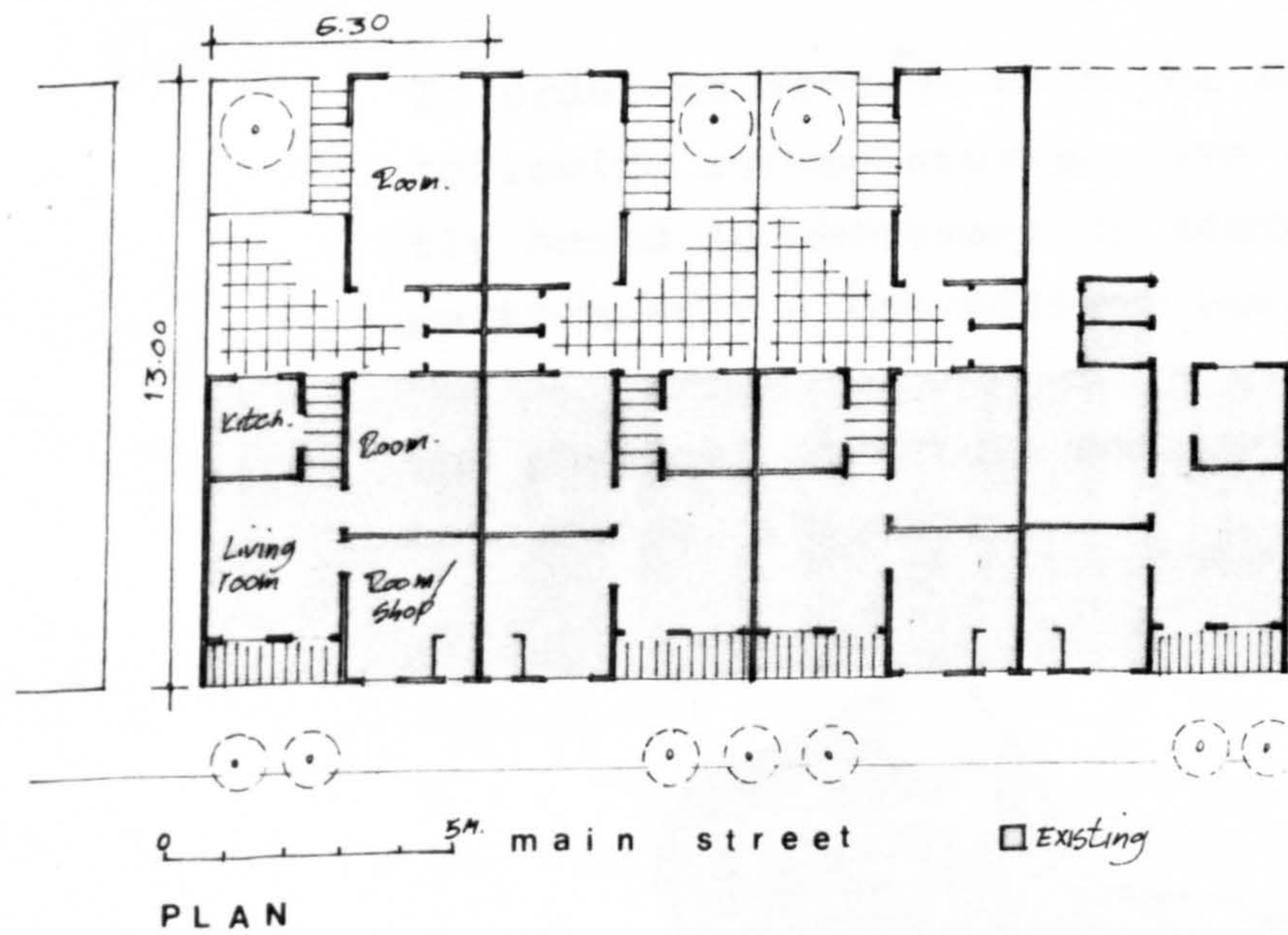


Fig. 81 - Proposed improvement plan, R.H.S. Type 3A, Surulere, Lagos.

In these three roomed units there was less pressure on having an additional room. After proposing to allocate the possible backyard space to each unit, the tendency of having an extra room in the future, either for the head of the family or for newly married children, arose. The example shown is actual expectation requested by the occupants.

### Case Study 2: Slum Areas of Lagos

In order to proceed with the appropriate strategy for slum areas of Lagos, the following survey studies have been carried out. These studies were predominantly based on observation, since the Lagosians do not like to let a stranger, particularly a non-African see the misery of their life.

The physical structure of Lagos Island can be divided into three generalized categories. (Fig.82)

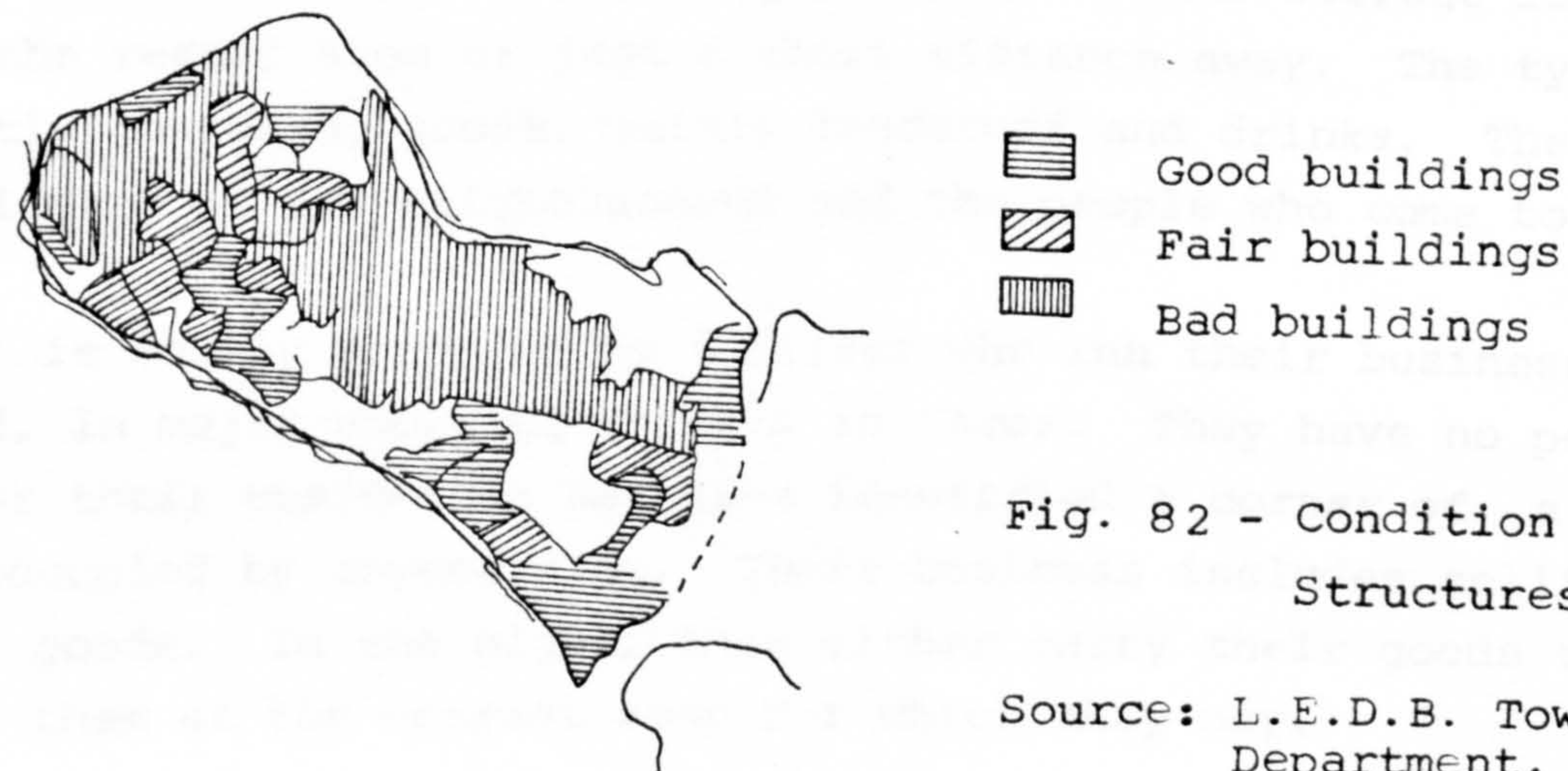


Fig. 82 - Condition of Existing Structures on the Island.

Source: L.E.D.B. Town Planning Department, Lagos, 1972.

Fig. 82 shows that the areas with good buildings are concentrated at the south side of the Island, comprising mostly commercial and public buildings, developed since the 1960s, and some colonial buildings at the south-eastern part of the

Island. The small area on the north-west is the redeveloped area of the 1930s slum clearance. Apart from some small areas with fair buildings, the remaining areas are covered by sub-structural buildings. We noticed that apart from the Brazilian Quarters the remaining areas developed an organic form by the end of the 19th century, but became overpopulated in the course of time.

Three types of urban patterns can be identified on Lagos Island, (Fig.83.), however, the predominant character among them is the informal (organic) pattern. The household type in area 'a' are those families who live in one room unit and run their business within their place of living or set up their businesses in the nearest crowded street in the neighbourhood. Thus storage is either immediately behind the retail area or just a short distance away. The type of commodities are mostly consuming goods, mainly foodstuff and drinks. The customers are both the residents of the neighbourhood and the people who come to Lagos to work.

Area 'b' is mostly occupied by families who run their business out of the neighbourhood, in major shopping streets in Lagos. They have no permanent or legal space for their businesses but have identified a corner of a street which will not be occupied by anyone else. Their business includes selling all types of imported goods. In the night, they either carry their goods to their houses or leave them at the nearest shop for which they pay.

The residents of the area 'c' are financially in a better position. They are either employed or have permanent and legal business spaces in the shopping areas.



a  
ORGANIC PATTERN



b  
TRADITIONAL PATTERN



c  
INTER WAR PATTRN

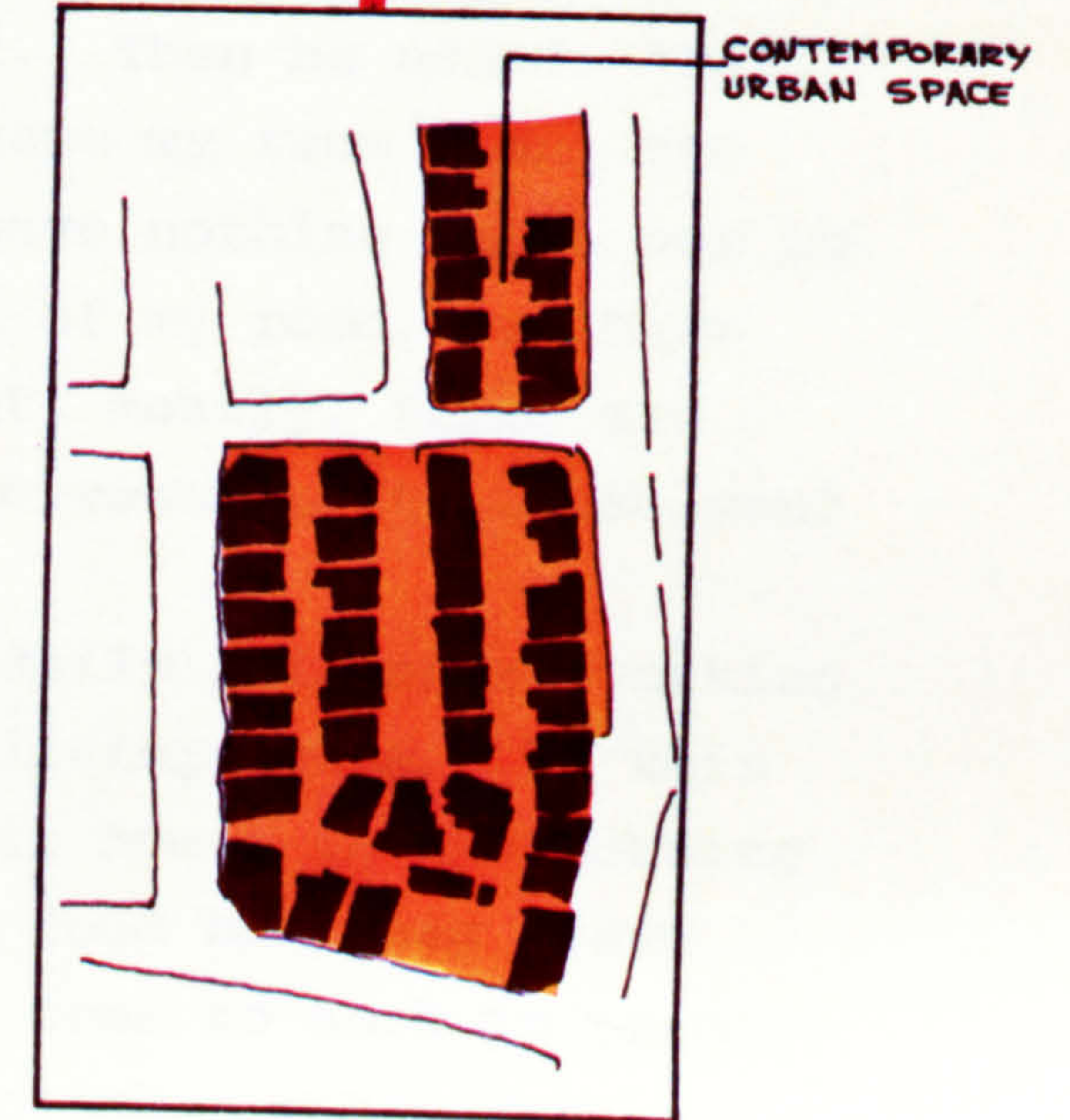
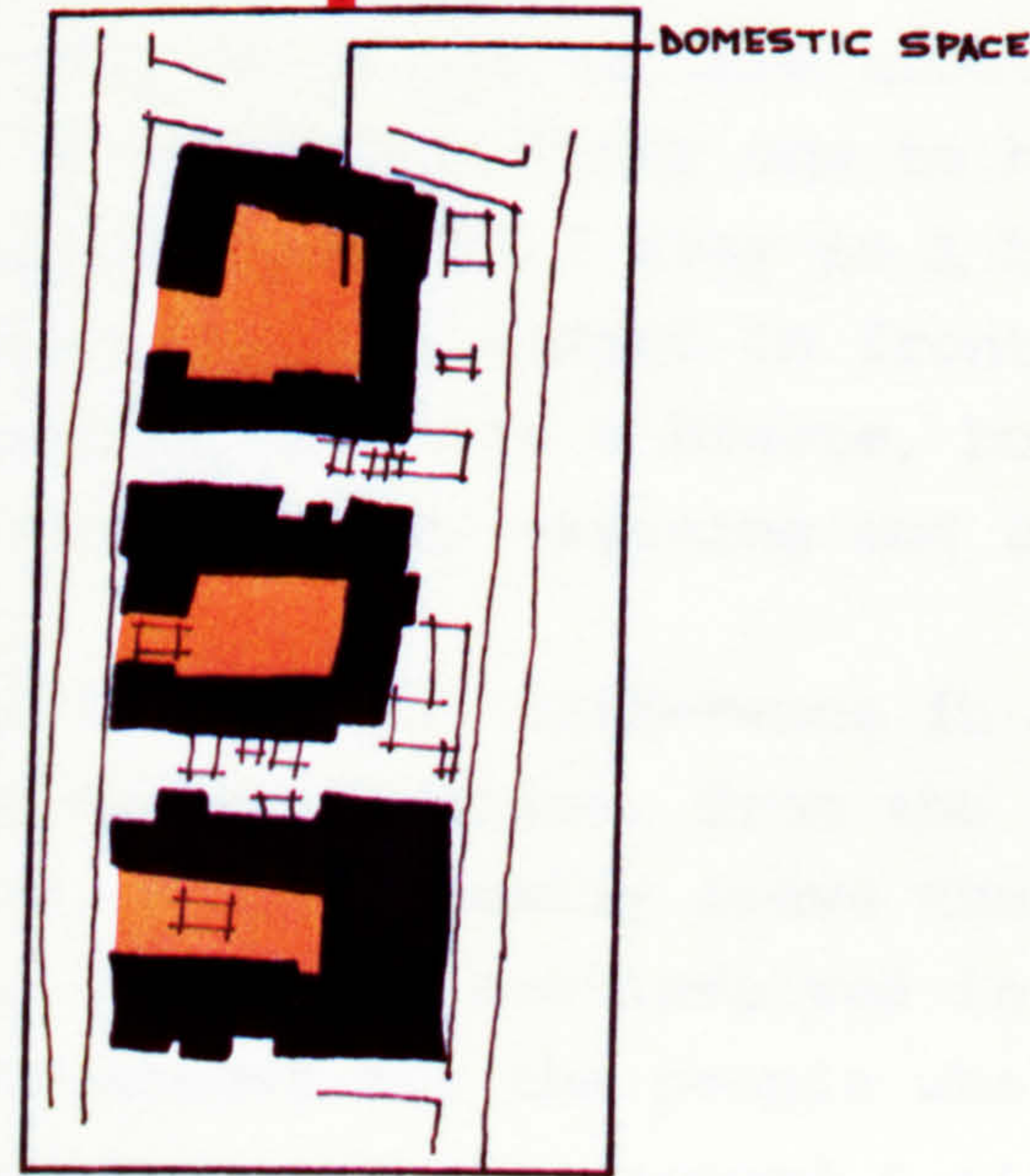
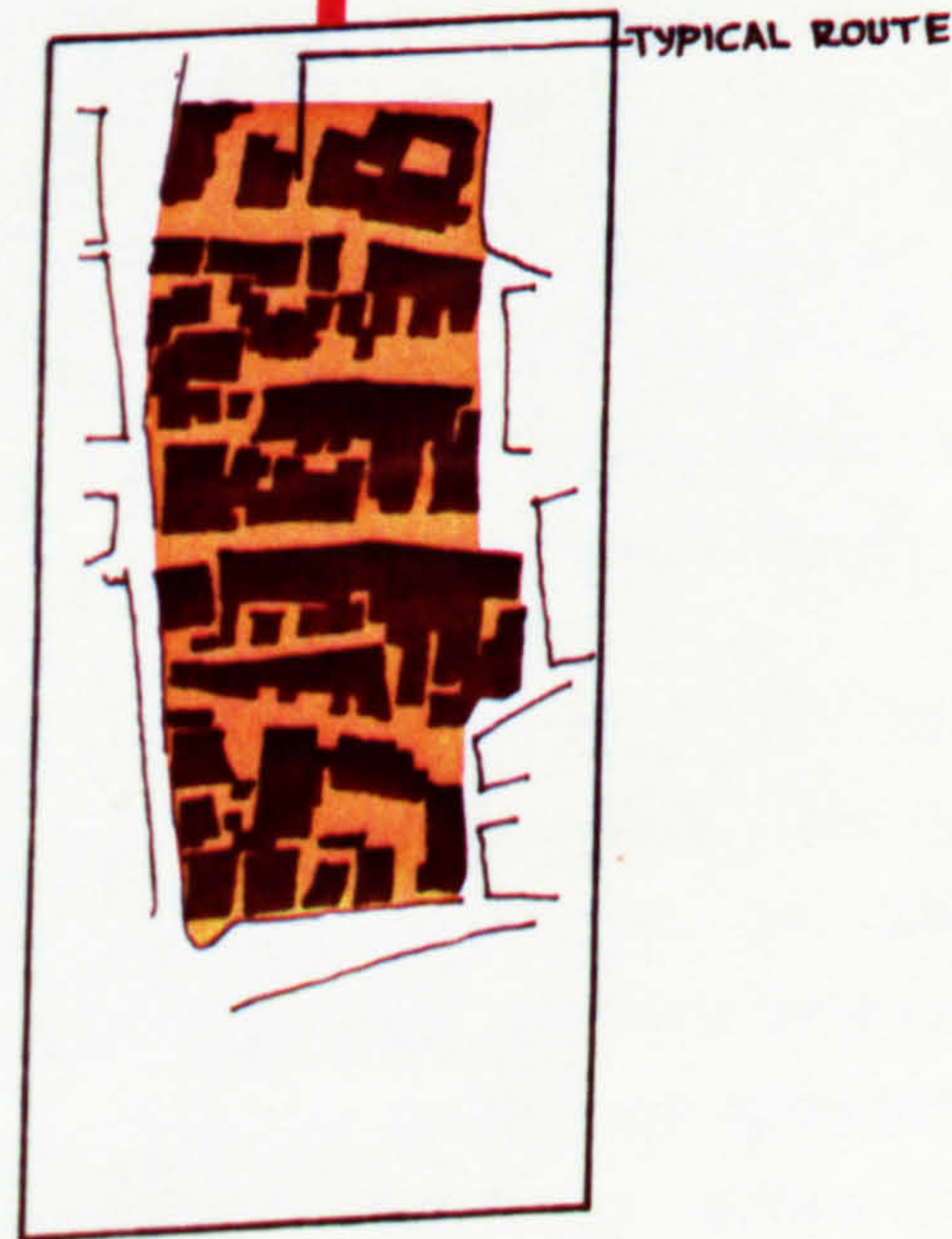
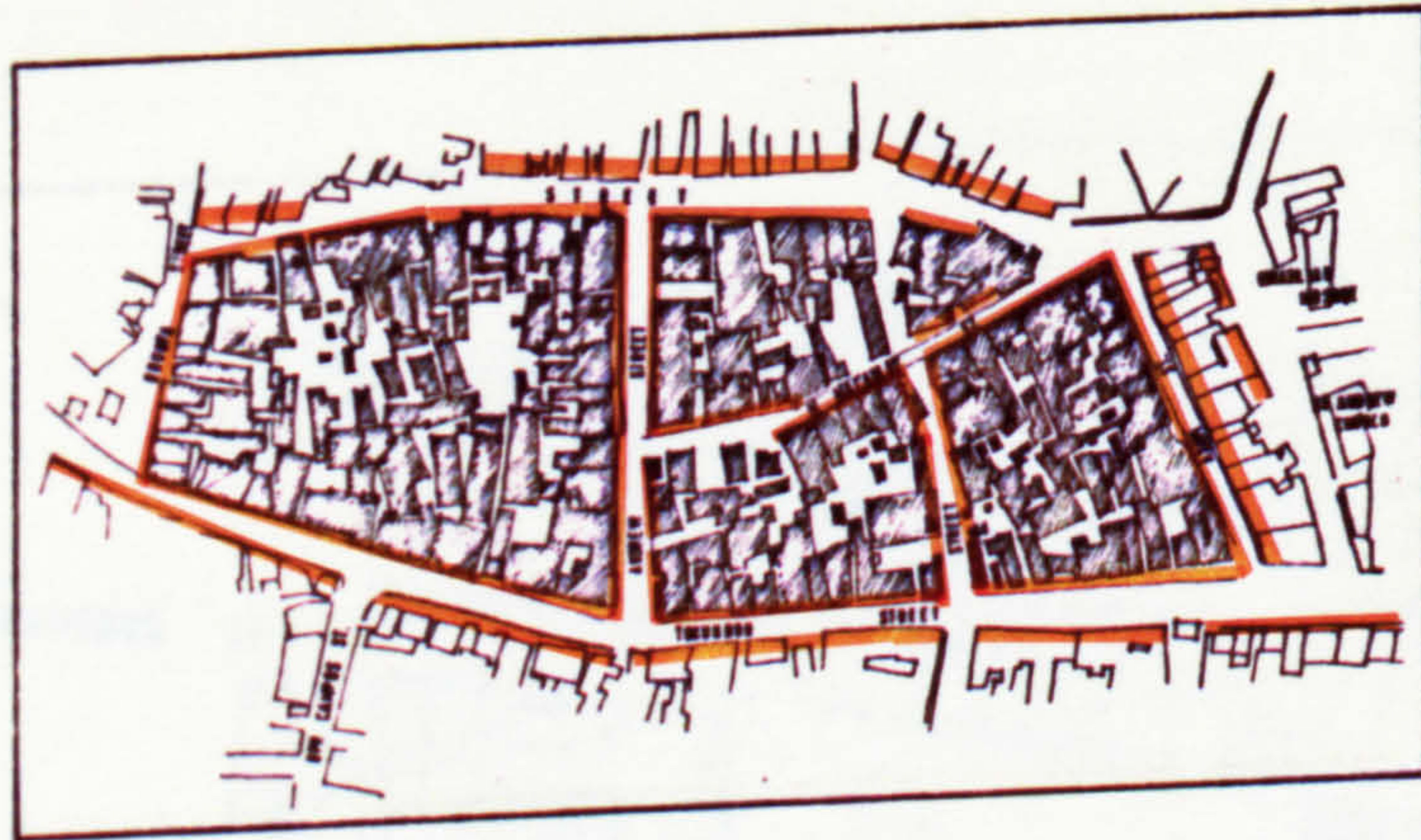


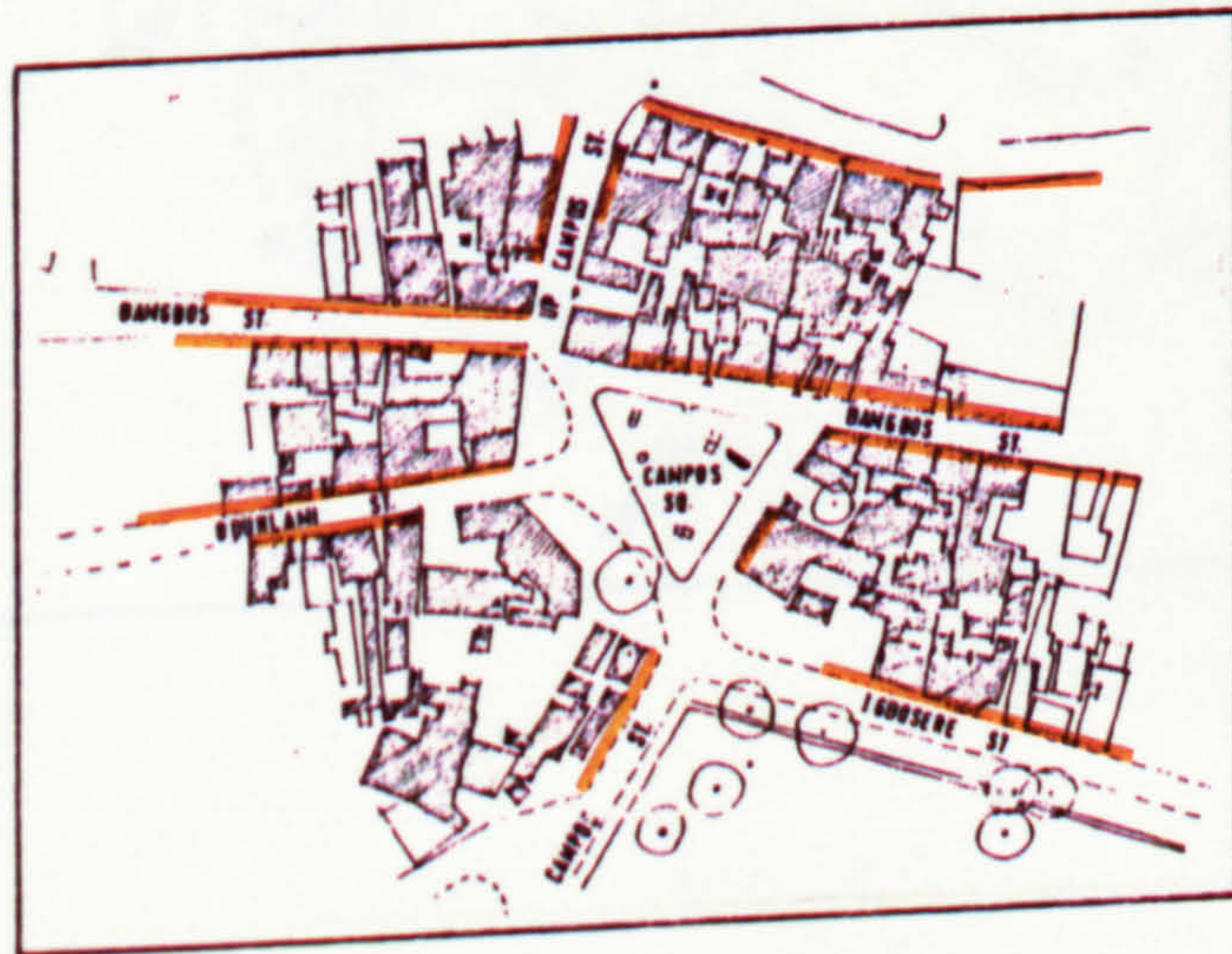
Fig. 83 - Spaces between buildings in Lagos

This characteristic economy of the neighbourhood has affected the social life of people and consequently the utilization of space. In area 'a' business and life are integrated and the actual life occurs on the street. Consequently, the streets and pathways function as places as well as providing spaces for access and circulation. Therefore, life is outside the residential unit and people spend less time in it and care less about it, unless for security purposes. My study of areas around Compos Square (Figs.84-85), shows that people spend not more than 6 hours a day in their units. There is nothing inside their rooms nor in those dumpy and dirty open spaces to attract them, but the active life is going on along the streets. As one resident told me, you can sit at a corner of the square, have your drink, see your friends, chat with them, or simply watch people; there is a lot to watch and a lot to talk about. Then he added: "But, there is nothing in my room, I am not the lucky one to have my room along the street, my room is inside the compound, if I stay in I have nothing to do nor to watch. There is a lot of stincking junk dumped in front of my room, but here the space is bigger and, sometimes there is a breeze, but, mostly, there are events here on the street (like fighting, argueing and ceremonies) to amuse you"

In Oshodi area site 'b' there is a slight difference in daily life since working places are separated for most of the families, from the living areas. In this areas business time is limited, people usually leave their homes in the morning and come back in the evening. Those who are involved in food business leave earlier in order to prepare breakfast for the people who come to work in Lagos, and come back home after lunch time, usually around 4 o'clock. Those who are involved in trade, which makes the majority of working people, leave around 9 am



● BRAZILIAN QUARTER



● CAMPOS SQ.

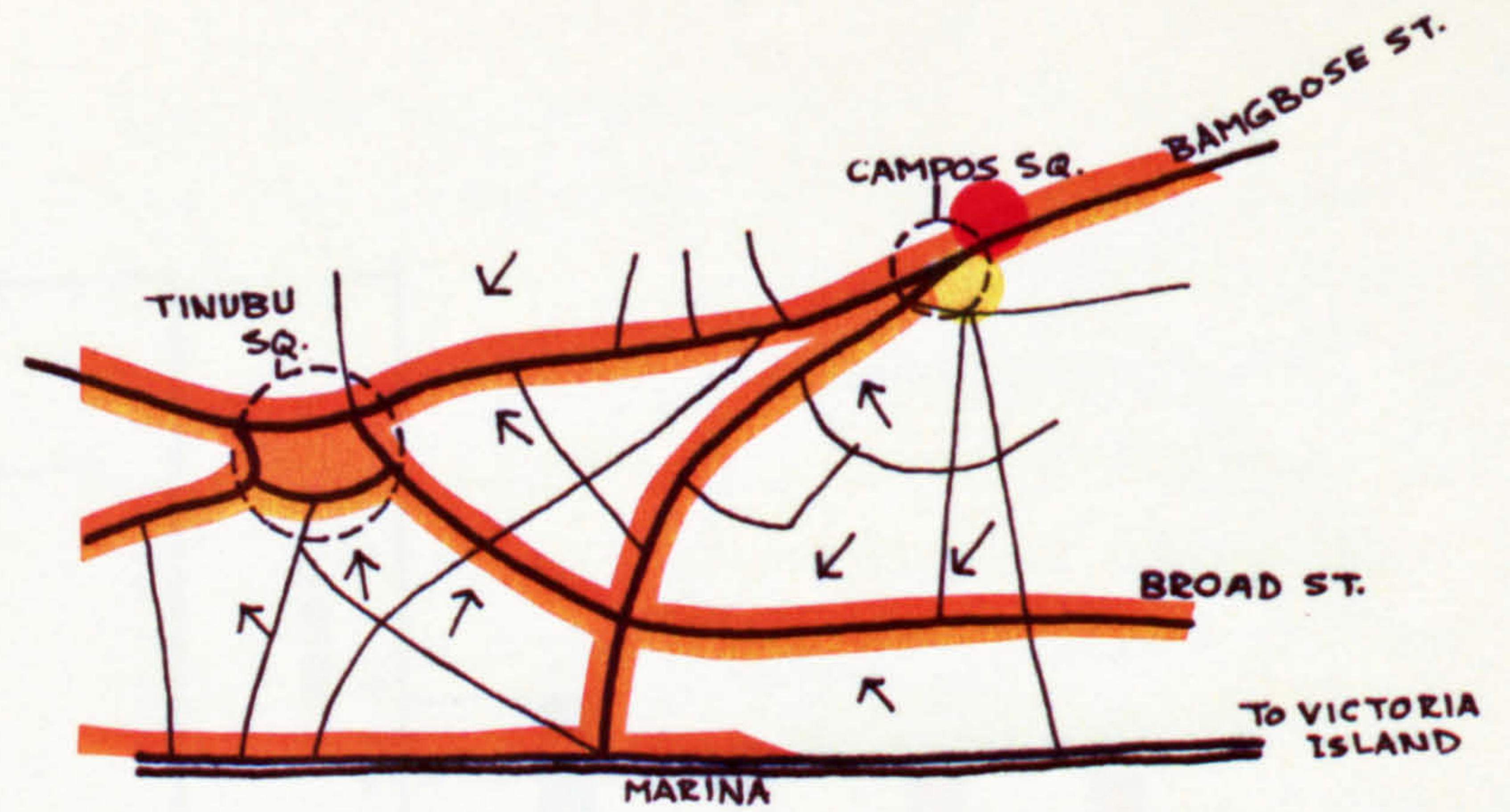
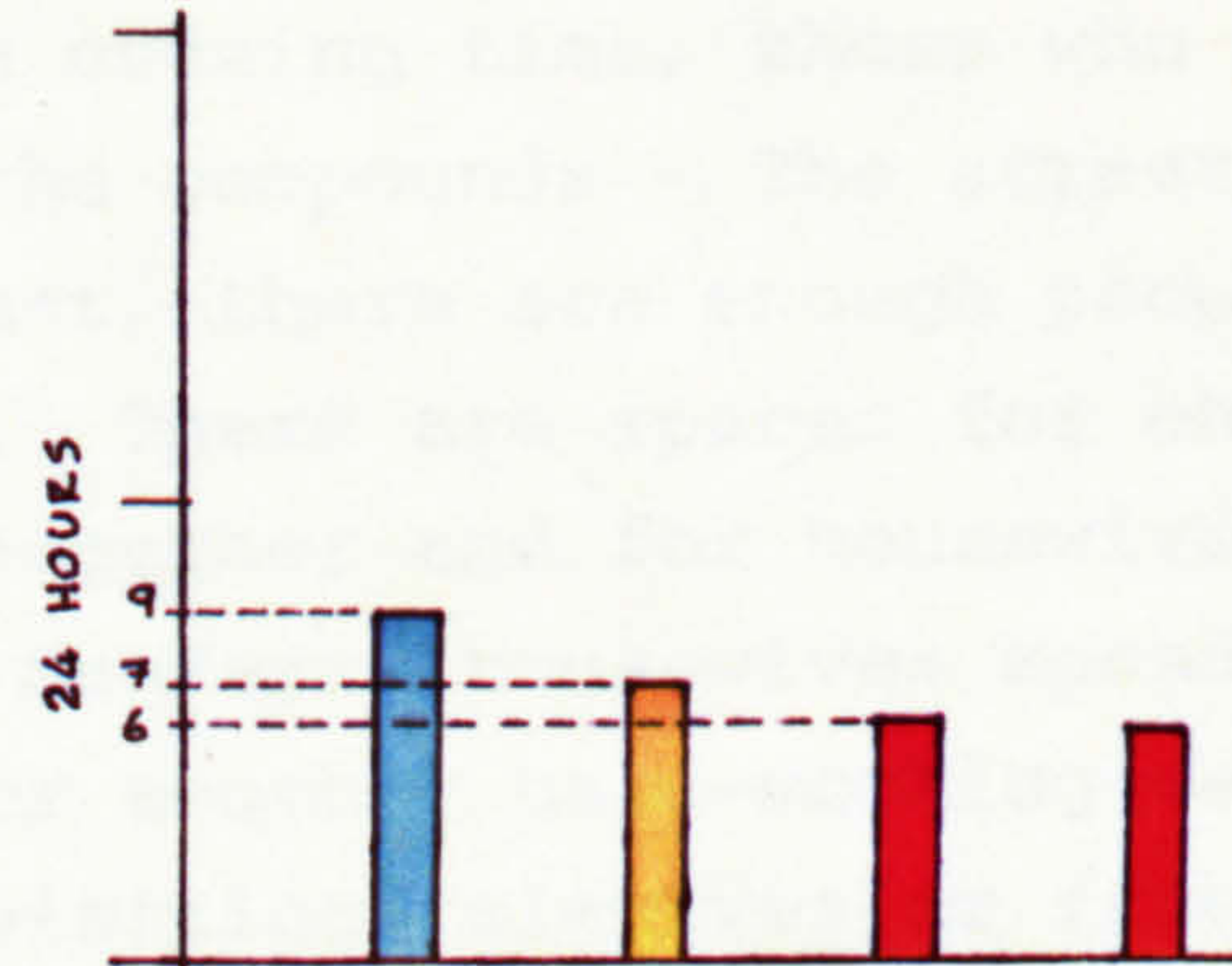
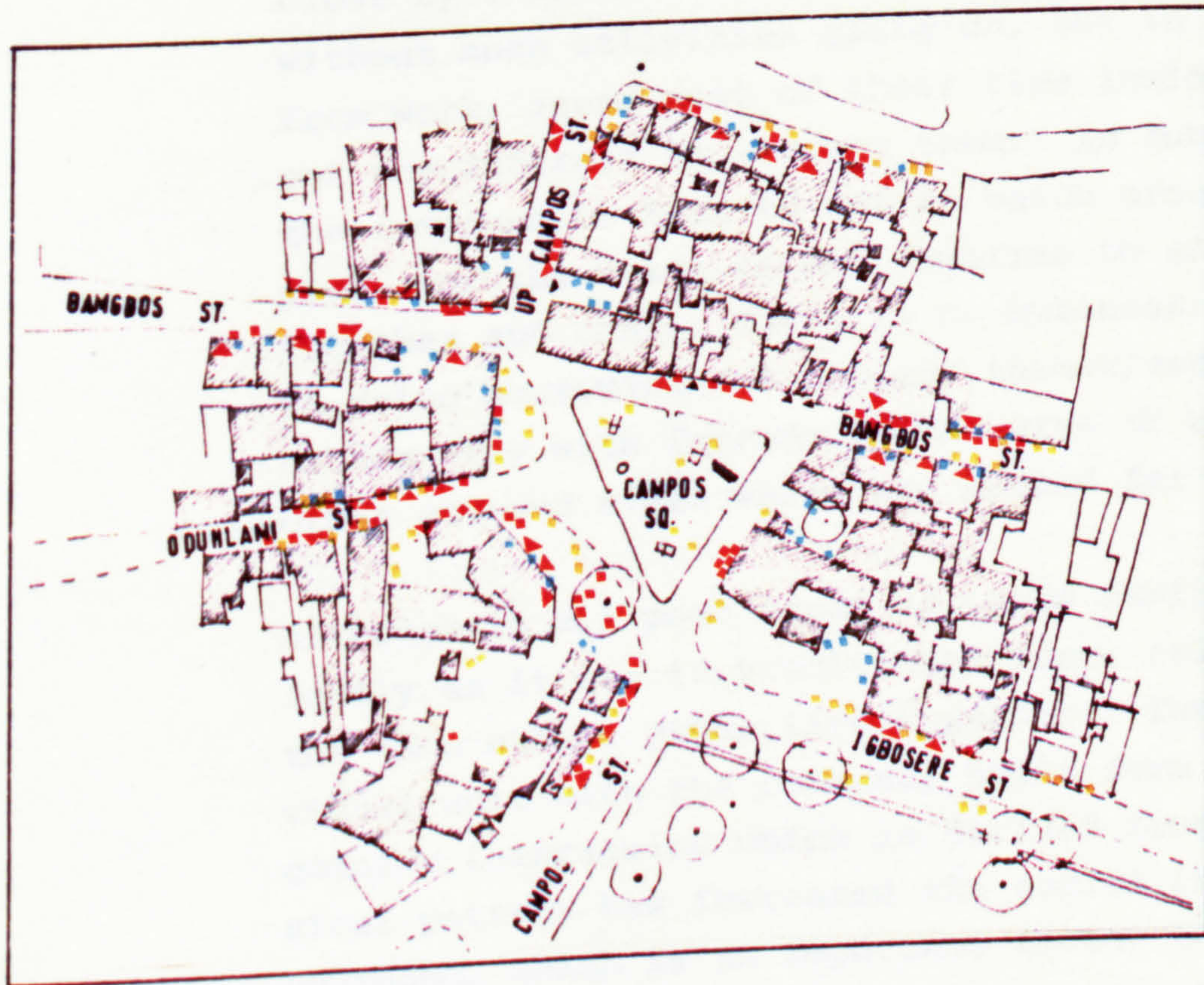


Fig. 84 - Shopping Streets and Major Traffic Routes in Central Lagos.





Average time spending indoor for resting, eating, sleeping and housework.

LEGEND

- UNDER AGED CHILDREN
- GROUP OF 2
- CHILDREN AGE 6-14
- GROUP OF 2-3
- MEN
- GROUP OF 2
- WOMEN
- GROUP OF 2-3

Fig. 85 - People's Area of Activity by Age and Sex.

and set up their businesses along the main shopping streets of Lagos and they close by 6 p. m. The streets in this area are less crowded during the day, without much activities going on, but in the evening time, those who come back from work, spend most of their time inside the compounds. The street has not got any interest to attract them. In contrast, there are enough people within the compound to talk to and to watch around. There are spaces for children to play, for the heads of the families to sit together and for housewives to work together and chat. There is no business on Sundays, housewives spend their time in doing housework and prepare themselves for another hard-working week, husbands either stay with friends in the area or go visiting relatives or friends in other crowded areas which are opened for business.

Although in all poor areas of Lagos family structure is not based on extended family as it was in traditional form, relatives and friends most probably from the same ethnic group live together. The close inter-relationship of an individual unit with the communal built form may appear unplanned, but represents a complex interaction which is derived from traditional communal life. This physical pattern has increased the social interaction of the residents of a neighbourhood, which is an important factor that helps them to cope with poverty. We noticed that this important factor affected the lives of lower classes who moved to Surulere Rehousing Estate, but has had no major effect on the lives of middle and upper classes, who moved to Freehold Housing Schemes in Surulere. For those middle and upper class groups the nature of social life is different from the working and lower classes.

There are different ideas in the sociological literature concerning the importance of social life among different social classes. Some authors argue that the frequency of neighbouring and sociability is greater in upper and middle class suburbs, where others have shown that there are strong personal networks in neighbourhoods and strong attachment to neighbourhoods in urban working and lower class societies.(1) The important factor that affects the above argument is the spatial structure of the society concerned, therefore, we may come to different results in different societies. For example, in Lagos there is a difference in the character of social relationships among neighbours in the upper and middle-class as compared to the working and lower class. Among the lower class the character of social relationships is based on need and the necessity of the life whereas in upper class it is based on common interests. Moreover, in the lower classes of Lagos, the social relationships among people are limited within the neighbourhood, regardless of ethnic groups. The reason is that, firstly, they are not mobile; secondly, facing daily life provides moral norms which become stronger than the ethnic feelings. In upper classes relationship extended beyond the surrounding neighbourhood and are more intense among the families of similar status. We noted that the move to Surulere by the middle class families was by choice, they were tired of busy life in Lagos and were looking for more privacy. The move of middle class to suburbs as Gans (1963) remarks, resulted in few changes in life-style that had more cultural dimension.(2) But in the case of lower class, as Marris (1961) reported, the relocation affected both social and economic life of the people.(3) So the vital part of our decision in finding the right strategy to tackle the slum areas of Lagos, must be concerned with social and economic factors rather than paying attention to physical environment.

### Socio-economic considerations

The first fact that becomes apparent in slum areas is that the majority of poor people will remain unemployed and would continue the same kind of business they are involved in at present, with unstable income. Yet there is an additional danger for those who are involved in selling imported goods: to lose their jobs if the oil revenue is reduced and more restrictions are imposed on the imported goods. Thus, it seems highly probable that more people will become jobless and since the flow of migrants to Lagos is still high, the possibility of the growth of slum areas is predictable. In such circumstances, considering the economic situation of the country, it seems clear that direct investment in housing will not solve the problem. Even if it would be possible to invest a large capital to clear and redevelop the slum areas, poor people could not maintain the standard and the same problems would appear in the future. Most of the jobs run by people do not require any skill, buying and selling goods would not help to develop the economy of the country, but in contrast it will increase the prices and affect the purchase power of the people. There is a need to change this 'middle-man' type of business into more constructive and productive jobs, and at the same time to increase the skills of the people. This is not possible unless the ambitious programmes of industrialization are changed. The development of huge industrial complexes, run by multi-national companies is neither helpful for economic development of the country, nor does it provide enough employment. A careful review of the Third Development Plan should make the politicians conscious that the development of natural resources and the establishment of large industrial complexes, which at present situation necessitate the importation

of some raw materials, machinery, technologies and employment of foreign skilled labour, do not contribute much to the economy of the country. The mistakes of such programmes became evident in 1983, when most of the huge industrial projects were abandoned as a result of economic recession, i.e. there was not enough foreign currency for importing raw materials, necessary machinery and spare parts, and for employing skilled labour and expatriates. The development of rich Nigerian mineral resources would be profitable if the country as a whole could contribute in the development process by providing skilled labour, expertise and good management, and rely less on the multi-national aid. In order to reach that stage, much of the resources of the country should be diverted into the establishment of educational centres and light industries, while the agricultural programme and rural development should be given priority. The development of rural areas would increase job opportunities in rural regions, reduce rural - urban migration and consequently, ease the tension on urban housing.

The long term programme of economic planning in Nigeria would not have an immediate impact on housing problems in Lagos, since the average income in Lagos is six to eight times of that of rural areas.(4) Even, if allowing a higher cost of living in Lagos, the gap would still be very wide. Therefore, it would be impossible to send back the surplus labour force from Lagos to their places of origin. To create job opportunities for this unskilled surplus labour force is impossible, since it is not realistic to expand both the industrial establishment and the public sector of Lagos to absorb them. In this situation it seems that the development of traditional industries can create new jobs. We

noticed that weaving of textile, iron-work, basket making, wood carving and spinning were the major craftworks of different ethnic groups in Nigeria. There is a good market for craftworks in Lagos, but these domestic industries have been forgotten in Nigerian society. Most of the craftworks nowadays in Lagos market are imported from nearby countries of Benin, Mali, Togo, Sudan and Ghana. The development of craftworks and building crafts would contribute to the economy of the country and create many job opportunities. If people could be encouraged and be trained to become productive and skilled, the possibility of stabilizing a high percentage of existing surplus and unskilled labour force of Lagos would rise. The problem of urbanization in Lagos is both social and economic. In the past this complexity has been seen more in terms of a physical problem and even in this way the chosen policies have not been appropriate.

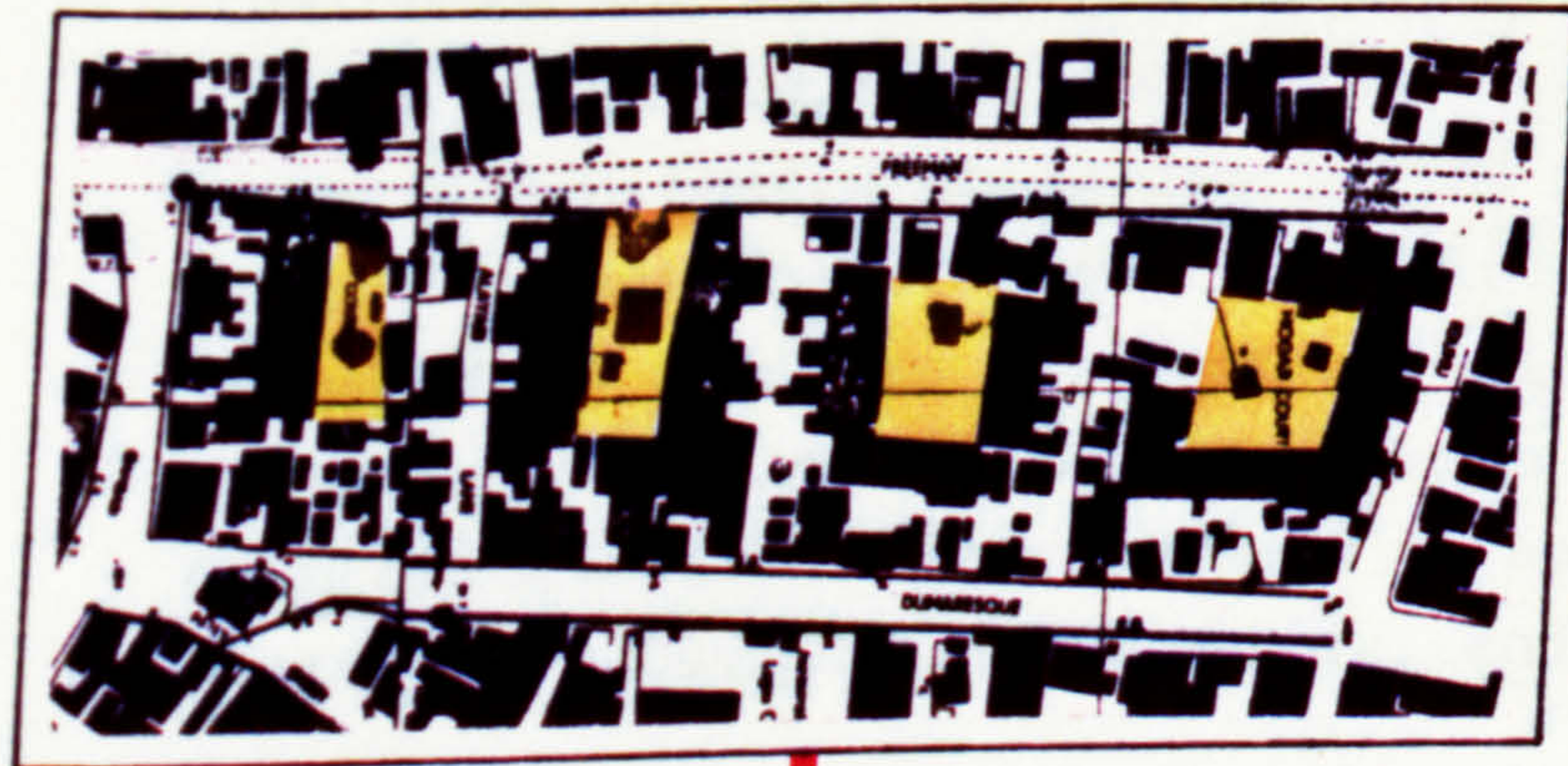
### Architectural Considerations

So far, we have developed our discussion to indicate the influence of socio-economic and cultural factors on the context of urban life of poor people of Lagos. We would like now to emphasize the impact of these two factors on the concept of planning and design of residential neighbourhoods. It was noticed earlier on that it would not be possible to improve slum areas of Lagos unless we could plan to increase the people's earnings, and also suggested that this could be achieved by revitalizing the crafts industries on small and medium scale, where families could have opportunities, individually or collectively, to use their skills and produce something. In this case, a residential unit

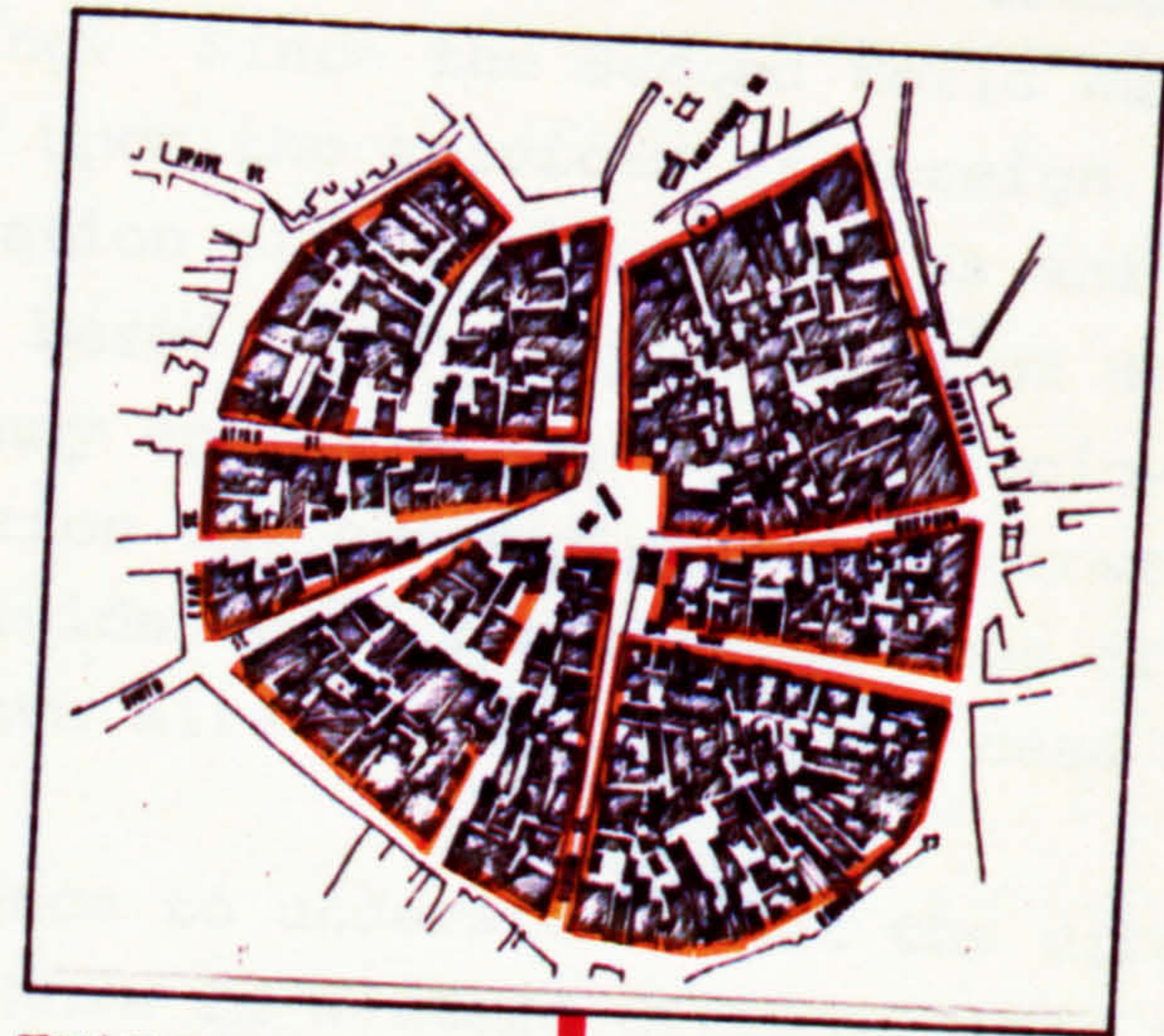
would be a place of work as well as a place to live, therefore, a provision for work space within the house would be necessary. If there is no possibility for work space in the house, or there is a need for bigger space, there should be provision of a workshop within the neighbourhood. Selling the products can be done either through the market or within the house, by those whose houses are along the main street. In this way they would benefit from their location and become involved in trade, and those without that advantage would have a chance and take their products to neighbouring market. These are the major socio-economic factors which would influence the design and planning of residential neighbourhoods in Lagos. On the other hand, we discussed earlier on the way of life of the Lagosians and emphasized the importance of communal living, the use of indoor space and the function of outdoor spaces. We also noticed the importance of people's outdoor activities and the necessity of having an open space within each unit - 'private space', 'semi-private' within a group of residential units and 'semi-public' between two neighbourhoods. Once we understand all these facts, we shall come to an understanding that there is a need for a new concept of planning and design in Lagos; the concept should be formed according to the people's culture, needs and the environment in which they live.

The problem of the urban poor of Lagos, like in other urban areas in Third World countries is that they still have their traditional values, but cannot return to their traditional life style. At the same time they are not able to participate fully in the new urban life style. (Fig.86)

In this situation the requirements of a family are not clear, there is no pat-



TRADITIONAL



EXISTING

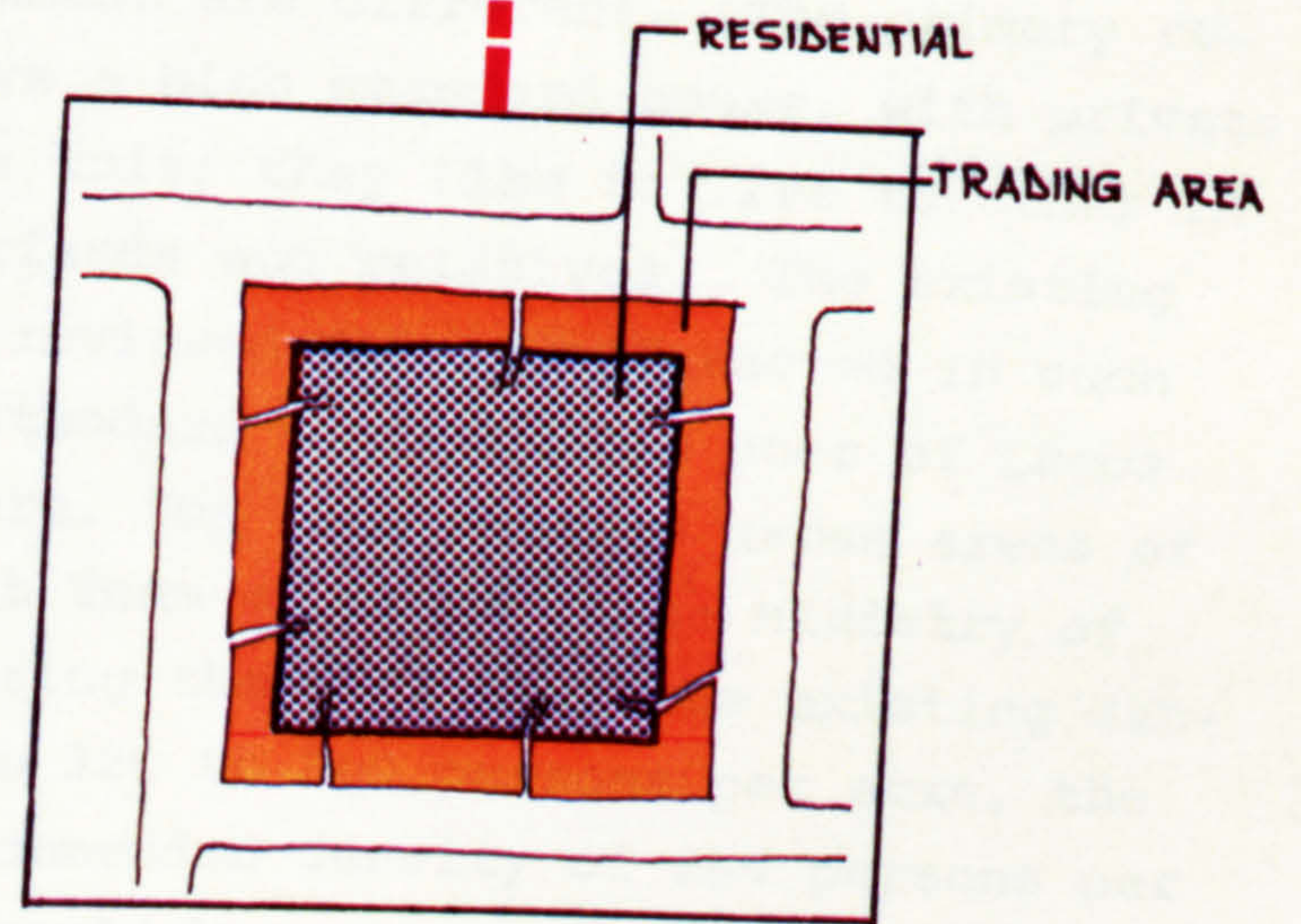
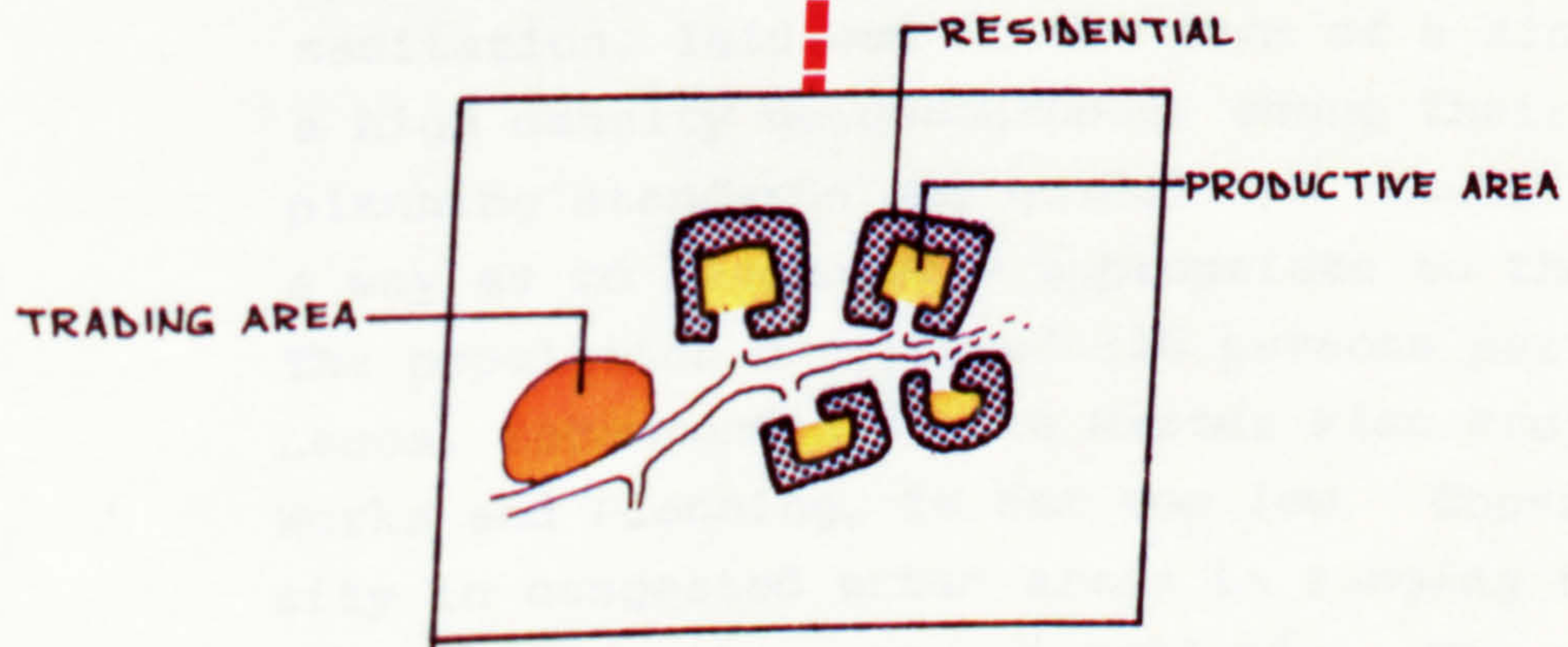


Fig. 86 - Change of Urban Fabric



tern in life, and this vague social and economic situation was the cause of confusion in the early stages of urban planning. Since the Second World War, most of the Third World governments have called upon the services of foreign architects and planners to assist in the preparation of planning policies and guidelines. These policies and guidelines were based on the application of Western assumptions in urban development, without any appreciation for the socio-economic, climatic and cultural factors, which condition the context of urban growth in each particular country. There is enough evidence of the consequences of such mistakes in Developing Countries, and we have already described the case of Lagos.

Past mistakes should give us enough experience to understand that the urban problem of Lagos is different in nature from those in western cities, since the economic system, the culture and the environment are different. The primary requirement of a family in Lagos is not to have a high standard house, with private sanitation, laid out in the form of a single unit; they like to live together in a high density neighbourhood, among their friends and relatives. The existing planning standards and guidelines should be reviewed and reconstructed in such a way as to become more appropriate to the standard of the urban poor of Lagos. The population density of 136 persons per acre, for high density urban areas of Lagos, recommended by the Master Plan Project Team of Lagos State Ministry of Works and Planning, is far too low. Considering the fact that the existing density in congested urban areas is ranging from 320 to 800 persons per acre, the proposed density seems unrealistic. The recommended density of 284 persons per acre by Inter-Ministerial Committee in 1965 could be more appropriate, although it may appear too high compared to the standards of Western Europe. Even if we

accept this density, the plan for newly developed residential areas should be based on multi-storey buildings. This may interrupt the traditional social life of people, but it is possible through careful study and good design to sustain the traditional values of the neighbourhood, because, in any case, some compromise seems inevitable.

The problem of living in upper floors can be minimized by studying the difficulties that families are facing in upper floors in Lagos Estate Housing Schemes and Surulere high rise flats. I suggest that we can minimize the problems by limiting the height of the buildings to a maximum of four storeys, providing sufficient open space for each flat and maximizing communication by expanding the view over communal space.

Once we analyse and understand the way that people live, their behaviour, expectations and desire, then we can hope to be able to evolve models, which can provide the basis for understanding of various needs of all sections of the urban poor of Lagos, and lay the basis for new structures and methods which can effectively help people in their efforts and development.

### Recommended Policy

The general aim of housing strategy for slum areas of Lagos is to develop a programme which would provide a basis for meeting the housing needs of the people on a reasonably adequate level and within the resources of both the country and householders. We noticed that Nigeria's resources are limited and subjected to contradictory expectations of a nation as a whole on one side, and, of those deprived and the poorest class of the society on the other. An urban housing strategy which requires large flow of funds would be unrealistic, and also, it is unlikely that substantial housing subsidies would be practical. In this way, increased resources for housing must be found, not from reallocation of existing scarce national resources, but from mobilizing the underutilized ones within the section and stretching and recycling them as well. In this situation, resources must, therefore, be used in the most cost effective manner and concentrated on those elements of urban development which are really essential and which are likely to provide the highest return to the housing programme.

The results of gigantic programmes of slum clearance and relocation in Third World countries, have not so far been successful. Even the subsidized public housing turned out to be too expensive for the poorest people, but, unfortunately the authorities have failed to realise it. For example, in Delhi slum clearance of the late 1950s, the service plots were developed to a high environmental level by generally middle income people and was proudly displayed by the authorities as evidence of success of their policy. (5)

We have noticed that in the late 1950s, slum areas of Lagos have been condemned to be demolished. Such a solution is far from reality concerning Nigeria's economy and nationwide housing problem. The removal of existing dwellings, however poor they appear to be, in the existing situation would mean taking a step backwards, it affects the housing stock, as well as social life of the people. Considering all social and economic factors, a long term programme of upgrading various neighbourhoods of Lagos would be the best solution. However, the demolition of some areas would be unavoidable.

The process of upgrading is used here to define the improvement of infrastructure of the neighbourhoods which would stimulate the residents to improve their houses by getting technical advice and financial help through low interest loans and cheap materials . The important factors in proposed upgrading process would be:

- I) It would neither disturb the existing community by moving people out of Lagos nor would it deplete the existing housing stock.
- II) It would make possible the provision of affordable infrastructure and reduce substantial direct Government involvement in housing provision.
- III) The whole process would not rely upon the Government, since people themselves would be involved in upgrading their houses.
- IV) Initially, it would be limited to small areas and gradually spread to other neighbourhoods.
- V) It would attract people's co-operation since they would not be moved out of their community.
- VI) It would be possible to carry out the process with local construction technique and materials. Observation of traditional building practice in Nigeria,

indicate that dwellings and infrastructure services can be provided at levels of cost affordable to a large segment of lower income people. In this way, building codes and site standards which have been adopted from practice from other countries may not be appropriate. Space, materials and facilities must be used in inovative ways, tailored to the needs and preferences of Lagosian people and consistent with economic condition of the householders.

The problem is that the residents of slum areas may not co-operate with the programme since the result of slum clearance of the late 1950s turned against the interest of the tenants. Moreover, recent demolition of 3,000 illegal residences in Ebute-Metta/Yaba area, in February 1983, without provision of resettlement for displaced families, have increased people's pesimistic view on government action. Consequently, I found the residents of slum areas of Lagos reluctant to co-operate with any programme, and they sympathetically protect one another against the authorities. To obtain the trust of people and attract their co-operation, the upgrading programme should be carried out on a small scale. The provision of temporary and permanent settlements should be made before embarking upon upgrading process within a neighbourhood. The unused parks and playgrounds can be utilized to provide temporary shelters for those families who may have to vacate their units for a while. The utilization of existing vacant land of cleared areas in the 1950's can provide new dwellings for those families who inevitably would loose their houses as a result of upgrading process.

Another problem is the multiple ownership of the houses in Central Lagos. A legal act should be introduced to solve the multi-ownership problem and the prio-

rity should be given to those tenants who would be able to buy or lease the houses they are living in at present. New sources of land should be provided, by reclamation of northern part of the Island, as well as financial help for those families who may lose their houses, as a result of improving access roads or providing public facilities.

The whole process of upgrading project of Lagos needs a careful survey, close work of architects and planners with people, adequate source of finance and high level management. These are the conditions that would guarantee the success of the project.

## Conclusion

We have seen so far that the scale and the speed of growth of Lagos during the Past three decades, was spectacular. This enormous expansion and increase of population have been accomplished in such a short period of time that the city, as a whole, did not provide adequate compensation in the form of necessary infrastructure. The outcome is that the largest possible population is housed within a minimum provision of infrastructure, suffering from lack of sanitation, domestic amenities and open spaces.

The fact is that, the demand and pressure for better condition of life have been fully realized by the city authorities, indeed, there have been overwhelming efforts to respond to this demands and necessities, but much of the efforts have been based on short term expediency and utility rather than long term profit. In the minds of most ruling and upper-class Nigerians, the adoption of modern life, as we see it in the West, is expected to solve all their problems and human needs. Such ideas are far from the reality concerning the existing situation in Nigeria. The basic fact is that modern urbanization is a relatively recent phenomenon in Nigeria. Significant modern urbanization on a national scale is hardly more than thirty years old. The transition or spatial transfer of the majority of so-called urbanised Nigerians, from the rural to the urban centres has largely been only physical in nature. Nigerian urban communities have not yet fully adjusted their rural habits, values, norms and conventions into urban forms. The underlying and deeply rooted factor is that, the cultural transition web from purely rural people and culture to an urban

civilization in which the society has found itself at this stage of development, has not yet been completed. Meanwhile, the imbalanced distribution of resources have caused that a very low percentage of population gets the highest percentage of national wealth. This indigenous elite, as Payne (6) describes: "who control large proportion of national wealth, have great influence over entrepreneurial and policy decisions." They think about modernisation as a 'global package' which should be imported from developed countries rather than as a long term process that should be developed in accordance with the means, resources and culture of the society. Moreover, they believe that, in the course of modernization process, the positive values and viable qualities of the tradition and culture should unduly be forgotten or ignored, rather than being inspired by them. Of course, one cannot deny the results of modernisation process in developed countries and the effect of industrialisation and modern technology on the prosperity and the quality of life of the people. But, the main issue, as Ettinghausen concluded, is that: "The modernisation process must be guided rather than permitted to be the guide. Modernisation per-se does not embody happiness and the improvement of the quality of life, it may merely serve as a means whereby comfort and convenience are placed at the public disposal.(7)

Unfortunately, in Lagos, the acceptance of Western ideas and forms is the sign of progress and is celebrated as true indices of civilisation, while the traditional forms are often considered to represent backwardness and impoverishment. We have already observed the situation of architectural trends in Lagos, where architecture was merely the accumulation of many dissonant Western forms, and an amorphous assemblage of many different styles. The trend from authentic



to the fake, from the fundamental to the copied and from the resourceful to the unimaginative, has come to the full gear within the last two decades. There is a depressing lack of a concentrated effort to create and develop indigenous architectural forms, inspired and motivated by the architectural tradition of Lagos.

Much of the build-up in Lagos, during the past twenty years was not derived so much from local necessities and environmental determinants, but from imitation. Therefore, much of the new urban-architectural physiognomy reflects transient values rather than cultural heritage. Consequently, the preference for the traditional puritan architecture disappeared, and architecture became the mean to show off personal wealth. Given the current attitude towards architecture in Lagos, serious thought must be devoted to the re-orientation of architectural philosophy and practice in the city. A thoughtful action is needed to salvage the architectural quality which would be appropriate to the local conditions of the city, its people and the contemporary era in which they live. This can be achieved only if one views architecture as a socio-cultural phenomenon, or as a reflection and an image of men's conditions, rather than more abstract forms of isolated objects. In the field of housing, we observed that middle to high-income elites are the beneficiaries of the change, they live in better environment and can afford the cost of better life and better housing, and the poor are the victims of the change, the process and the type of modernisation. Unfortunately, the situation seems bound to worsen, considering the increased rate of population and the increasing gap between the poor and the rich.

We have noticed that Nigeria, in spite of her rich natural resources, is a poor country, its economy does not let proceed towards the ambitious programmes to provide housing for poor people, as it is the case in some rich countries. "It is quite impossible, except in a few small oil-rich states to house, clothe and feed huge underemployed population by state subsidiary." (8) Then the basic issue is to help people to earn minimum cost of living. This is not possible without generating new employment to help poor people to improve their economic situation. Meanwhile, the terrifying existing urban problems cannot be solved without understanding their causes and then some thoughtful programmes have to be drawn. The existing problems cannot be solved overnight, by applying alien ideas and importing foreign standards, materials and architecture, and by rejecting the values of traditional architecture. The argument is not to disqualify the Western ideas or standards. On the contrary, I believe that the developing countries can gain a lot from the West if they choose the right approach, and not just copy the form and accept the standards which are not applicable. Unfortunately, many architects in Lagos are not capitalising on this attitude, but are also feeding it, while various scholars have put forth interesting suggestions that emphasise the need of incorporating traditional social values in design. To achieve the incorporation of social and traditional values in design, we need information about people's spatial interactions, behaviour and their attitudes. It means our approach to provide housing for people should be more rational and scientific. We need to evolve tools for examining the situations, evaluating the financial and technical abilities, to be better informed on the linkage between housing and other issue areas, monitoring the implementation process and assessing the degree of effectiveness of the

programme. There is a need to develop the capacity to bring diverse technical tools together in order to resolve the problem. Research and development about local materials and local building techniques, without radically changing or disqualifying them, can reduce the cost and increase the construction ability of local people. There is also a need to turn down the political dimension of housing and depoliticise it as much as possible and to avoid turning low-income housing into numbers game. Experience in Lagos has shown that no politician or party was able to fulfill their promises. From the view point of politicians, it is important to add as much as possible to the existing stock of housing, regardless of their intensive contribution to the slums of tomorrow.

Good housing is very urgently needed for the urban poor of Lagos. The intention of providing good housing should be focused to look for a form of urban housing which would relate more to the social values, means, needs and resources of the people. Maybe the most important thing is to find out what are those factors in today's life of poor Lagosians in the existing social pattern and economic condition, rather than assuming what it is hoped to be. The cultural dimension has not been given any attention in current housing policy. This is due to the fact that Nigerian society is in the crises of transitional period which hinders them from clarifying ideas. I hope that the political situation of the country will become stable in order to allow long term economic planning to increase the income of the people, and, also to stimulate the development of rural area in order to ease the rural-urban migration.

I would suggest that in order to achieve an adequate urban form of housing in

Lagos, the following principles should be considered:

- I) To research about socio-cultural dimension of housing; this will help to find out the linkage among many fundamental and diverse aspects of housing problem and put them in relation with each other.
- II) To design urban setting and housing form in such a way that people can easily establish their pattern of life. This may necessitate the development of more adoptable form(s), which would give maximum possibilities to the people to modify it.
- III) To search for more resources of local materials, by developing local techniques and standards and not to impose alien concepts in planning and architecture.
- IV) Architecture and planning concepts should be oriented towards Nigerian concept of life and reflect the socio-cultural needs of the society. Local architects and planners could play a key role in this reorientation. Their co-operation and involvement in Master Plan of Lagos would be a great advantage in achieving the best settlement pattern in Lagos. Lagos could be as good and beautiful as any other city in the West, but different in character and architecture.

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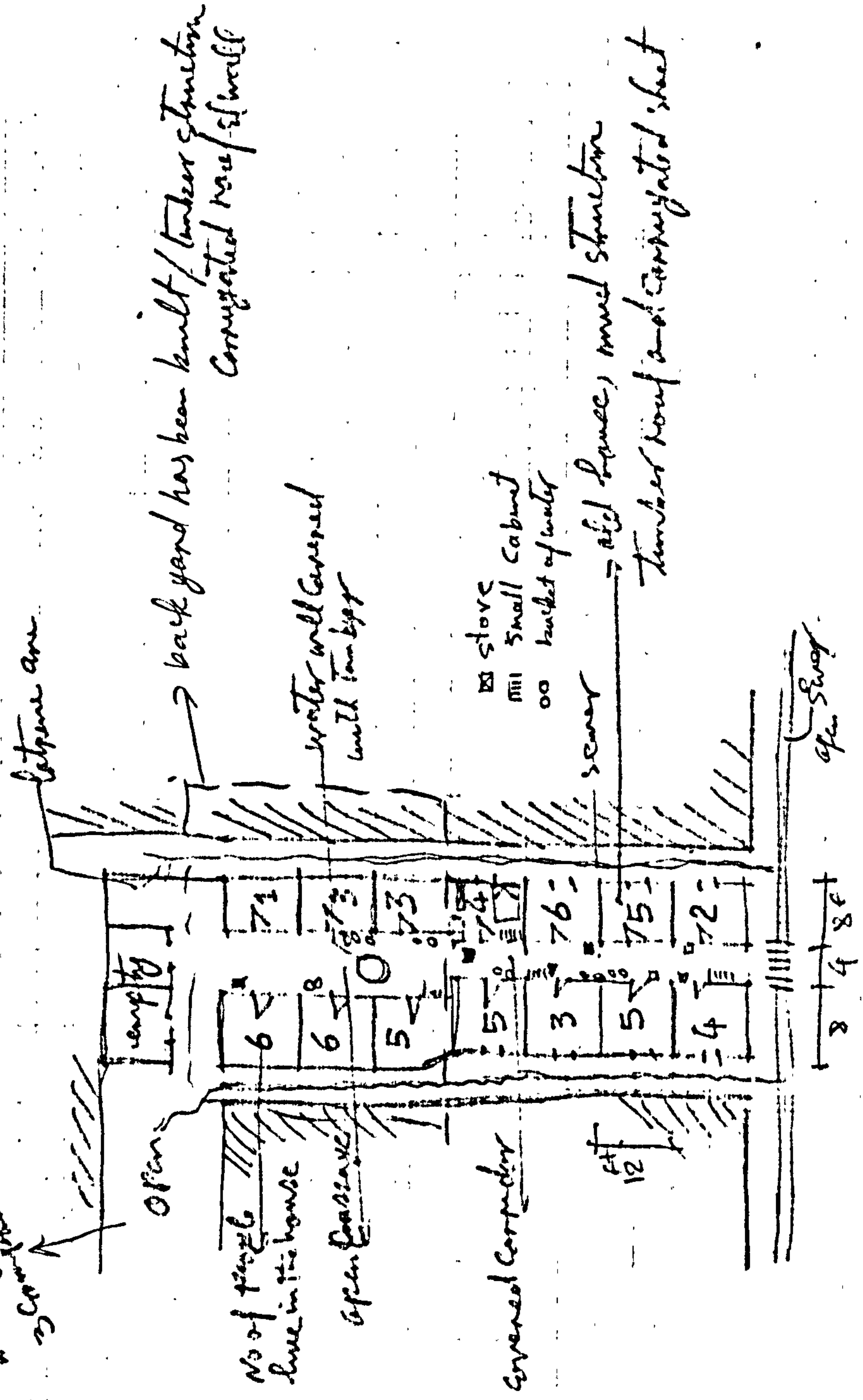
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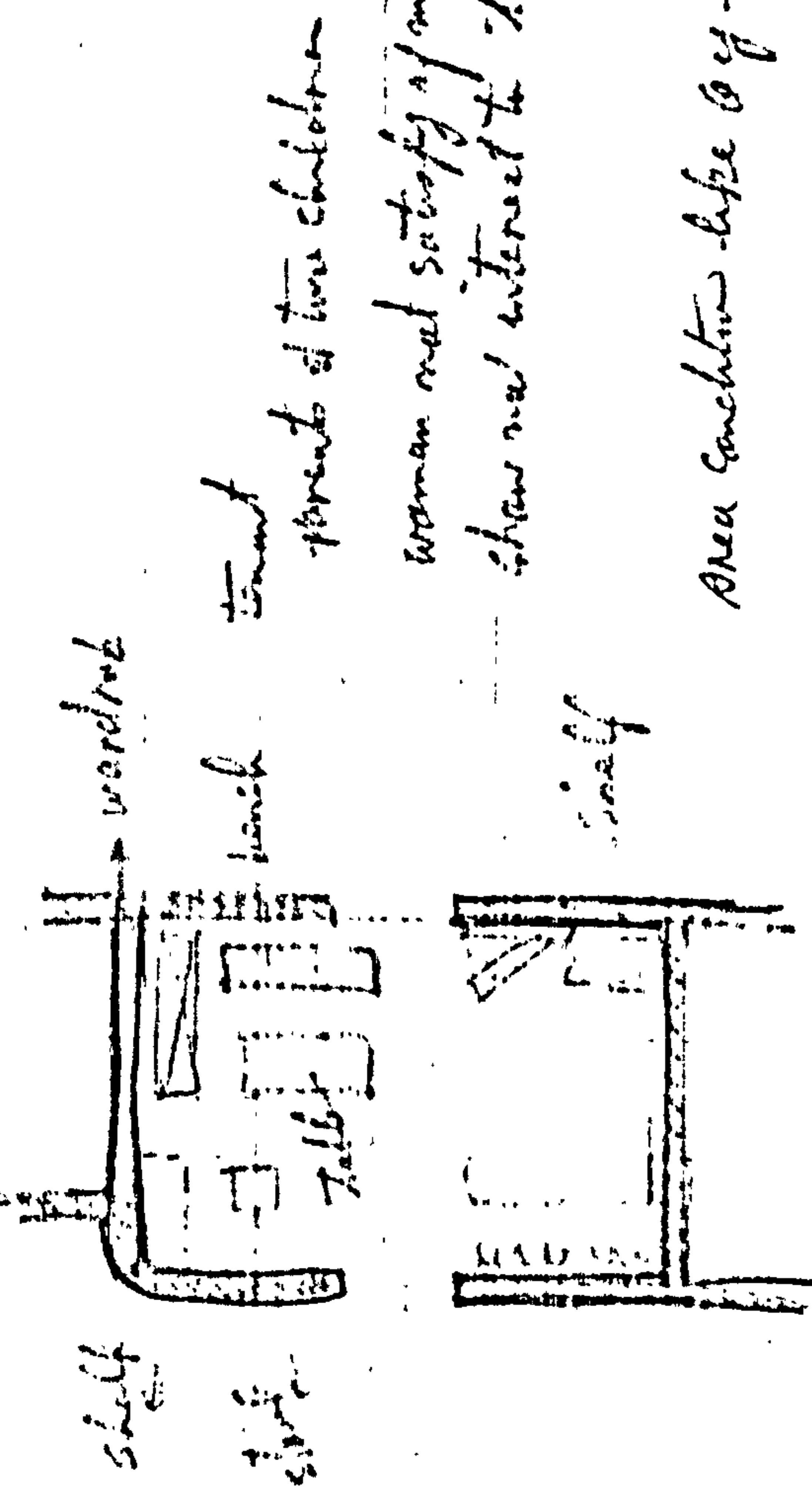
washing area  
→ compound

Compound, Ogidan St. Mush



Sealing done on the Corridor, along the Corridor there are, buckets  
of water, extra furniture.

Doors kept open and a curtain was kept in it return of corrugated  
pass through Corridor to beams and in door.

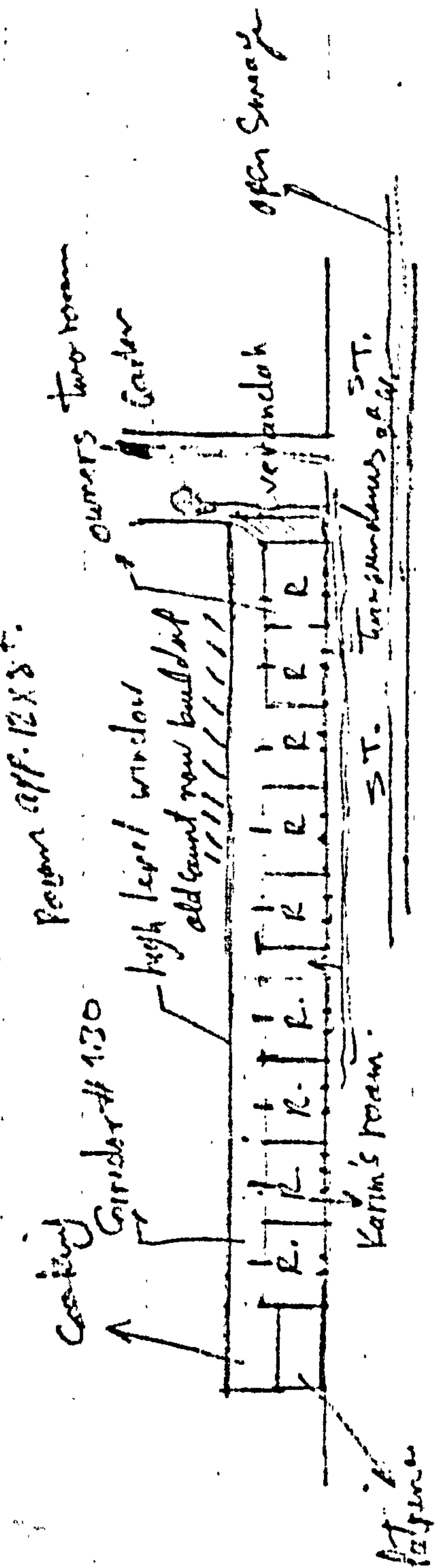


Area catches like Ogengone st.

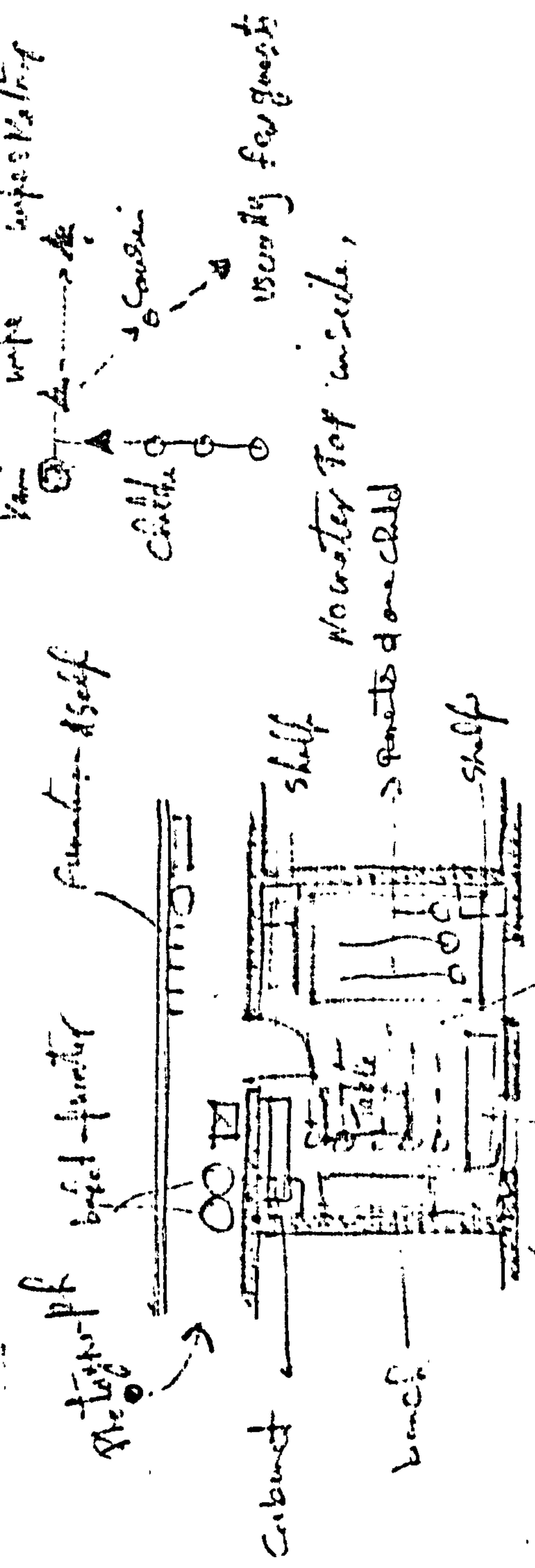


At the time of my visit a few underage children were playing in the  
corridor. Four House wives were in busy with their work and not happy to see  
me. 9 unlit rooms were occupied by family, the rest the occupants were  
adult, leaving early in the morning and come back at evening time  
apart from the roof which shows some leakage and corridor which was  
dark and dirty, inside two rooms (old part of building) look clean and in  
good condition. The built up of back yard has created some problem for house  
wives in terms of parking and washing.  
open space is the most important factor contributing to unhealthy condition of  
the area.

Alhaji's House Oyengune St. Mushine



It was built as a compound but now is divided by wall and a corridor at the back is leading to rooms. The Corridor is built up. Corridor is used as store containers, etc. Pictures 24-27 from inside Mr Karin's room and his family and front verandah.



Normally in the night table is taken out to Corridor and other 3 children and grand mother sleep on the floor. She mentioned very frequently that sometimes up to 4 sleep on the floor

- Furniture list
- a twin bed
- two narrow benches
- a tea table
- two small cabinet
- one T.V.

Four high level stepped fan-corner full of papers and books  
2 large stool cases under the bed

Alhaji Kani

→ Man. dispatcher in the office earn #140/m

Q: what do you do for living

→ wife teacher in Handicraft school earn #100/m

wife mother is responsible for family affairs, busy after children. wife comes from 3. afternoon - help her in cooking and house work.

husband comes 7. P.m, He does some other jobs in the evening to earn some more money. after having his dinner you wait to see friends and come about 11-12 to sleep

children after school play around the compound and street, they responsible for buying water. since they have bought T.V. they stay in the room to watch T.V. and go to sleep. During the day they are usually outside.

they usually wake at 5.00 o'clock and 7-8 at night. come home and go to sleep - they wake up early at 6 - (average sleep 9-10 hours)

Alhaji leaves home 6 am and come back 11 P.m, with an hour he spend for his dinner he come in at 6.7 hours in.

Observation

Neighborhood is very dirty. Open sewage along the street, parties block at least one abandoned car in each street was identify.

occupied dwellings units need major improvement

dump of garbage in front of each entrance door. 9 uncleaned there is no garbage collection.

There is no identified side walk it is block by garbage, very badly cleaned and people walk on the middle of street.

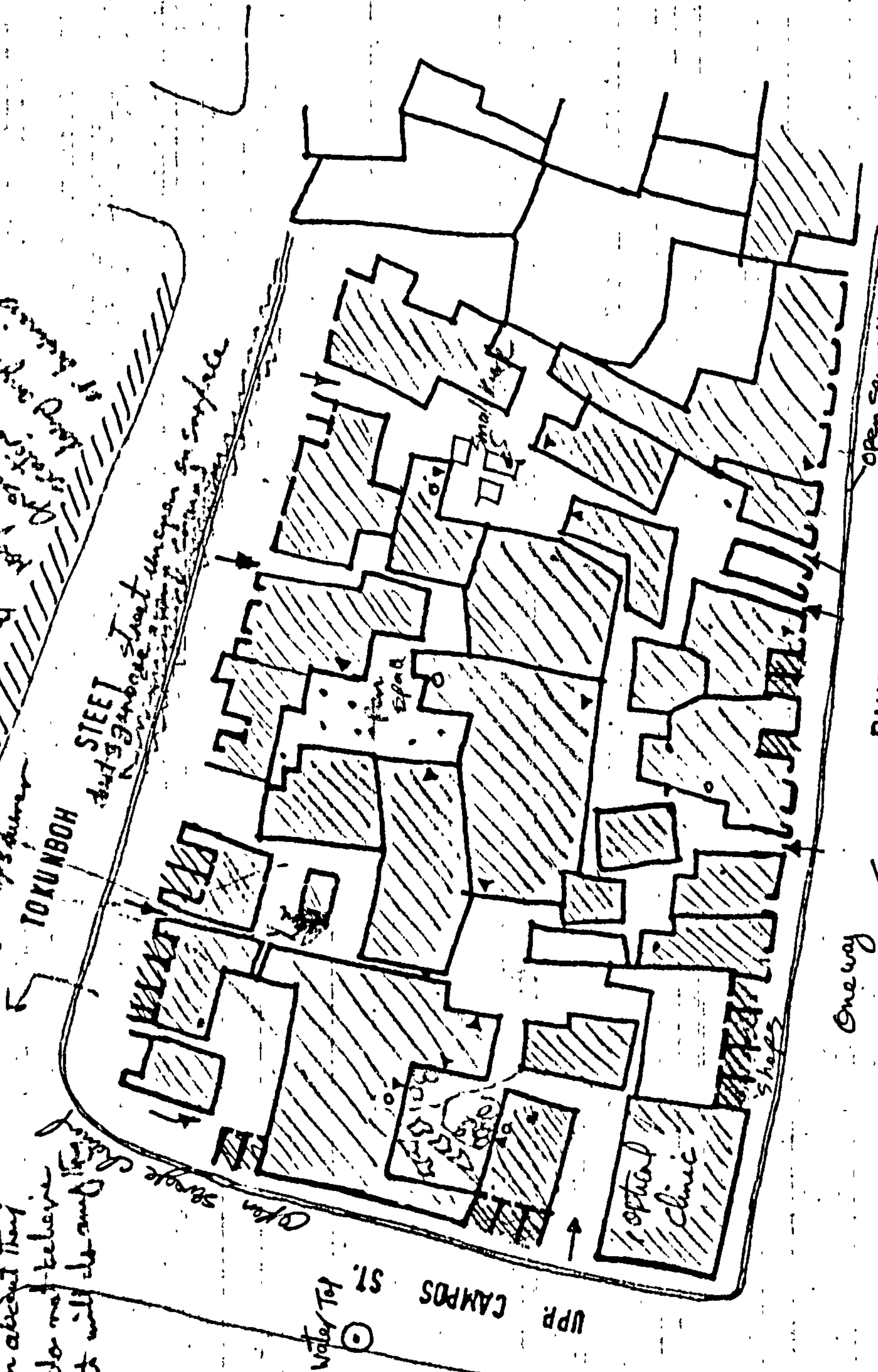


Most of families interviewed were satisfied with the security (we do not let strangers to come to our compound). They all were from Yambeo ethnic groups. One of the interviewees said that they share their paintings and their character.

Sidewalk occupied by shops & dunes

Complain about their houses, do not believe government will do anything for them

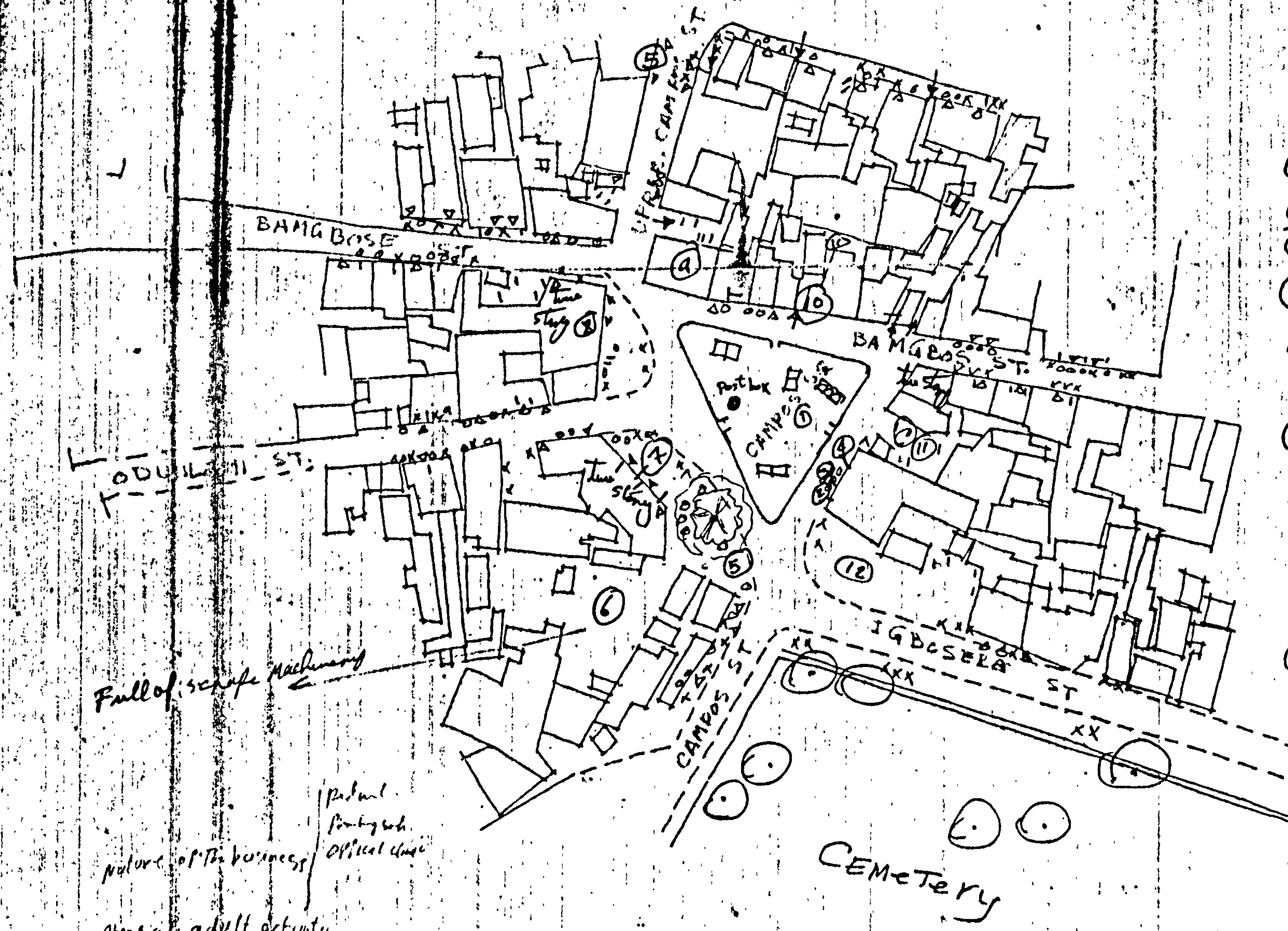
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Household's interview	No of family	Type of house
total 130 interview	6 <= 9	Over 2m-0
13	4	17
A woman	5	4
Men	5	1

12 out of 18 are tenant and 6 are owner occupied, it is actually collective ownership to the extent that they are not for the owner #40 and for the tenants. Average 10 of children 4-12 all parents were not just a family (parents & children) some are some they dependent, other people or relatives children, 3 out of 18 families employed with income 130/month the rest run their own business with average income of #250.

\* Not a correct answer has been given about the total number of family



Nature of business →  
 1- Area in the middle of square surrounded by four in the shape of a triangle. three entrance from each side lead to this area - it seems as a play ground for school age children with three Tennis tables.

- ② - Pub among small shop
- ③ - Snake bar
- ④ - Disco music shop
- ⑤ - water tap
- 6 - printing shop around the court yard is full of junko
- ⑦ - shops mainly snack bar
- ⑧ - hazing house
- 9 - optical clinic shop
- ⑩ - shops in the front of houses
- ⑪ - court yards
- 12 - Petrol Station

△ women group 2-3  
 ○ men " "  
 × children " 3  
 † underage " "

Feb. 1993 / workday

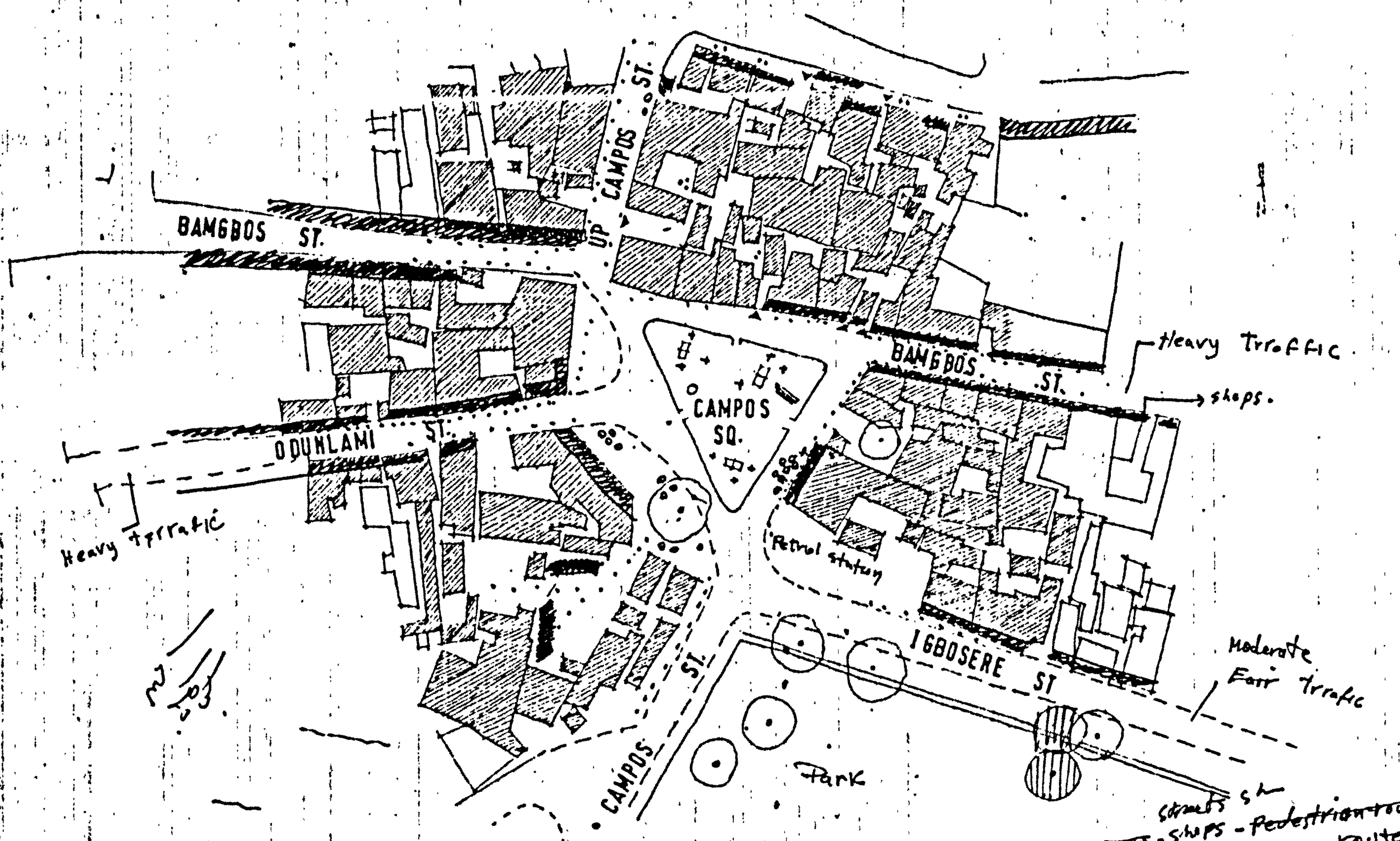
Times steady indoor

△ 76  
 ○ 6  
 × 6 or 7

Full of scrap machinery

Nature of the business / Optical clinic

Attention adult activity  
 " " child



Heavy traffic  
shops.

Heavy traffic

Moderate East traffic

Park

Petrol station

main shopping street pedestrian central layout

streets sh  
shops - pedestrian routes  
pedestrian routes  
chicken pluckers

Observation: Neighbourhood  
Quality



- business area**
- ① there is not heavy traffic.
  - ② public water tap.
  - ③ houses generally deteriorating, lacking services
  - ④ inside open spaces full of scrap metal furniture
  - ⑤ they are unclean, open sewers running along streets, and
  - ⑥ small canal lead water disposal from inside the compound to the main sewer.
  - ⑦ Dwelling unit in need of major improvement
  - ⑧ dump of garbage is almost in all corners of street, they fire them every few days and smoke is covering the whole area.
  - ⑨ it is impossible to identify street boundary, sidewalk - etc.
  - ⑩ smell of urine and pallator is very high
  - ⑪ During the rainy season the whole area is flooded



Do you know the cost of living in village is much less than Lagos, so if they pay you less are will you go back to village.

yes if they employ me there why not working in farm.

No first of all the income is really nothing may be \$120 per/ann + percentage of product that is really nothing.

Have the farmer live now.

They really have a very primitive life they usually go hunting for topir meat, and they do some extra work like cutting the grass for others daily job can earn some more money to survive.

If the government protect you will you go to do farming.

No they really look down on farmer they call them bushy man. I get used to the city I can not basket to go village.

What was the result of green revolution? the result was good for government and these privileged people who import fertilization.

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ola konye born 1952

came to Lagos in 1971

father alive 90-100 years old. Mother 70 years old his parents are living in village town

his father has five wives and 27 children now only two of them are living in village younger sister and brother are living with oldest elder brothers in Lagos.

occupation draftsman, three years married 4 children and one on the way.

in 1971 after finish school he came to Lagos to live with his senior brother to find

an institute for higher education. It was difficult to find school so he went to his brother's

office (Civil Engineer) and he became draftsman.

Why didn't you follow your father's job (farmer) no body in the village after finishing school

willing to work in farm they look down on farmer.