

**URBAN MIGRATION AND INFRASTRUCTURAL  
DEVELOPMENT IN LAGOS METROPOLIS,  
1899-1999**

**BY**

**Rahman Olayinka ADAGUN  
B. A. Hons (LASU), M. A. (LASU)  
Matric Number 147470**

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## **CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that this study was carried out by Adagun, Rahman Olayinka of the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, under my supervision.

.....  
**Supervisor**

**Prof. Rasheed Olaniyi,  
Department of History,  
University of Ibadan,  
Ibadan, Nigeria.**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the greatness of the Supreme Being Allah (SWT) that made it possible and to the memory of my parents, Rasheed Olatunji and Muslimat Abeke Adagun.

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The glory for the completion of this work despite delays occasioned by many distractions and challenges goes to Almighty Allah (SWT) that has ensured that my mind did not stray out of the goal. His infinite mercy had kept me on.

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## ABSTRACT

Lagos, since its annexation by the British in 1861, has remained Nigeria's economic centre. Existing studies on Lagos have focused on its transformation and growth, particularly its economic prominence and political development, with little attention to the interplay of migration and infrastructural development particularly between 1899 when Lagos became a sanitary district and 1999 when a new democratic administration was inaugurated. This study was, therefore, designed to examine the role of population growth, occasioned by urban migration, in the development of Lagos metropolis, with a view to demonstrating its influence on infrastructural development.

The study adopted the historical approach. The interpretive design was used. Primary data including archival materials and oral interviews were used. Archival materials including intelligence reports, Colonial Secretary's Office papers, government gazettes, and speeches of key government functionaries were obtained from National Archives, Ibadan and Lagos State Records and Archives Bureau. Oral interviews were obtained from 44 selected informants aged between 37 and 96 years for their knowledge of the Lagos metropolis. Secondary data including journal articles, books, theses and periodicals were obtained from libraries in Lagos, Ibadan and Ago Iwoye. The data were subjected to historical analysis.

The colonial apathy to the development of an area beyond the exploitation of its resources was demonstrated by Britain in the growth of Lagos. By the last decade of the 19th century, Lagos had developed cosmopolitan features, which attracted migrants. The increased commercial activities in the colony encouraged population growth. The passing of the Township Ordinance of 1917 that rated Lagos as first-class created a Town Council, which sought to enforce strict building regulations. This forced many residents to move away from the metropolis to the suburbs. The existence of suburban settlements increased the population and encouraged the expansion of Lagos metropolitan area. Following the outbreak of influenza and bubonic epidemics between 1924 and 1926, the government proposed to develop residential areas to reduce the congestion on the island. Urban infrastructural development, however, suffered neglect from the overlapping functions of agencies in Lagos before the state creation in 1967. From 1967, it became necessary to merge the existing planning authorities to address inadequate facilities in the metropolis. This led to the formation, in 1972, of the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation. The agency developed about 1500 housing units between 1972 and 1979. This achievement however failed to ameliorate the acute housing deficit in Lagos. In 1980, the state government embarked on a mass housing programme to build 50,000 units annually. The plan was truncated by the military intervention of 1983. From the military era through the 1990s, access to land was eased to encourage citizens to build their own houses. Slums were also upgraded and abandoned housing projects were revived.

The increasing wave of migration into Lagos gave rise to population growth and urban congestion.

The absence of a comprehensive planning in the suburbs of Lagos created haphazard physical development within the metropolis.

**Keywords:** Urban migration in Nigeria, Population growth in Lagos, Lagos metropolitan development

**Word count:** 485

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJHC	-	African Journal of History and Culture
AJSS	-	Journal of Social Sciences
CSS	-	Canadian Social Science
CSSH	-	Comparative Study in Society and History
DCS	-	Developing Countries Studies
EJBE	-	Eurasian Journal of Business and Economics
EJSD	-	European Journal of Sustainable Development
IFRA	-	French Institute for Research in Africa
IJMh	-	International Journal of Maritime History
IJSR	-	International Journal of Science and Research
JAH	-	Journal of African History
JARA	-	Journal of African and Regional Affairs
JESWR	-	Journal of Environmental Science and Water Resources
JHSN	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
JPAS	-	Journal of Pan African Studies
LCC	-	Lagos City Council
LASPOTECH	-	Lagos State Polytechnic
LASRAB	-	Lagos State Records and Archives Bureau
LEDB	-	Lagos Executive Development Board
LSDPC	-	Lagos State Property Development Corporation
LTC	-	Lagos Town Council
MJSS	-	Mediterranean Journal of Social Science
NAI	-	National Archives Ibadan

- NISER - Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research
- NTDA - New Towns Development Authority
- OJAD - Open Journal of Architectural Design
- SERAC - Social and Economic Rights Action
- UNFPA - United Nations Fund for Population Activities

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background to the study**

Urbanisation or increase in the population of an urban area is a historically and geographically diverse global process. The process of urbanisation is often enhanced by population growth, migration and infrastructure resulting in the development of villages into towns, cities and metropolis. This work examines the population factor and infrastructural development, particularly housing, in the urbanisation of, and emergence, of Lagos, Nigeria's economic hub and Africa's fastest growing city.<sup>1</sup>

From British incursion and until 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1991, Lagos served as the Federal Capital city of Nigeria during which it transformed to a massive urban centre attracting dense population and complex infrastructure. The colonial government acknowledged the primacy of Lagos when it developed the city as the seat of Colonial administration, the terminus for the railway which opened up the agriculture of Central and Northern Nigeria to the export market and as the nation's major port.

The importance of Lagos as a major trading post preceded the European incursion. Lagos was founded by Awori migrant farmers from Ile Ife who settled at Iddo as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> It is recalled at this point that the Yoruba who dominate the South Western part of Nigeria is a migratory race. The people were said to have originated from Upper Egypt or Nubia where they were subjects of Nimrod, the Egyptian conqueror who was of Phoenician origin. They were said to have taken part in Nimrod's Wars of conquest as far as Arabia where they settled. They were reportedly driven out of Arabia because of their idolatry practices at a period their neighbours were accepting Islam and its message of monotheism<sup>3</sup>. From Nubia, the Yorubas migrated to Ile-Ife at the beginning of the second millennium where their proficiency in pottery and smithery encouraged the emergence of Ogun, one of the deities in their pantheon of religions. Talbot (1926) reported that the Yoruba came in from the north-east at the beginning of the millennium

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<sup>1</sup> Report and Summary of Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Lagos State Economic Summit. (Ehingbeti 2008). July 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Agiri, Babatunde & Barnes, Sandra. 1987. Lagos before 1603. Adefuye, A. Babatunde, A. & Osuntokun, J. (eds.) 1987. *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*. Ikeja: Lantern Books. pp18-21

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, R.S. 1921. *The History of the Yoruba: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*. London: Lowe and Brydon Limited.

followed by the Bariba (Borguwa), the Bussawa, Tapa (Nupe) and others including the Jukuns.<sup>4</sup> The migration to Ile-Ife marked the beginning of further dispersals of the Yoruba race to many locations in the South Western part of what became Nigeria, From Ile-Ife that now stood as the cradle of the Yoruba, many groups, including the Awori embarked on movements to found new settlements perhaps to stem conflicts among the expanding populations or desires by the emerging leaders for empire-building. The period of internal warfare in Yoruba land led to a large scale forced migrations towards large towns and settlements along the route to the coast. The Awori who founded Lagos were followed by people from Egbado, Ijebu and outlying territories who were attracted by the slave trade at a time it was the favoured destination for slave trade particularly during the period between the abolition of slavery in 1807 and the British occupation of Lagos with the sole aim of stopping the slave trade in 1851.<sup>5</sup> The British government in that year attacked Lagos on the account of dealing with Oba Kosoko, an acclaimed slave dealer and installed Akintoye whose son, Dosunmu ceded Lagos to Britain ten years later.

Before the British incursion on what later emerged as the Nigerian state, the area comprised of diverse groups at different stages of growth. The political landscape had been shaped by integral parts of kingdoms and empires as well as many units or regions resisting their annexation by a fledgling empire<sup>6</sup>. In Lagos, the wealth accrued to the royalty from the Trans-Atlantic slave trade had evoked contention for political control by the ruling dynasties. It is remarkable to note that this agitation provided the basis for the British intrusion and control of Lagos which ultimately culminated in the crown colony administration in 1861. The Crown colony expanded and Lagos became a major British Atlantic trading post under the British rule. From this time to the eventual National Independence and disengagement of the Colonial powers, Lagos underwent series of changes until 1967 when a Lagos state was created as a federating unit of the Nigerian nation.

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<sup>4</sup> Talbot, P.A. 1926. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (4<sup>th</sup> vol). London: Humphrey Wilford.

<sup>5</sup> Fapohunda, J.O. and Lobell, H. 1978. Lagos: *Urban Development and Employment*. Geneva: ILO. p.1

<sup>6</sup> Okonkwo, E.C. Elimian, A. E. Uchenna, G. Chinwuba, I. 2015. The Politics of State Creation and National Integration in Nigeria. *Journal of Politics and Law* Vol. 8. No 1. p. 115.

## ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL RULE

The enthronement of Akintoye after the bombardment of 1851 provided the British the needed opportunity to further her commercial interest that had been masked by the expressed mission to end slave trade. Kosoko had been a hindrance to this objective. It can be deduced that Britain had colonialism behind its anti-slavery effort as shown in its earlier appointment in 1849 of John Beecroft a trader as a Consul for the Bight of Benin and Biafra.<sup>7</sup> It was obvious that the British annexation was a long-planned venture as Beecroft was reportedly sighted at Badagry shortly before the bombardment and he, it was, and that took Akintoye under security cover to his headquarters in Fernando Po. The British consulate emerged after the bombardment. It is noteworthy that the cession treaty emphasised getting British citizens' the right to trade in any items of their choice and the right of the missionaries to preach<sup>8</sup>

Colonial administration began in 1861 with the appointment of H.S. Freeman as the Governor of the colony. Freeman began the expansion of British frontiers with the extension of control to the free ports of Badagry, Lekki and Palma.<sup>9</sup> British commercial interests thereafter needed no pretext. To deter the French that had come as close to Apa, a neighbouring town to Badagry, an article of the treaty signed with Badagry Chiefs in 1852 to abolish slave trade asking the chiefs: "Not to either show any favour nor grant any privileges to traders and ships of other countries which they did not grant to England".<sup>10</sup>

Further to this, Badagry was made the headquarters of a new protectorate, the Western district of the Lagos colony. This protectorate demonstrated the British desperation to penetrate the hinterland through Yoruba land with its base in Lagos. The territories of Lagos that formed the British protectorate in 1851 became the settlement of Lagos by 1862 and the following year a Governor was appointed in the person of Captain John Glover who was reputed to have

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<sup>7</sup> Dioka, L.C. 2001. *Lagos and Its Environs*. Lagos: Genius Press. p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> Dioka, L.C. 2001. .

<sup>9</sup> The British was forced to recall Kosoko when he was found to be diverting Lagos trade to Epe.

<sup>10</sup> NAI. CSO 5/1 Vol. 2. 13th June 1862.



embarked on the provision of infrastructure that aided the urbanisation process of Lagos effecting the necessary repairs to the customs pier built in 1860:<sup>11</sup>

Governor Glover founded the settlement at Ebute Metta on the mainland as a refuge for the Egbas who fled from Abeokuta, in an attack on their town by the warlike Dahomeans. This settlement was square gridiron layout, very much in the tradition of Roman town planning and not in any way outstanding: nevertheless, it was a great improvement on the completely disordered character of indigenous Lagos at that time.<sup>12</sup>

Colonialism notwithstanding, Lagos had its primacy unquestioned all through the ages from the colonial imposition in March 1861 to being a unit of the Government of the West African settlements in 1866, a segment of the colony of gold Coast in 1874, a colony in 1886, (See Fig.1) part of the colony and Southern protectorate of Nigeria in 1906 and the seat of the colonial administration prior to the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914. In all these, and up to the end of the Second World War when Lagos became the hotbed of Nigerian nationalism, the agitation for its autonomy was an issue that pervaded the polity.

This agitation was not peculiar to Lagos as demands for state creation are as old as the Nigerian state. Nigeria had been, before colonialism, a cocktail of different tribal groups at different levels of political growth. The concept of nation as people born of common origin became as elusive as seeking a globally accepted explanation of the term. While a nation has been seen as “a large group of people seeking to form a single and exclusive community desiring to be an independent State”,<sup>13</sup> the state is described as a political unit of people in an identified space organised for a common goal of welfare of its members, maintaining law and order and relating with similar external group.<sup>14</sup>

Nigeria, it must be understood, is made of more than 250 ethnic groups with the three major ones namely Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo subsuming the minor ones. The present nation has its roots in the British need for raw materials and markets for its home industry as well as a sphere of influence overseas. The emerging nation was seen at its establishment as a political contraption

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<sup>11</sup> At this time ships had to anchor outside the Lagos bar and cargo brought inward by surf boats.

<sup>12</sup> Akinsemoyin, Kunle & Vaughan-Richards, Allan. 1976. *Building Lagos*. Lagos: F & A Services.

<sup>13</sup> Coleman, J.S. .1963. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 422.

<sup>14</sup> Akindele, S.T. 2000. *The Subject Matter of Political Science*. Ibadan: College Press & Publisher.

designed by the British imperialists for the exploitation of its economic potentials to the benefits of their home government.<sup>15</sup>

By 1900, there were three separate territories under British control namely the Niger Coast Protectorate or the Oil Rivers Protectorate created in 1891, by the colony of Lagos which was ceded to Britain in 1861 and the Territory of the Royal Niger Company declared as the Northern Protectorate with the appointment of Sir Frederick Lugard as the High Commissioner. The desire for administrative convenience in ruling the ethnic political units informed the amalgamation of both Northern and Southern Protectorates to form the Nigerian state in 1914.<sup>16</sup> This gave rise to opposition by minority ethnic groups resisting domination by major groups: The demands of the minority for separate States were borne out of fears that the majority was likely to exclude or shortchange them in the distribution of the nation's resources.<sup>17</sup>

The British apathy to the development of a colonised area beyond the exploitation of its resources was demonstrated in the growth of Lagos at its annexation. Lagos never became a fully colonial city and there was never any mass European settlement even as commerce expanded in the backdrop of a new sense of security that drew large numbers of migrants, from the hinterland and neighbouring countries. This migration contributed, in no small measure, to the expansion of the city's frontiers and the building of new settlements and quarters to accommodate the new arrivals.

Under the British rule, the Crown colony expanded and Lagos became a major British Atlantic trading post.<sup>18</sup> A steamer service began in 1853 between Lagos and England. This was followed in 1881 by the establishment of a bank, commencement of telephone service in 1882 and a Chamber of Commerce in 1884. This marked the beginning of infrastructural development of

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<sup>15</sup> Adesuwa, S. 2011. *Yoruba Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. A paper presented at Olojo Cultural Lecture Series, at Hilton Hotel, Mayfair Ile-Ife, October 26th.

<sup>16</sup> Falola, T. et al .1991. *History of Nigeria 3: Nigeria in the Twentieth Century*. Lagos: Longman. p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Owoeye, J. 2000. *The Subject Matter of Political Science*. Ibadan: College Press & Publishers.

<sup>18</sup> LASRAB. RAM 1.1.25. Extent of the Settlement of Lagos. (RAB000092) 17/08/1887.

the city.<sup>19</sup> The establishment of British rule and the cessation of the slave trade encouraged a rise in the population of Lagos in the backdrop of the return of emancipated slaves from Brazil, Cuba and Sierra Leone and migrants fleeing from the war-wearied communities of Yoruba land. With this increase in population came spatial expansion. From an estimated population of 28,518 in 1871 on a land area of 4km<sup>2</sup>, the population grew to 126,108 in 1931 on 62.8km<sup>2</sup>. Lagos was reported to have grown at a rate of 3.3% per annum between 1901 and 1950 which rose to 18.6% between 1950 and 1963. (See Table 1.1)

**Table 1.1: Population and area Growth of Lagos 1866 - 1963**

Year of Census	Area Km <sup>2</sup>	Total Population	Intercensus Increase	Annual Growth Rate
1866	3.97	25,083	-	-
1871	3.97	28,518	1.7	0.6
1881	3.97	37,452	46.8	3.9
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	2.4
1950	69.68	230,256	82.6	3.3
1952	-	341,569	232.6	11.5
1963	-	1,136,154	-	-

**Source:** Population Census of Lagos, 1950 and Ayeni. 1981. Lagos. Pacione, M. *Problems and Planning in Third World Cities*. London: Croom Helm. Pgs 127 - 155.

The population of Metropolitan Lagos had reached 346,137 by 1952.<sup>20</sup> This is partly explained by the expansion of the metropolis to include some rural settlements on its fringes. Because the expansion of the metropolitan Lagos informed the absorption of isolated villages in the erstwhile suburban areas, it added the provision of social facilities to the increasing challenges of the municipal government. The expansion also explained the steady rise in the population of the metropolis as the Lagos city continued to remain an attraction for job-seeking migrant population from the hinterland particularly from the Western part of the country. This accelerated rural-

<sup>19</sup> J.O. Fapohunda and H Lobell. 1978. *Lagos: Urban Development and Employment*. Geneva: ILO. p.1

<sup>20</sup> George, C.K. 2007. *Lagos: The Challenges of Urbanisation in Nigerian Urban Centres: The Lagos Mega-City Situation – A Town planner’s Perspective*. Lagos: Libro-Gem Books..

urban migration into Lagos was noted between 1953 and 1963<sup>21</sup> at the dawn of a new independent nation. It was at this period, too, that the inadequacy of urban infrastructure and social services began to be observed with the massive population increase.<sup>22</sup>

The rapid industrial development in Lagos after 1950 not only witnessed an unprecedented increase in population growth but also in the extension of the continuous built-up area beyond the limits of the municipality. The growth in population from the rapid industrialisation gained momentum after independence in 1960 and was underscored by the fact that nearly 40 percent of installed industrial capacity and employment in the country was accounted for by the Lagos Metropolis.<sup>23</sup> The creation of twelve states from the existing four regions, too, also expanded the political boundaries of Lagos.

Before the creation of states, some parts of the Western Region, including Ikeja that became the capital of Lagos State had a concentration of industries because of its proximity to the Lagos Port.<sup>24</sup> The expansion of Lagos municipality and the political, economic, industrial and social importance of Lagos as the Federal Capital encouraged massive influx (See Table 1.2) so much that the attendant urban problems informed the movement of the Federal seat of government. The shift of the Federal Capital to Abuja in 1991 has, however, not checked the population growth, decaying urban infrastructure, emergence of slums, urban governance and institutional deterioration that led to the consideration of the shift in the first place. While it has been noted that the inadequacy of urban facilities in the midst of a massive growth in population up to the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century<sup>25</sup> remained a feature of Lagos, it must be acknowledged that the existence of these infrastructure, too, contributed in the first place, to its urbanisation process.

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<sup>21</sup> Uyang, J. 1982. *Towards a Nigerian National Urban Policy*. Ibadan: University Press.

<sup>22</sup> Olukoju, Ayo. 2010. "Lagos, Nigeria" in *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Sage Publications [www.sagepub.com](http://www.sagepub.com)  
Accessed on line on 04-04-2016.

<sup>23</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1976. *Cities and African Development*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, p.33

<sup>24</sup> Badejo, B. 1999. *Urban Settlements and Developments*. . Balogun, Odumosu and Ojo (eds.) *Lagos State in Maps*  
Ibadan: Rex Charles Publications. p. 50

<sup>25</sup> Olukoju A. 2010. "Lagos: Nigeria."

Table 1.2 Lagos Metro Area Populations 1964-1999

Year	Population	Annual Change
1964	1021000	6.46
1966	1135000	4.49
1968	1239000	4.52
1970	1353000	4.51
1972	1477000	6.36
1974	1671000	6.34
1976	2010000	6.35
1978	2274000	6.36
1980	2572000	6.37
1982	2909000	6.32
1984	3291000	6.37
1986	3723000	6.37
1988	4212000	6.36
1990	4764000	6.36
1992	5318000	4.95
1994	5752000	4
1996	6223000	4.01
1998	6731000	4.02
1999	7000000	4

Adapted from <https://www.macrotrends.net/Cities/22007/agos/population>

The expansion and the attendant rapid population growth in Lagos has been a consistent feature of urbanisation process in the city from the dawn of colonial rule and legitimate trade in the twilight of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, an era that encouraged a massive influx of migrants from the hinterland and neighbouring countries. This influx, in the aftermath of the merger of the Northern and Southern protectorates placed so much pressure on available urban infrastructure particularly housing and sanitation that a Newspaper was prompted to advocate a measure to reduce or stop the migration of those it called “indigent persons which had grave consequences for the city’s development if not carefully handled”.<sup>26</sup> The formation and growth of slums in Lagos metropolis has been one of the “grave” consequences in the urbanisation process of Lagos metropolis. George (2016) notes that the rapid population growth in Lagos Metropolis created

<sup>26</sup> Nigerian Pioneer (NP). July 1, 1915.

many problems for the urban area including shortage of housing and the failure of the city to adapt to the features created by the influx of migrants<sup>27</sup>.

Lagos, in terms of administration, has never been a single municipality. The Urban Greater Lagos is actually made up of 16 of the 20 separate local council areas forming Lagos State that provides governance for the Metropolitan region. The metropolis includes Ikoyi, Victoria Island and Lagos Island, which were formerly under the Lagos City Council (LCC) that was dissolved after the Local government reforms of 1976 which divided the territory into several Local Government Areas including Lagos Island, Eti Osa and Lagos Mainland.

Outside Lagos Municipality, the Mainland is made up of several towns and settlements like Mushin, Itire, Onigbongbo, Ikeja and Agege. These outlying settlements were forced by the oil boom of the 1970s to experience economic growth and population explosion on heels of massive rural-urban migration. This formed the human factor in the growth of the contemporary Metropolis summed up by Agbola (1977) as the complexity that made it a Metropolis.<sup>28</sup>

By the end of this study in 1999, metropolitan sub-region of Lagos State has extended from the city core, Lagos Island and the Mainland to include suburbs like Ojo, Ikotun, Egbe, Agege, Alimoso, and Ketu<sup>29</sup> among others covering sixteen out of the twenty Local Government Areas in the State (Fig. 1). While the region is urban in nature, being a zone of high development pressure, it is noted that it also accommodates semi-rural settlements like Isheri, Badore, Ikota and Ilasan at its fringes as well as uncontrolled development that has spilled into emerging settlements in the neighbouring Ogun State. Because the metropolis accommodates much of the nation's manufacturing companies<sup>30</sup>, the problems of infrastructural shortage and decay, over population, growth of slums and inadequate housing become more pronounced.

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<sup>27</sup> George, C.K. 2016. *Urbanisation and the Lagos Mega City*. Lagos: Libro-Gem Ltd. p.4

<sup>28</sup> Agbola, Tunde. 1997. *The Architecture of Fear: Urban Design and Construction Response to Urban Violence in Lagos, Nigeria*. Ibadan: IFRA.

<sup>29</sup> The Ketu here, in Kosofe Local Government, is different from the two other towns of the same name in Ejirin, Epe Local Government and Badagry Local Government.

<sup>30</sup> Report of Ehingbeti 2008

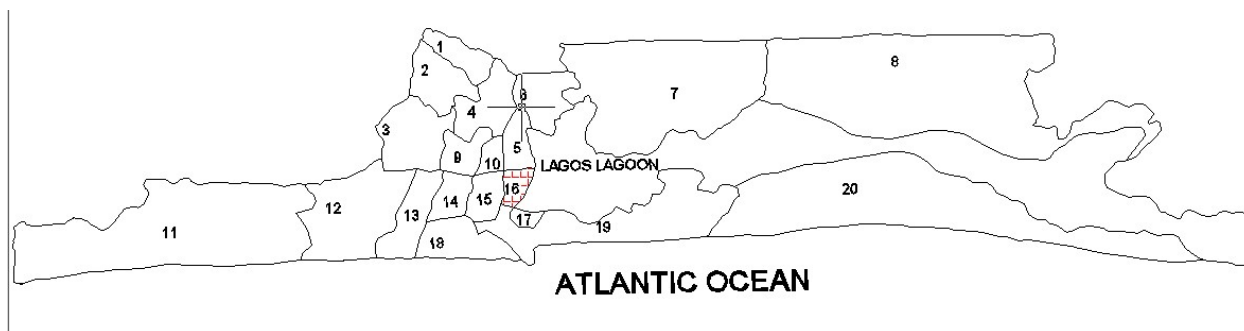


Fig. 1: Map of Lagos State showing the 20 Local Governments

1-Agege 2-Ifako- Ijaye 3-Alimosho 4-Ikeja 5-. Shomolu 6-Kosofe 7-Ikorodu 8-Epe 9-Oshodi-Isolo 10-Mushin 11-Badagry 12- Ojo 13-Amuwo Odofin 14-Ajeromi Ifelodun 15- Surulere 16 Lagos Mainland 17-Lagos Island 18-Apapa 19-Eti Osa 20-Ibeju-Lekki

The Metropolitan Areas only exclude 7, 8, 11 and 20

Source: Lagos State Map, 2010

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The contemporary history of Lagos is replete with the fallouts of the city's urbanisation process and the development of urban sprawls that dominate the story of its physical growth. Scholars have shown much interest in the various aspects of its 'evolving' change such that many of these studies reflect the multi disciplinary perspectives of the metropolis.

The study of the evolution of Lagos has evoked interests beyond history as aspects of its growth continue to be the focus of various works. The peculiarity of the concept of urbanisation in African and other third world nations has encouraged in-depth studies on the colonial impact and the management of urban facilities.<sup>31</sup> Also of significant interest to scholars is the twin problem of population growth- Fapohunda, (1985), McCall, (1955), Mabogunje, (1976) and Coquery-

<sup>31</sup> See Drukakis. Smith. 1987. Rakodi.1997. and Freund. 2007.

Vidrovitch, (1991) as well as infrastructural development - Mabogunje (1968), Fapohunda, (1978), Olukoju, (2003), among others.

Despite the varied studies of examining the various stages of urbanisation in the various stages in the growth of Lagos, population growth and its impact on the provision and maintenance of urban facilities has been insignificant in extant studies. The growing concern about the blooming population has always been seen as only a pointer to the absence of a national population control programme. The role of Lagos as the national and regional hub of economic growth since the pre-colonial era exposes it to varied influx with the attendant problems of urban governance. This is more appreciated in the fact that the first semblance of local government administration began in Lagos. Studies on the economic development of Lagos as the nation's engine room have often shied from the impact of migration and the declining quality of municipal government in the city.

The participation of the three arms of government in the infrastructural development of Lagos metropolis has made the input of the local government, the last link with the people often distorted. Beyond the bureaucracy, too, is the issue of inter-group relations among the city's population as migrants' fear investing in infrastructural development because of the 'indigene' question.

This study's multi-disciplinary approach and focus find justification in Coquery-Vidrovitch's (1991) explanation that such approach in the study of urbanisation process should go beyond subject areas like history, geography, demographics, economics, political science, architecture and town planning as well as anthropology and sociology.<sup>32</sup> Aderibigbe (1975) also counsels that "The historian who seeks to study the extent of human settlement in Lagos by the middle of the nineteenth century without the aid of other disciplines like geomorphology and ecology is literally treading on a sinking ground."<sup>33</sup> The study, therefore, seeks to examine the urbanisation process in the emergence of Lagos metropolis with an in-depth understanding of how migration and urban governance have shaped its infrastructural development. With this in mind, it goes a

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<sup>32</sup> Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. 1991. The Process of Urbanisation in Africa (from The Origins to the beginning of Independence). *African Studies Review*. Vol. 34 No 1.

<sup>33</sup> Aderibigbe, A.B. 1975. Early History of Lagos to About 1850. Aderibigbe, A.B. (ed) 1975. *Lagos. The development of an African city*. London: Longman. p.18.



step from other studies to highlight pitfalls of the urban transformation of Lagos and the models for sustainable development of the metropolis in spite of the burden of its migrant population as a contribution to knowledge.

### **Statement of the Problem**

While the growth of Lagos metropolis in the economic development of Nigeria has been acknowledged, the array of environmental challenges arising from this growth could be a disincentive for future development in the face of its unending population growth. These include the overcrowding and unplanned human settlements worsened by sprawl development occasioned, in turn by rapid population growth, poor sanitation in the growing slums and blighted areas and the threats to land use by human activities.

The recurring problem in the development of Lagos metropolis is the benefit or effect of migration and the attendant population growth on the provision of urban facilities particularly housing. At every stage of its emergence, the question of uncontrolled population growth and its effects manifest in the development and sustenance of Lagos metropolis.

The need for a historical appraisal of the urbanisation process in the emergence of Lagos metropolis informed the focus of this work. Nevertheless, an in-depth look at its population dynamics and the development of urban infrastructure, particularly housing, may reveal the hidden cost of its growth. The starting point for this is the theoretical consideration of the concept of urbanisation.

William Hance (1970) posits that understanding the reasons for urban growth in Africa would require a focus on factors like “economic change, growth or political and administrative bureaucracies, migratory trends and traditions, and conditions in the rural regions”<sup>34</sup>.

Urbanisation has been described as a reflection of as well as a tool to measure socio-economic changes in the society.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> William, Hance. 1970. *Population, Migration and Urbanisation in Africa*. New York: Columbia University Press, p.236

<sup>35</sup> Akunnaya, P. O. and Adedapo, O. 2014. Trends in urbanisation: Implication for Planning and Low-income Housing delivery in Lagos, Nigeria. *Architecture Research* 4(1A) 15-26.

Urbanisation or what constitutes an urban area lacks a definite description but the concept has varied definitions as various disciplines see it from the perspective of their courses.<sup>36</sup> Population, however, forms the bases of nearly all forms of definition of the concept of urbanisation. While it is seen as “a process of population concentration” somewhere,<sup>37</sup> it is described elsewhere as “the process whereby human beings gather in relatively large number at a specific space on the earth’s surface”<sup>38</sup>. United Nations describes urbanisation as a movement of people from rural to urban areas with population resulting in a migration or the growth of urban areas in the aftermath of global change.<sup>39</sup>

Gyabash (2006) defines urbanisation as “the result of social, economic and political developments contributing to urban concentration and growth of large cities, changes in land use and development from rural to metropolitan areas”.<sup>40</sup> From whatever perspective it is considered, urbanisation is often seen more in human content than its material content.<sup>41</sup> The fact that population dynamics are among the key features to consider when discussing development, the commonest way of measuring urbanisation is the size of a national population that lives in urban places.<sup>42</sup> Population is also seen as a crude index of prosperity synonymous with stability and security in the urbanisation process.<sup>43</sup> The population factor in urbanisation is further stressed by its description as a process of population agglomeration . . . and a structural change in the form of settlements.<sup>44</sup> This agglomeration is demonstrated in the growth of cities.

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<sup>36</sup> Onokerhoraye, A and Omuta, G. (eds). 1986. *Urban Systems and Planning*. Benin: University of Benin.

<sup>37</sup> Oluwasola, O. 2007. *Social Systems, Institutions and Structures: Urbanisation, Poverty and Changing Quality of Life*. A paper delivered at a Training Session of the Foundation for Environmental Development and Education in Nigeria.

<sup>38</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1968. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*. London: University of London Press.

<sup>39</sup> UNFPA. 2007. State of World Population.

<sup>40</sup> Gyabash-Nsiah, J. 2006. *Urbanisation Processes–Environmental and Health Effects in Africa*. Panel contribution to a Cyber Seminar on Urban Spatial Expansion.

<sup>41</sup> Ajayi, J. 2006. *Human Factor in Urbanisation*. Tijani, I. (ed) *Nigeria’s Urban History – Past and Present*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

<sup>42</sup> Champion, T . 2009. *Urbanisation, Suburbanisation, Counter urbanisation and Reurbanisation*, in *Handbook of Urban Studies*. Sage Publications. Accessed online on 04-04-2010.

<sup>43</sup> Livi-Bacci, M. 2001. *A Concise History of World Population*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. p.1

<sup>44</sup> Sada, P.O and Adefolalu, A.A. 1995. *Urbanisation and Problems of Urban Development*. Aderibigbe, A.B. *Lagos – The Development of an African city*. Lagos: Longman.p.79

Cities, like the idea of urbanisation, too, have varying definitions, depending on the socio-economic background of the region. Drakakis-Smith (1987) argues that urbanisation process transcends simple population growth as it entails a thorough study of the related economic, social and political transformations.<sup>45</sup>

While Obateru (2003) defines a city on the basis of its size, legal status or socio-cultural characteristics,<sup>46</sup> Sjoberg (1965) describes it as a community that accomodates a various types of non-agricultural individuals including literate elite.<sup>47</sup>

While Sjoberg's (1965) definition stresses the economic attributes of a city, Wheatley's (1991) definition of urbanism captures the remarkable social and political changes inherent in the emergence of cities which, he argues, results in integrated institutions designed five thousand years earlier to enhance transformation of simple groups into socially-structured and territorially defined societies .<sup>48</sup>

V. Gordon Childe (1950) identifies distinct features of cities that include:

- a. Size: settlements were significantly larger in population size than anything that had existed previously.
- b. Structure of the population: transition from the agrarian mode.
- c. Public capital that would encourage the erection of monumental public buildings
- d. Trade: Establishing and maintaining a network of trade routes, described as an urban innovation, re-aim the hallmarks of urbanisation<sup>49</sup>

Towns and cities are seen as symbol and index of economic development among developing regions of the world including Africa where new cities in the early days of colonialism represented a reaction of contact with the West.<sup>50</sup> Because cities are seen as symbols of economic growth and sustainable development, they are expected to function as socio-economic and cultural centres shaped by urban population. The influx of skills into the city is expected to be an assured human capital reservoir as cities have always been focal points for economic

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<sup>45</sup> Smith, D.D.1987. *The Third World City*. New York: Methuen Co.

<sup>46</sup> Obateru, O.I. 2003. *The Yoruba city in History – 11<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present*. Ibadan: Penthouse Publications.

<sup>47</sup> Sjoberg, G. 1965. *The Origin and Evolution of Cities*. *Scientific American* Vol. 213, Nos. p.55.

<sup>48</sup> Wheatley, P. 1971. *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, xviii

<sup>49</sup> Childe, V.G. 1950. *The Urban Revolution*. *Town Planning Review* 21: 3.17.

<sup>50</sup> McCall, D. 1955. *Dynamics of Urbanisation in Africa*. American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

growth and social development. It is, however, of concern that rapid urban growth in the developing countries particularly the sub-Saharan Africa has overwhelmed the ability of many cities to provide the required infrastructure and basic services necessary for development.<sup>51</sup>

The emergence of distorted urban and regional patterns has been linked to the three phases of change in the Global system. The first is the development of Third world economies as producers of raw materials and markets for the finished products of industries of developed countries. Secondly, is the emergence of award-oriented industrialisation and modernisation policies, generally known as the import-substitution process. Finally, there is the newly emerging effort to encourage the development of exports, both manufactures and raw materials as part of a so-called New International Division of Labour.<sup>52</sup> Cities around the globe demonstrate various characteristics, economic structures, stages of infrastructure, patterns of growth and degrees of planning. The rapidly expanding cities of developing countries are denied the benefits of these characteristics as pressure of urban migration affects the most important need of man after food, housing.

## **OBJECTIVES OF STUDY**

Much has been written on the primacy of Lagos, its historical and economic as well as political development. This study is intended to be an in-depth discuss of how the population of Lagos, migration and infrastructural development has contributed to the urbanization process and the development of Lagos metropolis between 1899 when the first attempt at local government was made and 1999 when the nation witnessed a transition to another democratic experiment. While the importance of urbanisation is acknowledged, it must be noted that the process is usually accompanied by rapid growth in such scale that strains the ability of local, state and even national governments in providing services like water, housing, roads and even sewerage.

This state of affairs encourages urban sprawl, infrastructural decay, growth of slums and misplacement of priorities in fiscal planning as well as erosion of the principles of metropolitan governance. This study aims to be a holistic historical examination of the process of urbanisation

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<sup>51</sup> Cohen, B. 2006. Urbanisation in developing countries: trends, future projections and key challenges for Current sustainability. *Technology in Society* No.28.

<sup>52</sup> Allan Gilbert E. and Guggler, Josef. 1992. *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanisation in the Third World*. New York: Oxford University Press. p.47.

in Lagos since urbanisation itself is a form of metropolitan growth, in response to socio-economic and political factors as well as the physical geography of an area. The objectives of this study, therefore, are to, among others:

- a. Contribute to the growing knowledge on urban and social history of Lagos by filling the void on the effect of migration on infrastructure development of Lagos.
- b. Analyse the input of migration into the spatial expansion of fringes of the Lagos metropolis.
- c. Examine why despite its economic development and abundance of human resources, Lagos is still faced with the problems of congestion and urban sprawl.

## **SCOPE OF STUDY**

### **LAGOS METROPOLIS**

Lagos is an African megacity in Southwest Nigeria. It shares border in the North and East with Ogun State, in the West with the Republic of Benin and the South by the Atlantic. It is the smallest in size but the most urbanised and populated in Nigeria with an estimated population of about 12 million which is more than a tenth of the total population of Nigeria, Africa's most populous country<sup>53</sup>. Until 1861 when it became a British Colony, Lagos was a small fishing settlement noted as an important centre for slave trade on the West African Coast.<sup>54</sup> It is necessary, at this point, to explain what constitutes the Lagos Metropolis, the area of focus of this work.(See Fig 2)

Lagos Metropolis is located on the South Western coast of Nigeria along the Bight of Benin. It has a long history predating colonial era since the 15th Century when it started as a trading centre and seaport.<sup>55</sup> The primacy of Lagos city was inherent in its adoption as the seat by the British Colonial powers and as the major port through which the nation's agricultural products would be exported. In this position in the colonial economy coupled with the development of the

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<sup>53</sup> Iwugo, K.O. et al. 2003. *Aspects of Land based Pollution of an African Coastal Megacity of Lagos*. Paper presented at Diffuse Pollution Conference. Dublin.

<sup>54</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1976. *Cities and African Development*. Ibadan:Oxford University Press. p.32

<sup>55</sup> Akunnaya, P. O. and Adedapo, O. 2014. Trends in Urbanisation: Implication for Planning and Low-Income Housing Delivery in Lagos, Nigeria. *Architectural Research*.4 (1A):15-26.

seaport and the construction of railway intended to exploit the agricultural potentials of the hinterland, Lagos was poised to attain other modern functions including industrialisation<sup>56</sup>.

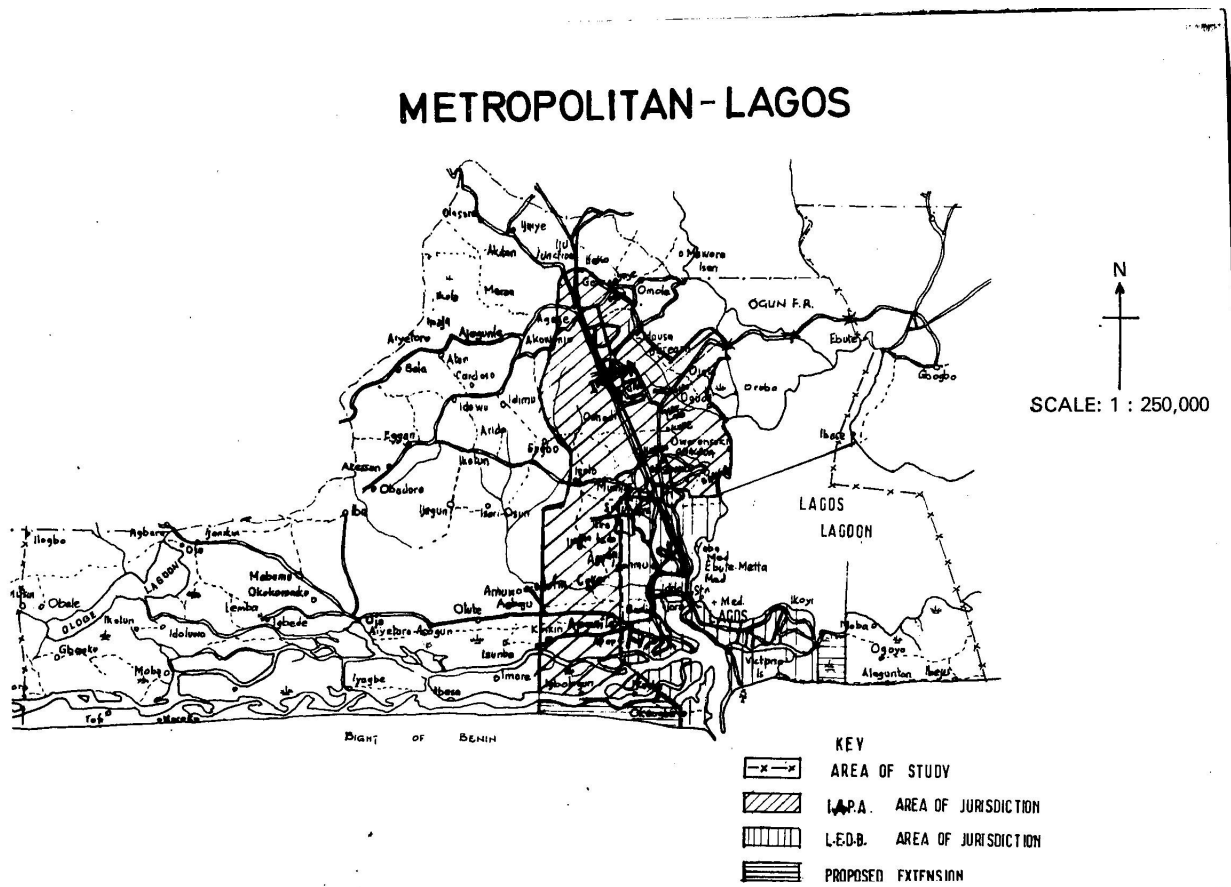


Figure 2: Study Area

The Lagos metropolitan area has been described as “starting from the Atlantic Ocean in the South and spreading Eastwards, Westwards and Northwards including within it eighteen of the twenty Local Government Area of Lagos State and another four Local Government Areas of Ogun State”<sup>57</sup>. It is noteworthy that this expansion was anticipated in the Master plan for Metropolitan Lagos (1980–2000) where it was suggested that it would ultimately expand to as

<sup>56</sup> Fapohunda, O. and Lobelli, H. 1978. *Lagos: Urban Development and Employment*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation. Pg. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Yussuff, L. et al. 2014. Socio-Economic Attributes of Residents of Slum and Shanty Areas of Lagos State, Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol.5No.9.

far as Ikorodu on the Northern fringe, parts of Badagry in Western corridor and parts of Ogun State<sup>58</sup>.

From the topic, it is obvious that the study focuses on population growth alongside the development of urban infrastructure, particularly housing in Lagos, Nigeria's most urbanised metropolis. The study has as its core the demographic contribution to the urbanisation of Lagos metropolis from its initial growth from Lagos Island and its expansion to include neighbouring suburbs as well as the "encroachment" on the corridor of the neighbouring Ogun State.

Because the metropolis is the Nigeria's economic hub and Africa's fastest growing city, Lagos has a growth rate that is creating an unmet demand for urban infrastructure. This work stresses on the response to this demand. The problem inherent in urbanisation is not peculiar to Lagos alone but shared with many other large metropolises in the developing world from which Lagos can learn about urban governance.

Considering the unreliability of available population figures and the intrigues that have attended population census in the country, it would be difficult to have figures that are sacrosanct and acceptable. The beginning of the period of study was chosen to reflect the commencement of the first semblance of local administration in Nigeria with the inauguration of a Municipal Sanitary Board in 1899 to 1999 as a watershed of urban governance with the working of new civil administration's operation of 57 local councils.<sup>59</sup> The choice of the period of the study underscores the need to examine urbanisation of Lagos and the factors for its growth even before colonialism as well as contemporary urban governance. One likely limitation to the study is the dearth of primary information on migration and the workings of local or municipal administration. Sources may want to avoid discussing their roles as public officials. This will however be surmounted through the consultation of memoirs, public documents as well as reports of inquiry into various aspects of governance.

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<sup>58</sup> Wilbur Smith Associates. 1980. *Masterplan for Metropolitan Lagos, 1980-2000*. Vols 1 & 11.

<sup>59</sup> This has been a subject of litigation, as the 1999 Constitution only recognises 20 local governments.

## CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

### THEORIES OF MIGRATION

Migration is described as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people over a significant distance.<sup>60</sup> It is an element which determines population growth and population structure in an area. Migration is one of the dynamic aspects of change in population coming closely after fertility and mortality. It is thought to affect the distribution of the population rather than its size.<sup>61</sup> While its definition is more arbitrary than those of fertility and mortality, the nature and causes of migration have changed considerably over time. Because migration is seen as a complex phenomenon, many writers including Ravenstein (1889), Lee (1966), Todaro (1969) and Massey (1993) have attempted to theorise migration patterns, how and why people move.

Ernest Ravenstein, an English geographer, widely regarded as the earliest migration theorist, used census data from England and Wales in 1889 to formulate his “Laws of Migration”.<sup>62</sup>

Highlights of the laws suggest that:

- Most migrants move close to their home..
- There is a process of absorption, whereby people immediately surrounding a rapidly growing town move into it and gaps they leave are filled by migrants from more distant areas and so on until the attractive force (pull factors) is spent.
- There is also a process of dispersion, which is the inverse of absorption.
- Each migration flow produces a compensating counterflow.
- Long-distance migrants go to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.
- Natives of towns are less migratory than those from rural areas.
- Females are more migratory than their male counterparts.
- Economic factors are the main cause of migration.

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<sup>60</sup> Amaral, E.F.L. 2018. Theories of Migration. A Course manual. Texas A&M University. p2

<sup>61</sup> Menard, Scott and Moen, Elizabeth . (eds). 1987. *Perspectives on population – An introduction to concepts and issues*. New York: Oxford University Press.p. 290.

<sup>62</sup> Ravenstein, E.G. 1889. The Laws of Migration. Journal of Royal Statistical Society. Vol.52 No 2 (June 1889) pp241-305.



Ravenstein submitted that migration was ruled by a “push-pull” process in which unfavourable conditions like oppressive laws, heavy taxation or inclement weather in one place “push” people out, and favourable conditions elsewhere “pull” them.

While Ravenstein’s laws still have some significance today as most migrations are for economical reasons, technology has rendered some of the laws untenable in the modern world. His idea that migration occurs in steps is no longer feasible as rural migrants looking for employment migrate to the metropolitan area where they know jobs are available.

Everett Lee in 1966 proposed a comprehensive theory of migration. Lee’s migration model accounts for push-pull factors and intervening obstacles in order to predict migration patterns. It advocates the idea that intervening obstacles can block migration to certain areas, while push and pull factors can promote migration out of an old area to a new one. Push and Pull theory holds that the reasons for migration and immigration are because people can improve their living conditions through migration. Rural to urban migration is the most popular internal migration and occurs mostly in less developed countries.

The Harris and Todaro theory (1969) is considered one of the points to begin of discussing the classical rural –urban migration. It suggests that migrants react to economic incentives, earning differentials and the possibility of getting a job at destinations which influence the migration decision.<sup>63</sup>The main idea of the Todaro model is that migration is mostly an economic decision which an individual finds rational even with the existence of urban employment. The model states that urban-rural differences in expected incomes rather than actual earning leads to migration. It seeks to account for migration from rural areas to cities even when employment opportunities in urban areas are low, arguing that migration is seen as an individual investment, increasing the probability of obtaining better employment with a higher wage.

Wallterstein (1974) in his World System theory attempted to link the development process of the countries with international migration. The theory insists that the root cause of migration is the

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<sup>63</sup> Espindola, Aquino,L, Iveira, J.S and Penno, T.J.P.2006.A Harris-Todaro Agent-Based Model to Rural-Urban Migration. British Journal of Physics. Vol.36, No.3A. Pp. 603-609.

existence of unequal development between the central developed countries and the peripheral agricultural countries.<sup>64</sup>

The US Bureau of the Census distinguishes between migrants and movers. Migrants are held to be persons who move to a new community; movers are those who move to a new household within a community. Another distinction is made between, international migrants, persons who move between nations and internal migrants, those who move within a nation.<sup>65</sup> Migration is viewed as any permanent change in residence that involves “the withdrawal from the activities at one place and the shift of such activities to another centre”.<sup>66</sup>

While this aspect of dynamic change in pre-colonial Africa has been deliberately down-played by the colonialists, it has been ascertained that the traditions of origin of most African peoples stressed migration and intergroup relations<sup>67</sup>. Population movement in Africa is historical and has been a major feature of the societies. People had been on the move for reasons ranging from the search for new grazing lands for their cattle, better soils for farming or fleeing attacks by stronger neighbours.<sup>68</sup> While there is a dearth of statistical information on migration in Africa and indeed Nigeria, the scope and direction of this population movement have been acknowledged:

By and large.... the groups involved in these movements, whether internal or inter-territorial originate in areas that are remote from markets, where the economy is predominantly of the subsistence type, and where opportunities to earn cash are rare.<sup>69</sup>

Population movements in the Southwestern part of Nigeria, according to Adepou (1975) predate the colonial incursion:

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<sup>64</sup> Walterstein, I. 1974. *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.

<sup>65</sup> Heer, David M. and Grigsby, Jills. 1992. *Society and Population*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. p.62.

<sup>66</sup> Goldschewer, Godwin. 1971. *Population, Modernisation and Social Structure*. Boston: Little Brown. p. 64.

<sup>67</sup> Ajayi, J.F. 1988. *Historical factors in Regional Integration: Population Movement and Exchange in Pre-colonial Africa*. Proceedings of the World Bank workshop on Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa (AIT) 2012.

<sup>68</sup> Guglier, J. and Flanagan, W.G. 1978. *Urbanisation and Social change in West Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 54.

<sup>69</sup> Singer, H.W. 1964. Demographic factors in Sub-Saharan Economic Development. M.H. Herskovits and M. Hdrwitz (eds): *Economic Transition in Africa*. London. p. 242.

Migrations during the pre-colonial period took the form of sporadic, massive movement and were demographically undifferentiated. These were “political” or forced movements of population, and, unlike economic-motivated migrants who predominate in subsequent periods, political migrants usually migrate under compulsion as members of a group.<sup>70</sup>

Migration and its variables have been explained by the ‘push-pull’ model attributing population movements to factors like land shortage, famine, insecurity that force people to seek greener pastures elsewhere mostly in commercial centres like Lagos that offer better opportunities of life.<sup>71</sup>

Migration has also been identified as a contributor to urbanisation and urban poverty as many Migrant communities rise in slums as such areas remain the first destinations for internal and intra-regional migrants, thus adding into the “urban divide” that characterises many of Africa’s urban areas.<sup>72</sup>

## **URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE**

Infrastructure is the basic facilities, services and installations required for the functioning of a community or society. The urban infrastructure of roads, housing, bridges, transit systems, communication systems, power lines, gas supplies, street lighting, water mains, sewers and drains is crucial not only to economic efficiency and productivity but also to public health, safety and the quality of life.<sup>73</sup>

According to Hirschman (1958) and Mabogunje (1974) infrastructural facilities are those basic services without which primary, secondary and tertiary productive activities cannot function<sup>74</sup>. Infrastructural facilities, in its wider sense include all public services from law and order through education and public health to transportation, communications and water supply.<sup>75</sup> Kehn (1979)

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<sup>70</sup> Adepoju, J.A. 1975. Urban Migration in South-West Nigeria: Origin and Contemporary Patterns. Internal Migration in Nigeria. Proceedings of the Seminar on Internal Migration in Nigeria. University of Ife.

<sup>71</sup> Gattawa, M.M. 2007. *A study of the Expansion of Hausa Migrants in Lagos State. 1861-2007*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Usmanu Danfodiyo University. May 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Awumbila, M. 2014. Linkages between Urbanisation, Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty outcomes in Africa. IOM. World Migration Report 2015, Migrants and Cities: New Partnerships to manage mobility.

<sup>73</sup> Knox, P. and McCarthy, L. 1997. Infrastructure in Planning Process. Town and Country Planning Summer School. University of London. p. 445

<sup>74</sup> Hirschman, A.O. 1958. *The Strategy of Economic Development*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

<sup>75</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1976.

describes infrastructural facilities as “the package of basic needs that a community must procure for a better living.”<sup>76</sup>

Soyinka et al (2016) define infrastructure as “a network of basic facilities and services that are interrelated and provide adequate environment for human living”<sup>77</sup>. Urban services and infrastructure services have been of great concerns in contemporary writings on the fast growing urban population in cities of the developing world particularly in Africa including Lagos, Nigeria. Urban services and infrastructure have been of great concerns in contemporary writings on fast-growing urban population in cities of the developing world particularly in the sub-Saharan Africa including Lagos, Nigeria. Nigerian cities, particularly Lagos, are characterised by inadequate infrastructure. In these urban centres the demand for potable water is hardly met while flood water control is often absent in urban roads that are themselves inadequate, much of the intra-city and intercity roads, where they are available have been reported to be in varying degrees of disrepair<sup>78</sup>. Much of the lapses in the urbanisation of the Nigerian space have been attributed to urban population continuously fuelled by unending migration. Nigerian urbanisation is said to face major gaps including a mismatch between levels of urbanization and available resources and that between spatial distribution and fiscal allocation to maintain available infrastructure in the urban areas.<sup>79</sup>

Besides reported mismatch between various levels of urbanisation and resources, there is also identified mismatch in the spread of settlements in the country created by colonial policies that discriminated against areas that did not produce exports or minerals. The co-existence of the traditional and modern sectors remained a paradox as the modern sector provides employment in industries, banking and finance that ensured that its beneficiaries live in modern houses with much of the needed urban infrastructure. In many Nigerian cities, there are usually two distinct Central Business Districts (CBDs). The modern CBD is usually located in the city centre while

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<sup>76</sup> Kehn, A. 1979. *Social Policy and Social Sciences*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Random House.

<sup>77</sup> Soyinka, O. et al. 2016. Assessing Smart Infrastructure for Sustainable Urban Development in the Lagos Metropolis. *Journal of Urban Management*, Volume 5, Issue 2. pg. 52-64.

<sup>78</sup> Report on State of Lagos Megacity and other Nigerian Cities. 2004. Lagos Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. P.8

<sup>79</sup> Report on State of Lagos Megacity and other Nigerian Cities. 2004. p. 4

the traditional CBD is usually located close to the palace of traditional ruler. Here we find in the native quarters people characterised by low-paying jobs expected in the informal sectors.

Here, too, is one of the problems of urbanisation in Nigeria, urban poverty. This problem reflects level of unemployment. Urban poverty is not a recent development in metropolitan Lagos which had since the pre-colonial era remained the attraction of rural population.

Poverty is a global phenomenon affecting more than one billion people though its incidence and prevalence varies in different regions of the world. Poverty, according to the United Nations, indicates unmet human needs. . It is generally believed to emanate from a lack of income or assets.<sup>80</sup> Ogundele (1992) describes it as a State of general powerlessness, the “inability to exact a positive influence on the physical and social economic environment to one’s benefit.”<sup>81</sup> There is said to be a correlation between urbanization and poverty in Third world countries where it is suggested that the poverty level rises with urban development<sup>82</sup>

In 1935, the colonial authorities attempted to investigate the problem of unemployment in Nigeria with emphasis on Lagos by setting up a committee that directed those without jobs to report to government office. About 4000 people reported. Much of those that reported were migrants<sup>83</sup> into the city. More than sixty years later the question of migration still impacted on urban growth and infrastructural development as the poverty level in Metropolitan Lagos in 1997 is deemed high because of its dense population and high rate of urbanization. About 53% of the population is said to live below the poverty line. (See Table.1.3)

Table 1.3 Percentage of Headcount, 1996/97

	Non-Poor %	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	% Poor
Lagos State	47	29.4%	23.6%	53.0
National Urban	41.8	33.0	25.2	58.2
National Rural	30.7	38.2	31.6	69.8
National Male-Headed Household	41.5	33.5	25.0	58.5
National Total	29.3	36.3	34.4	70.7

Source: FOS, 2001

<sup>80</sup> UNCHS. 1996. An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>81</sup> Ogundele, O.T. 1992. The Marginalised Urban Dwellers: Planning Issues and Challenges.LASPOTECH Inaugural Lecture Series No.3.

<sup>82</sup> Ariyo, A. 2004. p.32.

<sup>83</sup> Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Question of Unemployment. Nigeria sessional paper 46 of 1935

## HOUSING

The United Nations defines Housing as:

residentialneighbourhood, micro-district or the physical structure that mankind uses for shelter and the environs of that structure, including all public services, facilities, and equipment needed for the well-being of the family and the individual.”<sup>84</sup>

Agbola (2005) describes a house as “economic resource providing space for production and access to income-earning opportunities.<sup>85</sup> He argues elsewhere (1989) that the house is thus an institution designed for a set of purposes.<sup>86</sup>

“If provision of shelter is the passive function of house, then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of a people-in other words, a social unit of space. A house is a human fact, and even with the most severe physical constraints and limited technology, man has built in ways so diverse that they can be attributed only to choice which involves cultural values.<sup>87</sup>

Olayiwola (2012) takes this further describing house as “the buildings and the environment in which man is situated together with the structural facilities that make living in such buildings or houses convenient.<sup>88</sup>

Rapoport (1969) describes houses as expression of changing values, perceptions, images, and ways of life of a people.<sup>89</sup> Nubi (2015) subtly shares Rapoport’s position by stating that the house and the environment on which it stands have profound influence on human health, efficiency and satisfaction.<sup>90</sup>

Renaud (2004) however attributes the housing problem in Nigeria to finance arguing that a city is a reflection of the way its houses are financed. He explains that a well-structured housing finance system will ensure the city grows in an orderly manner while incremental development in the absence of mortgage and construction finance creates slums and turn cities to a permanent construction site.

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<sup>84</sup> United Nations. 2006. *UN-HABITAT at a glance*.

<sup>85</sup> Agbola, S.B. 2005. *The Housing Debacle*. Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of Ibadan, August4, 2005.

<sup>86</sup> Agbola, S.B. 1989. *An Introduction to the Types of Housing Units in Nigeria*. Agbola, S.B. (ed) *Real Estate Investments in Nigeria*. London: Linneet Paul Publication. P.8-12.

<sup>87</sup> Agbola, S.B. 2005. *The Housing Debacle*.

<sup>88</sup> Olayiwola, L.M. 2012. *The Journey through the Corridor of Housing*. Inaugural Lecture delivered Nov.13,2012

<sup>89</sup> Rapoport, Amos. 1969. *House Form and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

<sup>90</sup> Nubi, T. G. 2015. *Beyond Bricks and Mortar*. Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of Lagos.Sept.9<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

Agbola (2015) attributes the problem of housing in Nigerian urban centres to factors including poor policy formulation, ill-conceived laws and projects, shoddy execution of programmes and policy summersaults.<sup>91</sup>

While Todaro (1997) agrees that increase in population and accelerated rural-to-urban migration are responsible for the expansion of urban shanty towns, he argued that part of the blame rested with the governments of developing countries whose misguided policies on urban planning and their outmoded building codes that make many of the houses in the urban areas illegal.<sup>92</sup>

Housing goes beyond the provision of shelter as it fulfils man's social needs for privacy, protection against hostile physical forces and disturbances. It also serves as the man's abode for a meaningful procreation and generating social relationships. This is the first need of urban migrants on arrival into the city from the rural region. Housing is perhaps the greatest of the challenges emanating from rapid but unplanned urbanisation in cities of developing countries where settlements are crucial elements of contemporary urbanisation.<sup>93</sup>

The United Nations takes the idea of housing beyond the concept of shelter when it defines it as:

the residential environment, neighbourhood, micro-district or the physical structure that mankind uses for shelter and the environs of that structure, including, all necessary services, facilities, equipment and devices needed for the physical health and social well-being of the family and the individuals.<sup>94</sup>

Migration however impacts an area by changing its population and affecting the value of its real estate market.<sup>95</sup> The Net migration, defined as gross in-migration minus gross out-migration, is reflected in the increased population and the demand for housing services.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Agbola.S.B. 2015. The Housing Debate.

<sup>92</sup> Todaro, Michael.P. 1997. Urbanization, Unemployment and Migration in Africa: Theory and Policy. Economic Development, 6th Edition. New York & London: Longman.

<sup>93</sup> Morakinyo, Kolawole Opeyemi *et al*, Urban Slums as Spatial Manifestations of Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study of Ajegunle Slum Settlement, Lagos, Nigeria. in *Developing Country Studies*, Vol.2, No.11, 2012.

<sup>94</sup> As quoted by Francisco Bolaji Aboosedo, in a paper titled 'Housing in Lagos Megacity – Improving Liveability, inclusion and Governance at the International Conference on Building Nigeria's Capacity to implement Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Lessons Learned, challenges and the way forward, Abuja. 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, September, 2006.

<sup>95</sup> Muth, Richard. 1968. Urban Residential Land and Housing Markets. Perloff, H.S. and Wingo, L.Jr. *Issues in Urban Economics*. Johns Hopkins Press. pp.285-317.

<sup>96</sup> Downs, A. 1969. Housing the Urban Poor: The Economics of Various Strategies. *American Economic Review*. September 1969. pp. 646-651.

The Housing market, being a heterogeneous one, is often subjected to various conditions of demand and supply. This is the challenge Lagos faced as the nation's most urban state with about 80% of its nearly 12 million inhabitants living in the metropolis. The old socio-economic opportunities of the emerging mega-city have become a burden of urban crisis characterised by over-stretched infrastructure, teeming population and deteriorating institutions and governance. With this overview of the state of Lagos' urbanisation process and its prominence in the nation's socio-economic profile, the effect of urban migration and infrastructural development should be understood in its perspectives.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The methodology of this research includes the use of primary and secondary data. The Primary data include oral interviews and use of primary documents. Fieldwork was carried out among many communities in Lagos Metropolis.

The study adopted the historical narrative and analytical approaches. Primary data based on oral interviews and use of primary documents was obtained during the fieldwork from 44 select key informants aged between 45 and 96 years across the various strata of the Lagos metropolis. The informants were purposely selected from sectors related to the focus of the study including traditional chiefs, generations of migrant families, property developers, town planners' surveyors, government officials, officers of community development association (CDAs) and indigenous residents in Lagos Island and Lagos mainland that formed the core of the metropolis. The interviews were conducted in the major languages of the area, English and Yoruba, according to the educational level of the interviewees. Oral traditions and evidence obtained were interpreted and analysed. Secondary sources made up of a large number of library based works including journal articles, books, periodicals and well as unpublished theses, dissertations and long essays were obtained from University libraries in Lagos, Ibadan and Ago Iwoye.

Archival materials including intelligence reports, colonial secretary's office papers, government gazettes, and speeches of prominent public officials were also obtained from National Archives, Ibadan and Lagos State Records and Archives Bureau (LASRAB). Relevant information was analysed and interpreted.



## LITERATURE REVIEW

Urbanisation is a global process with a fluid definition representing the multi-disciplinary approach to its understanding. While Bocquier (2002) sees the concept in the light of “the spread of capitalism across the world,”<sup>97</sup> Mabogunje (1968) describes it as “the congregation of large number of people at a particular spot of the earth’s surface.”<sup>98</sup> Definitional complications aside, Mabogunje (1968) posits that no formal theory exists in urbanisation even as Miner argues that the demographic conception of urbanisation is widened by other uses of the term and its recognition as a social process that has transformed man’s way of life. Davis, commenting on “The urbanisation of the Human Population” in Monard and Moen (1987), demonstrates that urbanisation and growth of cities occurred together. Miner<sup>99</sup> (1967) argues that urbanisation is both a prerequisite and a product of industrialisation but notes that people had come together in communal life without the benefit of industrialisation – a subtle hint on the nature of urbanisation of developing nations. This view is shared by Oni, who notes that urbanisation in the third world is characterised by cities growing at twice the rate of population. Oni adds that Africa has the highest urban growth in the world which impacts greatly on government resources to provide social services and infrastructure.

The growth in urban population in Africa is a common concern among works on the urbanisation process in the developing world. McCall (1955) Mabogunje (1976) see the constantly increasing urban population and movement of people into towns and cities as “the most spectacular event on the continent”. The reason for this urban drift is proffered by Rakodi (1997) who suggests that the largest cities serve as “national and regional engine-rooms of economic development, centres of technological and cultural creativity as well as dwellings of the deprived and the sources of environmental pollution”.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Bellagio, P. 2002. *Analysing Urbanisation in Africa: from the lack of definition to their renewal*. Paper delivered at a Seminar on New Forms of Urbanisation: Conceptualising and Measuring Human Settlement in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. Italy.

<sup>98</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1968. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*.

<sup>99</sup> Miner, H (ed). 1967. *The City in Modern Africa*. New York: Frederick Praeger Publishers.

<sup>100</sup> Rakodi, C. (Ed). 1997. *The Urban Challenge in Africa – Growth and Management of its large cities*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Gugler (1966) traces the urban history of Africa to long-distance trade noting that until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, cities were located where trade arrived at a major natural obstacle like the Sahara desert or the coast<sup>101</sup> while O'Connor identifies six types of African Cities:

1. Indigenous cities such as those of the Middle Nile, Ethiopia and the West African Coast which tend to be well-integrated with their immediate hinterland;
2. Cities influenced by Islam such as those of the Western Sudan and the Swahili Coast with their distinctive architecture;
3. Colonial cities characterised by sharp contrasts between functional and residential zones, the latter segregated initially by race, then increasingly by class;
4. Settler cities which were intended to be European towns and pushed racial segregation to extremes – they were subject to rapid transformation as colonies become independent and majority rule was achieved in South Africa;
5. Dual cities constituted of physically separate parts which represent different city types e.g. an Islamic city and a colonial city – while they are interdependent, each has a full range of urban functions and develops in its own way; and
6. Hybrid cities which combine indigenous and alien elements and integrate them to a large extent, rather than juxtaposing them as in the dual city.<sup>102</sup> Mabogunje (1976) posits that modern industrial cities in Africa “stimulate greater local manufacturing of goods”<sup>103</sup> an acknowledgment of the United Nations assertion that cities attract migrants with the promise of higher living standards.

United Nations also affirms that the ability of cities to function as socio-cultural and economic hubs is often informed by population dynamics.<sup>104</sup> Cohen (2006) and Hance (1970) are unanimous that African cities, particularly capital cities like Lagos are the intellectual and social capitals, the seats of government and the main foci of political activities.

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<sup>101</sup>Gugler, J. 1996. Urbanisation in Africa South of the Sahara; New Identities in Conflict. Gugler, Josef (ed) *The Urban Transformation of the Developing World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>102</sup> O'Connor. Anthony M. 1983. *The African City*. New York: Africana Publishing Company.

<sup>103</sup> Mabogunje. 1976.

<sup>104</sup> United Nations. 1996. *State of World Population Report*.

Studies have shown that the main attraction to urban migrants is the availability of infrastructure described by Ledj (1978) as comprising the basic services and public utilities essential to the commodity producing sectors of the economy.<sup>105</sup> Ademoye (2007) defines infrastructure as physical structures and installation established by a country for facilitating its agricultural, industrial and commercial production, rendering social services and maintaining the security of the community.<sup>106</sup> Ledj (1978) in making a distinction between economic and social components of infrastructure notes that the core of economic infrastructure is made up of transport, communication, power supply while social infrastructure includes housing and medical services.<sup>107</sup> The contemporary state of infrastructural development in developing nations particularly in the face of population dynamics has not failed to attract scholars in the urbanisation process of the region. Hoselitz (1953) explains that cities in developing countries are built in response to a local division of labour and the nations' integration into global economy.<sup>108</sup>

Oyesiku (2004) states that the overwhelming decline in the quality of services in urban areas occur when pressure is created by population growth amidst scanty investment on infrastructure.<sup>109</sup> This view is shared by Gordon (1996) who observes that governments in the developing world that are already constrained for resources find it difficult to maintain even the current stock of houses, infrastructure or services while other sectors of the economy compete for attention.<sup>110</sup> This is further justified by Livi-Bacci (2001) who reports<sup>111</sup> that recent studies have shown that the theory that rapid demographic growth alters the size of public spending favouring "social investments" especially education at the expense of investment in fixed capital.

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<sup>105</sup> Mountjay, L. 1978. London: The Third World Problems and Perspective.

<sup>106</sup> Adewoye O. 2007. Abuja: *Human Capacity building in engineering infrastructure*. A paper presented at the International Conference of the Nigeria Society of Engineers.

<sup>107</sup> Mountjay, L. 1978.

<sup>108</sup> Hoselitz, B.F. 1953. The role of cities in the economic growth of underdeveloped countries. *Journal of Political Economy*. 61. P. 195-208.

<sup>109</sup> Oyesiku, D.K. 2004. Town and Country Planning Law and Administration in Nigeria. Agbola, Tunde (ed), *Readings in Urban and Regional Planning*. Lagos: Macmillan.

<sup>110</sup> Gordon, A. 1996. Population Growth and Urbanisation. Gordon, A. and Gordon, D (Eds). *Understanding Contemporary Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>111</sup> Livi-Bacci, M. 2001. *A Concise History of World Population*.

Barnes (1986) attributes the rising population urban centres of Africa to the complacency of African public officials who were contented with the disparity in living conditions created by the departing colonial bureaucrats:

Nowhere were political, economic, and ethnic group cleavages more striking than in the cities. The coming together of elites and massive in Africa's new states was largely an urban phenomenon. National leaders lived and worked primarily in capital cities and other major urban centres where state institutions were located. Large numbers of workers from diverse backgrounds were attracted to these same places in search of economic opportunities and the freedom of urban living. Yet the very nature of urban development contributed to the gulf between the ordinary citizens and the officials of the state. The two most prominent features in this respect were the rapidity and the volume of population growth<sup>112</sup>

Mabogunje (1968) observes that the population pressure on the facilities that were inadequate has resulted in squatter settlements, overcrowded housing and environmental degradation adding that massive emigration has manifested in disrepair and dilapidation in houses.<sup>113</sup> The importance of population growth in the urbanization process of Lagos has been the focus of many studies. Aderibigbe (1975) reports that the diverse population of Lagos was the foundation on which the city was built<sup>114</sup> while Lawal<sup>115</sup> explains further that this diverse, population shaped the direction of the city's socio-cultural, economic and political development. The argument of Cole<sup>116</sup> that Lagos has always had non-natives in its populace from the beginning is buttressed by Lawal's assertion that the city's transformation to a modern metropolis is inherent in the settler's friendly disposition to strangers.<sup>117</sup> Olukoju attributes the rise of Lagos to commercial pre-eminence to steady increase in its population<sup>118</sup> while Danmole<sup>119</sup> and Aderibigbe<sup>120</sup> trace its

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<sup>112</sup>Barnes, S. T. 1986. *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p.3

<sup>113</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1978. Towards an Urban Policy in Nigeria in Sada. P.O. and Oguntoyinbo J.S (eds) *Urbanisation Processes and Problems in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press.

<sup>114</sup> Aderibigbe, A.B. 1975. Early History of Lagos to About 1850 in Aderibigbe. A.B. (ed) Lagos. *The development of an African City*. Lagos: Longman Nigeria.

<sup>115</sup> Lawal, K. 2004. Lagos. Background to Urbanization: Lagos Society Before 1900 . Lawal, Kunle (ed), *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanization and change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman Nigeria.

<sup>116</sup> Cole, P.D. 1975. Lagos Society in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Aderibigbe. A.B. (Ed) Lagos. *The development of an African City*

<sup>117</sup> Lawal, K. 2004.

<sup>118</sup> Olukoju, A. Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos: c1900 – 1939. Lawal. Kunle. 2004.

population to the Islamic revolution in Hausa land and the collapse of the Oyo Empire. Danmole notes that the influx of European merchants seeking to exploit the resources of the Lagos hinterland contributed to its cosmopolitan outlook. Mabogunje notes that Lagos, which had a “very placed existence” until the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century had an influx of freed slaves and slavers, the Brazilian and Saro returnees which, added to increasing commercial and industrial activities that encouraged a ‘phenomenal’ growth in its population.

The impact of trade and industry on the population growth in Lagos is also acknowledged by Olukoju who observed that “the post-war made the city an irresistible attraction to hinterland dwellers”.<sup>121</sup> Infrastructural development in the emergence of Lagos as a pivotal centre in the development of the Nigerian nation has not been overlooked by scholars from various disciplines. Lawal argues that the transformation of Lagos from a swampy terrain to a metropolis necessitated infrastructures to facilitate the colonial urbanisation process,<sup>122</sup> a position supported by Akinyeye who observed that the introduction of Postal Service in Lagos in 1852 reflected the British colonial government’s strategic commercial interests in Lagos.<sup>123</sup> Obateru sees the completion of the Lagos port in 1904 as the beginning of the economic expansion of Lagos<sup>124</sup> while Olayiwola and Olaleye trace the government involvement in infrastructural development to the 1917 promulgation of the Township ordinance which ensured the provision of these facilities in first class towns like Lagos harbouring many Europeans.<sup>125</sup> Danmole traces physical development by the Colonial government to the onset of the Clifford Constitution when “infrastructural facilities” were put in place following agitations for improveg living conditions of the people.

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<sup>119</sup> Danmole, Hakeem. 2007. *Lagos: Its metamorphosis from a settlement to a Megacity*. 14<sup>th</sup> Convocation Lecture of Lagos State University, Ojo.

<sup>120</sup> Aderibigbe, 1975.

<sup>121</sup> Olukoju. A.O. 1991. *Maritime Trade in Lagos, 1914–1950; its Nature and Impact*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Ibadan.

<sup>122</sup> Lawal, K. 2004.p.15

<sup>123</sup> Akinyeye, O.A.2004. Communication Services in Lagos 1852 – 1902. Lawal, K. (ed) 2004.p.25

<sup>124</sup> Obateru, Oluremi. 2003. *The Yoruba city in History – 11<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present*. Ibadan: Penthouse Publications.

<sup>125</sup> Olayiwola, L.M. and Adeleye, O.A. 2005. Rural Infrastructural Development in Nigeria between 1960 and 1990 – Problems and Challenges. *Journal of Social Science*.11 (2).

The rapid population growth in Lagos metropolis has over time posed problems in the urban area, including pressure on the land, shortage of housing and growth of slums, declining urban governance as well as the failure of the urban community to adapt to changing situations prompted by the urban migration to existing infrastructure.<sup>126</sup> Olukoju (2009) notes that the inadequacy of urban facilities in the face of increasing population has been a long standing feature of Lagos down to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. He points out that the gap between the demand for and supply of water, electricity and municipal transport facilities has not been filled.<sup>127</sup> Fapohunda links the problems of the provision of infrastructure to that of urban economic base citing the overdependence of cities on central government for development.<sup>128</sup>

Ariyo (2004) describes urban governance and municipal management as plans, policies, plans and programmes that seek to ensure that the size of population in a metropolis is matched by availability of basic infrastructure.<sup>129</sup> His study notes that while the access to these facilities would depend on private efforts and initiatives the issue of governance is highlighted by suggestions that the public sector impacts greatly on these initiatives. Ariyo's position is buoyed by Koenigsberger et al's (1964) identification of problems of Metropolitan Lagos as including competition for land, shortage of housing, growth of slums community neglect and absence of metropolitan government. They argued that these problems had been outcome of, or have been worsened by the rapid rise in population of metropolitan Lagos.<sup>130</sup> This much is confirmed in the Preliminary Master Plan of the Lagos Metropolitan Area (1965 – 1985) drafted by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) which notes that the area (as at 1964) was deficient in all the necessary services like water supply sewage and drainage facilities, refuse disposal and to a lesser extent, power supply.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> George, C.K. 2009. *The challenges of Urbanisation in Nigerian Urban Centres: The Lagos Megacity Situation – A Town Planner's Perspective*. Lagos: Libro Gem Books.

<sup>127</sup> Olukoju, A. 2003. *Infrastructure Development and Urban Facilities in Lagos, 1861 – 2000*. Ibadan: IFRA Occasional Publication No 15.

<sup>128</sup> Olukoju, A. 2003. *Infrastructure Development and Urban Facilities in Lagos, 1861 – 2000*: Ibadan, IFRA Occasional Publication No 15.

<sup>129</sup> Fapohunda, O.J. 1985. *The Informal Sector of Lagos*. Ibadan: UPL.

<sup>130</sup> Ademola, A. 2004. *NEPAD City Programme – Profile of Lagos City Nigeria*. A study commissioned by UN Habitat Nairobi Kenya for the Lagos State Government.

<sup>131</sup> Koenigsberger, O. et al. 1964. *Metropolitan Lagos*. A Report prepared by the UN Technical Assistance Board for Ministry of Lagos Affairs.

Mabogunje, while arguing that urbanisation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria<sup>132</sup> notes the failure of the urban centres to fulfill the needs and expectations both of those who live in them or depend on them. Mabogunje complements Koenigsberger's observation on the growth of slums as well as "massive emigration resulting in a high rate of disrepair and dilapidation".<sup>133</sup> The inadequate investment in infrastructure and services is noted by Oyesiku who attributes this to the pressure created by rapid population growth that has affected the quality and quantity of such services.<sup>134</sup>

Lagos, however, had not always been in the backward in its state of urban infrastructure. Baker (1974) recalls that by 1898, the streets of Lagos were lit by electricity at a time when much of Britain was still using gas or paraffin lamps.<sup>135</sup> Miner agrees with this stand of Baker as he notes that in 1896 the surplus from the economy in Lagos had been invested in England even before the thought of loans for the development of bridges and railway were considered.<sup>136</sup> Baker adds that the opening years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the dawn of urbanisation in Lagos encouraged by "The extension of the railway, the deepening of the Lagos harbor channel, construction of the Lagos Steam Train way and the building of public facilities"<sup>137</sup>

The evolution of efficient political administrative structure remains one of the important elements of good urban governance and by extension, the development of infrastructure.<sup>138</sup> The first semblance of local governance in Nigeria by a public body was the establishment in 1899 of the General Sanitary Board, an advisory body with no staff or funds of its own. Fasinro (2004)

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<sup>132</sup> Preliminary Master Plan. Lagos Metropolitan Area, Lagos State Nigeria, 1965 – 1985. 1964. LEDB.

<sup>133</sup> Mabogunje, Akin. Towards an Urban Policy in Nigeria. Sada, P.O and Oguntoyinbo, J.S. (eds) *Urbanisation Processes and Problems in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

<sup>134</sup> Mabogunje, Akin.1978. Towards an Urban Policy in Nigeria, in Sada, P.O and Oguntoyinbo J.S, (eds) *Urbanization Processes and Problems in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

<sup>135</sup> Oyesiku, O.K. 2004. Town and Country Planning Law and Administration in Nigeria in Agbola, Tunde (ed), *Readings in Urban and Regional Planning. Lagos*: Macmillan.

<sup>136</sup> Miner, H. 1967. *The City in Modern Africa*

<sup>137</sup> Baker Pauline. 1974. *Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos: 1917–1967*. Los Angeles: University of California Press

<sup>138</sup> Baker. P. 1974.

notes that there was no statutory body charged with local governance between 1904 and 1909 as the Central Government carried out functions of local administration.<sup>139</sup>

Until the military takeover of 1966 and the subsequent creation of twelve states in 1967, governmental institutions engaged in the administration of Lagos included the Central government, constitutionally responsible for the running of the city-federal territory, the Western Region government, constitutionally responsible for the rest of the urban area, the elected Lagos City Council, established by the Federal government to undertake local activities in the city and four other district councils established by the Western Region to run local activities in parts of the metropolis as well as several public corporations and boards. Williams and Walsh (1968) note that within the city of Lagos, the national ministries had direct policy-making and operating responsibilities with the ministry of Lagos Affairs responsible for local government, land development, housing and planning as well as general co-ordination of all the activities of national authorities concerning the city.<sup>140</sup>

One area that affected the provision of infrastructure in the metropolis was the absence of healthy relationship between and among the various governmental institutions saddled with the administration of Lagos city.<sup>141</sup> It is on record that proposals for major reorganisation on a metropolitan scale were politically stalemated:

Underlying these governmental relationships is intensive conflict between those interest in the Western Region that not only oppose federalization of the portions of greater Lagos outside the present boundaries of the Federal territory but argue that all of Lagos should be returned to the western Region, and those interests within the federal government and in parts of the metropolis who want to extend the federal boundaries to encompass Ikeja, where the Western Region has concentrated much of its investment in both public facilities and industrial-commercial development.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Fashinro, H.A. 2004. *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*. Lagos: Academy Press.

<sup>140</sup> Williams, B. and Walsh, A.H. 1968. *Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers. p.54.

<sup>141</sup> Jones, G.C. and Keith, B.L. 1963. Report on the Administration of the Lagos Town Council. Lagos: Lagos Town Council.

<sup>142</sup> Williams, B. and Walsh, A.H. 1968. *Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos*. New York:Frederick Praeger Publishers. p. 54.



The flexing of muscles by the various agencies leading to conflict in their functions went on till the eve of the establishment of Lagos State as officials of the Federal Ministry of Works, according to Fasinro (2004), in their efforts at enforcing building control ended up in promoting contraventions in building laws:

In Lagos, this function was performed by Council officials with great success. At first the Ministry of Works came out with some directives as regards who should be responsible for building control in the State. An exception was made in the case of the Lagos City Council area. These officials soon found out that building operations were carried out mostly in Lagos City Council area. As usual, without further reference to the Council and without amending the Building Bye-laws for the City, the Ministry took over this responsibility, which it could not perform well because of lack of manpower. Such services are better handled by an organization, which is very close to the people. Within this period, a lot of contravention – buildings grew up to such an alarming state that it became very embarrassing for the Council to try to break them down.<sup>143</sup>”

The major concerns of reviewed works have been to explain the evolution of the urbanisation process and its pit-falls particularly in the area of congestion and environmental degradation. Most of the works also showed that population, more than any other factor, contributed to the urbanisation and its attendant consequences. This work extends the pitfalls of urbanisation beyond the provision of infrastructure to the failure or ineptitude in urban governance. This would lead to the frontier of urban decay from population dynamics to urban governance.

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<sup>143</sup> Fasinro, H.A. 2004. *Political Perspectives of Lagos*. Lagos: Academy Press. p. 182

## **POLITICAL DECENTRALISATION AND THE NIGERIAN URBANISATION PROCESS**

The development of urban centres in Nigeria has been affected much by the creation of additional units of governance. In 1960, at its independence, Nigeria comprised three regions, the Eastern, Northern and Western regional governments providing four seats of government namely Enugu, Kaduna, Ibadan and Lagos, the federal capital. The creation in 1963 of another region, Midwest from the Western region with its capital in Benin increased the number of destinations for rural-urban migration in search for waged jobs and other economic opportunities. The creation in 1967 of twelve states from the existing four regions contributed to the development of urban centres in the country in line with the 1963 census' definition of urban centres as areas with a population of 20,000 or more:

With each new state requiring the full paraphernalia of government in terms of personnel, infrastructure, jobs in government and related sectors multiplied ten-fold and there was a rush from the rural areas to the new urban centres to take up these jobs. This political-administrative decentralization also rejuvenated many semi and peri-urban centres into full fledged ones, and transformed many rural settlements into semi-urban centres<sup>144</sup>

While the unchecked urban migration has increased the environmental problems of the cities, it has also left many rural areas of Nigeria depopulated, lowered agricultural productivity, adding to the growing urban poverty, unemployment and underemployment as well as putting pressure on available urban infrastructure and utilities.

### **LAGOS AND THE BURDEN OF POPULATION**

Lagos is the smallest state in Nigeria, and yet, it is the most populated by density, with 358,861 hectares of land out of which 75,755 hectares consist of lagoons and waterways. Lagos is 0.4 percent of Nigeria but houses over 5 percent of the country's population. The city has the highest population growth in the country responsible for over five percent of the National estimate. In the early 1970s, before the oil boom era, the World Bank (1972) identified urban migration accounting for about 75 percent of the population growth of Lagos. More than 20 years later

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<sup>144</sup> Okpala, D.C.I. 1986. Institutional problems in the management of Nigerian Urban Environment. NISER Monograph series No. 15 pg. 8

Miller (1994) acknowledged the growth of migration in the urban population of Lagos. Results of the much-contested National Census of 1991 showed that Lagos state had a population of 5,725,116 out of a national estimate of 88,992,220 but the state regional master plan put the population at over 12 million people.

Okoye (1990) blames the problem of housing urban poor in Nigeria to rapid urbanisation, changes in economy and prevalence of social amenities only in urban areas that began in the colonial era when many of the cities recorded increase in population from urban migration. This, in turn, led to a need more housing which could not be met resulting in the proliferation of.<sup>145</sup>

A study commissioned by the UNHABITAT (1999) showed an annual average population growth of 3% that it found worrisome considering the land size of Lagos, its weak infrastructural base and the prevailing economic growth.<sup>146</sup>

The study characteristics of the demographic trend of Lagos as including:

- a. Highest rate of urbanisation globally at 6-8%
- b. Attained megacity status with a population of 10.2 million in 1994/95
- c. Population grew from 7.7 million in 1990 to 13.4 million in 1999
- d. Projected to become the 3rd largest megacity in 2010 with 20.19 million people
- e. The city was growing 10 times faster than New York with inherent urban crisis
- f. Faced with urban deterioration
- g. Has one of the lowest livability rating – 19 of 114 global cities.

This forms the backdrop of this study on the effect of migration on the development of urban infrastructure particularly housing.

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<sup>145</sup> Okoye, T.O. 1990. Historical Development of Nigerian Housing Policies with Special Reference to Housing the urban Poor. Philip Amis and Peter Lloyd (Eds) *Housing Africa's Urban Poor*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.73-85.

<sup>146</sup> Miller, H.M. et al. 1994. Urbanisation during the post-colonial days. Tarverr, I.D. (ed) *Urbanisation in Africa*. Green Wood Press. pp. 65-79.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COMMERCE, MIGRATION AND URBANISATION IN LAGOS, 1899 – 1960

#### Introduction

Contrary to popular notion, Lagos was not a creation of colonialism but it is clear that city's growth and development can be attributed largely to commerce and European influence. The unending controversy on the first settlers of the city has affirmed the claim of the Awori a sub-Yoruba group who migrated from Ile-Ife under Ogunfunminire, a Prince. Under divine guidance Ogunfunminire settled at Isheri on the Ogun River from where further migrations began.

Lagos lagoon had, however, been known to European traders since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century when it appeared on their maps but the town was of little consequences to them. The Portuguese and Dutch Merchants who were trading in the area with the Ijebu in cloth, slaves and ivory were also silent on Lagos but a German Surgeon Andreas Ulsheimer who visited Lagos aboard a Dutch Merchant ship in 1603 described it as a large frontier town "inhabited by soldiers who behaved in stately manner".<sup>1</sup> Ulsheimer also confirmed that the Benin soldiers met at their arrival pre-existing settlements on Lagos and Ido Islands. The two islands were some of the termini of the dispersals from Isheri which also included migrations to Awori towns like Ota, Ado (Odo), Irenpa, Ojo, Ogudu, Yaba and Ebute Meta.

The movement from Ido to Lagos Island was led by Aromire primarily for its attraction as a likely thriving farmstead and fishing settlement but the topography of the area and the protection by the lagoon from invaders might made the movement a defence or tactical move. It was also encouraged by the fear or danger of attack from the interior on extensive farms on the Mainland which were opened to hostile activities of the neighbouring groups of Ijebu and Egbado. It was reported that the fishing and farming settlement grew after the Portuguese who had reached the Bight of Benin in 1472, developed the slave trade for European markets.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Agiri, B. and Barnes, S. Lagos before 1603. Adefuye et al. 1987. *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*.pg.18

<sup>2</sup> Baker, P.H. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917 – 1967*. Los Angeles: University of California Press,

The Awori were later joined by traders from the neighbouring Yoruba towns and other ethnic groups including refugees from the Western Kingdom of Dahomey. This marked the beginnings of demographic changes that would shape the future of Lagos. With the discovery of Lagos by the Portuguese as a natural harbor as far back as 1472, the city was to become an important slave port encouraged by Oba Akinsemoyin who had come into contact with the Portuguese slave – merchants during his sojourn at Apa at a time Badagry, because of its geographical location which hid its slavery trade from the British patrol boats, was emerging as a commercial centre. On his ascension to the Lagos throne in 1704, Akinsemoyin, on the prompting of divination through an oracle performed rituals expected to make Lagos peaceful and prosperous.<sup>3</sup> It was coincidental at this point that the slave trade in Badagry was declining. Akinsemoyin deployed his earlier contacts while in exile in Badagry to enhance commercial activities that later changed the face of Lagos. He encouraged the people of Lagos to become traders rather than brokers. They went as far as Egbadò, Badagry and Ijebu to source cloth, palm oil, palm kernel and slaves which they exchanged for gunpowder, tobacco and salt from the Portuguese traders.<sup>4</sup>

### **Lagos: Its Origin and Peopling**

Pre-colonial Lagos was a swampy Island covered with dense grass. In parts it was thickly studded with villages where the indigenous people were chiefly fishermen and salt collectors. The city known as Lagos today started as a small fishing outpost of Aromire, the legendary Idejo<sup>5</sup> who opened up the Island for human habitation. During the rainy season, numerous creeks formed parallel to the main lagoon, and these were often navigable for canoes. The development of the town appears to have been influenced by geography. The location of Lagos along the coast ultimately influenced its settlement pattern, and the economic activities of its inhabitants. The early settlers of Lagos were the Awori people who had migrated from Isheri on the bank of river Ogun, about twenty miles north of Lagos to the Iddo Island around 1669<sup>6</sup>. From Isheri, where the first permanent settlement was built, the settlement pattern followed different directions. To the

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<sup>3</sup> One of the rituals intended to attract foreign traders to Lagos was the erection of a white flag at a point between the Lagoon and the Atlantic.

<sup>4</sup> See Adefuye, A. 1987. Oba Akinsemoyin and the Emergence of Modern Lagos. Adefuye et al. *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*.

<sup>5</sup> The Idejo were the children of Olofin, the founder of Lagos. Though they were subdued by the Benin imperial power, they however continue to exercise sovereign right over land and territorial right over water.

<sup>6</sup> Losi, J.B. 1914. *Iwe Itan Eko*. Lagos: C.M.S Press. p.1

west, these communities were the early settlements: Iro, Ota, Ado, Irenpa. According to J.B Wood (1933), ‘another part followed the downward course of the river till they arrived at that part of the mainland which is over against the Island of Lagos, where they built a town named Ebute-Metta – *the three landing places*.’<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, it is quite difficult to know the extent of this town, the number of its inhabitants, together with its historical character. However, from Ebute-Metta, the settlement extended southward to Iddo and Oto islands<sup>8</sup> where the first form of political organisation emerged. While some authorities claimed that Aromire led migration across the Lagoon, Losi submitted that, the settlement was his resting place after fishing expeditions to Ebute Ero lagoon<sup>9</sup>, but the first settlement on the Island was established by Aromire (The lover of water). While the Awori established the first settlement, the settlement was consolidated with the migration of the Mahin people whose settlement pre-dated the Benin conquest.<sup>10</sup>

The circumstance that led to the conquest of Lagos has been well documented elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> It suffices to say that the Benins sent series of expeditions against Iddo. These attempts were repulsed initially. Benin’s interest in Lagos could be located within the context of economic reason. Lagos was situated along the coast with direct accessibility to the Atlantic Ocean. Strategically, whoever had control of this narrow strip of land and its numerous archipelagoes would automatically have strategic advantage over the entire area. This point could be buttressed by the fact that after the subjugation of Lagos, the Benin allowed the existing political order to function with slender modifications. Their main concern, it would appear, was to extract tribute from the indigenous Awori class, who were the land owners and the Ogalade chief. The submission of Wood is quite apt in this regard:

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<sup>7</sup> Wood, J.B. 1933. *Historical Notices of Lagos*

<sup>8</sup> Lawal, O.A. 2004. Background to Urbanisation: Lagos Society before 1900. Lawal Kunle. (Ed) *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspect of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

<sup>9</sup> Losi, J.B. 1933. *Iwe Itan Eko*. p.6

<sup>10</sup> Lawal, O.A. 1991. Mahin and Early Lagos. *Odu, Journal of African History*. No.38

<sup>11</sup> Losi, J.B. 1933. See also Agiri, B. and Barnes, S. 1987. Lagos Before 1603. Adefuye, A. et al (Ed) *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*. Lagos: Lantern Books; Aderibigbe, A.B. 1959. *Expansion of the Lagos Protectorate 1863-1900*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London; Davidson, A.M. and Belano, P.A. 1954. The Origin and Early History of Lagos. *Nigerian Field*. 19 (2). Egharevba, J.A. 1960. *A Short History of Benin*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Ibadan: University Press. Lawal, O.A. 2004. Background to Urbanisation: Lagos Society before 1900. Lawal, Kunle. (Ed). 2004. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspect of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

It may fairly be presumed, that the Benin had become aware that the neighbourhood was well adapted for human settlement, and that the advantages it offered would, if they could only succeed in gaining a footing on it, sufficiently compensate them for the trouble they might be put to in order to obtain possession of it, or become joint possessors with those already on the spot.<sup>12</sup>

With the ascension of the Benin on the throne of Lagos, the stage was set for the drama that would permanently alter the historical evolution of Lagos. The first king of Lagos of Benin extraction, Ado, ascended in 1630. After the death of Oba Ado in 1669, Gabaro became the king. It should be pointed out that the succession procedures had not really crystallised before succession disputes rocked the Kingdom.

The coming of Akinsemoyin as the third King of Lagos marked a new dawn in the history of the town. The suitability of Lagos as the trade emporium has been emphasised by different scholars<sup>13</sup>. From the hinterland, captured slaves were marched to the coast through Lagos. The Island provided communication channel through water ways and creeks to Badagry and Dahomey to the west and Benin to the east. This availability of communication outlets enhanced the economic development of the kingdom.<sup>14</sup> However, by 1704, the economic status of Lagos had changed. Without prejudice to any other reason, the character of Oba Akinsemoyin was largely responsible for this remarkable improvement. It was in the reign of Akinsemoyin, 1704 to 1749 that the exportation of slaves from Lagos began. The king came into contact with the Portuguese slave dealers while he was exiled at Apa.<sup>15</sup> His interactions with them later blossomed into rewarding economic activities when he returned to Lagos from exile. This episode exposed Lagos to the world. While the economic effects of the slave trade on the economy of Lagos have received adequate attention,<sup>16</sup> it is important to emphasise the nexus between the stupendous wealth associated with slave trade and the succession crisis that later engulfed the community between 1800 and 1854.

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<sup>12</sup> Wood, J.B. 1933. *Historical Notices of Lagos*

<sup>13</sup> Baker, P. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917-1967*. U.S.A University of California Press, p.18

<sup>14</sup> Baker, P. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917-1967*. Pp. 18-20

<sup>15</sup> Lawal, O.A. 2004. Background to Urbanisation: Lagos Society Before 1900. Lawal, K. (ed.) 2004. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspect of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos*, Lagos; Longman, pp.12-16

<sup>16</sup> See Mann, Kristin. 2007. *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Before the commencement of commercial slave trade activities, Lagos monarchs relied on the goodwill of the people for sustenance. The trade network was largely controlled by the indigenous Awori elements.<sup>17</sup> The intensification of slave trade and the unprecedented increase in custom collections to the royal purse made the Lagos throne more attractive. Similar to the other Yoruba communities, the king also controlled the state finances, and it became impossible to differentiate between the king's purse and that of the state.<sup>18</sup>

The booming trade changed the economic fortunes of Lagos society. Entrepreneurs from Yoruba communities in the hinterland were attracted to Lagos to partake in the new trade. The new migrants later constituted new sets of bourgeois in metropolitan Lagos, though most of them were slaves who had been liberated as a result of British anti-slavery policy. Notable among them were Fajimilola, and Ogbeni Taiwo Conrad Olowo.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, the revenue accruing from the trade made the throne to be more alluring to the princes who had hitherto shown some disinterest. The stage for serious contestation for the throne was set after the reign of Ologun Kutere a dispute that would later change the character of the kingdom. Somehow, these disputes were exploited by the British who intervened on behalf of a faction, and thus bombarded Lagos in December of 1851.<sup>20</sup> After its bombardment, British transformed the initial consular presence into a full colony in 1861. Afterwards the main task of the British became how to placate the contending forces within the community. This, however, saw Britain getting enmeshed in local disputes to her advantage. It was not long before it dabbled into the succession disputes among the royal families.

Between 1853 and 1900, Britain tampered with the traditional system of succession in Lagos such that only candidates disposed to her interests were assisted to ascend the throne. Captain

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<sup>17</sup> An oral interview with Professor Kunle Lawal. History Department. University of Ibadan. 10-6-2011

<sup>18</sup> For more on the political structure of the Yoruba people see Fadipe, N.A. 1970. *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. However, it should be noted that this book would only provide general information about the political configuration of the Yoruba people without specific details about local peculiarities.

<sup>19</sup> Mann Kristin. 2007. *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900*. Indiana: Indiana University Press. pp. 117-159

<sup>20</sup> For full account of the British bombardment of Lagos, see Ajayi, J.F.A. 1969. The British Occupation of Lagos 1851-1861: A Critical Review. *Nigerian Magazine*. No. 69: 72-81



John Glover disclosed this much in a dispatch to the Secretary of State for the colonies in 1863 when he asked the British government to let King Docemo understand that he was not king of Lagos by his own right and that the same power that installed him against the wishes of the chiefs' could remove him.<sup>21</sup>

The fiddling with the ascension to the throne was repeated in 1885 when at the death of King Dosunmu, his son, Oyekan 1 was installed and in 1900 when Prince Eshugbayi was installed Oba of Lagos.<sup>22</sup>

### **Population and Settlement Patterns of Lagos, 1851-1900**

The changing demographical configuration of African society was largely due to the intervention of many variables. These changes were not limited to human settlements alone but also to ecological changes which were accompanied by introduction of new disease.<sup>23</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Lagos, the most visible in intervening variables were the twin factors of slavery and colonialism. The decision of Great Britain to abolish slave trade in 1807 and the determination to enforce the parliamentary order led to the establishment of naval squadron to patrol the coast of West Africa. Implicated in this new order was the fact that new settlements emerged across the continent. In West Africa, the region's geographical morphology was re-drawn. Liberia and Sierra-Leone were added to the existing territories.<sup>24</sup>

In Lagos, slavery had changed the character of the society. The economic boom brought about the expanded trade in slaves had also created new communities. By the mid 1800, new ethnic groups had joined the living space in Lagos. In fact, some of them played prominent roles in the struggle for power.<sup>25</sup> Elements, mostly from northern Nigeria, who were either products of slave market networks, or were brought to Lagos by the new colonial regime as part of police constabulary and later menial staff of the colonial establishment, had joined the indigenous

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<sup>21</sup> See CSO 26/299391 Intelligence Report on Ikeja Districts NAI.

<sup>22</sup> Lawal, K. 2004. Background to Urbanisation: Lagos Society before 1900. Lawal, K. (Ed). Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation & Change in Lagos. Lagos: Longman.p13

<sup>23</sup> Patterson, D and Hartwig, G. 1978. The Diseases Factor: An Introductory Overview. Hartwig, G. and Patterson, D. Ed. *Disease in Africa History*. New York: Duke University Press. Pp. 1-21

<sup>24</sup> Kopytoff, J.H. 1965. *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leoneans" in Yoruba, 1830-1890*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. Pp. 24-42

<sup>25</sup> Lawal, K. 2002. *In Search of Lagosians: Socio-Political Issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education Publication. p. 13

Awori elements in Lagos. They were mostly of Tapa/Nupe, Bariba, Hausa and *Zabaruma* extractions.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, the British abolition of slave trade further changed the demographic character of Lagos. The two leading migrant groups in the aftermath of the British occupation of Lagos were the freed slaves from Sierra Leone and the returnees from South America. For the returnees from Sierra-Leone who were popularly referred to as (Saro) in Lagos, by 1861, they had constituted themselves into about 10% of Lagos population.<sup>27</sup> A distinguishing feature of the Saro from the indigenous Awori and other Yorùbá was that they had imbibed Victorian ideals and ideas. They were different in dress, occupation and also came back with enough financial muscle to partake in the new commerce introduced by the British.<sup>28</sup> Indigenous Lagosians referred to them as “daddies” while some sections of the community also referred to them as *oyinbo*, because of their social style and communication skills in English language.<sup>29</sup> They were the missionaries, teachers, clerks and traders their Victorian life style was transplanted to Lagos. However, among the indigenous people, the Saro struggled to retain their social identity by trying to emphasize their similarity with Europeans. Thus it was not difficult for them to climb the social ladder which was now created by the Europeans as they looked up to the British for their social orientation.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, by the late 1880s, class structure had emerged in Africa. New society was created away from the indigenous group whom the Europeans, believed to be the source of mosquito. For instance, The ‘Hill Station’ in Freetown was established as buffer zone against mosquito.<sup>31</sup> In Lagos, the emergence of different quarters on the Island cannot be explained on racial grounds. Perhaps the causative factor which could best explain this different quarters occupied by the different populations was a result of the fact that the traditional Isale-Eko on the northwest of the Island was congested. For instance, by the 1850s, when Lagos received large numbers of liberated educated Africans from Sierra-Leone, the living space had become over negotiated. The

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<sup>26</sup> Lawal, K. 2002. *In Search of Lagosians: Socio-Political Issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*..... p.20

<sup>27</sup> Lawal, K. 2002. *In Search of Lagosians: Socio-Political Issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*..... p.20

<sup>28</sup> Lawal, K. 2002. *In Search of Lagosians: Socio-Political Issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p. 26

<sup>29</sup> Lawal, K. 2002. *In Search of Lagosians: Socio-Political Issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*..... pp. 26-27

<sup>30</sup> Cole, P.D. 1975. *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos*. London: Cambridge University Press. p.46

<sup>31</sup> Gale, S.T. Segregation in British West Africa. *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines*. Vol. XX. No. 4. p. 488

climatic condition was perhaps responsible for the Europeans settlement on the Marina as the Marina offered a salubrious breeze to its inhabitants. The Saro were such an important element in the demographic change in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that a necessary attention needs to be given to their sojourn in Lagos.

The removal of Kosoko in 1851, by the British naval squadron opened the flood gate for new migrants. Chiefly among these new inhabitants were the Sierra Leonians, known among the indigenous Lagosians as the Saro. They were Yoruba who had, earlier, been sold into slavery by their captors and later rescued by the naval squadron and resettled in Sierra Leones.<sup>32</sup> The fear of Kosoko had earlier made them settle in Badagry, a slave port west of Lagos. Their movement to Lagos was facilitated by the missionaries and the European commercial houses. It is reasonable to infer that, their movement to Lagos was to take the opportunity offered by the new political and economic order. They understood that they possessed better qualities that were suitable for the new economic order. Western education placed them in a viable position to maximize the new opportunities. They were Anglican, the official religion of the colonizer. Religious and educational affinity with metropolitan Britain was the strategic weapons the Saro needed to key into the new Victorian Lagos.

Two years after he was re-instated back to his throne, Eleko Akitoye granted the southwestern corner of the Island to the Saro. The Olowogbowo district of Lagos was granted to the representative of Saro community. William Savage was the head of this community and Akitoye allotted the district to him on behalf of the entire Saro family in Lagos.<sup>33</sup> The new settlement of Olowogbowo (Saro Town) became the Florence of Lagos. Pauline Baker described the new settlement as the home of the first professional and intellectual elite of Lagos among a group of educated ex-slaves'.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kopytoff, P.H. 1965. *Preface to Modern Nigeria*.... p. 86

<sup>33</sup> Baker, P.H. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917-1967*. London: University of California Press. p.26

<sup>34</sup> Baker, P.H. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917-1967*.... P. 26

The entrance of the Saro to Lagos changed the cultural landscape of Lagos. The social milieu of Lagos was dominated by the Europeans and Missionaries<sup>35</sup>. But the new emigrants shared cultural affinity with the Europeans; they were men of letters who possessed enough wealth to qualify and earn them the membership of the Victorian society. The town was not just physically partitioned, it was socially partitioned. The Saro town was created and patterned along European way of life. Their society was a microcosm of the Lagos society, with their own schools, courthouse, church and police force.<sup>36</sup> They were loyal subjects of the 'Queen' who took pride in their Victorian way of life. They followed the Victorian society in whatever they did. Their choice of music was a reflection of the Victorian culture; they listened to Beethoven, Handel among others.<sup>37</sup> Their choice of dresses was Victorian, baggy trousers, stiff collar, and woolen suits. They imposed their own society on the societies in Lagos. Their privileged background gave them an edge over other new comers. They thought like the British and acted like the British. Though they were of slave origin, education and wealth helped them to break all social barriers.

### **The Epetedo Settlement**

The settlement pattern of Lagos was further altered with the return of the Kosoko followers who had fled with him during the British occupation of Lagos to Epe in the eastern section of Lagos. Following the British rapprochement with Kosoko after the Ikosi conference of 1854, the British recognised the ownership of Palma port and Kosoko agreed to stop piratical activities against the Lagos bound vessels. By 1862, Kosoko was persuaded to return to Lagos by the colonial government on the ground that he would give up his claim to the Lagos throne.<sup>38</sup> Although the reason for this volte-face by the British need not delay us here,<sup>39</sup> however, the return of Kosoko and his followers altered the landscape of Lagos. While Kosoko re-occupied his *Iga* (Palace) at Ereko, majority of the families who returned from Epe were settled at Epetedo (Settlement of Returnees from Epe). The land for their resettlement was secured by Governor John Glover from

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<sup>35</sup> Cole, P.D. 1975. *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* ..... P.46

<sup>36</sup> Baker P. H. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change*..... p.27

<sup>37</sup> Cole, P.D. 1975. *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos*. p. 46

<sup>38</sup> See Jimoh, M.O. 2010. *Kosoko- British Relation, 1832-1872*. University of Ibadan Unpublished M.A Dissertation; Oguntomisin, G.O. 1983. *Hostility to Rapport: Kosoko and Changing Relation with the British 1852-1862*. *A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 24: 78-88;

<sup>39</sup> Oguntomisin, G.O. 1983. *Hostility to Rapport* ..... P.83

the Aromire family. In all, twenty one compounds were resettled at Epetedo.<sup>40</sup> The establishment of this settlement in an area, which had hitherto served as the farmland of Aromire family, further changed the landscape of the town.<sup>41</sup> A few others joined their relatives around Ita-Faji, while some of them settled at Isale Agbede, where prominent blacksmiths like Danmole, Loya and Bishi Binari plied their trade.

### **The Brazilian Returnees in Lagos**

Another group of returnees that decisively changed the geographical and social configuration of Lagos were the returnees from Brazil and Cuba. They came at a time when Lagos society was evolving its Victorian culture. The society was then dominated by western educated Saro elite, who had been equipped with protestant ideology. Without western education, and without being a protestant, the Brazilian and Cuba returnees faced a herculean task in surviving in a new society they found themselves. Their settlement and contributions to the Lagos society are so important to any discussion of the changing landscape of Lagos that it merits some discussion. Freed slaves and self *emacipados* from Brazil and Cuba (following the decree of 1853, which guaranteed Africans emancipation after fifteen years of service) led to a massive influx of ex-slaves into Lagos from the 1870s.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> P.R.O. CO583/222. The Epetedo Union and other people in Epetedo District. Lagos. September 17, 1936

<sup>41</sup> These compounds are: Ajagun Court, Oluwo Court, Adio Court, Yeshilo Court, Abari Court, Dosunmu Ajiwe Court, Alfa Iwo Court, Ogun Oloko Court, Oshodi Court, Akiyemi Court, Alagbede Court, Sunmonu or Gbangbala Court, Mogaji Court, Osho Anifowoshe Court, Abu Court, Ope Court, Alayaki Court, Oguntusi Court, Ajia Ijesha Court, Ewunmi Court, Inasa Court

<sup>42</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in 19<sup>th</sup> century Lagos. Ohio State University, Ohio, M.A Thesis. P.1

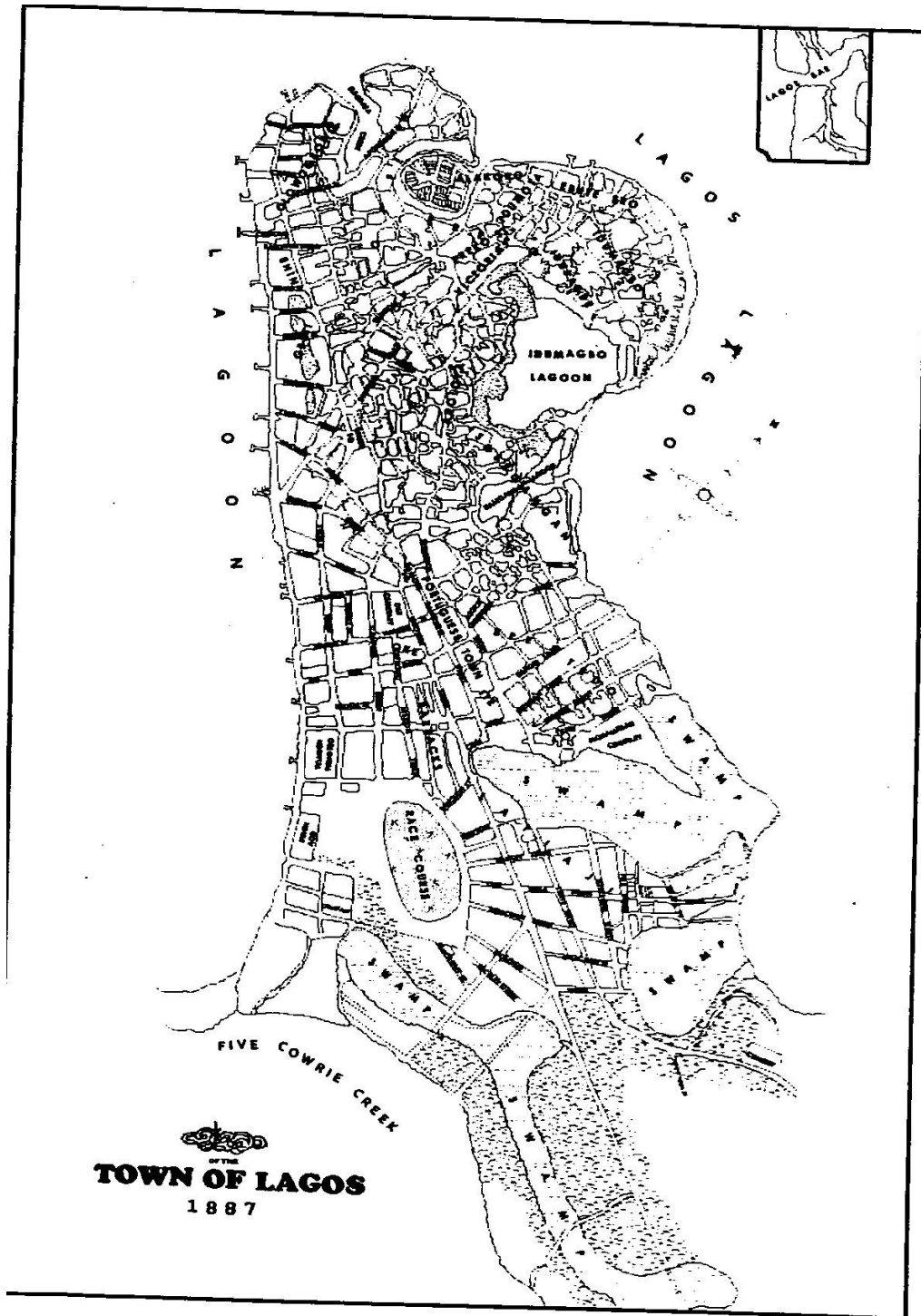


Figure 3. Town of Lagos 1887

Although not necessarily contemporaneous with the Saro settlement in Lagos, the Brazilian/Cuba returnees, commonly referred to as Amaro by the indigenous population, did affect the settlement pattern of Lagos. Upon their arrival, they occupied the center of the town, their settlement being between the Oba's palace and the race track on the northwest of the town. Their district, Popo-Aguda, is located around Campos square then the most sanitary part of the community<sup>43</sup>. Denied of the opportunity of upward mobility in the Americas, the ex-slaves secured their manumission and left Cuba and Brazil in search of economic and social space. Their motivation was to secure their social and economic liberty for Africa became their prime choice, where their freedom could best be secured and protected.<sup>44</sup>

Lagos offered the most attractive economic incentives for the new returnees.<sup>45</sup> In Lagos, the political order did not favour them initially as king Kosoko plundered their property, and many of them were killed by the king.<sup>46</sup> The removal of Kosoko by the British paved the way for their entrance to Lagos. They were encouraged by Consul Campbell who mounted pressure on the King to make land available to them. By 1860, 38 land grants were made available to the Aguda. In accepting the new emigrants, the British made a hard choice. The British were torn between accepting them because of the economic potential they offered and the risk of re-igniting the slave trade in the colony. However, the fear of introducing new diseases to the colony led to the humiliating condition they were subjected to by the British authority in Lagos.<sup>47</sup> Paris provides a lucid account of what they were subjected to on their arrival at Lagos

Upon arrival in Lagos after a long, arduous voyage, returnees' hopes for a warm welcome by both fellows' returnees and family members were abruptly dashed.

They were often immediately detained and put through a humiliating quarantine by British colonialists. British fear of diseases epidemics or the general concern for the effective containment of contagious ailments resulted in the returnees being forced to remain on their ships for days, even weeks. Their and other personal belongings were quickly confiscated and sometimes

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<sup>43</sup> P. H. Baker, P. H. 1974. Urbanisation and Political Change ..... p.28

<sup>44</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... P.39

<sup>45</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... P.48

<sup>46</sup> The last line of the king's cognomen," A pa Amaro bi eni pa igbin" (One who kills Amaro like snails) was a clear testimony of what Amaro suffered from him.

<sup>47</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... P.49

incinerated by British officials, thus leaving the Aguda without recourse to restitution<sup>48</sup>

The decision of the British was borne out of the fear of the returnees from South America resuscitating the slave trade within the colony. At the point of disembarkation in Lagos, they were presented with conditions by the colonial government. Chief among these conditions was that ‘they abandon all relations with trade in slaves’<sup>49</sup>. The horrible experience of the Aguda in the ‘new world’ left them with no choice than to accept the colonial government conditionalities”.<sup>50</sup> In other words, the instinct to survive, and the fear of being deported to the Spanish Island of Fernando Po, where they could be re enslaved, killed the resistance instinct of the returnees.

The emergence of the Aguda in Lagos changed the religious configuration of the Lagos society. They were remarkably different in their religious outlook. Coming into a protestant dominated society, they faced the daunting problem of social acceptability. Their brand of Catholicism is outstandingly different from the Vatican Orthodoxy version. In what could be regarded as religious nationalism, they were conscious of their Yoruba belief system. Consequently, they decided to fuse the Yoruba belief system into their Catholicism. The product of this union is what they referred to as *Santeria*.<sup>51</sup>

Hemmed in between the Saro and British dominated society, the possibility of social integration into the Victorian society was further aggravated by language barrier and divergence in doctrinal practices. They could relate with the indigenous people because of their tenacity in holding on to their indigenous language. The Saro spoke fluent English while the Amaro spoke Portuguese. In places of worship, English was the officiating language. This barrier could only be overcome by the establishment of their own places of worship. They founded their own church patterned after what they had in the New world.

Another significant contribution of the Amaro was in the area of structural and the physical architecture of Lagos which was dotted with the Brazilian architectural design. Equipped with artistic skill, they became the toast of Africans and Europeans in Lagos. The house pattern they

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<sup>48</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba.....p.49

<sup>49</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... P.50

<sup>50</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in 19<sup>th</sup> century Lagos. pp. 33-39

<sup>51</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... p.39



designed reflected the influence of Brazilian architecture, a testimony of their contribution to Lagos. By the end of nineteenth century, notable houses in Lagos were designed by the Amaro craftsmen, notable buildings like the Holy Cross Catholic Cathedral, Shitta Bay Mosque, and the Central Mosque became the cynosure of all eyes.<sup>52</sup> By 1888, they had been fully integrated into the Lagos society and they constituted a sizable number of the population, with their population put at 3,221.<sup>53</sup> The steady rise in their population shows that they had mastered the intricacies of their new society. By 1889, out of 37,000 populations, they were about 5,000. This geometrical progression in their population could be related to accessibility to more resources in Lagos.

Lagos was essentially a society that was going through transformation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was a society whose character and composition had been changed right from its establishment up to the British occupation. The Saro, the Missionaries, the Merchants, the Aguda all introduced new forms of social life into Lagos. However, the most remarkable difference was made by the Europeans, who though constituted less than 1% of the entire population, had the most telling influence on the Lagos society.

### **The European Community**

The most important section of the Lagos society after the district occupied by the indigenous elements was the section occupied by the Europeans. By the 1850s they had established their presence in Lagos. They wielded the most important instrument of authority - political power. Lagos owed its greatness as the 'queen of West Africa' to the efforts of the British. By 1862, Governor Glover had cleared the marina water front to make way for political and merchants' residents.<sup>54</sup> While the Saro and Amaro occupied different quarters on the Island, the Europeans occupied the marina. It was the natural choice for the Europeans, the missionaries, the merchants. It provides the social exclusivity desired by the Europeans and the rich Africans. Perhaps the most important district on the Island and the pride of Victorian elite of that period was the marina district.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Melanie, P. 1998. Repatriated Africans from Cuba..... P.57

<sup>53</sup> Cole, P.D. 1975. Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos..... P.49

<sup>54</sup> Lawal, K. 2002, In Search of Lagosians..... p.16

<sup>55</sup> Echeruo, M.J.C.1977. Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life. Lagos: Macmillan. P.19

Although the Awori established the kingdom, Lagos was built up as a befitting place of human habitation by the British. The society benefitted from the desire of the colonisers to create conducive environment for colonial enterprise. Owing to the efforts of the Europeans, it became the commercial hub of the West Africa settlements. The colonial government laid the foundation of infrastructural development of the town.<sup>56</sup> The first serious effort aimed at improving the infrastructure of the community was made by Sir. John Glover's administration<sup>57</sup> Under Glover, Marina was extended and Broad Street was constructed<sup>58</sup>. The area was the pride of the new Europeanised society, *The Record* of February 3, 1900 referred to the Marina 'as the only two most respectable streets we possess'. The feelings of the community were perhaps captured in a poetry song by one 'Porphyrio d' Assumpacio'

'Night o'er the Christian tower sweetly bends  
Beneath its shade  
(broad) Marina extends  
Along dark silent trees whose shades,  
dim, Pause on the swift tide of a purling stream.  
Pale, sunless evening star,  
on the yonder sky  
And sweet Apapa casts a look  
below<sup>59</sup>

By 1899, the construction of Macgregor canal had commenced. The canal was constructed as an alternate mosquito control mechanism put in place by Governor William Macgregor as against the mosquito theory of racial segregation put in place by Ross. The Island was connected to the Mainland through construction of bridges, and Lagos was linked directly to London through Telegraph in 1886.<sup>60</sup> Lagos streets were illuminated by 1898 and railroad from Lagos to Ibadan was underway. At the dawn of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lagos had become a new and relatively modern community, with modern infrastructures. The new social environment was dominated by the British and the Saro. It was essentially a Victorian society, with all the social trappings of metropolitan London.

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<sup>56</sup> For details on the infrastructural development of Lagos, see, A. Olukoju, 2003, *Infrastructure Development and Urban Facilities in Lagos, 1861-2000*, Ibadan, IFRA Occasional Publication No.15

<sup>57</sup> Baker, P. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change*..... pp 30-31

<sup>58</sup> Baker, P. 1974. *Urbanisation and Political Change*.....p. 31

<sup>59</sup> Echeruo, M.J.C. 1977. *Victorian Lagos*..... P.19

<sup>60</sup> Adeyeye, O.A. 2004. "Communication Service in Lagos" in Kunle Lawal. Ed. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspect of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman. Pp. 26-31

However, the major problem of this southernmost Yoruba kingdom was how to cope with the influx of new migrants who wanted to take the advantage of the new commercial order. The population was on the increase without a commensurate infrastructural development. The influx of new migrants brought with it new sanitary challenges.<sup>61</sup> The limited geographical space became congested, and new places were opened up for human habitation. The net effect of population explosion in Lagos as a result of new economic order was the worsening sanitary condition of the town on the eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> Thus, from ‘from a village with a Yoruba mentality’ the urbanisation process that was taking place worsened the sanitary condition of Lagos to the extent that William J.R. Simpson regarded the attempt to improve the sanitary condition of Lagos at that time as a Sisyphean task.<sup>63</sup>

### **The Politics of Public Health in 19<sup>th</sup> century Lagos**

The increasing prevalence of diseases in the colonies became a subject of intense political debate among policy makers in Britain. The disturbing rate of high mortality and continued agitations among the colonial subjects resulted in the institutionalisation of public health programs and policy.<sup>64</sup> From the 1900, public health issues took the front row of policy discussions throughout the British colonies.<sup>65</sup> The politics of public health in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Lagos was dominated by debates about the sanitary condition of the city and the various responses of the colonial government. The European casualty from malaria was of great concern to the colonial authorities and it dominated dispatches of the period:

It will be seen that the European death rate has a distinct relation to the state of the weather following closely the curve of the rainfall. This death rate may be taken as an index to the presence and intensity of the malarial fever.

The great drawback of the place is its geological structure and the want of sanitary measures to counteract the physical defects.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *The Lagos Standard*. “The Public Health” June 7, 1899

<sup>62</sup> Spencer, H.B. 1992. Public Health in Lagos. 1850-1900..... p.338

<sup>63</sup> Simpson, J.R. 1909. *Report on Sanitary Matters in Various West African Colonies and the Outbreak of Plague in the Gold Coast*. p. 20

<sup>64</sup> Lenore, M. 1999. Public Health Developments in Colonial Malaya, p. 104

<sup>65</sup> Lenore, M. 1999. Public Health Developments in Colonial Malaya

<sup>66</sup> LASRAB. Medical and Sanitary Report of Lagos. (RAB000060) 1892

For instance, high incidents of infectious diseases, especially malaria, influenza epidemic and bubonic plague, occasioned fresh sanitary and medical policies, as well as engendered fresh tinkering with the morphology of the town. On the one hand, disease outbreaks were blamed on the effects ‘of a rapidly expanding primary export economy and urbanisation.’ The expansion of Lagos port ushered in a demographic and spatial change<sup>67</sup> that had strong effects on the demography and ecology of the city.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, disease and epidemics were attributed to filthy environment cultivated by unhygienic local practices. As diseases threatened the foundation of colonial enterprise, new sanitary measures were introduced into the colonies to curtail disease outbreaks and to check perceived unsanitary local practices and ‘uncivilized’ traditional attitudes, ostensibly because of their devastating effect on the European population. The colonial government in Lagos established health training institutions and medical facilities, enacted health and sanitation legislations, embarked on massive slum clearance and the institutionalization of town planning.<sup>69</sup> Thus, as Macleod and Lewis put it, epidemics ‘created conditions (that were) favourable to the consolidation of imperial or government rule’.<sup>70</sup>

The realization of the nexus between sanitary and colonial economy led to new forms of administrative surveillance, sanitation and settlement pattern. Michel Foucault in his work ‘Madness and Civilization’ has shown how ‘governmentality’ was imposed on the sick and socially disadvantaged people.<sup>71</sup> In 19<sup>th</sup> century Africa, public health became the most reliable instrument of controlling public space. Maynard Swanson has shown how plague epidemics provided the platform for the white settlers in South Africa to relocate the black Africans from their home to the country side. In Lagos, the absence of legalized racial segregation was replaced by official imposition of what Foucault has described as ‘governmentality’.<sup>72</sup> Ordinances were used to control the public space that set the stage for forceful eviction of the people; the outbreak

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<sup>67</sup> Liora, B. 2011. A History of Urban Planning and Infectious Diseases. *Journal of Urban Studies Research*. p.54

<sup>68</sup> Lenore, M. 1999. Public Health Developments in Colonial Malaya: Colonialism and the Politics of Prevention, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 89, No.1, pg. 102

<sup>69</sup> Dumett, Raymond. 2013. *Imperialism, Economic Development and Social Change in West Africa*. Carolina: Academic Press.

<sup>70</sup> Worboys, Michael. 1988. Manson, Ross, and Colonial Medical Policy. *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*. MacLeod, Roy and Milton Lewis(Eds). London: Routledge. pp. 21–37.

<sup>71</sup> Turner, B. 2004. *New Medical Sociology: Social Forms of Health and Illness*, New York, W.W. Norton and Company. p. 82

<sup>72</sup> Turner, B. 2004. *New Medical Sociology: Social Forms of Health and Illness*..... p.82

of epidemics in the following century only sharpened the existing pattern of social relations. The realisation of the nexus between the sanitation and economic fortunes of the colonies brought about uncommon energy and also explained the zeal with which public health issues was handled by the colonial authority. At the close of that century, sanitary issues became the focus of official policy.

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, colonial governments around the world were enmeshed in efforts to stem the malaria scourge and improving the sanitary condition of colonial territories. By the end of that century, medical research had proved the interconnectedness among crowded, filthy environments and ill-health, thereby stimulating the development of an aggressive public health movement, which advocated improved urban living conditions in the colony.<sup>73</sup> Two worlds existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the colonies and the metropolis. The methods of public health measures in the colonies, either in Africa, Asia or the Caribbean, differed significantly from those in Europe.

The primary objective of any government was to protect its officials against diseases, because the survival of colonial enterprise depended on the 'healthiness' of its officials. In the Metropolis, increased public works substantially improved the health and life expectancy of the people. In the colonies, the colonial governments' primary objective was to protect the health of colonial officials and troops from the alleged threat to their health by native communities.<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile the indigenous populations were left undisturbed to live essentially as before, while sanitary practices were at variance with those of the Europeans immigrants. The immediate solution to this health conundrum of the colonial officials was to segregate the Africans from the Europeans. Thus racial segregation, based on the obnoxious mosquito theory of Ronald Ross was developed by scientists in the Liverpool School of Hygienic and Tropical Medicine. The theory was adopted by the colonial government and tried in the colonies.<sup>75</sup> The segregation policy realised the same objective for Europeans in the colonies as public works did in Europe.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Turner, B. 2004. *New Medical Sociology: Social Forms of Health and Illness* .....p.86

<sup>74</sup> Turner, B. 2004. *New Medical Sociology: Social Forms of Health and Illness*.... p.86

<sup>75</sup> Throughout the continent of Africa, the geographical space was portioned along the racial line either by town morphology designed as it was witnessed in Lagos or backed by Law like the case of South Africa. See,

The colonial apathy to the development of a colonised area beyond the exploitation of its resources was demonstrated by Britain in the growth of Lagos at its annexation. Lagos never became a fully colonial city and there was never any mass European settlement even as commerce expanded in the backdrop of a new sense of security that attracted large numbers of migrants, both from the hinterland and neighbouring countries. This migration contributed, in no small measure, to the expansion of the city's frontiers and the building of new settlements and quarters to accommodate the new arrivals.

Trade was at the root of the deliberate shift by Britain to impose imperialism, a façade for the exploitation of the hinterland by building new urban areas that would be the capital cities of the coastal regions like Lagos:

“In the second half of the nineteenth century, European mercantilism was expanded and transformed into colonialism. This process of transformation was inspired by the development of capitalism in Europe which gave rise to the quest to search for cheap raw materials, agricultural produce as well as markets for manufactured exports. Thus, the institutionalisation of colonialism in Africa brought with it the development of new cities, administrative headquarters and mining facilities which had destructive effects on the pre-existing social formations and patterns of urbanisation<sup>77</sup>

Because urbanisation had been widespread in Africa in pre-colonial era physical planning in African cities had been carried out through traditional institutions and communal ownership of land. This was reflected in the early settlement of Lagos from Isheri from where people later migrated to found other settlements in the sub-region many of which were later (and are still) being, absorbed in what is today the metropolitan Lagos. It would be recalled that Aromire moved from Iddo Island across the lagoon to set up his pepper farm on the Lagos Island from where the western part of the Island was later opened up for settlement with the division of the various parts of the area to the ten sons of Olofin or the Idejo chiefs

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Maynard Swanson. 1977. The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Rural Natives Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1901. *Journal of African History*, Vol. 18,

<sup>76</sup> Okpako, D.T. 2011. *Malaria and Indigenous Knowledge in Africa*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. p.99-101

<sup>77</sup> Kenal Ozden and Chigozie Enwere. 2012. Urbanisation and its political challenges in Developing Countries. *Eurasian Journal of Business and Economics*. 5(10). 99-120.

Lagos was said to have had a “placid” existence by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a population of about 5000<sup>78</sup> until it witnessed an influx of three different classes of people; former slaves and slavers whose vessels had been intercepted on the Atlantic, the Brazilians (Amaro) and the Saro returnees who had lived in Sierra Leone after their liberation from slavery. It could be recalled that few years before the cession of Lagos colony to Britain in 1861, there had been a clamour by American and European merchants to participate in the lucrative trade in palm produce that was in high demand in the aftermath of the industrial revolution in Europe.<sup>79</sup>

The gradual concentration of population on the coast in response to the legitimate trade encouraged the production of foodstuffs as well as the export crops needed by the European merchants who were restricted to the coast by the political and economic control wielded by the Obas and Chiefs on the trade routes. The palm produce trade however thrived during the Consulate period when there was no military force to enforce law and order as Lagos depended on the goodwill of the farmers in the hinterland who could disrupt trade at will. This informed the need to extend the British rule in Lagos to the palm oil producing areas to prevent the diversion of the trade on which Lagos depended to Porto Novo.<sup>80</sup>

The British government felt it unnecessary to fund the administration of its colonies hence the decision that Lagos government was to be run on self-protecting basis. It is remarkable to note that the first major expenditure made after the cession of Lagos in 1861 was the payment of 1000 pounds to the deposed King Dosunmu from the duties paid on imports and exports.<sup>81</sup> Despite a public opinion in Britain against the policy of using tax-payer’s to finance the running of a colony, the dire financial situation in Lagos attracted a grant of 5000 pounds from the British Treasury in 1862, 2000 in 1865 and 1000 in 1865.

During this period however, about £24,000 pounds was spent on administration. It is notable that sixty-five percent of the city’s revenue was derived from import duties, the remaining from court fines and other fees. It must be borne in mind that the land area of Lagos at this period was

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<sup>78</sup> Mabogunje, Akin. 1968. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*.

<sup>79</sup> Lawal. A.A. 1987. Trade and Finance of the Lagos Colony 1861 – 1906. Adefuye, A et al. *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*.

<sup>80</sup> Adefuye et al. 1987. *History of the People of Lagos State*, p.65

<sup>81</sup> Adefuye et al. *History of the People of Lagos State*.p.66

very small as the surrounding vast marshy land had not been reclaimed. The financial outlay for the provision of needed public infrastructure could not be achieved without an expansion of the city. This, perhaps, explains the territorial expansion of Lagos that led to the eventual conquest of the neighbouring Yoruba towns that had been trading with Lagos. Increased commercial activities attested to the capability of Lagos to sustain its administration devoid of ‘handouts’ from the Colonial office.

Urbanisation was rearing its head earlier than the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the value of exports rose from 62,000 to 885,000 pounds between 1862 and 1900 while exports. This much was demonstrated by the fact that by 1870, it was reported that goods worth more than 500 thousand pounds passed through the Lagos Port.<sup>82</sup> The constant surplus of revenue over expenditure was noted elsewhere<sup>83</sup> so much that in 1896, a credit balance of over 50 thousand pounds was invested in England even before the consideration of loans for capital expenditure for bridges and railway increased from 78 thousand to 830 thousand pounds during the period. The dying years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed the service of a mail steamer between Lagos and London, the commencement of banking in 1891 soon after the Government began its own Treasury Savings Bank and in 1897 the Lagos Chamber of Commerce was established to promote commerce in the town.

Successive administrators had placed emphasis on the development of urban infrastructure to meet the needs of the rising population of Lagos. Between 1866 and 1872, Sir John Glover had extended the Marina and built the Broad Street that transversed the heart of the town, erected street lamps dug proper walls and embarked on the building of wharves in what has been described as the first attempt at applying the principles of Town Planning to Lagos.<sup>84</sup> The enterprise was continued by William McGregor who between 1899 and 1904 constructed the canal through the North and South of the Lagos Island to drain the swampy islands of Lagos and Ikoyi (McGregor Canal also served as the border between the African and European quarters). By this period, the future economic position of Lagos had been acknowledged by the Colonial

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<sup>82</sup> Baker, Pauline H. *Urbanization and Political Change*.....

<sup>83</sup> Miner, Horace. *The city and Modernization: An Introduction*. Miner, H. *The City in Modern Africa*.

<sup>84</sup> Baker, Pauline H. *Urbanisation and Political Change*.



Secretary, George Denton who remarked that “The expense of administration compared very favourably with those of any other colony and it has greeted undeveloped resources. With those conditions present it will indeed be strange if it does not long become one of the most valuable of Her Majesty’s African possessions”.<sup>85</sup> This prediction came to pass when the Lagos Colony was merged with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. By this time, the revenue of Lagos rose from over half million in pounds in 1905 to over a million. Between 1908 and 1913, the Lagos port was refurbished with the construction of the mole to enable ships to enter the harbor round the year. The most important factor in the modern economic growth of Lagos has been described as the development of the Lagos port.<sup>86</sup> This had been complemented by the extension of the railway to Kano and farther Northern Nigeria which increased the flow of exports so much that by 1962 Lagos had a turnover in its tonnage – five times what it had in 1938.<sup>87</sup>

In the twilight of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the need for a semblance of local governance dawned on the colonial administration when in September 1899 the area around Lagos was constituted into a sanitary district with a Municipal Board of Health.<sup>88</sup> The board, inaugurated a month later in October 1899, consisted of nine members with the governor of the Colony as Chairman, was primarily an advisory body with no staff or funds of its own. However the board was said to have initiated and executed some improvement schemes until it ceased to function around 1904.<sup>89</sup> While it existed, the Board had the statutory responsibilities of the upkeep and maintenance of cemeteries, latrines, dustbins, wells, prevention of infectious diseases and the regulation of the cleanliness and sanitation of Lagos. It is noteworthy that the ‘boundaries’ of the emerging Lagos metropolis began to expand during the era of the board. In December 1900, the governor exercising his power under the Ordinance to extend the Sanitary district added Iddo Island, and part of the Mainland at Ebute Metta to the Lagos District. By 1909 areas under the District had extended to the Harbour Works and a considerable part of Ebute Metta North. The ‘expansion’ of the Lagos Colony particularly in the backdrop of the amalgamation of the Colony

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<sup>85</sup> *Annual Colonial Reports..Lagos*. 1890

<sup>86</sup> Baker, P. *Urbanisation and Political Change*.

<sup>87</sup> Baker, P. *Urbanisation and Political Change*.

<sup>88</sup> Adejuyigbe. O. 1969. Evolution of the Boundaries of Lagos. in *Nigeria Magazine*, No 101, July-Sept 1969.

<sup>89</sup> Fasinro, H.A. 2004. *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*, Lagos: Academy Press.

and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria necessitated a more representative organ than the Sanitary Board.

The increased commercial activities in the colony and the attendant population growth particularly with the passing of the Townships Ordinance of 1917 that rated Lagos as a first class town made the Sanitary Board inadequate. The 1917 ordinance created a Lagos Town Council of not more than 12 nor less than 6 members as might be directed by the Governor and five unofficial members' three of whom were to be elected to represent the three wards into which the town was then divided.<sup>90</sup>

By the time Lagos was declared a First Class Town in 1917 the extent of the town included:

The Islands of Lagos and Iddo . . . . That part of the Mainland on the East of the harbor bounded on the North by Five Cowrie Creek, on the East by a straight line running due south from the mouth of Igbosere Creek to the sea on the South by the sea, on the West by the Lagos Lagoon".<sup>91</sup>

The boundary of the Township was moved further in 1926 following the request by the Town Council that the Yaba Acquisition Area, once suggested as the capital of the Southern Provinces, be included in the Township which was granted by the Governor.

The Town Council's desire to enforce its building bye laws following an observation that residents tended to avoid the building rules by relocating outside the township made it to seek that the Governor declare "an area half a mile wide, running parallel to the West and North boundary line of the Township area an Urban District".<sup>92</sup> A Government order of March 31, 1927 in granting the town Council's request also redefined the boundaries of the evolving Lagos Metropolis.

By the government's pronouncement of April 29 1938, the Lagos Urban District had included:

That part of the Mainland bounded . . . on the East and Southeast:  
By the Western and North Western boundaries . . . of the  
Township of Lagos . . . on the North: By a straight line  
commencing at the Western extremity of the Northern boundary of

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<sup>90</sup> Fasinro, H.A . 2004. *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*

<sup>91</sup> Adejuyigbe, O. Evolution of the Boundaries of Lagos. *Nigeria Magazine*. No 101, July-Sept 1969,

<sup>92</sup> Adejuyigbe, O. Evolution of the Boundaries of Lagos . *Nigeria Magazine*, No 101, July-Sept 1969,

the township of Lagos . . . running approximately due west for an approximate distance of 7,550feet. . on the West . . . to a distance of 30,000feet to the Badagry Lagoon and on the south by the Badagry Lagoon.<sup>93</sup>

One of the consequences of Lagos' economic growth was the emergence of sub-urban settlements intended to accommodate the spill-over of the steady increase in the population of Lagos. The population dynamics of these settlements emphasized the issue of population growth of Lagos. While the growth rate in the Lagos Municipality between 1952 and 1963 stood at 8.6 percent, it was 19 percent in these sub-urban settlements.<sup>94</sup>

### **SPATIAL GROWTH, CONGESTION AND SLUMS**

The development of the Lagos Port and the various economic activities including industrialization reportedly led to a phenomenal rise in the population of Lagos, the most rapid between 1950 and 1963 when the population rose from 230,256 to 665,246. The problem had, however, existed before this period. The consistent growth in the population of Lagos had been so much that it was observed in 1927 that the city was becoming a “dumping ground for all sorts and conditions . . . From everywhere even from the neighbouring colony of Dahomey”.<sup>95</sup> The population growth had been such a great concern to residents of Lagos who were appalled by the overcrowding and insanitary conditions in the town that they had to address a petition in 1922 in which they forewarned an epidemic.<sup>96</sup> The fears of the residents were evoked by filth, overcrowding resulting from lack of suitable land for housing which had forced people into swampy areas of Elegbata, Alakoro, Idumagbo, Anikantamo and some reclaimed areas like Oko Awo.

The population growth was retarded with the outbreak of an influenza epidemic and the bubonic plague in 1924 that claimed 318 lives while the plague in 1926 had a casualty of 476 from 490 reported cases. The figure dropped the following year to 159 deaths from 163 cases. There was

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<sup>93</sup> Adejuyigbe, O. Evolution of the Boundaries of Lagos. *Nigeria Magazine*. No 101, July-Sept 1969.

<sup>94</sup> Sada P.O. “*Differential Population Distribution and Growth in Metropolitan Lagos*”. *Journal of Business and Social Studies*, Vol.2, No 1 (University of Lagos).

<sup>95</sup> Adejuyigbe, O. 1969. Evolution of the Boundaries of Lagos. *Nigeria Magazine*.

<sup>96</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. *Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos: C1900-1939*. Lawal Kunle. 2004. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation and change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

however a positive aspect to the epidemics as the government embarked on the evacuation and resettlement of residents in a better location. For once, the government also demonstrated concern for slum clearance even as it was overwhelmed by the need to provide suitable sanitary markets to check future plagues or epidemics in Lagos.

## **INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND COLONIAL RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC GROWTH**

The effects of trade on the spatial growth of Lagos went beyond the question of population increase as the influx to the coast made the issue of inadequate infrastructure obvious to the colonial authorities. Even before the epidemic of 1924, the Lagos Community had called on the attention of the colonial administration to the problem of congestion in the town. The community had pleaded with the government to reconsider its acquisition of the Ikoyi plains to enable residents expand in the direction and thus decongest the town.<sup>97</sup> The negative reaction of the Governor to the demands of the natives on the Ikoyi plains and the prevailing lack of suitable land for building houses goaded the people to expand into the swampy areas that had been reclaimed by Governor William MacGregor. One of the claims of the leaders of the Lagos community to the governor in 1922 inferred to the exclusivity of Ikoyi plains to the Europeans.

It will be recalled however that the European population in Lagos at this time was negligible though they made a great impact in establishing the foundations of a modern metropolis even as they did not cluster in “a single cohesive community”.<sup>98</sup> The development of urban infrastructure in Lagos began in the second half of the 19th century when Mac Coskry, one of the European merchants who acted as the consul in 1861 opened up the Marina.<sup>99</sup> Sir John Glover who was the administrator between 1866 and 1872 extended the Marina and built the 60-foot-wide Broad Street through the heart of the town (later the Central Business District). While he also introduced street lamps and dug proper wells, encouraged the building of wharves and warehouses to enhance trade, Glover in 1868 promoted a settlement for Egba refugees<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Olukoju, A.O. 1991. *Maritime Trade in Lagos, 1914 – 1950: Its nature and impact. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ibadan.*

<sup>98</sup> Olukoju. 1991. *Maritime Trade in Lagos...*

<sup>99</sup> Olukoju. 1991. *Maritime Trade in Lagos...*

<sup>100</sup> Baker, P. *Urbanisation and Political Change*

between 1899 and 1904, Sir William McGregor constructed a canal running through the Lagos Island that drained the swampy areas of Lagos Island and Ikoyi. The colonial administration's response to the infrastructural needs of the emerging Lagos City shifted to the Lagos Mainland. In October 1924, when the Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces and the Administrator of the Colony met with representative of the Lagos Community to discuss government proposals to develop residential areas that would reduce the congestion on the Island. The project which was estimated to cost about 220, 000 pounds was to resettle ten thousand people from the Island and would include, apart from the buildings, road construction, provision of water and electricity as well as compensation.<sup>101</sup>

This, perhaps marked, the beginning of the expansion of the metropolis into the adjoining rural settlements on the outskirts of the city. A study in 1964<sup>102</sup> showed that the city area of approximately 27 square miles had 5380.4 acres or 30.52% of the area for residential purpose. This explained why the city authorities embarked on clearing, filling and reclamation of wooded land, swamps and marsh in areas like Iwaya and Akoka in Yaba, Iponri in Ebute-Meta, Idi-Araba in Surulere and Iganmu/Ajegunle.<sup>103</sup>

## **POPULATION IMPLOSION AND CHANGE IN LAGOS SUBURBS**

Lagos was originally a group of Islands that were later connected by bridges and causeways to the Mainland of Ebute-Metta, Yaba, Ijora and Apapa, while the hinterland of the metropolis was basically rural. Three settlements, Ikorodu, Mushin and Agege, sizeable enough to absorb spillage from the metropolis were identifiable. By 1952, the two of the settlements had a population of 12,844 and 9,018 rising up to 45,986 and 94,952 by 1963. Besides these old settlements, other suburban settlements emerged to absorb the spill-over from the built-up Lagos city. The emergence of Mushin, Ikeja to the North and Ajeromi Districts to the West of the city could be attributed to the sprawls that were developing along the route to the city. Mushin grew into a suburb of Lagos after the Second World War when its growth from a group of quiet villages was encouraged by the urban population explosion as migrants from across the country

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<sup>101</sup>Fapohunda, J.O. et al.1978. *Lagos. Urban Development and Employment*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

<sup>102</sup>Baker, P. *Urbanisation and Political Change*.

<sup>103</sup> Olukoju, A. Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos: C1900 – 1939, in Lawal, Olakunle.2004. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation and change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

particularly from the diverse Yoruba-speaking communities moved into metropolitan Lagos in search of survival. These migrants were attracted to the area by the cheap housing that made it a haven for workers, artisans and traders. It must be noted however that the sale of land in Mushin, from the colonial days, had become remarkable for the inherent dangers as the sense of scarcity had encouraged intense competition for land in the area. Between 1952 and 1963, Lagos had become one of Africa's fastest growing cities with the population growth rate in the Lagos municipality at 8.6 percent and the suburban areas of 19 percent.<sup>104</sup>

The suburban areas were themselves isolated settlements on the fringes of Western region that were subsumed in the expansion of the metropolitan area. Many of these settlements provided the inlets into the city from the hinterland. These include the routes into the city like the Lagos-Abeokuta Road through Agege, the railway line from Northern Nigeria also through Agege, the Lagos-Ibadan road and Lagos-Badagry road through Ajegunle and Ojo. In the evolution of these suburban settlements three processes have been identified in the creation of Mushin-Itire, Igbobi-Somolu-Bariga and Ajeromi Awori complexes.<sup>105</sup> Mushin, the oldest of the suburban settlement was established around 1850 by migrant families from Ota-Igbesa and Ado-Odo that later settled at Ijeshatedo. The occupation of Mushin gained prominence with the opening of the railway link between Abeokuta and Lagos when many Egba traders took advantage of the new railway route to increase their trade with Lagos. The completion of the Lagos-Abeokuta road in 1927 further enhanced trade relations between Lagos and Abeokuta province attracting speculators and developers who bought up and build the stretch of lang along the road up to Idi-Oro, the fringe of the Federal Territory.

Before 1851, much of the Igbobi-Somolu-Bariga suburban settlement had served as centres for slave trades for Lagos Chiefs like Bashua, Eletu-Odibo, Suenu, Oloto, Asogbon, Onisemo, Bajulaiye and Obanikoro. Somolu, Oba Akintoye's nephew from Abeokuta led Soldiers into the area when he sought to assist Akitoye to regain the throne of Lagos from Kosoko. Somolu retired

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<sup>104</sup> See Preliminary *Master plan of Lagos Metropolitan Area, Lagos State, Nigeria 1965 – 1985*. 1965. Prepared by Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB).

<sup>105</sup> See Preliminary *Masterplan of Lagos Metropolitan Area, Lagos State, Nigeria 1965 – 1985*. 1965. prepared by Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB).

into the settlement at the end of the Civil War and the annexation of Lagos in 1861.<sup>106</sup> Alayabiagba and Onibaba villages formed the nucleus of the Ajeromi Awori suburban settlement. Governor Glover established the Onibaba village in 1870 as a camp for smallpox patients but the government interest was renewed in the area in 1929 when land was acquired for private development. The houses that emerged from the scheme were poorly constructed while land-use was so haphazard the Lagos City council in 1940 introduced building regulations that were too strict for the residents that many of them moved on across the boundary to Ajegunle-Ajeromi to evade the authorities.

The existence of these suburban settlements contributed largely to the population “implosion” that followed or encouraged the expansion of Lagos metropolitan area particularly after the trade restrictions at the end of Second World War were relaxed. It would be recalled that industrialization was imminent at this period when the value of imports went up encouraging the need for local industrialization to cope with expanding market for consumer goods in Lagos. Existing infrastructural facilities like electricity, water supply, medical and educational institutions in Lagos offered considerable attraction to investors and at the same time prospects of employment for the swelling population of school leavers and discharged war veterans.

The development of trade, harbor and industrialisation gave rise to the increasing population of Lagos. At the Mushin-Itire complex of the emerging suburban communities, the overflow of population from the main city was enhanced by the development of Ikeja Industrial Estate and the extension of bus services to Lawanson near Itire. The establishment of the Royal Orthopedic Hospital at Igbobi by the government to treat war victims in 1945 and the subsequent building of the Igbobi College paved the way for the expansion and the flow of migrants into the area. The development of the Lagos-Ikorodu road in 1951 reduced the land distance between the Ijebu province and Lagos opened the neighbourhood to further development by land speculators.

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<sup>106</sup> Sada, P. Differential Population Distribution and Growth in Metropolitan Lagos. *Journal of Business and Social Studies* Vol. 2. No. 1 (University of Lagos).

Available employment opportunities in the new areas swelled the population of Somolu between 1952 and 1963 increasing by annual average of 42.8 percent.<sup>107</sup>

The establishment of more industries, improvement of the port and harbour as well as the boisterous economic activities contributed to the population explosion and the attendant sprawl occasioned by the absence of infrastructure and urban governance. That the Ajegunle suburban community in the Ajeromi-Awori complex has its origin in the reluctance of residents to cope with regulations of municipal authorities' points to the absence of governance in these settlements. An influx of low income workers into Ajegunle was encouraged by the expansion of industries in Apapa and commercial activities in the central business district of the Lagos Island. It is instructive to note that the population of the Ajeromi area grew by an average of 17.9 percent between 1959 and 1963<sup>108</sup> the suburban settlements, because of their location far from the seat of the municipal government made them not under the control of any legal authority.

It would be recalled that the earlier activities of the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) centred mainly on land reclamation at Idumagbo followed by further reclamation of swampy lands and setting up of residential estates at Victoria Island and industrial layouts at Apapa and Ijora. The Apapa industrial zone was 92 hectares of reclaimed land for heavy manufacturing plants. However, while Apapa was developing, unplanned industrial areas sprang up at Iganmu to the north. The Iganmu industrial estate, it must be noted, was close to the high density residential areas of Orile Iganmu, Amukoko, Ajegunle, Cardoso village, Aguda, Surulere, Lawanson and Itire as well as from Isale Eko in Central Lagos where much of the workforce were drawn.

The future dense population on the Lagos Mainland began in 1958 when the Western regional government established a 120-hectare Industrial Estate at Ikeja close to Mushin to forestall what it perceived as a Federal Government's plan to extend the Federal Territory further into Western

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<sup>107</sup> Sada, P. The Rural Urban Fringe of Lagos: Growth and Planning Problems. *Nigeria Magazine*. No 104. March-May.1970.

<sup>108</sup> Sada, P. The Rural Urban Fringe of Lagos: Growth and Planning Problems. *Nigeria Magazine* No 104. March-May. 1970.



Nigeria.<sup>109</sup> The Ikeja Industrial Estate, like the previous similar establishments, attracted much of the unskilled labour from nearby fringe locations like Ikeja, Agege and the neighbouring areas. This informed the growth of informal settlements around the industrial layouts.

The absence of any form of administrative control over the settlements on the outskirts of the city has been identified as a bane as none of them had any effective local government administration until 1955. This however does not indicate ineffectiveness on the part of the Lagos City Council. The absence of any statutory agency in the running of these settlements explains why they thrived amidst planning inadequacies. The absence of comprehensive planning in the suburbs of Lagos has been the real problem of the haphazard physical development within the Lagos Metropolitan region.<sup>110</sup> The available land space in the city, inadequate though, continued to accommodate the in-flow of migrants. At the same time, infrastructure like roads and houses initially felt adequate for a population of 15 - 25,000 had to be shared by about 650,000 people. This was worsened by the prevailing dearth of personnel and inter-governmental rivalry that made it difficult for the city's agencies, being the central authority, to interfere on the fringes of the Western region until the creation of Lagos State in 1967.

Lagos remains the smallest state in Nigeria but has the highest population accounting for over five percent of the National estimate.<sup>111</sup> The much-contested 1991 national census recorded that Lagos had a population of 5,725,116 out of a national estimate of 88,992,220. (See Table 2.1) A UN Study however estimated that the state had a population of 8.5 million using an annual growth rate of eight percent (8%) in the thickly populated area of Metropolitan Lagos and three percent (3%) per annum in the rural areas with the characteristic sparse population. Based on the high rate of rural-urban migration in Nigeria, Lagos was estimated to receive 300,000 migrants yearly, or 25,000 per month or 833 daily at the rate of 34 entrants hourly.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> See Akinola, R.A. 1965. Factors affecting the location of a Textile Industry, Example of Ikeja Textile Mills . *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*. 7.3 pp.248-249.

<sup>110</sup> Adejuyigbe.O. Evolution of The Boundaries of Lagos in *Nigeria Magazine*, No 101, July-Sept 1969.

<sup>111</sup> Ariyo, Ademola.2004. NEPAD City Programme, Profile of Lagos City, Nigeria. A Study commissioned by UN Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya for the Lagos State Government. p.19

<sup>112</sup> See Lagos State Handbook 1995, a publication of the Lagos State Ministry of Information,Culture and Sports.

The population density was put at between 1,300 and 1400 persons per square kilometer. This density was about twenty times that of the whole country. The average density within the built-up areas of the Metropolitan Lagos was estimated at well over 20,000 persons per square kilometer.<sup>113</sup> This is the demographic challenge Lagos faces in the delivery of urban infrastructure to an ever-increasing population

Another UN Study in 1999 projected that the city of Lagos was expected to hit the 24.5 million population mark by the year 2015 putting it among the ten most populous cities of the world. Table 2.2 shows a time-dimensional outlook of the population of Lagos State.

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<sup>113</sup> See Lagos State Handbook 1995.

**Table 2:1 1991 Population Census for Lagos State by L.G.As**

L.G.A	Male	Female	Total both sexes	Projections
Agege	342,409	308,913	651,322	790,333
Badagry	60,789	58,478	119,267	144,722
Epe	49,802	51,662	101,464	123,119
Eti-Osa	98,809	76,891	175,700	213,199
Ibeju-Lekki	12,426	12,511	24,937	30,259
Ikeja	109,844	93,539	203,383	246,791
Ikorodu	94,383	90,291	184,674	224,089
Lagos Island	83,276	82,720	165,996	201,424
Lagos Mainland	149,171	132,386	281,557	341,649
Ojo	548,661	486,560	1,035,221	1,256,167
Mushin	281,675	258,108	539,783	654,988
Shomolu	405,148	366,046	771,194	935,789
Alimosho	225,564	205,326	430,890	522,854
Oshodi-Isolo	237,908	211,873	449,781	545,817
Surulere	310,739	279,208	589,947	715,859
Total	3,010,601	2,714,515	5,725,116	6,947,019

Source: N.P.C. 1992.

**Table 2:2 Lagos Population Trend: Actual and Projected**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Population (million)</b>	<b>Global Ranking</b>
1985	5.8	31 <sup>st</sup>
1990	7.7	22 <sup>nd</sup>
1995	10.28	-
2000	13.42	6 <sup>th</sup>
2005	16.86	-
2010	20.19	2 <sup>nd</sup>
2015	24.6	3 <sup>rd</sup>

Source: **Lagos State Development Indicators**, 2002.

The demographic trend of Lagos, as presented by the UN Study (1999), shows the following indices:

Population -	:	13.4 million
Population Density-	:	3,746 per sq.km
Urban-Rural Ratio-	:	70:30
Population Growth Rate	:	8% (4 National; 2% Global)
Share of nation's urban Population	:	36.8%
City Development Index	:	29.3 (22 <sup>nd</sup> of 23 selected cities) <sup>114</sup>

The impact of these indices are inherent in the city's socio-economic development and its growth including infrastructure decay, environmental/institutional deterioration, massive urban drift, shortage of housing leading to overcrowding and growth of slums as well as widespread unemployment and urban poverty, housing overcrowding and massive urban drift.

Uthman (2005) reports that the majority of the urban poor lived under congested environmental conditions such as in water-logged areas, motor parks, markets, bus stops, open spaces including

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<sup>114</sup> Ariyo, Ademola. 2004. p.20

bridge loops and waterfronts.<sup>115</sup> While statistics from the Lagos State Government reveal that over 70 % of Lagosians live below the poverty line in 2,600 sprawling urban settlements including 100 blighted areas, an increase from the 42 slums covering 1.622 hectares identified in 1983 in the State Regional Master Plan 1980-2000, a reassessment of the slums in 1995 revealed an expansion of slum to 62 and an increased population growth rate to about 7.5%.<sup>116</sup>

A World Bank poverty profile on Lagos blighted areas indicates a sordid housing situation in the city. The indices illustrate the problem of a growing population on inadequate housing:

- 75% of people live in one room apartment with 4.6 people in a room
- 8-10 families live in 'Face-Me-I-face you multi-family dwellings with about 30 sharing cooking and sanitation facilities.
- 20% of household expenditure is on transportation.
- 66% of under-5 children diseases are water-borne and sanitation-prone.
- 60%of residents are tenants.
- 80-90% of new homes classified as illegal structures.
- 55% report flooding of streets.
- 30% report flooding inside homes.
- 100,000 slum dwellings cannot be improved legally.<sup>117</sup>

Beyond these, the problem of housing is further worsened by Land scarcity and the high cost that threatened house-ownership as the low and middle income groups hardest hit by the prohibitive cost of land are marginalized in procuring such for housing development.<sup>118</sup> The land issue will be better appreciated with a discuss of the changing role or value of land in the building of Lagos metropolis from the early days of the city.

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<sup>115</sup> Uthman, B. 2005. Lagos and the Challenge of Urban Sustainability. Lagos: Development Initiatives Network.

<sup>116</sup> Uthman, B. 2005.

<sup>117</sup> UN –Habitat. 2001. Lagos City Development Index (CDI).

<sup>118</sup> Abiodun, Y.A. 1999. Housing Delivery in Lagos Metropolis : Challenges of the Next Millineum. Bolawole, B. State Administration &the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Ikeja: Double Bee Enterprises. p.61.

## THE CHANGING VALUE OF LAND IN EMERGING LAGOS METROPOLIS

Land ownership in African societies goes beyond space. The land tenure system has its roots in ancient customs. It has religious and political connotations beyond being most important assets in subsistence agriculture and its use in the provision of housing making it obviously difficult for migrants in the cities to own or access it. This explains why this set of people later had recourse to occupy or squat on vacant or unoccupied lands deemed not to have owners because they needed to build informal settlements to provide shelters.

Nature has not been generous to Lagos in terms of dry lands making land a scarce commodity in the city. As rightly noted by Nwafor (1986), the land on which Metropolitan Lagos is situated is flat-lying, poorly drained and with a large proportion covered by swamps:

The low-lying topography coupled with heavy rainstorms and high humidity combine to make Metropolitan Lagos one of the most problematic urban environments in Africa in terms of land use development and livability.<sup>119</sup>

Up to the 1850s, there were at least three sources of land titles in Lagos namely: the purely customary tenures, granted by the Chiefs to their families and dependants; tenures granted by the Chiefs to strangers, and a number of grants made in various forms for various purposes by the Oba of Lagos first, to the Colonial consular authority and then, to the Colonial administrators.<sup>120</sup>

The traditional land ownership system in Lagos changed in the decades that followed the British Annexation when well-behaved slaves were allowed by their owners to retain the use of the land and housing they occupied. This change in land tenure in the early colonial period enabled former slaves and strangers obtained Crown grants in their own names that made them enjoyed private property rights like any other members of the society.<sup>121</sup>

In pre-colonial Lagos, like in many other settlements in Africa, land was traditionally a major source of wealth. Land is also seen as an important symbol of status with its inherent emotional values beyond its worth in commercial transactions. Land, in any Yoruba settlement attracted much respect as nothing attracts much respect as owning a house which was a claim to eminence

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<sup>119</sup> Nwafor, J.C. 1986. Physical Environment, Decision Making and Land Use Development in Metropolitan Lagos. *Geo Journal* 12.4 433-442.

<sup>120</sup> Okuntola, B. 2020. Land Commercialisation and the growth of European Business Community in Lagos, 1851-1940. Akinpelu, B. 2020. Studies in Lagos and African History. Ojo: Centre for General Nigerian Studies, Lagos State University. P.110

<sup>121</sup> Agbola, Tunde and Agunbiade, Elijah M. 2004. Urbanisation, Slum Development and Security of tenure: The Challenges of Meeting Millennium Development Goal 7 in Metropolitan Lagos, Nigeria. De Sharbinin. A. et al (eds) *Urban Population Environment dynamics in the Developing World: Case Studies and Lessons Learned*.

or affluence.<sup>122</sup> From the founding of Lagos, the Oba (King) as the traditional head of the town never had land vested in him. By 1851, the populated part of the town was restricted to the high grounds in its north western part and the sovereignty of the land was vested in the children of Olofin or those who came to be known as Idejo. This, according to Animashaun (2015):

marked the beginning of settlements and the granting of political Sovereignty over different parts of Lagos to Olofin's children by the Olofin and an indication of the fact that the Olofin's children, the Idejo Chiefs, indeed pioneered the opening up of new settlements and the extension of the political sway of the Olofin in Lagos with titles that indicate the areas under their individual control, which leaves no one in doubt that they were the original owners of the land<sup>123</sup>.

The British colonial land policy was first enunciated on 1st January, 1900 when Lord Lugard declared that "all the land bought previously by the Royal Niger Company now became the property of the Queen"<sup>124</sup>. This was followed the following year by the Crown lands proclamation No. 16 that divided the land of the protectorate into crown and public lands<sup>125</sup> culminating in 1907 into the nationalisation of all lands by the colonial state. This left many peasants landless forcing them to migrate into the cities for waged labour. This set off the urban drift that has not abated even decades after independence.

Land had continued to be held communally until the annexation which encouraged a massive migration that changed the value of land in Lagos. The changing value of land had been obvious in the early 1850s when the CMS missionaries directed its members among the repatriated former slaves to seek land to build churches and schools.<sup>126</sup> This led to a keen competition among the liberated slaves who from their experience in Brazil and Sierra Leone were

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<sup>122</sup> Coker, G.B.A. 1966. *Family Property among the Yoruba*. London: Sweet& Maxwell.

<sup>123</sup> Animashaun, Bashir Olalekan. 2015. *The Idejo Chiefs and Land Politics in Lagos 1500-2000*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. University of Ibadan.

<sup>124</sup> Mangywet, M.Y. 1984. *A History of Class formation in the Plateau Province 1902: the Genesis of a Ruling Class*. An unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. ABU. Zaria. p. 208.

<sup>125</sup> Eicher, C. and Lieldholms, C. (eds). 1970. *Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy*. Michigan: Michigan State University. P. 10.

<sup>126</sup> Mann, Kristin, 2007, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City, Lagos, 1760-1900*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. p. 249.

conversant with the Rights that had to do with properties.<sup>127</sup> Dosunmu, too, having realised the changing value and importance of land sought to retain the control of land through his grant when being coerced to sign The Treaty of Cession.<sup>128</sup>

The growing importance and scarcity of land became apparent even before the signing of the 1861 treaty as the alienation, commercialisation and privatisation of land was becoming popular among residents such that immediately after the Treaty, settlers began selling their lands for monetary compensation.<sup>129</sup> The new role of land had its importance stressed after the Annexation by commercial development and growth as well as increasing demand for dwellings, offices and storehouses:

Colonial rule and missionary activity created a need for houses, offices, churches, schools, and other structures, putting further pressure on urban real estate. The fact that the commercial and administrative centre of the town laid a small island, where much of the land was low-lying and swampy and needed to be improved before building, compounded the problem of land scarcity.<sup>130</sup>

Since the purpose of making Lagos a Crown colony was to promote British trade on West African coast, appropriation of indigenous land became one of the cornerstones of the colonial administration as the tool of ensuring and enhancing the prosperity of the business community in Lagos.<sup>131</sup>

The change in land tenure after the annexation completely altered the access to land which had its value appreciated as it now became acceptable collateral in commercial transactions. The value of land in Lagos was further brightened when rental was introduced into the city's Real Estate market. Many Europeans, Sierra Leoneans and Brazillians arriving Lagos did not immediately buy and build house but rented structures from local landowners. Between 1865 and 1869, the government paid an average of 420 pounds per year in rent even as property owners in Olowogbowo, Faji, or the Brazillian quarters came to realize they could earn some money by

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<sup>127</sup> They had believed the King's grant was an all-encompassing title to the land without restrictions.

<sup>128</sup> Treaty of Cession, 6 August, 1861, reprinted in Smith, R.S. 1979. *The Lagos Consulate, 1851-1861*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p.141.

<sup>129</sup> Mann, Kristin. 2007. P.249.

<sup>130</sup> Mann, Kristin. 2007. P.237.

<sup>131</sup> Okuntola, B. 2020. Land Commercialisation and the growth of European Business Community in Lagos, 1851-1940. Akinpelu, B. 2020. Studies in Lagos and African History. Ojo: Centre for General Nigerian Studies, Lagos State University.p.103.



renting their properties out. Prominent Lagosians also swelled their households by offering hospitality and other forms of assistance to strangers migrating to the town. Poorer Lagosians, too, were not left out of the Property boom. Many of them also benefitted as demand existed for rental housing among the local populace as hundreds of migrants to the town needed places to live.

The demands of the growing population for housing were, however, not encouraged by the prevailing colonial policy guidelines in the construction of houses in Native quarters that prohibited the use of local materials like grass mats for walls or enclosures encouraging only the use of burnt bricks mostly unaffordable to the local populace.<sup>132</sup> The new value and the importance of land in Lagos after the annexation and its prohibitive cost could be said to be the root of the unending problem of housing shortage in Lagos. The price of real estate had been pushed up earlier in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the growing demand for land and houses making land speculation, even in swampy areas, a worthy investment.

The thriving changes in land use and value as well as the tenure gave landed property a new role as a resource in Lagos as land, and buildings in particular, had increasing value for dwelling, storing and providing shelter for dependants. Landed properties also became a major form of wealth for their role in securing credit, generating income and as a status symbol.

By the early 1910s, the practice of mortgaging land to obtain credit had spread from the city to rural areas on the Mainland among the settlements near the railroad and the cocoa producing regions. The changes in land tenure however portended a threat to the colonial administrators who were beginning to have a rethink on the land policies.

With the consolidation of Private Property Rights in land after the annexation, British officials in London and in the colony felt the growth of the colony was predicated on the property rights. It was held by the colonial administration that under the Treaty of Cession, ultimate ownership of land in Lagos had been passed on to the British Crown. During the colonial period, many British officials believed that African perceptions on land ownership were inimical to progress and

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<sup>132</sup> Asojo, Abimbola. 2010. Sustainable Strategies for Housing the Urban Poor: A Case Study of Lagos, *Nigerian Policy and The Environment*. June 2010.

development believing that such ideas would be eventually changed by colonial rule and development.<sup>133</sup>

Britain, hoping to rule its vast inland territories through local intermediaries, felt that the changes in land tenure would undermine the authority of local chiefs on land thus affecting the stability of the colonial State. They feared that the spread of the market for land and property rights to the hinterland would dispossess local farmers of their land driving them into the capital city where they could become social burdens.

The colonial authorities decided to accept communal ownership of land as a way of preserving the powers of local rulers and ensuring the access to land by the peasants. This was effected in Lagos largely through inconsistent judicial decisions that stressed communal tenure, endorsing the rights of some chieftaincy families to land. For example, the land at Epetedo occupied by Oshodi Tapa and his slaves and many dependants on their return from Epe in 1862 degenerated into a political conflict. To stem an impending crisis on Lagos land, the government had to institute an enquiry into the issue and eventually had to settle matters through legislations that turned back the hands of the clock on land tenure as a series of ordinances promulgated in the late 1940s affirmed some principles:

that the land covered by Crown grants would henceforth be treated as communally owned family property, unless it had been sold or partitioned, and that even then the land became family property on the death of the purchaser except in special cases; that Arota<sup>134</sup> held land allotted to them in trust for their families and that if their family became extinct or forfeited the property for attempting to alienate it or other reasons, it reverted to the chief of the family that had granted it; and finally that dependants of Chief Oshodi in Epetedo were subject to similar restrictions, except that they could elect to terminate the rights of the Oshodi family in the land they occupied in return for monetary compensation.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> LASRAB. Land ownership by Native officers (RAB 000103). October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1897.

See also. LASRAB. Otunba Payne's petition on 'Land-Jabbing' by Colonial officers. Dispatch 19712 of 10-09-1897.

<sup>134</sup> Arota is an offspring of a slave born while in the house of the Slave owner

<sup>135</sup> Mann, Kristin. 2007. p276

The Crown Grants system was subsequently enacted in Lagos through many laws introducing the English tenure and individual ownership to land. These include; The Crown Grants (Township of Lagos) Act No. 18 1947; The Arota (Crown Grants) Act No. 19 1947; The Epetedo Land Act No.20, 1947; and the Glover Settlement Act No. 21,1947.

The introduction of Western concept of land ownership led to the entrenchment of a dual system characterised by “a concurrent application of traditional as well as the received land tenure system witnessed in other parts of Southern Nigeria.”<sup>136</sup>

The term Crown lands as State lands were known until 1963 when Nigeria became a Republic was largely applicable to the city of Lagos to describe lands ‘granted to the British Crown’ under the 1861 Treaty of Cession.<sup>137</sup> Land continued to be a prized resource in the development of Lagos through the eve of Independence as well as a source of frictions in interpersonal relationships as it remained a contentious issue in economic development as seemingly endless litigations on land disputes often impact on the pace of socio-economic developments. The new role and value of land in the metropolis continued on the higher scale up to the creation of Lagos State. The Land Use Decree of 1978 that was promulgated on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1978 with immediate effect changed the concept of land ownership in Lagos, and indeed, the Southern Nigeria as it states that:

All land comprised in the territory of each state in the Federation are hereby vested in the Military Governor of that State and such land shall be held in trust and administered for the use and common benefit of all Nigerians in accordance with the provisions of this decree.<sup>138</sup>

## **THE LAND USE DECREE AND ITS EFFECTS ON HOUSING DEVELOPMENT**

The Land Use Decree No.6 of 1978 was promulgated to provide an effective and sustainable management and control of land in Nigeria particularly in a manner that gives government sufficient powers over the acquisition, transfer or otherwise assignment of land and land resources. The decree, later redesignated as the Land Use Act by virtue of the Adaptation of

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<sup>136</sup> Smith, I.O. 2013. *Practical Approach to Law of Real Property in Nigeria*. Lagos: Ecowatch Publications Nigeria Limited.

<sup>137</sup> Okunnu, L.O. A memorandum submitted to the Commission of Inquiry for the Investigation of Federal Government landed property between 1<sup>st</sup> January 1984 and 28th May 1999.

<sup>138</sup> Okunnu, L.O. 2003. *Contemporary State Land Matters in Nigeria :The Case of Lagos State*. Benin: Sankore Publishers Ltd.

Laws (Redesignation of Decrees etc) Order of 1980 conferred on State Governors the custodian right to issue Certificates of Occupancy for land holders in their states but left out the majority already with possessory rights to their land.<sup>139</sup>

While the law aimed at reducing land conflicts among citizens,unifying and simplifying land tenure concepts and land administration procedures throughout the country,achieving a more equitable distribution of and access to land rights for all citizens regardless of wealth or position, its objectives were not achieved as State ownership of land took a vast land off the market.<sup>140</sup>

The demand for land could not be met by the rate of government allocation. The people had to seek illegal means of acquiring and developing land as rapid population growth placed pressure on the demand for land.<sup>141</sup>

The hopes of an unhindered access to land by the citizenry was dashed by the Act's inherent contradictions and effects as well as the institutional weakness and the absence of political will in the country to secure a just, fair and effective implementation of the law.<sup>142</sup> Acquiring land for housing becomes cumbersome under the law as the freehold status is not attained without a Certificate of Occupancy(C of O). But getting the Certificate of Occupancy is often more difficult than getting the land itself. The Land Use Act was prone to abuses by Governors who were often accused of revocation of legally acquired rights of occupancy under the guise of overriding public interest. The law also encouraged the emergence of fraudulent persons and land speculators who exploit the inherent ambiguities of the statute to defraud land buyers selling a parcel of land to more than one interest resulting in endless litigations.<sup>143</sup> More often, these land speculators are daring enough to encroach on government-acquired land they sell to unsuspecting buyers.

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<sup>139</sup> Mabogunje, A.L . Land Reforms in Nigeria: Progress, Problems and Prospects. A brief on the activities of Presidential Technical Committee for Land Reform.

<sup>140</sup> Akinmoladun, O and Oduwaye, L. 2007. Planning Laws and Policies influencing the Use of Land in Metropolitan Lagos,Nigeria. FUTY Journal of the Environment, Vol.2, No.1, 2007.

<sup>141</sup> Akinmoladun, O and Oduwaye, L. 2007.

<sup>142</sup> Nwocha,M. 2016. Impact of the Nigerian Land Use Act on Economic development in the Country. Acta Universitatis Danubis Administratio, Vol.8, No. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Aluko, O.2012.The Effects of Land Use Act on Sustainable Housing Provision in Nigeria: The Lagos State Experience. *Journal of Sustainable Development*. Vol.5. No.1. January 2012.

Land is an important component of production in the housing industry. In urban areas like metropolitan Lagos, land remains an asset, a factor of production for housing and public utilities like roads, parks and other infrastructure. Land prices largely depend on levels of demand and supply together with issues of accessibility and topography.<sup>144</sup> Existing urban infrastructure and services significantly determine the availability of and market prices for land, buildings and services. They also affect the ability of the poor to access land and housing through legal channels. Rising land prices takes the access to land for housing beyond the reach of the working class while land in some urban fringes increase in value leading to congestion and growth of slums. It is this that often encourages large segments of the urban population to emerging slums.

The implication of the influx of urban migrants is the high demand for housing accommodation and the inability of available supply to meet the needs.(see Table 2.3) The long wait for decent accommodation lead the migrants to seek solace in informal housing symbolized by illegal developments leading to housing in crowded environment with unwholesome hygiene

**TABLE 2.3: LAND VALUE IN SOME AREAS OF LAGOS (1992)**

AREA	PLOT SIZE	VALUE
Lekki	60 ft x 120 ft	N 500,000
Ketu	60 ft x 120 ft	N120,000
Ojokoro	60 ft x 120 ft	N80,000
Idimu	60 ft x 120 ft	N50,000
Mile 12	60 ft x 120 ft	N25,000

Source: Adapted from Abiodun, Y. 1999. Housing Delivery in Lagos Metropolis: Challenges of the Next Millennium.

The increasing cost of land has contributed to the growth of adjoining settlements on the fringes of the metropolis as residents and new migrants who cannot afford the cost of land in the core metropolis and even the emerging slums move into these new areas.

Allen (2003) posits that the growth of cities in the developing world is dynamic, diverse and disordered, and increasingly space-incentive. He described this disordered and leapfrog process of

<sup>144</sup> Barjor, M. Arish, D. (eds) 2008. Approaches to Urban Slums- A Multimedia Sourcebook on Adaptive and Proactive Strategies. Washington DC: World Bank. P. 31.

urban expansion as “peri-urbanisation”.<sup>145</sup> Peri-urban areas tend to put agricultural land to mixed-economic uses, from farming and animal husbandry to the installation of factory complexes.<sup>146</sup> This has been proved by the drift of prospective homeowners to Ikorodu, the most developed of the three centres outside the Lagos metropolis. The location of Ikorodu division of the State along the Lagos-Sagamu-Ibadan Road has provided sanctuary for population spill over from Lagos. The availability of cheaper land and labour has encouraged the relocation of traditional firms who no longer have land space in the city centre.

Towards the end of this study and with the return of civil rule to the society, many suburbs of the metropolis began to attract the attention of residents, mostly migrants and offsprings of migrant families who were keen to invest in property development. This was encouraged by the low cost of land in these areas that were not only close to the city centre but were themselves emerging new urban settlements. For migrants, particularly in Lagos, house ownership goes beyond the provision of shelter. It is seen as a crowning glory of their sojourn in the city; a measure of success in life.<sup>147</sup> The purchase of urban real estate is also seen as the first step in establishing a corporate kin group in a new place.<sup>148</sup> For many other migrants, owning a land to build a house in Lagos exalts so much because it would be a thing of pleasure to return occasionally to Lagos to collect rents after the house owner would have retired into his town of origin.<sup>149</sup> Ownership of property in a metropolis was considered an important urban occupation.<sup>150</sup>

The desire of many residents particularly migrants and their offspring that have come to associate this with a lifetime achievement led to speculation for lands in the outlying towns of neighbouring Ogun State like Akute, Ogijo, Mowe, Ota, Sango and Ijoko.<sup>151</sup> Curiously enough

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<sup>145</sup> Allen, A. 2003. Environmental Planning and Management of the Peri-urban Interface: Perspectives on an emerging Field. *Environment and Urbanization*. 15 (1): 135-145.

<sup>146</sup> Tacoli, C. 1999. Understanding the opportunities and constraints for Low Income Groups in the Peri-Urban Interface: The Contribution of Livelihood Frameworks. London: Peri-Urban Project, Development Planning Unit, University College, London. P. 7.

<sup>147</sup> Oral interview with Muraina Adegoke, 74, a house owner at Sogunle, Alasia on 10/12/2017.

<sup>148</sup> Barnes, S.T. 1986. Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 61.

<sup>149</sup> Oral interview with Rafiu Giwa, 78, a Builder/Property Developer at Olokodana Street. Ebute-Meta West on 17/07/2018.

<sup>150</sup> Barnes, S.T. 1986. p. 61.

<sup>151</sup> Oral interview with Adesina Adewole, 67, a Land agent at Abule Eko, Ijede near Ikorodu on 19/10/2015.

many of these house owners would still be commuting between their new abodes and their places of work while still claiming residency of Lagos.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TRANSITION TO A METROPOLIS: 1917 – 1966

#### **Introduction**

The colonial administration's desire for a healthy environment, if only to protect the European population in the emerging Lagos metropolis found expression in the various efforts to improve sanitation on the island. In 1899, the Governor, Sir William Macgregor who was passionate about sanitation concentrated his effort on draining the swamps that abounded on Lagos island. He embarked on the reclamation of Kokomaiko swamp by digging a canal named after him to provide more habitable land to accommodate the growing population.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps to express its determination redress the environmental issues in the town, the colonial government resorted to Ordinances to check further deterioration of the environment.

#### **LEGISLATIONS TO ENHANCE URBANISATION IN LAGOS**

The desire to control development and improve sanitation in the Lagos colony encouraged the British administration to enact the 1863 Town Improvement Ordinance. This came after Sir Richard Burton had described Lagos as detestable:

The soil is sandy, and in parts, there are depressions which the rains convert into black and muddy points; the ground, however is somewhat higher in the interior where the racecourse lies.

The thin line of European buildings ... occupies the best site fronting the water the streets want only straightening, widening, draining and clearing”<sup>2</sup>

The first physical planning of Lagos began with the appointment of Captain John Glover as Governor in 1864 when he set for himself the goal of improving amenities on the island and establishing conditions in which “laudable commerce could best flourish.”<sup>3</sup> The colonial concern for the environment manifested further with the enactment of the Swamp Improvement Act of 1877 that was actually intended to protect Europeans from health hazards that were prevalent at

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<sup>1</sup> Akinsemoyin, K and Vaughan-Richards, A. 1976. Building Lagos. p.44

<sup>2</sup> Burton, R.F. 1863. *Wanderings in West Africa*. Courier Corporation.

<sup>3</sup> Ellen Thorpe.1966..*Ladder of Bones*. London: Fontana Books. P. 60.



the period<sup>4</sup> - overcrowding and poor sanitation occasioned by the endless streams of arrivals of migrants into the city. The focus of colonial officials changed at this point to the small European community that was segregated and given preference in sanitary and development measures.

The lopsidedness of colonial approach to the development of urban infrastructure was informed by their economic interest particularly when such could enhance the exploitation and exportation of primary products:

Many factors influenced the decision of the colonial masters to settle down in any town, namely: an availability of raw materials for export to Britain to feed their local industries: proximity to coastal areas which could facilitate landing of ships and readily available cheap labour. This selfish economic interest also influenced the construction of railways, airports, seaports, Trunk 'A' roads and any other means of communication. For example, the rail line passed through Port-Harcourt to Enugu for bulk movement of palm products, to Kano for cotton and groundnuts; and to Ibadan for Cocoa and to sea through Lagos to Britain.<sup>5</sup>

In the last decade of the 19th century Lagos already had its cosmopolitan features and was described as presenting a picture of “a little white community trying to live the civilised life amid surroundings barely reclaimed from the Barbarie”<sup>6</sup> It was also a period of improved provision of infrastructure in the city with the construction of railway into the hinterland, the extension of road network on the island and the mainland. The colonial administration at this period believed that habits of sanitation and hygiene could only be instilled in Africans by legislation. It was felt that laws earlier intended for nuisance control in the aftermath of industrial revolution in Britain could be introduced into the colonies to ensure an orderly development.<sup>7</sup>

The first of such legislation was the 1902 ordinance that required the Governor to designate areas as ‘European Reservations’ with their own Local Boards of Health, a follow-up to the 1899 sanitary Board of Health and the commencement of racial segregation and Dual Urban structure that dominated the provision of urban infrastructure till the twilight of colonial administration.

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<sup>4</sup> Aduwo , A. 1999. Historical Preview of Town Planning in Lagos before 1929. Olaseni, A.M. (ed) *Urban and Regional Planning in Nigeria, Lagos*: Nigeria Institute of Town Planners. Lagos Chapter. pp. 85-90

<sup>5</sup> Udoh. Nathaniel. 2014. *The Determinants and Implications of Rural-Urban migration in Nigeria*, African Journal of social sciences, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Thorpe, E . 1966. p. 82

<sup>7</sup> Aduwo, A. 1999. *Historical Review of Town Planning in Nigeria*.

Lord Lugard hinted at the segregation in the law declaring ‘European Reservation Areas when he admitted it encouraged “quiet principles as that of segregation”<sup>8</sup>

The 1904 Cantonment Proclamation that sought to further protect and improve sanitation of Europeans in the new Reservation from the prevailing health hazards brought in the idea of segregation of expatriate officials and Europeans from the native areas in selected urban centres. In Lagos, the implementation of this policy meant building government houses around the Race course, along Onikan Creek and towards Ikoyi far from the native wards of the city. The ordinance ensured that the European Reservation at Ikoyi was buffered from Obalende and Lagos Island by the cemeteries, Polo grounds and the golf course while other structures like the Hausa barracks and similar buildings close to the Racecourse were moved to Obalende. Residents of the European Reserved areas were not encouraged to share fellowships with the natives even at places of worship as a church of Anglican denomination<sup>9</sup> was built at Race course widening the racial gap between the native population and the Europeans.

The Public Health Ordinance setting up the Sanitary District of Lagos under the Lagos Municipal Board of Health was enacted in 1908. In 1909, the Incorporation Ordinance was passed to extend the sanitary powers of the municipal Board of Health to include other matters indirectly concerned with health. It is noteworthy that much of these ordinances only impacted on the European population.

While the 1863 Town Improvement Ordinance introduced the basis for control of development and urban sanitation in Lagos protectorate, the Township Ordinance no. 29 of 1917 provided the basis for setting guidelines for development of towns in Nigeria.<sup>10</sup> The Township Ordinance No. 29 of 1917 which was a watershed in the evolution of Town and country planning in Nigeria was enacted to classify urban settlement into different grades of cities as well as established broad layout of towns. It introduced spatial orderliness, zoning and subdivision regulations into the land use and planning practices in the cities.

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<sup>8</sup> Lugard. F. Memo XI. 1918.

<sup>9</sup> The Church, St. Saviours, still stands as a symbol of elitism today

<sup>10</sup> Aduwo, A. 1999. Historical Review of Town Planning in Nigeria.

The Township ordinance classified Lagos a first class Township with a Town council empowered with set of functions:

The Townships Ordinance of 1917 gave extensive functions to council of the first class Township. Under sections 20 and 21, for example, the council had the power to take all measures necessary for the proper conservancy, lighting and public health of the township and to provide and maintain latrines, washing places, wells, water supplies, drains, tanks, ponds, streets, public recreation grounds and open spaces, and any other works and conveniences as may be approved by the Governor and shall be charged with the duty of carrying out the provisions of this ordinance in the township.<sup>11</sup>

The racial undertone inherent in the provisions of the 1917 Township Ordinance manifested in the fact that the statute was not operative in the native town ensuring that no improvement was recorded in urban infrastructure in this area of the town nor attracting the colonial authorities' attention until the outbreak of bubonic plague in the closing years of the 1920s.<sup>12</sup>

While the Ordinance served as the legal basis of development of town giving guidelines for the construction of buildings and control of development in the urban areas for most part of the colonial administration, it further advanced the segregation tendency of major Nigerian cities along ethnic and colour lines; European Reservation Areas for the expatriates and Europeans and native areas further subdivided into indigenes and non-indigenes.<sup>13</sup>

This discrimination was apparent in these sub sections of the ordinance on the specification of layout of building in native towns and reservation areas:

Streets in the native reservation should be broad and parallel, or at right angles to each other and the main street run in the direction of the prevailing breeze so as to promote a free current of air. Where space permits, the main street should be 100 feet wide, other streets 50 feet, and back lanes 20 feet. They should be shaded by avenues. The areas covered by building including auto-houses, in each leased lot, should not exceed a third of the total area of the lot and the areas of all building should not be less than six feet from the boundary fence; and when laying out a new

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<sup>11</sup> Fasinro, H.A. 2004. *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*. Lagos: Academy Press. p. 170.

<sup>12</sup> Aduwo, A . 1999. *Historical Review of Town Planning in Nigeria*.

<sup>13</sup> Oyesiku, O.K. 2007. Neighbourhood segregation of the Nigerian urban spatial structure: Security Implication and consequences. Ranvinder, S. Sandhu, A. and Jasmeet, S. (eds). *Globalizing cities. Inequality and segregation in Developing Countries*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

township, and as far as possible in existing township, each compound in the European Reservation will be 100 yards in depth by 70 to 100 yards of frontage (viz from 1.5 to 2.0 acres) enclosed by a line hedge, wide wall or substantial fence. Within this area, ornamental and shade trees and shrub grass will be planted. Houses will be usually be about 20 yards from the frontage road, oriented so that the sun passes along the ridge and not across it, leaving the front and back verandah free from sun. Servant (Boys quarters) and stables will be at least 50 yards in the rear and near the back line along which a sanitary lane is provided. The principal road should not exceed 60 feet in width (except in Kaduna); the minor roads should vary from 15 feet to 36 feet.<sup>14</sup>

With its ambiguous provisions unclear on what rationale were used in its classification in which Lagos was the only city identified as First class town, 18 towns described as second class and 50 as third class, the ordinance led to an uneven distribution of amenities and infrastructure, a pointer to the reason for the growth of slums in the urban centres.<sup>15</sup>

Further to the Township Ordinance, the colonial authorities in 1924 established a Town planning committee empowered to initiate and consider planning schemes submitted to them. It was at that period that Apapa was developed as a self contained unit separated from the Lagos Island by the Port, a symbol of colonial desire for the exploitation of the resources of the colony and the protectorates. The development of the port was the arrowhead of the colonial economic aspirations in the growth of Lagos and eventually, what became Nigeria.

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<sup>14</sup> Oyesiku. O.K. 2004. Town and Country Planning Law and Administration in Nigeria. in Agbola, Tunde (ed) *Readings in Urban and Regional Planning*. Lagos: Macmillan. pg. 484.

<sup>15</sup> Onokerhoraye, Andrew G. and Omota, Gideon. 1986. *Urban systems and Planning*. Benin: University of Benin. pg. 104.

## COLONIAL ECONOMY AND ASPECTS OF URBANISATION

The primary objective of colonialism is the political domination of a state by a foreign power.<sup>16</sup> Colonialism has its roots in the emergence of industrial revolution in Europe which introduced a new process of production that eliminated the use of slave labour replacing it with machines. The Industrial Revolution also came with the twin challenge of sourcing raw materials to keep the machinery working and a search for markets for its products.

The colonialists used a number of methods and strategies to compel Africans to submit to colonialism and colonial administration. These included the use of conquest, forced labour, taxation, and monetisation of the economy as well as payment of low wages”.<sup>17</sup> This was the motive of the British in 1861 when it annexed Lagos in its efforts at stopping the slave trade along the Atlantic coast but actually as a ploy to use the city’s eventual adoption as the administrative and military base for the pacification of the hinterland.<sup>18</sup> Consequent upon the conquest of the hinterland Britain developed the plantation, through massive cultivation, of palm oil and cocoa in the south as well as cotton in the north. The colonial administration also tapped available mineral resources and set up the main railway from Lagos through Ibadan to Kano.<sup>19</sup> The expansion of trade and rapid transformation of Lagos as well as the growth of maritime trade had by 1880 earned the city a euphemism of the “Liver-pool” of West Africa.<sup>20</sup>

The port whose construction began in 1906 with the erection of moles to break the strong ocean surf and the dredging of the seabed as well as the deepening of the channel was said to be the “single most important factor accounting for the modern economic growth of Lagos”.<sup>21</sup> It was noted that the bar at the mouth of the harbour had kept out ocean liners necessitating the use of lighters, a problem that was corrected by extensive harbour works that by 1914 opened the port

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<sup>16</sup> Ochani, S. & Nwankwo, B. 2012. Analysis of colonialism and its impact in Africa. *Cross Cultural Communication*. Vol. 8, N. 3,. Pp. 46-54.

<sup>17</sup> Ochani, S. and. Nwakwo, B. 2012

<sup>18</sup> Law, R. 1983. Trade and politics behind the slave coast: The lagoon traffic and the rise of Lagos, 1500-1800. *Journal of African History* 24. 321-348.

<sup>19</sup> Fouchar, F . 2012. Lagos. Behker , S. and Therborn, G. *Power and Powerlessness – capital cities in Africa*. Cape town: HSRC Press.p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004.*The ‘Liverpool of West Africa: The Dynamics and Impact of Maritime Trade in Lagos, 1900-1950*. Trenton N.J: African WordPress,

<sup>21</sup> Baker. P . 1974. *Urbanisation and Political change. The politics of Lagos, 1917-1967*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.32

to ocean-going vessels.<sup>22</sup> With the merger in 1906 of Lagos and the Niger coast to form the Southern protectorate and the eventual amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914, the urbanisation process of Lagos was complemented by the completion of the deepening of the harbour and the extension of the railway. These increased the volume of export trade that made the port active so much that Lagos grew as a market for imported consumer products.<sup>23</sup>

The intention of the colonial administration to make Lagos the seat of government as well as major commercial centre paid off as:

The customs duties collected on imported goods at the port were the main revenue used to meet the rising administrative of the city.<sup>24</sup>

This improvement on the revenue between 1880 and 1906 when custom duties paid on imported spirits, and tobacco provided an average of 84% of the total annual revenue”<sup>25</sup>

The development of the port facilities, while it enhanced the export trade, also facilitated the improvement in urban infrastructure. The rising commercial status of Lagos with the movement of port facilities from the Lagos Island to Apapa naturally provided the basis for an increased population in the new port area. This complemented the alignment of port facilities and rail transportation that had contributed to the growth of produce exports, the focus of colonial economic policy. The closeness of the custom wharf to the commercial centre had been a reason for its further extension around 1919. To reduce the risk of fire on the island, a petroleum jetty was constructed at Apapa while a coal wharf was built at Ijora by the Iddo Island for receiving coal from Enugu for the railway and generation of electricity.

The economic moves of the British administration in the enhancement of urban infrastructure might have been a ploy to justify its adoption of Lagos as its political headquarters as well as the

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<sup>22</sup> Olukoju A. The making of an “Expensive port; shipping lines, Government and Port Tariffs in Lagos, 1927-1949. *International Journal of Maritime History*. Vol. vi no, 1, pp. 141-159.

<sup>23</sup> Baker. Pauline. 1974.

<sup>24</sup> Fouchard, L. 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Lawal. B. 1987. Trade and finance of the Lagos colony, 1861-1906. Adefuye. A. Agiri, Osuntokun, J. (Eds) *History of the peoples of Lagos state*. Lagos: Lantern Books.

termini for trade routes within the region, but the government's introduction of series of economic policies, like the introduction of wage labour altered the motive for migration which in pre-colonial days were informed by the search for security and safe settlement as well as fertile land for farming.<sup>26</sup>

In spite of its disparities, the British colonial administration in its opening years held the promise of infrastructural development as it aimed at internal reforms and the opening of the hinterland to legitimate trade. The prevalent security in the aftermath of the internecine wars in Yoruba land of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was set to promote migration among people of the hinterland trying to escape the desolation occasioned by the bitter wars. The peace and order that heralded the establishment of the British rule encouraged a massive growth in commerce along the West African coasts:

Opportunities for trade or employment, which followed colonial intervention, encouraged large movement of people into areas occupied by other ethnic groups. In some cases, this movement was purely an economic response to opportunity for profits, in others it was prompted by social consideration like the desire to escape from the drudgery of traditional African society.<sup>27</sup>

The disparity in British colonial policy in the running of its occupied territories was highlighted in the adoption of the 'indirect rule' and the concept of using the earnings of a region to subvert another. Lord Lugard's idea of building a united national administration, even after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914, failed to achieve uniformity in governance of Nigeria. While indirect rule was not new to African traditional states, the implementation in Nigeria kept the North in backwardness. The absence of modernisation in the North and the development in the South, particularly the Lagos colony enhanced the 'Pull factors' in human migration to the coast:

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<sup>26</sup> Taki Asu Ojua, Tikotakun, Oru and Atama Chinezie. 2014. Ethno-Historical Analysis of the Effects of Migration on African Family system. *Canadian Social Science*, vol. 10 No 3. pp. 43-49.

<sup>27</sup> Ibiloye. E.O. 2016. British colonial policy as push factor in Inter-Ethnic migration in Nigeria – 1893-1930 in *World Scientific News*, WSN50 131-147.

The pull factors informed by the infrastructural development that brought modernity, rapid development of education, industry, plantations where cash crops like cocoa could be cultivated and commercial activities in the coastal region. Changes like these encouraged the coastward migration of people including the Igbomina from the middle belt region.<sup>28</sup>

While it is true that migration might have contributed to the growth of Lagos, it should be noted that the city's primacy in the modern Nigerian nation predated the British colonial intervention. The city had its origin in migration of the Aworis, the first settlers from Ile-Ife.<sup>29</sup> Pre-colonial Lagos emerged as fishing and farming settlement whose physical characteristics made it a thriving market for slave trade along the West African coast until the British intervention in 1851. The eventual adoption of Lagos as the seat of colonial rule that followed contributed to the growth of the city as the nation's commercial centre with the British administration's provision of security in its determination to penetrate the hinterland to promote the legitimate commerce from which her home industry stood to benefit.

The new political and economic colonial landscape with the British order encouraged the transformation of the social and cultural spheres of Lagos.

The exploitative nature of the British Economic policy however impacted on the Nigerian economy system that became fully absorbed to the world capitalist system living up to the dream of Lord Lugard:

Let it be admitted at the outset that the European brains, capital and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefits of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plan; that the benefit can be made reciprocal and desire of civilised administration to fulfill this dual mandate... As Roman imperialism laid the foundations of modern civilization, and led the wild Barbarians of these islands along the path of progress, so in Africa today, we repaying the debt and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilization... I am profoundly convinced that British role has promoted the happiness and welfare of the primitive races.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibiloye. E.O. 2016. British colonial policy as push factor in Inter-Ethnic migration in Nigeria – 1893-1930 .  
*World Scientific News*

<sup>29</sup> This is the consensus of many authors on the origin and growth of Lagos.

<sup>30</sup> Lugard. Fredrick D.1965. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* . fifth Edition. London: Frankcass & Co. Ltd.



True enough, the British colonial disposition to the economic development of Nigeria, though exploitative and lopsided, created among the local entrepreneurs the capitalist tendency particularly in socio-economic aspects. In agriculture, British interest in this sector was restricted to the production of cash crops needed by European industries at the expense of food crops for local consumption. It was only during the Second World War that the colonial government encouraged the cultivation of rice and some other food crops for colonial needs.<sup>31</sup>

While the British policy on agriculture dwelt mainly on export production it enhanced the business acumen of Nigerians. Heavy investments were made by Yoruba farmers and landowners in the establishment of kola and cocoa plantations which could multiply the productivity of land in cash terms. Rubber plantations were also established in the area of Benin while groundnuts were sown with food crops in the Kano emirates and beyond.<sup>32</sup>

The First World War brought a lull in the booming economy that had seen Nigerians acquiring new skills to meet new forms of production. It was a period that was impacted by the mobilisation of men to fight along the side of Britain in the war. It was also the period that witnessed the closing of German trading agencies that were responsible for much of Nigeria's foreign trade.<sup>33</sup> The war affected government earnings resulting in the imposition of new taxes like the export tax on cash crops that also affected the producers of these crops while public spending on projects like the Apapa and Port-Harcourt ports were suspended. They were resumed after the war with the post war depression that forced the government to embark on job-cuts and salary cut back.

The depression of the 1930s affected the colonial economy but in contrast, the indigenous economy continued to flourish as unprecedented harvests were recorded in the north<sup>34</sup> while improvement was recorded in cocoa plantations in the south despite global low prices.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>31</sup> Falola et al: *History of Nigeria 3, 1991. Nigeria in the Twentieth century.* Lagos: Longman p. 35

<sup>32</sup> Gavin R.J. and Wale Oyemakinde. 1980. *Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800.* in Obaro Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History, Ibadan:HEBN Publishers. p.501*

<sup>33</sup> Gavin R.J. and Wale Oyemakinde, 1980. *Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800.* in Obaro Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History.* Ibadan:HBN.

<sup>34</sup> Northern Nigeria Provincial Annual Reports. *1930 and 1931.*

<sup>35</sup> R.J. Gavin and Wale Oyemakinde. 1980. P.507.

First World War led to increase in the demand for natural rubber products as British was forced by the loss of Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand to encourage the cultivation of rubber in Nigeria leading to the production of 11,000 tons of the produce in the inter-war years.<sup>36</sup>

## **URBANISATION, MIGRATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION**

The colonial industrial policy, like in other sectors, was intended to serve the economic interests of Britain explaining why the government was only concerned with the extracting industry. The government was not interested in the growth of manufacturing industries that would produce goods that could give a keen competition to imported finished goods from Britain. This explains why tin ore and coal were the focus of the colonial government. The mining of tin began in Jos Plateau in 1904 despite resistance by the indigenous population. It is noteworthy that the British extracted large volume of tin ore from the area such that the export of the product stood at 10. 48 tons valued at £1,435,157 by 1938. Coal mining began in Enugu in 1911 and it was used mainly on the tin mines in Jos and stream ships along the West African ports. By 1953, coal production in Nigeria stood at 614,239 tons.<sup>37</sup> The colonial policy never encouraged Nigerians to develop their pre-colonial industries as many indigenous systems of institution of technology were made illegal while modern technology was not impacted on the local industry.<sup>38</sup>

The development of trade harbours and industrialisation as well as the infrastructural development gave rise to the increase in the population of Lagos. With the development of money economy and the expansion of economic activities in Lagos as a centre of transformation the city became an attraction for an ever-increasing number of migrants from rural areas. It must however be made clear that migration had been a feature among Africans of diverse origins. It had been seen as motivated by economic factors among the people as shown by the movement of Yoruba traders into the markets of Togo, Dahomey, Gold Coast and Upper Volta.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ayodele, Cornelius Olu. 1999. *Topics on Economic History of Nigeria. Vol. one.* Ondo: Self published. p.206.

<sup>37</sup> Falola, Toyin (ed), 1987. *Britain and Nigeria; Exploitation or Development.* 2nd ed.

<sup>38</sup> Falola et al, *History of Nigeria 3*, p. 39

<sup>39</sup> Luke, H.K. 1995. *Amuro community in Lagos since 1900* . B.A. Long Essay, University of Ilorin, pp. 42-43.

The increase in urban centres in Nigeria has been identified as an important factor of social life of colonial Nigeria and the rapid rate of increase in the urban population as the most spectacular event on the African continent:

The colonial period brought about tremendous changes in the character of cities in Africa. Technology from the industrialized countries of Europe was brought to African cities and it changed their appearance and the tempo of their activities.<sup>40</sup>

Migration into Lagos predated the establishment of colonial rule. The city itself was the creation of its first settlers who also migrated there in the first place. The spate of migration only increased with the new order created as a major impact of the colonial economy where the urban centres had the commercial firms, the public service and other institutions that were embodiments of paid employment.

The enactment of the Township Ordinance of 1917 creating a structure of first, second and third class townships ensured that social amenities and urban infrastructure including markets were provided in a descending order. In 1919, Lagos was the only first class town while eighteen towns, twelve in the north and six in the south were in the second class. These classifications were indications that some towns would develop faster than others:

The British colonialists did not encourage the development of the then existing traditional urban centres where the traditional rulers resided with their subjects. Rather they created new urban areas to satisfy their economic interest.... The unavoidable effect of these new urban creations was the mass exodus of the inhabitants of the old traditional centres to the new urban centres because their local craftsmanship lacked patronage and they moved to these new urban areas in search of better employment opportunities.<sup>41</sup>

It is not every migrant that however had the requisite skills that could ensure he had paid employment. Many of the migrants had to leave the lethargic life in the rural areas to seek unskilled jobs like porters and domestic work to justify their migration to Lagos to seek wage labour.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Mabogunje. Akin. L.1976. *Cities and African Development*. Ibadan:Oxford University Press. p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Udoh, Nathaniel.2014. *The determinants and Implications of Rural-Urban Migration in Nigeria*.

<sup>42</sup> Immanuel W. 1966. *Social Change: The Colonial Situation*. New York: John Willey and Sons Inc. p. 96.

Among the Ilala people of Kwara state, not all those who migrated to Lagos were running away from the drudgery of agriculture as some of the farmers migrated only during the dry season to come back by the next planting season and later go back to Lagos until harvest time leaving their farms to the womenfolk whose role, it was, to tend to agricultural productions.<sup>43</sup> The change in the character and extent of migration in response to the colonial economy encouraged massive population movement into Lagos even in the absence of strong urban economy that could meet the needs of the migrants.<sup>44</sup>

Trading had been the major occupation of residents of Lagos since the pre-colonial era particularly because of its location on the coast. Trading also encouraged the population flow that necessitated the “expansion” of the city. The city’s population was 25,083 in 1866, 37,452 in 1881 and had risen to 41,487 by the first year of the 20<sup>th</sup> century while the boundaries of the city were restricted to 1.55 square miles of the Lagos Island.<sup>45</sup> Ten years later the population had swelled to 73,766 while the Lagos metropolitan area had stretched beyond Lagos Island to include Apapa and Ebute Metta.

The expansion of the metropolitan Lagos beyond the Island was informed by the rising population and occasioned by the increasing influx of migrants seeking to benefit from the development of Lagos as one of the leading centres of trade and commerce in West Africa which Gandy (2006) notes was marked by a persistent and striking fall in living standards between European elites and the African majority.<sup>46</sup> The increase in the city’s population was also noted to have exerted pressure on available infrastructure like land and sanitation with detrimental

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<sup>43</sup> Bello. Kazeem Sunkanmi. 1997. *Ilala Community in Lagos: A study of the migrants’ Economic and Social activities since 1900*. Unpublished B.A. Long Essay. University of Ilorin. p39.

<sup>44</sup> Goddard, A.D. 1973. Population Movement and Land shortages in the Sokoto Class settled Zone of Nigeria. AUP. p. 22-23.

<sup>45</sup> Olukoju A. 2003. *The “Liverpool” of West Africa: the dynamics and impact of maritime trade in Lagos, 1900-1950*. Trenton: Africa World Press. p.40.

<sup>46</sup> Gandy, M. 2006. Planning, Anti-Planning and the infrastructure Crisis facing metropolitan Lagos. *Urban Studies*. vol. 4. No 2. pp. 375.

consequences.<sup>47</sup> A newspaper had warned of the need to check the migration of “indigent persons” which, if not carefully addressed, had grave aftermath for the city’s development.<sup>48</sup>

The “grave consequence” feared by the newspaper was overcrowding and the likelihood spread of communicable disease among the population. The outbreak of tuberculosis in Lagos in 1919 vindicated the newspaper. While it contributed to a decline in birth rate during the period, the epidemic also showed the nonchalant disposition of the colonial government to the problems of overcrowding, disease and inadequate infrastructure. The administration, because of the absence of financial grant from the British Treasury, could not address the needs of the populace particularly in checking the spread of malaria, enhance public health enlightenment and the improvement of sanitation in poorer districts; this was seen as a form of segregation between these districts and other elitist districts.<sup>49</sup>

While the population of Lagos was not evenly distributed with the lagoon and swamps claiming much of the area, the high density was prominent in the indigenous wards of the city showing the inherent problem of overcrowding. This, in turn, led to pressure on land which encouraged the massive erection of shanties in swampy areas thus increasing the prospect of outbreak of communicable disease. The bubonic plague of 1924 was described as “an event waiting to happen” as a result of the congestions on the Island and British preventing the natives’ access to Ikoyi.<sup>50</sup> Ikoyi was the exclusive preserve of British colonial officers provided with the requisite urban infrastructure. It is instructive to note that it took the outbreaks of bubonic plague in 1924 for the colonial authorities to prepare a plan for the modernisation of sewers in the city. The plan was however abandoned because of the economic downturn of the 1930s. The plague itself was the outcome of the public health negligence by the British colonial authorities attributed to the half-measures in the modernisation of colonial cities like Lagos that would later incense the natives against colonial municipal administration.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Olukoju, A . 2004. Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos: 1900-1939 . Lawal, K. *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation and change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

<sup>48</sup> National Pioneer (NP) 1 July, 1915: *Random Notes and News*.

<sup>49</sup> Hom. R.K. 1983. Town Planning, Segregation and Indirect rule in colonial Nigeria. *Third World Planning Review*. 5(2), pp. 165-175

<sup>50</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. p. 37.

<sup>51</sup> Gandy, M. 2006 .

Urban migration played a vital role in the socio-economic growth of Lagos and its emergence as a cosmopolitan shortly after the imposition of colonial order as wearied soldiers of the internecine wars in Yoruba land joined returnees in the formation of the four notable quarters namely the Marina occupied by the Europeans, Popo Aguda by the Brazilian returnees, the Saros at Olowogbowo and Isale Eko as well as other high density parts of the city occupied by the indigenous population.

Congestion and overcrowding were inevitable with the increasing population that was becoming a burden on available infrastructure particularly housing and sanitation. High incidents of infectious diseases, especially malaria, influenza epidemic and bubonic plague, occasioned fresh sanitary and medical policies, as well as engendered fresh reordering of the shape of the town. Disease outbreaks at this time were blamed on the effects of a rapidly expanding primary export economy and urbanisation. Diseases and epidemics were attributed to dirty environment cultivated by local practices. New sanitary measures were introduced to curtail disease outbreaks and to stem perceived unsanitary local practices and ‘uncivilized’ traditional attitudes because of their likely devastating effect on the European population. Thus as Macleod and Lewis (1988) put it, epidemics ‘created conditions favourable to the consolidation of imperial or government rule’.<sup>52</sup>

The poor sanitary condition of Lagos was not restricted to the indigenous quarters as the other quarters equally suffered neglect so much that the colonial government contemplated removing the seat of administration to the hinterland.<sup>53</sup> The expansion of the city to its fringe also contributed to the state of the sanitation as former landfills for refuse were cleared to make way for new migrants.<sup>54</sup> The overcrowding of tenements attributed to increasing migration was a pointer to the problem of housing and the emergence of slums in the metropolis.

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<sup>52</sup> Micheal Worboys. 1988. Manson, Ross, and Colonial Medical Policy . Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis.Ed. *Disease, medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion* London :Routledge, pp. 21-37

<sup>53</sup> Glover, R. 1897. *Life of Sir. John Glover*. a copy is available at the National Archives, Ibadan.

<sup>54</sup> Spencer , H.B. 1992. Public Health in Lagos. 1850-1900: Perceptions, Patterns and perspectives. *The International Journal of African History*, vol. 25, No. 2, p. 354.

## **URBANISATION, MIGRATION, AND HOUSING IN LAGOS METROPOLIS**

By the opening years of the 20th century, Lagos was the main port along the Coast. The commencement of British colonial rule ensured peace and the much-needed security for the new legitimate trade to flourish thus were encouraging a flow of migration from the hinterland.

People migrated to Lagos to participate in the emerging colonial economy that introduced a new money system of wage labour. There had not been a uniform currency until 1880 when an ordinance was passed introducing some coins while the Bank of Nigeria of British West Africa was opened in 1894 followed by the establishment of the West African Currency Board in 1912.<sup>55</sup> Other important steps that facilitated Lagos' exploitation of its location were the opening of its lagoon to ocean-going vessels in 1914, construction of new quays on the mainland at Apapa and gradual formation of a rather dense road network in Yoruba land to the North to exploit the export trade that had been promoted by the colonial economic policy for the commercial production of groundnuts and cotton.

The development of the port at Apapa and the consequent expansion of the pier made Apapa a major port area for Lagos and the site for the nation's first industrial estate as well as the beginning of elitist African housing quarters. Colonial urbanisation was enhanced by trade and the expansion of the city's population which at a time was of concern to the authorities. Soyombo and Shokoya (2010) commend the British disposition to the urbanisation of Lagos:

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<sup>55</sup> Olarewaju, S. 1991. *The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking etc.* Falola T. (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Not only did colonial administration create the atmosphere for the political development of Lagos, it also engendered physical development. By virtue of its status as the seat of the colonial state, there was a moral obligation to develop the area, thus infrastructural facilities that could enhance the living conditions of the people of Lagos were put in place including the General Hospital in Lagos Island which was completed in 1930 as well as several public water supply, law courts, prisons and police station.<sup>56</sup>

The rapid improvement in the provision of urban infrastructure for metropolitan Lagos did not, however, obscure the effects of migration into the metropolis. The establishment of industrial estate at Apapa within the vicinity of the port only contributed to the swelling population of the emerging slum of Ajegunle on the fringe of the Western region.

The population surge in Lagos was not unexpected with the dawn of colonialism and the implementation of the British economic policy that held the promise of industrial development that would complement the growth of commerce. With the confirmation in 1901 of Lagos as the capital of British colonial expansion in Nigeria, the city attracted many foreign commercial firms notably British.

Until its annexation in 1861, Lagos had been a small settlement with limited landscape as the topography was dominated by swamps and water logged areas. Even before the colonial enterprise, the pressure on available land in Lagos forcing early migrants to build in waterlogged area is like Alakoro, Oko-Awo, Anikantamo and Sand-grouse as Isale Eko near the Oba's place was already crowded.<sup>57</sup> Thus began the rise of informal housing, crowding and congestion slums and the unsanitary condition that drew the colonial attention to the need for reclamation of some sections of the Lagos Island.

Because Lagos colony held prospects of security, necessary for uninterrupted economic activities, the rise in population was slow up to 1920 but increased from the end of the First

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<sup>56</sup> Shoyombo and Shokoya. 2010. Urbanisation Process in Lagos. Ogunleye, Moses. (ed) *The State of the Environment*. Publication of Lagos State Government.p.43

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Pa Akanbi Abisogun .79. Idumota, May 6<sup>th</sup> 2009.



World War till at rapidly accelerated in the years after the Second World War It was not surprising that the population at Lagos grew from about 25,000 in 1866 to 40,000 in 1901 and 250,000 in 1950.<sup>58</sup> The first set of migrants into Lagos had their roots in the Yoruba areas of the hinterland as far as Ilorin and the Igbomina land. They were followed by migrants from the eastern Nigeria and the Northerners, who had taken the advantage of the completion of the railway up to Kano, to make earlier in-road into Lagos such that by 1911, 3533 Hausas were resident in the city (See Table 3.1) far more than any other group of Non Yoruba native migrants.<sup>59</sup>

**Table 3.1:** Non-Yoruba Native migrants in Lagos, 1911-1950

Ethnic groups	Total numbers				Percentage			
	1911	1921	1931	1950	1911	1921	1931	1950
Ibo	264	1,609	5,147	25,577	5	16	26	47
Ijo	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	3,953	3,725	65	50	18	7
Others	1,125	1,764	6,777	14,483	20	8	33	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,477</b>	<b>9,884</b>	<b>20,168</b>	<b>54,085</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Mabogunje, A.1968. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*, London: Oxford University Press. p.263

While it is believed that the Hausa people had settled in Lagos even earlier than the 18th century, the colonial political economy with its attended taxes, railway and improvement inland transportation increased their incursion into Yoruba land.<sup>60</sup> From the old northern region also came the Igbomina who were among the earliest migrant communities to settle in Lagos in the early part of the 20th century. Many of them were reported to be “circulatory migrants who were either unmarried or whose families had been left at home.”<sup>61</sup> The change from the traditional economy of the pre-colonial era where labour did not attract wages to the colonial administration’s need for indigenous workers at the lower level mostly the unskilled made such

<sup>58</sup> Mabogunje Akin L. *Cities and African Development*. Ibadan :OUP. P. 33

<sup>59</sup> Mabogunje, A. 1968. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*. London:OUP. p. 263.

<sup>60</sup> Gatawa, M. . 2013. *Inter-group relations in Historical perspectives: a case study of Yoruba and Hausa communities of Agege, Nigeria* . African Journal of History and Culture, (AJHC) vol. 5 (9).

<sup>61</sup> Ibiloye, E.O. *The Dynamics of Transition of Rural Migrants to urban Society: Case study of igbomina Migrant Community in Lagos (nd)* Accessed at <http://academic.journals.org>. on Sept. 7, 2013.

work particularly during the construction of the railway feasible for erstwhile farm hands.<sup>62</sup> Many of the migrants to Lagos after the recession of the early 1930s were attracted beyond the lure of menial jobs. By this time there was great glamour and prestige associated with migration, especially to Lagos. It was seen as ‘rite-de-passage’, to be a real man (enlightened) you have to have been to Lagos at least once. Nearly all of the earliest migrants were exporting their strength and not their skill and were going to work as labourers.<sup>63</sup>

Developments in the economic sector of Lagos at this time ensured that menial jobs requiring brawn, not brain abounded within the city. The son of an early migrant recalled that his father, on arrival in Lagos, had to stay with a relation that introduced him to the job of loading sacks of palm kernels into boats at the Elegbata Jetty.<sup>64</sup> For those who could not secure such unskilled jobs at the Railway Corporation or at the wharves, they joined the army of porters called “Alabaru” in the growing markets in the city.<sup>65</sup> Like the Igbomina, the Igbo, too, featured prominently in the colonial economy of Lagos as many of them who were products of missionary education found jobs in Mercantile houses in the city as clerks and shopkeepers.

The early migrants in Lagos, where they were unskilled moved on from menial jobs to trading after gathering enough capital to engage in petty trading, the most common business activity in Lagos colony.<sup>66</sup>

While the migrants in commercial activities were not disturbed by their hosts because of their role as intermediary in the distribution of some essential goods, the sojourners were also encouraged to live close to earlier settlers particularly in established quarters like, Epetedo, Ereko, Enu Owa, Ebute ero, Onala, Jankara, Dosunmu, Idumagbo and Idumota. It is noteworthy to note that these neighbourhoods were also close to traditional markets. It is believed that:

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<sup>62</sup> Oyemakinde, W. 2003. Wage Earners in Nigeria during the Great Depression. Oyemakinde W. (ed) *Essays in Economic History*. Ibadan: Sunlight.Syndicate. p. 92

<sup>63</sup> Ibiloye. E.O. *The Dynamics of Transition of Rural Migrants to Urban Society*.

<sup>64</sup> Oral interview with Amuda Sunmonu. 74 years at Epetedo, Lagos on July 16, 2009. He inherited his father’s rented apartment at Patey street, Lagos when the father retired from trading to Omupo in the late 70s.

<sup>65</sup> Bello.Kazeem.1997. *Ilalla community in Lagos*.

<sup>66</sup> Spencer. H.B. 1964. *A History of the People of Lagos, 1852-1886*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Winois, p. 130.

The economic position of the migrants was complementary to, rather than competitive with that of the local population especially the Ijebu and the Egba who were the forerunners in Lagos business. The Igbomina migrants contributed to the concentration of population and development of middlemen trade, shop keeping and diversity of occupational groups.<sup>67</sup>

The preponderance of traders among the migrants in Lagos did not mean they all set out from their towns of origins as traders. Many of them worked as unskilled hand when they came in, made some savings with which they later began a trade in petty items.<sup>68</sup> Ethnicity also played a vital role in the settlement of early migrants to Lagos. In many instances, many of these sojourners came to the city at the instance or persuasion of a relation that had earlier left the village. Mabogunje (1976) observes that:

The task of integrating the new migrant into urban society is performed by a variety of voluntary associations – the most important being the ethnic or town association.<sup>69</sup>

This perhaps explains why early migrants, and even in contemporary times, lived a closely-knitted life close to each other in single rooms that provided solace to every new arrival from 'home'. It also points to the existence of earlier migrant communities on the Island namely in Obalende, (Hausa), Idumota, Enu-owa, Ereko, Ebute Ero, Epetedo and market neighbourhoods like Dosunmu, Idumagbo, for Ijebus and Ebute Elefun for the Mahin migrants. The challenges of social adjustment for migrants include the search for accommodation outside the provided lodging by their kinsmen on their arrival. The new migrant was mindful that he was not expected to be a burden on his hosts. After going through the tutelage of those who preceded him into the city, the new migrant is pushed to seek accommodation in the neighbourhood of his host thus adding to the crowding of indigenous wards of Lagos Island.

The economic depression between 1929 and the end of the Second World War in 1945 witnessed an upsurge in unemployment and despondency in colonial Lagos and the provinces leading to migration of skilled and unskilled persons bound to increase the migrant population in Lagos

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<sup>67</sup> Ibiloye, E. O. *The Igbomina migrant community in Lagos, 1893-1985* an unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ilorin, p. 146.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Salimonu Ishola .67 at Ijora Oloye, Lagos mainland, June 23rd. 2009. He actually began life in Lagos in 1958 as a loader at the port before veering into sale of fancy goods at Oroyinyin.

<sup>69</sup> Mabogunje Akin. 1976. p. 25

metropolis: some of these new migrants got the Chief Secretary to the Colonial Government worried:

The semi-skilled labour comprised of large quantities that have been apprenticed to but never mastered such trades as carpentry, tailoring, blacksmith, bricklaying etc. These are persons for whose services are in little demand and yet who are unwilling to work as labourers. So long as they can exist on the food supplied them by their womenfolk or on the charity of their friends or the sale of property acquired in more prosperous time, they are content to remain in Lagos.<sup>70</sup>

While the mass movement of labour from the provinces to Lagos at this time was threatening, their presence held no prospect of thriving on the charity of their hosts:

The modern demands of the cities in fact compel the African to make adjustments in his way of life and to create new institutions and organisations for this purpose. The money value attaching to most services in the urban areas such as housing, transport, education and the high cost of food compels the urban resident to restrict the range of his dependents.<sup>71</sup>

Housing, the inadequacy of which contributed largely to the development of poor sanitation and slums in Lagos, was the most prominent need of the urban migrants. It was the poor response of the colonial government to the provision of this essential infrastructure that encouraged the 1924 plague that had been waiting to happen because of British colonial government's denial of access to serviced land.<sup>72</sup>

The pressure on available land in the midst of swampy locations had pushed the rising population on the Lagos Island to build inhabitable houses in unsanitary locations thus justifying the colonial administration's belief that "poor environmental conditions facing the city's population were essentially an outcome of unregulated or ill-advised settlement patterns and hence largely the fault of the people themselves".<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> NAI. Comcol. File 894. Vol. 1. Correspondence between Findlay, G.N. and Chief Secretary to Government.,21 September 1929, p. 59.

<sup>71</sup> Mabogunje. A.L. 1976 . p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. p. 37

<sup>73</sup> NAI . Comcol 675. Drainage Ikoyi. Chief Federal Land Officer to Chief Administrative Officer. July11 1955.

It is imperative to recall that on the contrary, the Europeans contributed, or mildly compounded the housing and settlement pattern of Lagos when, instead of providing more land space with improved physical conditions to meet the ever increasing population, resorted to a policy of racial segregation in urban development from the opening years of the 20th century. This left the Lagos city separated by the Macgregor canal that left Ikoyi, the European residential area and military, as well as, police barracks on one side and the highly populated African wards of the Lagos Island on the other. Perhaps to mask its racial intentions, the colonial administrators allowed some indigenous settlements like Ijeh, Oke Ipa and Ilubirin on the European divide.<sup>74</sup>

The poor living condition in Central Lagos with poor ventilation arising from congested dwelling in dark and poorly- maintained houses made outbreak of contagious diseases a likely occurrence even in the face of negligence of these areas between the tuberculosis plague of 1919 and the bubonic plague of 1924. It is instructive to know that the two incidents were attributed to overcrowding that encouraged the prevalence.<sup>75</sup>

The high rate of casualty from the scourge prompted community leaders and the local press to demand “close attention” to the problems of the indigenous areas that were filthy, swampy and infested with rats. This infestation was a pointer to the fact that the condition aided the outbreak, in 1924, of the bubonic plague that peaked in 1926. 476 of the 490 reported cases resulted in death.

**Table3.2: Certified Deaths of Africans from Tuberculosis in Lagos, 1912-1922**

	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Lungs	21	36	35	40	44	43	50	53	48	57	74
Tuberculosis	8	6	11	15	9	13	23	10	8	8	4
Total	29	42	46	55	53	56	73	63	56	65	78
Total certified death of Africans	332	411	428	466	497	544	982	823	1002	1060	1196
TB % of certified Deaths	8.7	10.2	10.7	11.8	10.6	10.2	7.4	7.6	5.6	6.1	6.5

**Source:** Lagos Town Council. Annual Reports, 1921. p. 7; 1922, p.7. Also cited in Olukoju, A. Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos. 1900-1939. in Lawal O. 2004 (Ed) *Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos*. Lagos: Longman.

<sup>74</sup> NAI. Comcol 1981. Vol. 1. Report of Anti-mosquito Campaign. Lagos by the Medical officer of Health, Lagos and the Deputy Director of Public Works, December, 1929. p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Lagos Weekly Record, 13 September, 1919, Editorial. “Overcrowding and Tuberculosis”

The colonial administration responded with a campaign that included destruction of rats, disinfection and cleaning of premises that lowered the casualty figures of the plague but which a newspaper found inadequate. The paper then called for a compulsory evacuation of the slums of Lagos.<sup>76</sup> This led to the government's adoption of a slum clearance effort that compounded, rather than ameliorate, the housing problem in central Lagos.

## **URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND RELOCATIONS**

Lagos evolved as a heterogeneous town at the dawn of colonial enterprise with migrants of diverse origins giving it a metropolitan outlook. The traditional core of the town, Isale Eko, or Central Lagos rapidly became overcrowded and congested defying efforts at land reclamation. Lagos Island however remained the commercial centre of the emerging nation as well as its most cosmopolitan town. Unbridled growth in population fuelled by unending migration led to the emergence of new settlements across the Lagoon – on the mainland namely Ebute Metta, Yaba, Mushin, Agege and others along the railway line to Ibadan. This did not stop the Island from being the most populated part of the city even as early as 1931.<sup>77</sup> Urban governance had remained complicated with the growth of indigenous settlements amidst overcrowding and lack of housing that gave way rapidly to the growth of what the British colonial administrators termed 'slums'. It would be recalled that no significant planning policy was formulated or implemented for Lagos until the colonial surveyors in 1873 gazette that owners of occupied and unoccupied lands should ensure their properties were kept clean.<sup>78</sup> After a series of legislations on the improvement of public health, environmental sanitation, potable water supply and health monitoring, the 'Township Ordinance' was promulgated in 1917, the first conventional planning legislation in Nigeria aimed at the provision of infrastructure, public utilities, health and environmental sanitation. The segregation in the settlement of Lagos by the Colonial administration predating this Ordinance that actually classified Nigerian towns was disregarded by its authors:

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<sup>76</sup> Nigerian Pioneer. 9 November, 1928

<sup>77</sup> Fourchard, L. 2012. Lagos. Simon Behker and Goran Therborn, eds. *Power and Powerlessness-Capital cities in Africa*. Capetown: HSRC Press. p. 69.

<sup>78</sup> Okwuashi, O. and Ofem, B. 2014. Historical Perspective of Urbanisation and Urban Planning of Lagos. Nigeria. *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR) Volume 3, Issue 8*.

Consequently, municipal services, such as street lighting, supply of piped water, drainage and street alignment, were confined to the European monitoring exclusively. The Europeans settled on the “marina” area, that is, down the southeasterly strip of Lagos Island, facing “Isale Eko” in the northwest, that is, the Yoruba old residential part. The racial and cultural polarization between these two main residential quarters in Lagos was already noticeable by the end of the 19th century.<sup>79</sup>

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the polarisation in the segregated development had resulted in overcrowding and insanitary conditions that eventually led to a severe bubonic plague in 1924 that lasted for six years leading to anti-plague measures that culminated in the creation of Nigeria’s first town planning institution, Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) whose first assignment was to execute the city’s first slum clearance including the demolition of hundreds unsanitary houses and the resettlement of affected residents into a new housing scheme on the Lagos mainland.

While it is true that LEDB was set up as a symbol of government’s response to the spread of the bubonic plague whose effect was felt more in the “Native” area than in the “European Reservations”, the central Lagos slum clearance was not its initial task. The board had been involved in the execution of 300-block Yaba town Planning Scheme of 1929 intended to accommodate about ten thousand people executed from the Lagos Island. This scheme also included the development of Obada market with several hundreds of sheds and stalls to cater for the needs of people being resettled as a result of swamp drainage and land reclamation on the Island.<sup>80</sup> LEDB had completed 174 houses in the Yaba scheme by 1932 despite the then prevailing economic depression while another 177 houses were under construction. With the opening of the Carter Bridge in October 1931 leading to an improvement in public transportation many residents embraced the government initiative at slum clearance by opting to relocate voluntarily to the mainland.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Liora Bigon. 2008. Between Local and Colonial perceptions: The History of Slum Clearances in Lagos (*Nigeria*). 1924-1960. *African and Asian Studies* 7, p. 52.

<sup>80</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. p. 47

<sup>81</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. p. 47

It is remarkable to note that the natives were opposed to the demolition aspect of the government's improvement initiative that saw an expected resistance to LEDB's extensive slum clearance effort that was a marked departure from the Yaba Housing Scheme. This was a demonstration of the growing 'nationalist' sentiments that opposed the inability of the local African opinion being sought before such town planning development initiatives were implemented.<sup>82</sup> It should be recalled that in the 1950s when the demolition were to commence, Lagos had emerged as the hotbed of African nationalism and anti-colonial movements.

LEDB was also seen as a strong rival structure to the then existing Lagos Town Council setting the stage for agitations for its scrapping because it was felt that the board was designed to evict the indigenous population of Lagos.<sup>83</sup> The Lagos Central Planning Scheme of 1951 was fashioned to eradicate what was the traditionally accepted communal housing standard of Lagos particularly in the native section of the city where squadrone was obvious;

Most houses have neither piped water nor a sewage system. The only bathroom or lavatory may be a rough shelter of corrugated iron with a bucket, knocked together in a corner of the yard. Water has to be collected from a stand-pipe in the street, and latrine buckets collected by a service of the Town Council. There is no water-borne sewage system for the city. In Central Lagos the drains are open, often a shallow channel running down the middle of the lane, in which refuse and ordure float".<sup>84</sup>

Houses in this category were described as unsanitary and LEDB was empowered under section 9-14 of the Lagos Town Planning act of 1928 as revised to deal with insanitary buildings. It should be recalled that migrants' influx into the Lagos Island had been reduced in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the sprouting of new settlements on the fringes of the city particularly along the railway line from Ebute Metta up to Agege.

The board was incapacitated in invoking the clause that empowered it to deal with such insanitary buildings even with the preponderance of such tenements because it was found out that at the time "the greatest percentage of buildings in Lagos are below standard and insanitary

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<sup>82</sup> NAI. Comcol 1 3860 .Central Lagos Slum Clearance.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

<sup>84</sup> Marris, P. 1961. *Family and Social Change in an African city: A study of Re-housing in Lagos*. London: Rutledge and Keegan Paul, p. 82.



so that the operation of these clauses will create untold hardship in the present financial situations.”<sup>85</sup>

It must be noted that slum dwellings were also prevalent on the mainland at this period but here the tenements were mostly storeyed buildings with multi rooms to accommodate large number of families. One contentious issue in the implementation of the slum clearance in Central Lagos was the fluid definition of what constituted an unsanitary building that the LEDB was empowered to remove. In the traditional centre of the city, the commonest housing design of compounds was usually the courtyard principle:

With a main entrance to the compound, leading to the central courtyard, usually, there is a stand-pipe in the courtyard; hand washing is done here also. There are designated kitchen bathroom and toilet facilities for the entire compound; and despite the density of the development the facilities are usually shares with understanding and peacefully by the residents.<sup>86</sup>

The fear of losing this communal living evoked massive protests from residents who saw in the planned slum clearance and relocations a veiled move to dispose them of their heritage. The political agitation inherent in the establishment of LEDB as a strong rival structure to the Lagos Town Council demonstrated the absence of co-ordination between and among overlapping agencies in urban policy implementation. This was further highlighted with the creation of autonomous agencies in municipal reforms after LEDB. These include the Drainage and Swamp Reclamation Board (1939), the Lagos Housing Committee (1942) and the Mosquito Control Board (1945).<sup>87</sup> Coming at a period when nationalism was gaining momentum among the rising educated elite and party politics, the slum clearance project could be assumed to have political connotations, it is not surprising that efforts by the Lagos City Council and the Federal government to remove what was termed ‘unsanitary’ in the case of Lagos city ended up a struggle between “a ruling political elite and the population of Lagos, with the support the opposition party, the Action Group”.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Report of the Tribunal of inquiry into the affairs of the LEDB for the period 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960 to December 1965 (1968).

<sup>86</sup> George, C.K. 2016. Urbanisation and the Lagos megacity. Lagos: Libro – Gem Ltd. p. 60.

<sup>87</sup> Gandy, M. 2006.

<sup>88</sup> Fouchard, L. 2001.

While the Federal authorities and the LEDB continued in the implementation of the slum clearance effort meant to transfer 20,000 to 30,000 people from the Central Lagos to a new community on the Mainland (Surulere), the Action Group stressed its support for the people that were to be evacuated which ultimately delayed and undermined the scheme.

Unlike an earlier slum clearance in 1928 which though did not reduce overcrowding, the Central Lagos Slum Clearance Scheme was not informed by purely sanitary consideration. Slum development in Lagos had been attributed to four factors;

- a) The historical development of Lagos from a small ancient fishing village to a large metropolitan area due to rapid changes in economic activities and assumption of functions such as the administrative, industrial, commercial and social centre of the country
- b) Urbanisation and housing shortages due to rapid population growth arising mainly from massive rural-urban population drifts.
- c) Absence of a comprehensive and well coordinated policy to tackle the environmental development.<sup>89</sup>

In a sharp contrast, however, the Lagos Slum Clearance Advisory Committee gave an insight into the perceived fear that the clearance scheme of the LEDB might just be a façade:

“Nigeria needs a capital city of which she can feel proud, and in which her people can live, work and play under conditions which are in accord with modern town planning practice for the well-being of all members of the community”.<sup>90</sup>

The incursion of partisan politics into the implementation of the Central Lagos Slum Clearance marked the commencement of the politicisation of the urban space that would in future impact on the urbanisation process of the city. The Town Engineer at the Lagos Town Council at the period stressed this much in his summation of the scheme:

The scheme got off to a bad start. A number of prominent Lagosians, who during the nationalist struggle for independence had learnt to read a sinister meaning to every move made by the colonial Government, said that the new project was designed to deprive the Lagosians of their land

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<sup>89</sup> Akom, A.A. 1984. Development Strategies for the slums of Lagos. HABITAT INTERNATIONAL. Vol. 8 No 3/4 pp. 159-171.

<sup>90</sup> NAI. Comcol 1. 5860, Central Lagos Slum Clearance Scheme, Draft, 1954-1955.

and to banish them to the mainland. They said the Island would be redeveloped for Europeans only and that Nigerians would require identity cards before they could Cross Carter Bridge from their new settlement in Surulere to Lagos. Others who knew the truth were silent because they feared that the wholesale transfer of population from the very high density area of Lagos Island would scatter their political support and adversely affect their political fortunes at elections.<sup>91</sup>

## **SURULERE REHOUSING SCHEME**

The planned clearance of Central Lagos might have floundered in its implementation but it left a landmark in the government's response to the need for housing units in the metropolitan Lagos: The Surulere Rehousing Scheme. The Scheme, financed with a loan repayable over forty years, was intended to accommodate displaced people from the Central Lagos. Such rehoused people were not expected by LEDB to live here perpetually as tenants but many of the displaced people ignored efforts made to them by the LEDB for owner-occupier status as they were still "too annoyed" by their evacuation to answer questionnaires on the subjects.<sup>92</sup> LEDB thus had to let out the houses at 25 shillings (N2.50) each. Another Re-housing scheme in Southwest Ikoyi that was expected to complement the Surulere scheme benefited only few families before the original idea was overtaken by a government decision to use the houses for the accommodation of higher civil servants who came from outside Lagos.

Government efforts at addressing housing shortage in the metropolis continued with the Rehousing Scheme 4 of the LEDB designed to accommodate residents of Olowogbowo and Offin who were being displaced by the need to build the second mainland (EKO) bridge in 1966. The scheme was executed by an outright grant of £1,420,000 to LEDB by the Federal Government. The 2,682 rooms of the project were constructed mainly as multi-storey block of flats offered at £2.12/bd (N5.25) a bit higher than the nearby Surulere Scheme because of the quality of the buildings.

The development of the Rehousing schemes by the LEDB in Surulere attracted a lot of private developers that contributed in changing the landscape of the area, though many of this set of developments were not in line with the LEDB's approval. Besides the uncontrolled

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<sup>91</sup> Aluko, T.M. 2006. *The Story of my Life*. Ibadan:Heinemann Publishers. p. 201

<sup>92</sup> LSDPC; (n.d.)50 years of Housing and Planning Development in Metropolitan Lagos. Challenges of the Eighties. Lagos. p. 8.

developments, one of the hindrances to LEDB operations was the scope of its activities which was restricted to the city of Lagos, the central core of the metropolitan Lagos, the Federal Territory. It had no power over the fringes of the city that was at the time witnessing rapid development in a haphazard manner. These areas were under the western Regional government that rose to the challenge in 1956 with the establishment of Ikeja Area Planning Authority (IAPA) for the initiation and execution of Planning Schemes and Development Control in the rest of metropolitan Lagos outside the city. The vastness of the area under its control made the IAPA to rely mainly on layout plans provided by large land owning families in Ikeja, Mushin, Agege, Ajegunle, Itire, Oshodi, Shomolu and Bariga.

The western regional government however contributed to the urbanisation of the fringes of Lagos by its establishment of industrial estates that also fuelled migration into the areas as the 162-hectare industrial estate attracted a large working force most of who were low-income earners that most reside within the neighbourhood of the estate. The government expanded its scope of activities in the fringes in 1958 when it created Western Nigeria Housing Corporation with the responsibility for providing housing finance, building houses in its estates and allocating residential houses and plots as well as industrial plots to individuals and corporate bodies on freehold basis. The housing corporation contributed to the population growth and infrastructural development of the areas under its control though products of its residential development were for the high and middle income earners. From these, it can be deduced why the regional government insisted that “Lagos belonged to the West”.

The emergence of Lagos as a leading commercial centre and seat of government in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century attracted migrants from the hinterland who were seeking new ventures in the legitimate trade. The migrants from a diverse origin and skills gave Lagos its cosmopolitan outlook. The construction of railway to the north and the extension of the Apapa port increased the influx of migrants leading into crowding in Lagos and opening of new migrant settlements on the outskirts of the city. Despite its plethora of planning ordinances, the colonial government could not control the unregulated and overcrowded development that eventually led to plagues that informed the formation of the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB). LEDB was

hampered in its development control function by the existence of rival public institutions and the politicisation of urban renewal efforts that had not checked similar unregulated development on the fringes of Lagos. The lack of coordination among urban development agencies coupled with the massive growth in population made it difficult to meet the housing needs which were continuously aggravated by unending migration.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ON THE THRESHOLD OF A MEGACITY 1967-1983

#### BACKGROUND TO THE CREATION OF LAGOS STATE

The most pervasive issue in the administration of Lagos since its annexation in 1861 by the British and subsequent declaration as the emerging nation's administrative and economic capital had been its constitutional status. The clamour for an autonomous region was informed by the rapid pace of urbanisation and the city's economic dominance over the hinterland as the nation's chief port, the commercial centre and industrial centre housing the most of the nation's foreigners and a large chunk of the educated African elite:

These political and economic advantages have shaped the question of urban political control more directly than have administrative or functional consideration. Indeed, the status of the capital is essentially a question of how to divide a national asset among sectional interests.<sup>1</sup>

The primacy of Lagos in the national affairs has been demonstrated and highlighted by the constitutional developments in Nigeria from the amalgamation in 1914 of the Northern and Southern protectorates into colony and protectorate of Nigeria when the colony of Lagos was reconstituted into a separate administrative unit having a legislative council and an Administrator.<sup>2</sup> The promulgation of the Clifford Constitution of 1922 which introduced the Elective principle into the Lagos Town Council enabled the election of three representatives into the Legislative council that was felt as a precursor to self-government in Lagos.

The Richard's constitution of 1946 highlighted the notion of regionalism in Nigeria as Lagos, like the three other regions at the time, had four representatives in the Nigerian legislative council. Three of these came from the colony and one from its outlying districts. The constitution came into being in the wave of nationalism in the country to heighten agitations for "ethnic autonomy" that culminated in the demand for a newer definition of the constitutional status for Lagos. The formal demand for the creation of Lagos State took place at the 1950 Ibadan Constitutional conference during which three organizations; the Lagos and Colony State

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<sup>1</sup> Baker, P. 1975. *Urbanisation and Political change: The Politics of Lagos 1917-1967*. P. 144

<sup>2</sup> Lagos from Colony to Megacity – 160 years of Administrative History. 2012. a Publication of Lagos State Government marking the 45th anniversary of the creation of Lagos State.

Movement, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society and the NCNC canvassed for the creation of a Lagos Region. This issue dominated the Nigerian constitutional deliberations at the Ibadan Conference of 1950 prepared the grounds for the Macpherson constitution of 1951. The demand for an autonomous region of Lagos reached a crescendo at this period as rightly noted by Baker (1975): The movement for the creation of Lagos State blossomed in the 1950s when the needs of the inhabitants of the colony were being made a part of the decision-making towards the requirements of the transformation of the emerging metropolis.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of Lagos in national discourse predated the colonial intrusion as gaining access to the coast had been at the root of the internecine wars in Yoruba land in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 1950s, the city which held no allegiance to any of the regions of the federation still remained attracted not only the interests of the regions but to the political groups thrown up by the nationalist groups after the Second World War. Lagos had before now, as a strategic outpost of the British Empire, been shielded from the activities of the hinterland but presented as the nation's melting pot from which all vested interests could benefit. It would be recalled that the administration of Lord Lugard at a time considered moving the seat of the colonial government out of Lagos to Kaduna, a move that was denied by the Colonial office because of inadequate communication links. The choice of Lagos as a Federal capital was however not automatic despite its position as a seaport and role as the gateway into the Nigerian hinterland.<sup>4</sup> The regional stakes in the city formed the disposition of the regions and groups to its constitutional status:

The postwar commencement of the nationalist movement and the gradual granting of self-government to Britain's colonies made it imperative to have a re-examination of the status of Lagos in because of the anticipated constitutional reforms. The town attracted the attention of many interest groups now that it has become the home of the nation's first generation nationalists. Each of the three regions formed in 1945 had its own particular reasons for wanting control the most advanced community in the nation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Baker, P .1975. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Dioko. L.C. 2001. Pg. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Baker, P. 1975. p. 147

The interests were varied. One of the issues that dominated the Ibadan constitutional conference of 1950 borders on why the Lagos colony was merged with the Western region and why it was not preferable for the colony to be regarded as an autonomous unit. Many suggestions were made to the colonial powers on the division of Nigeria into provinces or regions. The two dominating opinions of this time that related to the status of Lagos within the Nigerian federation was to either keep it as an integral part of the western region or granted autonomy that would make it self-governing.

The political differences that dominated the various constitutional conferences on the future of Nigeria tainted the status of the emerging Lagos state. The interests of the political parties controlling the three regions were dominant in the future status of the city.<sup>6</sup> The issue became heightened gaining momentum in the midst of several minority groups agitating the separation of their areas from those of the dominating majority groups, that necessitated the creation of a special commission to look into their demands, while the three major parties were obsessed with political powers in their disposition to the constitutional status of Lagos, the indigenous population in their clamour for a region of their own felt the federal authorities that controlled the affairs of the territory was too distant to the aspirations of the people and their needs:

... It is hardly surprising that in the thirteen years during which it has governed Lagos, the Federal Government has done precious little to advance the interests, the welfare and the progress of the people of the territory. To the extent that it has done anything in Lagos at all, the Federal Government has been much more concerned with the physical and architectural development of Lagos – the erection of skyscraper office blocks, of Independence Square etc. than with the material welfare of the people of Lagos. So called slums are cleared without any thought for the interests of the inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

The Action Group (AG) was unyielding in its demand for the merger of Lagos with the Western region citing historical, cultural and economic affinity while NCNC in its argument insisted that:

“The rural parts of the colony should be added to the Western Region but Lagos urban areas, as the capital city of the country, should be separated from the Regions, with its Town Council and direct representation to the House of Representatives.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Baker, P. 1975. p.148

<sup>7</sup> Jakande, L.K. 1966. *The Case For a Lagos State*. Lagos: John West Publications Ltd. p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Action Group. *Lagos Belongs To The West*. London: Purnell and Sons, n.d. p. 7.



For every claim of the AG on Lagos, NCNC refuted this claiming, in the heels of the colonial secretary's argument, that Lagos was as good as a 'No man's land'.<sup>9</sup>

The Western region's aspiration for the continued retention of the control of Lagos was put to rest with the introduction of the Lyttleton constitution in 1954 that ended the three year rule of the west over Lagos. Action Group however still smarted over the loss of Lagos which, in a shift of argument in 1953, it had conceded the removal of the Federal capital to Kafanchan in the Northern Region. The strategic importance of Lagos to the western region was hinted by the party leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo who openly told party members that the demand for the merger of Lagos with the West was intended to "remove certain political disabilities of the Lagos people and to eliminate adverse financial effects on the Western Region which result from separation"<sup>10</sup>

The issue of financial effects raised by Chief Awolowo was recurrent in the effort to dissuade the creation of a Lagos Region. But many of the advocates of its creation, particularly among the ranks of prominent nationalists untainted by partisan politics of the time believed this was not likely to be a hindrance to the working of the new region:

In 1949, it was strenuously argued that Lagos and the Colony areas could not stand alone financially and that their only hope of survival in a regionalised Nigeria was to be included in the West. Now the boot's on the other foot. It is said that the separation of Lagos means financial ruin to the Western Region.

Chick's Report has proved both views to be wrong. Lagos and the Colony can stand alone and so can the West.<sup>11</sup>

One good outcome of the Regional strive for the control of Lagos that continued long after the introduction of the Lyttleton constitution in 1954, was that it evoked among the indigenous Lagosians the agitation of a Lagos state autonomous enough to be insulated from regional or federal overbearing control. This agitation and the underlying sentiments were shared by other

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<sup>9</sup> NCNC. 1953. *Gedegbe l'eko wa*. Yaba: Zik Enterprises

<sup>10</sup> Sklar, R. L. 1963. *Nigerian Political Parties*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Chief H.O. Davies. QC. Daily Times(NP) . Thursday January 7, 1954. "The Lagos Question"

Nigerian residents who had migrated into the city which they all saw as ‘Land of hope’. Yet migrants to the city viewed the indigenous as “lowly slum dwellers of little or no importance”.<sup>12</sup>

But advocates of an autonomous Lagos region believed differently:

The present system of government assumes that Lagos is no man’s land. But this is a false assumption. Lagos is a native city as its history very well shows, with firmly established traditions and institutions. There is no parallel for the present system of government in other federations. The nearest examples of a Federal Government ruling a city like Lagos are the United States, Australia and India whose capitals of Washington, Canberra and New Delhi are virtually no man’s lands. But the crucial difference is that those cities are not native cities; they were built on land purchased by the respective Federal Governments for the specific purpose of building their Federal capitals. This is not the case with Lagos.<sup>13</sup>

The failure of the Western region to constitutionally gain the control of Lagos was the veil that dropped from the face of indigenous Lagosians on the need for them to demand for the creation of an autonomous region.<sup>14</sup> While the Lagosians basked in the euphoria of living in a federal territory, a highly urbanised portion of the country, the thought of being a pawn in the political manipulations of the regions stared at him. As rightly noted by Baker (1975):

To indigenous Lagosians, the demand for a region or a state was clearly as justifiable as were the demands for autonomy arising from Nigeria’s other cultural minorities. But since Lagos was not even part of a region, its residents felt they were more deprived than most minorities: they lacked proportional representation in government institutions at both regional and national levels, they had few opportunities for employment in the civil service and in statutory agencies; they gained less benefits from regional development programs and they were vulnerable to exploitation from external groups through federal interference. Moreover, they were being governed by non-Lagosians, principally northerners who occupied the top positions in the federal ministries overseeing Lagos.<sup>15</sup>

The challenges of being ruled by non-natives stirred the communal consciousness among indigenous Lagosians that saw their homeland emerged as the hub of nationalism and the

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<sup>12</sup> Baker, Pauline. 1975. p. 257.

<sup>13</sup> Jakande, L.K. 1966 . p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Oral interview with Pa Adisa Shadeko, 81 a retired Photo journalist at 28 Salawu Street, Surulere, Lagos on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2009. He believed many Lagosians saw through AG’s desire “to add Lagos to its empire”.

<sup>15</sup> Baker, P. 1975. p. 256

agitation for self rule on a national basis now witnessing the invasion by migrants from the uplands taking over their lands, trade jobs and political control of their homeland. The demand for political autonomy through the creation of a Lagos state culminated in the realization by the people that their affiliation to a similar larger ethnic group did not earn them the sympathy that similar minority groups like them enjoyed in other regions. This evoked the creation of bodies devoted solely to the interests of the indigenous Lagosians, such groups like the 'Egbe Omo Ibile Eko'. The Lagos Aborigines society and the Lagos Royalists made it their mission to press for more representation in government appointments, increased participation of the indigenes in political activities, work for the creation of Lagos state and higher visibility for the Obas and Chiefs of Lagos. They also addressed an issue that would in future shape intergroup relation with non-natives-namely the question of "who is a Lagosian"?

This they identified as:

- 1) Descendants of past and present Obas
- 2) Persons whose families possess a compound (Agbo-ile) in Lagos and who lay no claim to any other part of Nigeria, and
- 3) Persons whose ancestors settled in Lagos before 1900 and had abandoned their domicile of origin (i.e. descendants of native foreigners)<sup>16</sup>

These definitions, from the scope of its beneficiaries, took adequate care of native inhabitants of the four major wards or sections of the Lagos Island at the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century including the returnees that could not find their ways back to their homes before they were carted into slavery. No other move showed the resolve of Lagosians to take their political destiny in their hands then the emergence in 1952 of the Lagos Citizens' Rights Protection Council (LCRPC) from the merger of the Egbe Omo Ibile Eko and the Lagos Aborigines Society. The mass appeal of the membership of the LCRPC encouraged massive support for the agitation for a Lagos state such that the products of the Islamic schools operated by the Ahmadiyya and Ansar-Ud-Deen societies and traditional leaders as well as market women, small scale business owners and others that had felt exploited by the political groups were brought into the folds of the council. With this, the advocate for a Lagos state was moderated to include in the envisaged region, the colony districts of Badagry, Ikeja and Epe.

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<sup>16</sup> Baker, P. 1975.

One remarkable fall-out of the heightened demand for a Lagos state was the decline in the local support for the Action Group which by the 1957 conference was still fighting for a return to the 1951 when Lagos was brought under the Western region. To curry the favour of Lagosians, the party suggested that some of the functions of the Federal Government be devolved to the Lagos city council and that Lagosians had more representation on government agencies. The 1957 conference however in a conciliatory move decided that Lagos should retain its status as a federal territory, a decision that pleased the north but left the indigenous Lagosians unsatisfied. The indigenous Lagosians were further dissatisfied by the rejection of their demands by the Minorities' commission appointed to look into the agitations of minority groups. The movement for the creation of Lagos State remained unmoved even as it expanded with the backing of NCNC, a rehash of the old alliance between the Easterners and the supporters of Herbert Macaulay in the early Lagos. Opposition to the AG that now controlled the Lagos City Council had also advanced to include the United Muslim Party that continually insisted that "Lagos should never be merged with the West". This was the open disenchantment of the people of Lagos against the AG and the West that dominated the polity in the days leading to the national crisis and eventual military coup d'état that truncated the first civilian regime in Nigeria.

The abolition of Nigeria's federal structure by the first military regime of Major General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi replacing it with a unitary state by a military fiat changed the status of Lagos from a federal territory to a capital territory but did not affect the resolute demand for a Lagos state. This had a backing in the second military coup of July 1966 when the Administrator for Lagos, Major Mobolaji Johnson called a meeting of the Lagos City Council to ascertain the status of Lagos. This meeting stressed the resolve of the people of Lagos to have an autonomous region that included the old colony province in the face of uncertainties that prevailed during the national unrest, other regions decided to pull out of the Nigerian federation. The hope of secession was however nipped in the bud when the second military regime of Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon returned the nation to the old federal structure with the revocation of the unitary form of government. The regime also sought to pander to public acceptance by constituting an ad hoc committee on constitutional review made up of representatives from the four regions and

Lagos with a mandate to fashion out an arrangement that was acceptable to all sections of the country. The resolute with which Lagosians had expressed their opposition to the AG and the west reared its head when representatives of Lagos in the review panel resisted what they saw as the move by the leader of the Lagos delegation, Lateef Jakande, to foster the old policy of the AG on them.<sup>17</sup>

This stoked the crisis that attended the submission of the proposals by Lagos and western delegations to the conference as disparities were noticed in the submissions, a situation that prompted Oba Adeyinka Oyekan to send a memorandum directly to the Supreme Commander of the Armed forces calling for a Lagos State within a federation while Jakande continued to express the position canvassed by the west insisting that a Lagos state could not be created without the active support of Western Nigeria. But a day after his statement in May 1967, the head of the military government announced the promulgation of a decree creating twelve states including Lagos from the existing four regions and the federal territory of Lagos. The dreams and aspirations of agitators for a Lagos state were realised as the new state fitted into their desire of Lagos state comprising the colony districts of the former Western Region and the federal capital. The creation of the twelve states was seen as a measure of ending the secession by the Eastern region dividing the loyalty of the Easterners and playing on their ethnic differences:

This was a political master stroke as the minorities that had been seeking autonomy got it on a platter of gold. Their loyalty was quickly switched to the Federal Government and ultimately prepared the ground for the end of the secession. The Igbo were constituted into a single state, the East Central state. It was under such circumstances that Lagos emerged as a state.<sup>18</sup>

The creation of Lagos state in 1967 might have given the city the dual status of Federal and state capital but this had not abated the political undercurrents that dominated the agitation for the creation of the state in the first place as well as the attendant problems inherent in its urbanisation.

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<sup>17</sup> Jakande and others convicted along with Chief Awolowo on treason charges in 1962 had been released after the second coup of July 1966.

<sup>18</sup> Dioka, L. 2001.. p. 163.

The agitation for the creation of the state and the support for it by the interested parties had been informed by the ultimate stakes of the various groups. Finance had been at the heart of the British administration's intention to make Lagos the capital of the emerging federation while the northern and Eastern region's demand that Lagos be excised from the western Region, though political, also had financial consideration. These interests were informed by revenues from the parts and the growing industrialization of Lagos that promised increased revenue.<sup>19</sup> The Western region ruled by the Action Group on its own wanted Lagos beyond being the Federal Capital and found it convenient to suggest the building a new capital city in a control and neutral place in the country an idea the colonial office felt was financially prohibitive. The leader of the ruling party in the western region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo had felt it would be economically suicidal for the region if the federal capital was not merged with the west.<sup>20</sup> Hence, his opposition to the creation of Lagos State. Even at its creation in 1967, Lagos state still bore the burden of fragmented authority in its administration, a hangover of the unclear intergovernmental relations in the running of the metropolis since the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It will be recalled that Lagos had a dual constitutional status between in 1953 when changes in the Nigerian political structure led to the adoption of federalism till the creation of the state in 1967. The new state thus inherited growing inadequacy of urban services that had dogged local governance and metropolitan control by divided interests namely the ministry of Lagos Affairs, the Lagos City Council, the Western region government and several federal agencies.

Realising the likely friction that could emanate from the dual role of Lagos in the new Twelve-state structure, the Supreme Military Council appointed a Joint Committee on Administrative and Financial Arrangements for the transfer of Functions from the Federal Government to the Lagos State Government.<sup>21</sup> The committee recommended that with its new status, the Federal Government "should cease to exercise the regional functions it had previously assumed in Lagos".<sup>22</sup> The transfer of functions from the Federal Government to the Lagos state was

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<sup>19</sup> Fouchard L. 2001. Lagos. p. 71

<sup>20</sup> Benna U.G. 1989. The Federal Capital: The debate and the planning. In T. Tamuno and J.A. Akande (eds) *Nigeria since Independence: The first 25 years* (Vol. 4). Ibadan: Heinemann.

<sup>21</sup> Williams, B. 1975. The Federal Capital: Changing Constitutional status and intergovernmental Relations. Aderibigbe, A.B. 1975. *Lagos. The development of an African city*. London: Longman. p. 71

<sup>22</sup> Williams, B. The Federal Capital: Changing Constitutional status and intergovernmental Relations . Aderibigbe, A (ed). 1975. *Lagos. The development of an African city*. London:Longman, p. 71

implemented on the whole without any serious inter-governmental conflict and without any disruption of administrative services.

Urban infrastructural development suffered from neglect as a result of the overlapping functions of agencies in the three-tier arrangement in Lagos before the State creation even as the problems of provision and management of services manifested in a rapidly growing population. In 1962, a United Nations team of experts identified traffic congestion, shortage of housing, absence of housing finance, existence of slums and the unsanitary conditions of houses as well as absence of a metropolitan government as problems confronting Lagos. When the team returned in 1980, the problems had worsened.<sup>23</sup>

The creation of Lagos state was expectedly accepted with mixed feelings. For the advocates of the state, it was a fulfilled dream, even as some people believed it stood no chance of survival because of its small size and absence of resources necessary for its growth even with the inclusion of some parts of the Western Region into the new state (Badagry, Ikeja, Ikorodu and Epe). The boundary of the new Lagos state as defined by Section 9 of the Schedule to the new Decree made it clear that the new State was made up of the Federal Territory and the Badagry, Epe and Ikeja Divisions, the boundaries of which are described in Schedules 1-4 of a proclamation made under the Nigeria (Electoral Provisions) Order in Council 1961.<sup>24</sup>

The appointment of the erstwhile military Administrator of the Federal Territory, Major Mobolaji Johnson as the Governor completed the state creation process. The new state however had nine months to establish an administrative structure during which it held several negotiations with both the Federal Government and the Western Nigerian Regional Government on the transfer and handover of infrastructure to the state. The Federal government was favourably disposed to handing over to the new state some infrastructural facilities. This was a sharp contrast to the negotiations with the Western region that was not only losing some of its

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<sup>23</sup>Abram, C. Kobe, S. Koenigsberger, O. Shapiro, M. and Wheeler, M.1980. Metropolitan Lagos. *Habitat International* 55: 55-83.

<sup>24</sup> Lagos State Handbook 1995. p.6

territorial units but infrastructure and seasoned technocrats to the new state.<sup>25</sup> The new administration eventually took off on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1968 with the establishment of seven ministries namely – Justice, Economic development, Finance, Education, Works, Local government and chieftaincy as well as trade and industry.

Contrary to popular misconceptions at its creation however, Lagos had its inherent problems that had manifested since the colonial domination up to the creation of the state. Takiu Folami (1982) identified the problems as including “overcrowding, filthy environment and inadequate transportation”.<sup>26</sup> It needs to be stressed that these problems were made prominent by the dual role of Lagos as a federal and regional capital. It must also be noted that Lagos at the onset remained the only state where the Federal authorities still retained the control of some territory. Even as the pace of urban migration increased at the onset of the Nigerian Civil war, it was believed that the return of the Easterners to their region in the wake of the civil war would reduce the population of Lagos at the time<sup>27</sup> but the national crisis contributed more into the population explosion in Lagos as Southern movement was recorded when many affected Nigerians including the Igbo had to relocate to Lagos from the north and other areas of disturbance.<sup>28</sup> Afolayan (1985) attributes this state of affairs of the time to the distinguishing features of:

- 1) The creation of more states in the country
- 2) The addition of other forces of human displacement, such as the civil war even though it lasted for a short period.
- 3) The heightening of people’s awareness of the necessity to better their socio-economic status, hence, the urban-ward drift of people during this period continued at a faster rate than before and that, at varying degrees in the different locations. This is to be expected particularly because of most of the social facilities were unevenly distributed among the selected centres of development.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Dioka, L. 2001

<sup>26</sup> Folami, T. 1982. *A History of Lagos, Nigeria. The Shaping of an African city*. New York:Exposition Press. p.10

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Pa Ashimiyu Shadeko. 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Mazi Francis Igbozuruke. 78, at Obalende on April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>29</sup> Afolayan A. A. 1983. Is there a step-wise migration in Nigeria: A Case study of the Migrational Histories of Migrants in Lagos. *Geo Journal* 11.2, p. 183-193.



Afolayan's inference to the availability of urban infrastructure as a factor for the migrants into Lagos during and after the civil war provides a reason for the massive influx of migrants into Lagos that was noticed at the period. The Nigerian Civil war lasted thirty months and when it ended in January 1970 with the formal surrender of the Biafran Forces, General Yakubu Gowon, in accepting the unconditional ceasefire, declared that there would be 'No victor, No vanquished'<sup>30</sup> in line with the spirit of national unity, the years following the surrender were also declared as period of 'Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation'. The postwar Government also initiated a 9-point transition programme that would culminate in a handover of power to an elected civilian government on October 1, 1976.

The postwar reconstruction of the government and the urbanisation process in the country, particularly in Lagos received a boost with oil-price boom, which began as a result of the high price of crude oil, Nigeria's major foreign exchange earner, in the world market in 1973. This began the oil-boom era that ensured a buoyant economy that enabled the military to embark on massive construction and urbanisation projects. The era also saw the federal government taking up some responsibilities hitherto performed by the states while it also made efforts to transfer the control of the nation's economy from foreigners to Nigerians.

## **THE CIVIL WAR AND POPULATION MOVEMENT**

At the onset of the national crisis that preceded the creation of new states, there was noted movement in the nation's population as Igbo across the country heeded calls to return to the Eastern Region following the disturbance and massacre of people of Eastern origin in several locations of northern Nigeria. Despite the massive movement of the people towards the Eastern region however, the relocation of Igbo from the Lagos metropolis was only remarkable in the backdrop of the national crisis as this movement did not create any visible in the population and the demand for housing and commercial property.<sup>31</sup>

Contrary to popular expectations that the call on Igbo living outside the Eastern region to return home would create a noticeable void in the population of migrants and their commercial enterprises within the Lagos metropolis, their departure was felt in communities outside the

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<sup>30</sup> General Gowon's broadcast to the nation announcing the surrender of the Biafran Forces, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1970.

<sup>31</sup> Oral interview with Pa Jibade Adeyemi, 81 a retired Estate agent who maintained that the exodus of the Igbo from Lagos actually left places for other returnees from the Northern and Eastern regions.

Lagos Island where, along with members of other ethnic groups, they formed large migrant population. Before the crisis, they resided largely in informal settlements like Somolu, Ajegunle, Igbobi, and Yaba as well as in government quarters around the metropolis.<sup>32</sup> Many of the Igbos that left Lagos in the wake of the national crisis that preceded the civil war had been employed in the informal sector as well as commerce particularly in the distributive trade subsector. It would be recalled that at Nigerian independence in 1960 nearly half of the non-Yoruba immigrants in Lagos were Igbo reducing, for obvious reasons, to less than 5 percent at the peak of the civil war.<sup>33</sup>

The urbanisation process of Lagos was dramatically altered at the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970 as Igbo and many others returning from the theatres of war invaded the city massively in search of a new life: paid employment and business opportunities. It is remarkable that industrial activities flourished in Lagos while the war lasted as the city was not majorly affected by the war. This industrial growth was further expanded by the emerging boom in oil prices at the international market. For many Igbo returning to Lagos, it was the only place they felt could provide the much needed solace following the throes of the civil war as the period between 1970 and 1972 marked the last Civil War years when the situation in the country, especially in Lagos, was much more cordial than before. It can be seen that the largest number of migrants move into Lagos then. It is not surprising that people poured into the city in larger numbers than before. Lagos was by then regarded as the neutral ground where especially the Easterners felt they could flee to without much harassment and this is because of its Federal nature as the rising number of people moving into Lagos at an earlier period, could be said to be a pointer to the increasing importance of Lagos in the socio-economic and political status of the country following independence.<sup>34</sup>

Added to the war returnees who had lived in Lagos were other migrants who, before the war, had never stepped out of the Eastern region. Lagos once again attracted a new wave of migrants in search of economic opportunities:

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<sup>32</sup> Oral interview with Madam Sidikatu Tijani, 77 at 126 Enu-owa street, Lagos. She was born and lived at Alakoto, Ajegunle with Igbo neighbours some of who, she said, were not willing to heed the call to return to the East.

<sup>33</sup> Peil, M. 1991. *Lagos: The city is the people*. London: Bellhoven Press. p. 36.

<sup>34</sup> Afolayan, A. A. Is there a Step-wise Migration in Nigeria? : A Case Study of the Migrational Histories of Migrants in Lagos. *GeoJournal* 11.2 183-193

By the second half of the 1970s, the number of Igbo immigrants in Lagos surpassed the percentage of the 1950s, and it continued to rise in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>35</sup>

At the end of the civil war, it was not only the Igbo that were noticeable in the new wave of urban migration as aliens from Nigeria's neighbouring West African countries also migrated into Lagos in large numbers:

It was after the Nigerian civil war, also that the number of Indians, Lebanese, and Chinese in Lagos began to rise dramatically, following the expansion of business opportunities that accompanied the oil boom period from 1973 to the end of the decade. To be sure, these two groups had some of their members involved in different types of businesses since as early as the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the number was very small until the 1950s. The disruption, which accompanied the disturbances of the late 1960s, negatively affected business and erected insecurity. However, after the end of the hostilities in 1970, there occurred the movement of many Lebanese and Indians to Lagos, some joining family members already established in the city.<sup>36</sup>

The post-civil war boom in the Nigerian national economy, while it placated the hardship of the war on the social milieu also became a major factor in the rapid urban growth fuelled by the country's petroleum oil boom of 1973/74. This led to massive construction of bridges, roads and housing projects across the country particularly in Lagos where the military ruling class, rose in response to seeking solutions to inadequate urban infrastructure identified by a UN team of experts in 1962. The team had considered a shortage of housing, lack of housing finance, traffic congestion, and a substantial size of the slum areas, lack of human resources and the absence of a metropolitan government as the key problems in metropolitan Lagos.<sup>37</sup> However, it has been observed that only one of the recommendations of the team was implemented by the federal government: The building of transport infrastructure in the form of new roads, bridges and highways.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Aworawo, D. 2004. The stranger problem and social ferment in Lagos. Toyin Falola and Steven J. Salm *Cities in Nigeria*. Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 278.

<sup>36</sup> Aworawo, D. 2004. The stranger problem and social ferment in Lagos. Toyin Falola and Steven J. Salm *Cities in Nigeria*. Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 278.

<sup>37</sup> Abrams, C. et al. 1980. Metropolitan Lagos. *Habitat International* 55. pg 81.

<sup>38</sup> Fouchard, L. 2012. Lagos. Simon Behker and Goran Therborn. 2012. *Power and Powerlessness. Capital cities in Africa*. Capetown: HSRC Press. P. 70

It is noteworthy also that when the same UN team returned to Lagos later in 1980, they concluded that the prevailing conditions at the time (1980) were not only identical to problems identified in 1962, but had got worse.<sup>39</sup> One area that suffered neglect in the development of urban infrastructure even from the colonial era has been housing. While the oil wealth evoked increase investment in the construction sector of the economy, the huge financial investment in the sector did not translate to increase in the city's housing stock to meet the needs of the growing population.

### **OIL WEALTH AND IMPROVEMENT IN URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE**

Housing problems in Lagos, like many cities of the developing countries has remained a crucial concern from the colonial days. The problem is characterised by an inadequacy for which a combination of social, economic, demographic and technological factors is responsible as urban dwellings are overcrowded and lack basic sanitary amenities.<sup>40</sup> The rapid increase in urban population has highlighted problems associated with the difficulties of producing basic infrastructure and social services like adequate housing for the rising population being the most outstanding.

The spirited moves to address the problem of housing in the pre-independence slum clearance in Central Lagos resulted in the creation of 'New Lagos' from Surulere with the construction of a Workers' housing estate to accommodate residents relocated from the slum clearances. This however, was not the first institutional response to deficiency in housing supply. The colonial government had earlier built a workers estate in Yaba, a well-planned housing scheme to accommodate people relocating from an earlier clearance in 1928. Efforts to provide housing for the growing population of Lagos metropolis have not been encouraged by the unending influx of migrants into the city that exerted pressure on housing. A study shows that this pressure is indexed by the number of people in a household, the number of rooms and the occupying ratio. It shows that as at 1961, the housing stock in the metropolis was 23,000, less 600 houses demolished for economic development and 5028 buildings completed between 1962 and 1973;

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<sup>39</sup> Abrams . p. 71

<sup>40</sup> Acquaye, Ebenezer. 1985. A Teleological Review of the Housing problem in Developing countries. Onibokun. P. (ed). *Housing in Nigeria (A Book of Readings)*. Ibadan: NISER p. 41.

Between 1961 and 1973, a growth rate of housing stock was found to be between 1.50 and 1.75 percent for Greater Lagos. However, the rate of population growth was put at 9.6 percent per annum. The housing stock by 1998 is 1,190,999 accommodating over 6 million people. This means a gross mismatch between housing and the rate of growth of population in Lagos.<sup>41</sup>

**Table 4.1: Estimated housing stock, by dwelling types in Nigeria (1991) in thousands**

	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>Units (million)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Units (million)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Units (million)</b>
Maisonette	2	67	0	12	1	79
Duplex	3	101	0	-	1	101
Detached bungalow	10	337	20	2,289	17	2,627
Semi-detached	2	67	1	60	1	127
Flat	15	506	0	-	3	506
Tenement (Room)	65	2,194	77	9,200	74	11,393
Others	3	101	2	287	3	388
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3,373</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11,848</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>15,221</b>

Source: UN-Habitat 2001 Report on National Housing Trend

Institutional efforts to fill the void in housing supply in Lagos metropolis particularly for the low-income group included an attempt by the Federal Military Government in 1967 in which seventeen housing blocks of 20 two-bedroom flats was planned to accommodate about eleven thousand people.<sup>42</sup>

With the creation of Lagos State in 1967 comprising the Lagos Municipality and the colony province of former Western Region, it became apparent the need to merge the existing planning authorities to address the lack of adequate housing facilities in the metropolis and the state in general. This led to the merger of the Ikeja Area Planning Authority, which exercised control on the Ikeja and Ikorodu districts, the Epe Town Planning Authority for Epe and its environs and the LEDB and other planning bodies in 1972 to form a centralised body, the Lagos state Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC). The new body was charged with the

<sup>41</sup> Odumosu, Tayo. 1999. Problems of Housing and Transportation in Lagos state; A critical review of Marwa's magical solution. in Peter Okebukola (ed) 1999. *Piercing the Armour of Development: The Marwa Touch in Lagos State*. Lagos: Academy press. p. 210.

<sup>42</sup> Abiodun, Josephine Olu. 1976. Housing problems in Nigerian Cities. *Town Planning Review*, vol. 47, No. 4.

preparation of housing schemes, construction of houses and shopping centres as well as the provision of infrastructural facilities in the state.

Under the LSDPC Edict No 1 of 1972, the new body was charged to:

- a. Acquire, develop hold manage, sell, lease or let any property movable or immovable within the state.
- b. Provide and maintain roads, footways bridges, drains and sewers on its estates until a local authority takes over
- c. Establish a Home-ownership saving scheme in respect of any housing estate or building owned, constructed and managed by the corporation.

The corporation which inherited assets and liabilities of its three predecessors was however completely divested of all their development control powers which were transferred to the Lagos state ministry of Works and planning that became responsible for planning and development control throughout the state.<sup>43</sup>

The corporation attained remarkable achievement in the development of residential and industrial estates (Table 3 ) in various location of the metropolis including;

- i) Ikeja Residential and Industrial Estates comprising the whole of Ikeja, Ijaiye, Ogba, Omole schemes 1 & II, Agidingbi, Oregun, and Isheri
- ii) Ilupeju Residential and Industrial area
- iii) Apapa/Oshodi Industrial Estate covering the whole area from Ilupeju Bye-pass down to Oshodi Isolo expressway and Apapa Port Complex.

The corporation reclaimed and developed the mainly swampy area of Apapa into a self-contained estate within industrial and commercial as well as high and low density residential areas. It also embarked on the redevelopment of Central Lagos and the development of shopping centres at Falomo, Ikoyi, Surulere and Iponri. The achievements however palled into insignificance when it is realized that much of these successes did not in any way stem the growth of informal settlements in many parts of the metropolis.

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<sup>43</sup> Lagos State Handbook 1987. a publication of the Lagos State Ministry of Information and Culture. p. 159.

**Table 4.2: Industrial Estates in Lagos Metropolis**

S/No	Location	Target Activity Beneficiary	Size (in Hectares)
1.	Yaba SME	SME	1.112
2.	Matori SME	SME	2.079
3.	Isolo SME Ind.	SME	6.28
4.	Technology Incubator, Agege	Incubator	6
5.	Igando		6
6.	Epe SME	SME	6
7.	Imota SME	SME	26
8.	Apapa Ind.	Industrial	100
9.	Ikeja Ind.	“	180
10.	Ilupeju Ind.	“	110
11.	Ijora Ind.	“	160
12.	Iganmu Ind.	“	80
13.	Oshodi/Isolo Ind.	“	140
14.	Amuwo-Odofin		200
15.	Ogba Ind.	“	150
16.	Oregun Ind.	“	100
17.	Agidingbi Ind.	“	97
18.	Gbagada		50
19.	Ikorodu		1,582.27
20.	Surulere		20
21.	Badiya		15
22.	Oyadiran		20
23.	Matori		120
24.	Ilasamaja		60
25.	Lagos South West		317
26.	Kirikiri		30
27.	Mosafejo/Aradagun (Badagry)		
28.	Absean/Ipaja		100
29.	Akowonjo		50
	<b>TOTAL</b>		

Source: Adapted from Investment Opportunities in Lagos State (2001)

## UNMET NEEDS AND ONSET OF URBAN CRISES

The rapid industrial growth and new wave of migration into Lagos metropolis at the end of the civil war and the attendant oil-boom of the early 1970s led to the growth of informal settlements in the city as accommodation became a problem for the new migrants who were mainly the poor in search for odd jobs and had to live close to the factories. This encouraged the development of shanty settlements of makeshift dwellings in areas like Ajegunle, Ilaje-Bariga, Makoko, and Maroko to accommodate the influx of migrants. Meanwhile, outlying farmlands in Ikeja, Agege, Isolo, Mushin, Ipaja and Ketu also became sprawling squalor without basic utilities.<sup>44</sup>

The development of slums in Lagos has been a consistent feature of urbanisation process in the city from the imposition of colonial rule and legitimate trade in the twilight of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an era that encouraged a massive influx of migrants from the hinterland and neighbouring countries. Slums are seen by some scholars as “symptoms of immigration phenomenon<sup>45</sup>” as “areas of social breakdown, high delinquency and most of the residents are opponents of progress, lawless and lawbreakers”<sup>46</sup>

The demographic pressure exerted on the metropolis in the years after the civil war and the oil boom days exceeded the supply of public facilities resulting in a situation where more than 50 percent of Lagos residents live in squalor slum communities. Many of these communities began as temporary shelters for migrants who were mostly fishermen in riverine communities that were later taken over by low income earners like artisans, low-cadre civil servants, traders and others in dire need of accommodation.<sup>47</sup>

The slum communities flourished through the 1980s, according to a former military governor, Colonel Raji Rasaki, because the needs of the populace were unmet: He lamented that at a stage migrants from the hinterland and neighbouring ECOWAS states outnumbered the indigenes of

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<sup>44</sup> Oral interview with Catherine Kehinde George. 67. Nigeria's First female Town Planner on Sept. 17, 2010 at Anthony village, Lagos.

<sup>45</sup> Yusuf Lukeman et al., 2014. Socio-Economic Attributes of Residents of Slum and Shanty Areas of Lagos State, Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol. 5, No. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Omole, F.K. 2000. Urban Decay in Nigerian Cities: Analysis of Problems and Renewal Strategies. *Journal of African and Regional Affairs*. 4(3), 20-30.

<sup>47</sup> Oral interview with Catherine Kehinde George, 2010.



Lagos state as migrants from Benin, Togo and Ghana settled in the blighted areas in their search for decent accommodation.<sup>48</sup>

Slums have become so prevalent in Lagos metropolis that there have not been an agreed number of the informal settlements in the city. While Gandy (2006)<sup>49</sup> suggests that there are as many as two hundred distinct slums in the city “ranging from clusters of shacks around highways to entire districts, Morka (2007)<sup>50</sup> notes that “over two thirds of the population of Lagos live in the “informal settlements or slums scattered around the city”. These claims do not however tally with a study conducted in 1995 and adopted by UNDP and the World Bank that identified 42 blighted communities, nine of which are the biggest in terms of size and population.

The nine communities, all located within the Lagos metropolis include Makoko, Iwaya, Ilaje, Bariga, Agege, Ijeshatedo/Itire, Badiya, Ajegunle and Amukoko. These communities came to be adopted for upgrade by the state government nearly two decades after the demolition of a vast slum at the brinks of the elitist Victoria Island – Maroko. Maroko, like other slums and blighted areas in Lagos, had been symbols of government neglect of informal settlements:

Despite the relative urbanised nature of Lagos metropolis and its modernity, it exhibits all the characteristic of a *villagised* city accommodating a large number of slum areas, which are neither legally recognized nor serviced by city authorities. These slums and squatter settlements do not enjoy many benefits of urban life such as access to basic social services, like scholars, clinics, electricity power supply and good health and potable water.<sup>51</sup>

Housing remained one of the great challenges facing metropolitan Lagos despite efforts of the various housing authorities including the Federal Government which at the height of the oil boom embarked on various “flamboyant activities that were more of expensive jamborees than of value on the welfare of the citizenry. These ventures, like the All-Africa games in 1973 and

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<sup>48</sup> Colonel Raji Rasaki. *Managing Metropolitan Lagos*. a paper delivered at the inaugural programme of the Africa Leadership Forum. Ota, Nigeria. 24 October to November 1st 1988.

<sup>49</sup> Gandy, M. 2006. Planning, Anti-planning and the Infrastructure Crisis facing Metropolitan Lagos, *Urban Studies* 43(2): 371-396.

<sup>50</sup> Morka, F. 2007. *A place to live: A case study of the Ijora-Badia Community in Lagos, Nigeria*. Case study. prepared for *Enhancing Urban safety and security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*.

<sup>51</sup> Morakinyo, Kolawole, Opeyemi et al. 2012. Urban slums as Spatial Manifestations of Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa: A case study of Ajegunle slum settlement. Lagos, Nigeria. *Developing Countries studies*, vol. 2, No. 11

FESTAC in 1977 left a legacy of housing structure that benefitted only the middle and high classes”<sup>52</sup>

Lagos is the largest city in Nigeria when population is considered as the yardstick, with an estimated population of over 200,000 persons per square kilometre fuelled mainly by migration, the pressure on housing is apparent. This is reflected by the number of people in a household, the number of rooms that subtly encouraged the growth of informal settlement particularly on the fringes of the city.<sup>53</sup> This also emanates from the efforts of private Estate developers to supplement government’s efforts at reducing the pressure on housing needs:

Private sector housing in Lagos fall broadly into two main socio-economic groups in the city – the rich and the poor. The old neighbourhoods residential of Mushin, Somolu, Bariga, Olodi-Apapa, Isolo, Oshodi, Sogunle, Mafoluku, Agege and the recent expansion into former fringe areas like Idimu, Egbe, Ikotun in Alimosho LGA; and Ojo, Ajangbadi, Lemba-Hausa, along the Badagry corridor provide housing for the poor.<sup>54</sup>

These forms of housing however are usually congested lacking in basic services and infrastructure needed for a healthy living. Three factors, namely; population concentration, rising affluence and technological change have been identified to worsen the urban physical environment.<sup>55</sup> The concentration of large population in cities like Lagos is believed to impact negatively on the environment in many ways – traffic congestion, crowding, shopping and living conditions with massive generation of refuse, rising levels of air, water and noise pollution. The inadequate housing condition in the metropolis despite the contribution of the private sector and the continued growth of informal settlements amidst unending migration informed the need to examine the input of the government in the sector.

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<sup>52</sup> Oral interview with Bayo Oguntuase.47. a Human Rights Activist at Ikorodu on 24<sup>th</sup> December, 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Oral interview with Catherine K. George. September 2010.

<sup>54</sup> Francisco Bolaji Abosede.2006.

<sup>55</sup> Jacoby, N.H. and Pennance F.G., 1972. The Polluters: Industry or Government. (Occasional Paper No. 36, Institute of Economic Affairs, London.

## GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THE URBAN DRIFT

Nowhere has the urbanisation processes in Lagos impacted more on the people than in the provision of housing for the ever-increasing population. The unabated urban growth in the area has put the state government's capacity to manage the fallouts of the development to test as construction of houses has not kept pace with the needs of the rapidly expanding urban population.<sup>56</sup>

From the colonial era, efforts had been made to address the housing needs of the metropolis but these had become piece-meal in the face of uncontrolled influx of migrants into Lagos. These efforts had been in three main areas, namely private contributions, mortgages and direct government intervention in housing especially through public institutions established for such purposes. The most prominent of such institutions in Lagos remained the Lagos Executive Development Board, LEDB and its successor, Lagos state Development Property Corporation, LSDPC. The agency performed well within the resources available to it developing about 1500 housing units between 1972 and 1979. This achievement however was not enough to ameliorate the acute housing shortage in Lagos metropolis.

One area in which the Private sector contributed to the housing stock in the Oil boom days was the emergence of indigenous property developers particularly in the built-up sections of the city where ancestral family homes, mostly bungalows, were demolished and replaced with storeyed buildings financed by the developers expected to recoup their investment in the construction of the new structure within an agreed period. In many cases, families sign away their inheritance for as long as 25 years because of the amount the developer was investing in the renovation.<sup>57</sup> Families having large members and more than three or four branches in some cases often pool financial resources to finance the redevelopment of their properties to check being exploited by the developers who, in many cases, were accused of building structures that would not last long

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<sup>56</sup> Cohen, B. 2006. Urbanisation in Developing countries: current Trends, Future projections, and key challenges for sustainability .*Technology in Society*. 28 p 63-80.

<sup>57</sup> Oral interview with Alhaji Ganiyu Saulabiu, 67,a Property developer at 43 Agoro street,Lagos. July 7,2016.

after it is turned in at the expiration of the agreed period.<sup>58</sup> The practice of rebuilding ancestral family houses though did not add to the housing stock only increased the number of tenants to be taken into the renovated structure. For example, a bungalow with six or eight rooms when rebuilt into a two or three-storey building would have its ground floor mainly for shops or offices to increase the value of expected rents while the other floors may be made up of mini-flats. The developers would have considered this before agreeing to the family's proposal.<sup>59</sup>

The preponderance of this arrangement, however, was later blamed for the prevalence of unsafe buildings constructed in haste and without adequate professional expertise and open to collapse.<sup>60</sup>

One of the fall-outs of the government's expenditure of the oil boom era was the construction of a Games village in Surulere, a high rise structure to accommodate athletes and officials attending the second All African Games hosted in Lagos by the Federal Government in January 1973. This housing structure after the games added to the housing stock of the government as it was deployed as residential quarters for civil servants. This, too, in a small way, contributed in meeting the housing challenge at the time.

The Federal government's participation in housing delivery received a boost in 1977 through the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) with the development of New Towns at FESTAC village along Lagos-Badagry Road and Ipaja (Housing Scheme). The intervention of the FHA in housing delivery was in response to the decision of the Federal Government to provide suitable and convenient accommodation for. Foreign participants invited to the second World Black and African Festival of arts and Culture (FESTAC) held in Lagos. The Festac and Ipaja Estates were built in a typically European new town fashion with adequate roads, well maintained open spaces and necessary community facilities.

At the end of the festival, the housing units in the estates were sold by open balloting to members of the public. This however had no impact on the city's housing problem as more than 3 million people were expected in 1976 to compete for residential buildings available in the metropolis. It

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<sup>58</sup> Oral interview with Olaseni Coker, 47, Secretary of a Family Union at 19 Agege Motor Road, IdiOro. August 5, 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Alhaji Saulabiu. Oral interview.

<sup>60</sup> Oral interview with Adebayo Giwa. 58. Builder at Tafawa Balewa Square. February 22, 2017.

was so worrisome so much that by 1980, the occupancy rate had risen to about 30 persons occupying a residential building.<sup>61</sup>

The lack of adequate housing facilities in Lagos remained acute for much of the military administrations as efforts fell short of alleviating the deplorable situation. The government of Lagos state mooted the idea of constructing 4000 residential units under the third National Development Plan but only 1500 units were started while 924 were still under construction as at the end of the Plan period in 1980.<sup>62</sup>

It must be noted however that the first decade of the creation of Lagos state witnessed some ground-breaking achievements in the development of infrastructure particularly in collaboration with the Federal Government. These include:

- the construction of the Eko bridge, the second bridge linking the Lagos island with the mainland.

By the time the third National Development Plan ended in 1980, a new civilian government had been inaugurated in October 1979. The government initiated a comprehensive review of the existing Land Policy to address a chaotic situation that had developed in the sale and use of land in Lagos state. The Governor in a broadcast on Monday February 11, 1980 noted that while land had remained the most important and the most valuable resource of the State there was nothing in the budgets of past administrations to reflect this in the revenues generated:

For example, in the budgets of the State Government for 1975/76, 1977/78, 1978/79 and 1979/80, the revenues from rents on Government Properties were N1,130, 482, N1,484,457; N2,015,010; N2,982,000 and N6, 000,000 respectively. ....there is an apparent social injustice in the scandalous distribution, allocation and use of land in such a way that a few influential persons amassed wealth out of proportion to their labour on State land while several thousands of our common people have no shelter on their heads.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Colonel Raji Rasaki .

<sup>62</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan 1981-85. Lagos State Programmes, A Publication of the Lagos State Government

<sup>63</sup> Statewide broadcast by Governor Lateef Jakande to the people of Lagos State on Monday February 11, 1980.

Under the new policy, only one authority, the Land Use and Allocation Committee is responsible for the allocation of land in the State; and only one body, the Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters, was responsible for considering building plans and consent for land transactions like leases, subleases, assignments, transfers and mortgages. With the Land Policy of the New Order that came into immediate effect, the Government also approved the Final Regional Plan for Lagos State for a period of 20 years between 1980 and the year 2000. The Regional Plan created a new Land Use policy for the State. (See Table 4.1). Provisions of the final Plan include:

- The coastline of the State from West to East is reserved for hotel development, holiday resort, recreation and tourism;
- Two major centres of population are envisaged one in the South on Lekki Peninsula, the other in the North in Ikeja to reduce pressure on Greater Lagos;
- Industrial Estates are created in Ikorodu, Agbowa, Epe, Badagry, Eredo, Akowonjo, Oworonsoki and Isheri;
- Three major roads are provided for on Lekki Peninsula linking Lagos with Epe Division;
- Provision is made for a new airport between Ibeju and Agidi, Southwest of Ajero;
- A new Sea port is provided for at Orimedu South of Epe;
- At the request of the Nigerian Navy, a large tract of land is provided at Lekki and Refuge Island for a Naval Base; A zoo and a gymnasium are to be built around Ologe Lagoon in Ojo Local Government
- **Table 4.3: Land Use Analysis of Lagos State as at 1980**

Sector	Size
Agriculture	37.24
Residential	15.23
Conservation	8.45
Transportation facilities	7.43
Recreation and Tourism	5.38
Institutional	3.95
Industrial	2.88
Forest and Water Supply reserves	1.73

Source: Land Policy of the New Order, 1980.

The administration of Governor Lateef Jakande (1979-1983) made the first direct government intervention into the provision of housing with an ambitious plan to build 50,000 housing units in its four-year term. The government had based its housing policy on the principles of a liberal policy of payment for the allottees of government housing units; a down payment of N2000 for the cost of a 2-bedroom flat whose total cost at the onset was N6,600 while the remaining amount is to be paid over a period of 15 years. Features of the Government's Housing Policy also included:

- a. A liberal land policy of making land available to the high-income group who might wish to build houses.
- b. A better system of processing building plan in the backdrop of the cumbersomeness of the processing of building plan
- c. Housing loan scheme to assist anyone who was either buy or house or building one.<sup>64</sup>

The ambitious crash programme of the Jakande administration to build 50,000 housing units within its four year term would be better appreciated in the backdrop of the Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos (1980-2000) sponsored by the UNDP which analysed the housing needs of Lagos and recommended that between 1980 and 2000, 1.4 million additional housing units should be constructed out of which a million should be deliberately earmarked for the low income households.<sup>65</sup>

At the commissioning of the first phase of the Housing programme, Governor Jakande reiterated the commitment of the government to providing houses for the masses of the people in Amuwo-Odofin, Iponri, Abule Nla, Anikantamo, Ijeh, Isolo and Abesan in Agege:

Compared with the records of previous administrations in this state or in the country as a whole, the completion of this Estate at this time is a record of great significance. Not only is the housing units ready for occupation, all the infrastructure are in place –roads, water, sewage, car parks, landscaping, and places of worship.<sup>66</sup>

The populist disposition of the government had been earlier stated by the Governor in November 1979, less than two months in office, when he launched the first phase of the Housing scheme at

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<sup>64</sup> Tayo Odumosu op. cit.

<sup>65</sup> Not more than 10 percent of the housing needs were satisfied by the end of the Master Plan in 2000.

<sup>66</sup> Governor Lateef Jakande at the opening of the Abule Nla Low cost Houses, 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1981.

Amuwo Odofin at a site which the previous government had earmarked for an International Hotel, when he told newsmen “the needs of our people for shelter and the exploitation of the masses by shylock landlords make an international hotel a secondary affair. We will leave that to the private sector”. The civilian administration had set out in 1979 to change radically the deplorable housing situation in the state with a plan to provide 50,000 housing units in its first year. To ensure a smooth implementation of its housing programme, the government went beyond the direct intervention in the construction of the houses as it embarked on the streamlining of the administration of land matters in the state. In the previous military regime, government’s efforts at providing 4000 residential housing units had been hindered by the poor administrative machinery for properly development. This function had been performed by 3 statutory agencies with overlapping roles in land matters and land development. These agencies namely, the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC), the Ibile Property Corporation (IPC) and the Land Use and Allocation Committee had been said to have worked at cross purposes<sup>67</sup> This had been the problem dogging government’s response to housing needs since the 1950s when government agencies at various levels had sought to outshine each other in the running of Lagos metropolis.

Land has been the most important factors in the provision of housing in Lagos. It has also remained the most contentious commodity in inter-governmental relations in the metropolis. The position of Lagos in the Nigerian economy ensured that there was much pressure has on the demand for land by all tiers of government and the private organisations as well as the individual. The insatiable demand for land and a combination of other factors had worsened the housing situation in Lagos and other urban centres:

First, there is the fact that the bulk of the traditional housing available in our urban centres is mainly in a dilapidated condition and unsuitable for habitation. Secondly, more houses are needed to relieve existing overcrowding in many of the Nigerian urban centres. Thirdly, natural increase within the urban centres themselves demands additional dwelling units to house the increasing population. Fourthly, rural-urban migration, which has assumed great proportions during the last two decades, has aggravated the housing needs of urban centres in Nigeria.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan 1981-85; Lagos State Programmes. Op.cit. p 80

<sup>68</sup> Abiodun, Josephine Olu. 1976. Housing Problems in Nigerian Cities, *Town Planning Review*. Vol. 47, No. 4



The response of the civilian administration in Lagos State between 1979 and 1983 to housing needs was however not adequate as the government could only complete 23,352 housing units of its Low Cost housing scheme in six locations across the state (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4).

**Table 4.4: Location and number of completed housing units**

<b>Location</b>	<b>No. of Units</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No. of Units</b>
Amuwo Odofin	3,000	Abesan	6,114
Dolphin (Ije 1)	1,218	Isolo	6,126
Dolphin (Ije II)	750	Dolphin	666
Surulere	240	Epe	102
Badagry	102	Iba	4,008
Ikorodu	102		

*Source: Lagos State Government: 3 years of fulfillment 1983. pp. 22-25.*

The Jakande administration also built its low-cost housing units in locations within the metropolis where there were not large expanses of land but open spaces large enough to accommodate a few units to drive home the essence of its populist housing programme. In such communities like, Agarawu, Akerele, Surulere and Obele Oniwala the housing units were under 30 in number (See Table 4.4).

**Table4.5: List of Jakande Administration Housing Estates**

<b>S/No.</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No of Housing Units Completed</b>
1	Abesan	4272
2	Abule-nla	90
3	Agarawu	18
4	Akerele	18
5	Amuwo-Odofin	2068
6	Anikantamo	714
7	Badagry	6
8	Bank Olemoh	36
9	Dairy Farm	708
10	Epe	30
11	Iba	1560
12	Ijeh	62 (later gave way to Dolphin Estate)
13	Ikorodu	78
14	Iponri	1002
15	Isolo	3632
16	Itire	42
17	Lawanson	30
18	Oko-Oba	48
19	Ojokoro	534
20	Surulere	24
<b>Total</b>		<b>15,352</b>

Source: Lagos State at a glance, LSDPC, 2003

## CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN HOUSING DELIVERY

While Public-Private Partnership is a recent approach to housing provision in Nigeria, the private sector participation in public housing has its beginnings in the increase in demand for government buildings and the government inability or reluctance to expand the output of the Public Works Department (PWD) encouraged the introduction of contract system of building execution in the colonial period.<sup>69</sup> It is remarkable to note that much of the housing needs in metropolitan Lagos are provided by the private sector in spite of efforts of the various housing authorities in the public sector. In the contemporary housing industry, the private sector is an amalgam of individuals, small scale builders, commercial estate developers/agencies, banking and non-banking financial intermediaries, and industrial and commercial organizations that invest in housing to make profits.<sup>70</sup> The private developer is seen as the most effective ‘town planner’ because of the preponderance of the property developers’ larger than life domination of the housing sector. The private sector dominance of the property market portrayed the private developer’s and entrepreneurs as a determinant, to an extent, of the pattern and shape of city development or form. The sector’s involvement in housing delivery goes beyond direct housing construction to include manufacturing of building materials, supply of labour and capital.<sup>71</sup>

Because the private sector is essentially profit-driven, they cannot be expected to produce a socially optimum output particularly in the provision of low-cost housing for the urban poor.<sup>72</sup> Their large presence encouraged the exploitation of the weak public regulation and control of private development:

Regrettably, however, the level of the private developer’s respect for planning regulation – formal plans, zoning codes and ordinances, sub-division regulations and controls, planning approval and environment generally is still very low in Nigeria. Private developers will usually build without plans, much less approved ones, build across road spaces and other rights-of-way, block airspaces, build across drainage channels and on reserved open spaces etc.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Wahab, K.A. 2014. *Construction and Housing in Nigeria Vol.3. Housing Explorations*. Ibadan:University Press. p.247.

<sup>70</sup> Morakinyo, K.O. et al. 2015. A review of Private Sector’s Involvement in Urban Housing Provision in Nigeria. *International Journal of Civil Engineering, Construction and Estate Management vol.3, No.2*. Pp.36-47.

<sup>71</sup> Windapo, A.O 2007. Evaluation of the Roles of Private Developers in the Housing Delivery System in Lagos State. Nubi, T.O, Omirin, M.M. and Afolayan, A.S (eds) *Issues, Challenges and Prospects*. Lagos: Department of Estate Management, University of Lagos.

<sup>72</sup> Morakinyo, K.O. et al. 2015.

<sup>73</sup> Okpala, D.C.I. 1986. *Institutional Problems in the Management of Nigerian Urban Environment*, Ibadan: NISER Monograph Series No. 15, p. 36

The private sector domination of this vital sector and the laxity in the enforcement of planning laws had encouraged the problems associated with the environment including urban decay, planning and development control, inadequate urban infrastructure and social services, financial, economic and industrial problems, social burdens like urban poverty, law and order as well as insecurity of life and property. The identified disregard for planning laws manifests not only in private estates as even government schemes in the city had been taken over by the development of illegal structures through the conversion of residential property into office uses by the banking and other commercial establishments.

Governor Lateef Jakande, in a broadcast to the state on 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1981 announced that the government would demolish two categories of illegal structures:

1. Buildings erected on the path of drainage in any part of the state
2. Buildings erected on a road or otherwise blocking the flow of traffic

The prominence of such structures in the metropolis was buttressed by the governor's announcement that in the proceeding twelve months, a total number of 415 illegal structures were demolished either because they were in the path of drainage or obstructed a road or on a school or housing estate. As part of its changes in the sector, the government had a year earlier granted a concession of exemption from demolition in respect of a total of 45,114 illegal developments existing as at January 7, 1980. Okpala (1986) had suggested that one of the major factors contributing to the environmental sanitation crisis in Nigerian cities is "the prevailing weakness of institutions responsible for environmental management principally the municipal (local) governments"<sup>74</sup>

This was further stressed by a military Governor in the State, Colonel Raji Rasaki who noted that: the failure of urban governance at the local government level to cope with the challenges of rapid urbanization and population growth made the State government to create parastatals to take over some statutory functions of the Local Governments like in the area of waste collection and disposal and the construction of motor parks and market.<sup>75</sup>

One of such parastatals was initiated in 1981 by the Jakande-led civilian regime to reduce the adverse effects of private initiative in the physical development of Lagos State.

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<sup>74</sup> Okpala, D.C.I 1986.

<sup>75</sup> Rasaki, R .1988. Managing Metropolitan Lagos.

The New Towns Development Authority (NTDA) was created in April 1981 through the Lagos State Government Official Gazette Extra Ordinary No. 19 Volume 16 to effectively execute the planned growth of Lagos State towards the North West, South West and Lekki Axis.

Its Statutory functions of the include:

1. Establishment of New Towns and Development of Schemes in Lagos State
2. Provision of Infrastructure in Government Estates
3. Promotion of large scale physical development
4. Site selection for Government Ministries/Agencies and Private Developers
5. Development Control – monitoring of unauthorized developments within Government Estates in liaison with the Ministry of Physical Planning Development.

The authority has over the years initiated and executed various residential, industrial and commercial, agricultural and housing layouts and schemes throughout the state. Such schemes include the elitist Lekki peninsular 1, Amuwo-Odofin Residential and Commercial Scheme, Ikorodu Industrial Scheme, Magodo Residential Scheme and Omole Residential Scheme.

Despite spirited moves by the state government, however, the enormous housing shortage development of Lagos State persisted.

The rapid growth of urban population in Nigeria, particularly in Lagos metropolis, was encouraged by the oil boom of the 1970s, creation of new states and local government areas, large scale government sponsored construction projects that led to an influx of people into urban areas. The rapid urban growth has however overwhelmed the capacity of governments at all levels to plan for the infrastructural problems that arose from the unplanned growth. These problems include inadequate and poor housing leading to the growth of slums; inadequate water supply; traffic and human congestion; high rates of unemployment and underdevelopment, poverty, crime and other social problems. It was found out that construction of houses under the various National Development Plans has not kept pace with urban rapidly expanding population leading to severe overcrowding and congestion even in slums. The cost of living in some areas of Lagos metropolis forced residents to live in low quality slums and shanty buildings.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> National Development Plan (1975-80) gave a hope as the Federal Military Government promised to build 202,000 housing units yearly across the country with 46,000 in Lagos. This was not achieved until the brief civilian era that saw a drastic change in the construction of low cost estates by the Lagos state government. Between 1973 and 1979, only 10,000 housing units, 19% of the target were built in Lagos. The civilian administration constructed about 20% of its 50,000 units target in its low cost houses while it completed about 70% of the housing units intended for high income groups in Alaka, Opebi and Alapere. These attainments question why direct interventions by the government in the provision of housing needs have failed to solve the infrastructural problems.

The Lagos state civilian administration was making a positive contribution in the provision of shelters to residents of Lagos metropolis even while much of the property development in the state were in the hands of the private sector. The administration's low cost housing scheme was promising in meeting, though barely, the unmet needs of the populace before the 1983 military coup that reversed the trend.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CHALLENGES OF A MEGACITY 1984-1999

#### **Introduction**

In October 1979, Nigeria returned to a democracy, thirteen years after its parliamentary western-style democracy was truncated by a group of radical young army officers that ousted the government of the Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in a bloody coup that witnessed the assassination of key officers of the civilian government. The young officers' excuse for their action was the growing political unrest in the country and widespread corruption in public service. Between 1966 and 1979, the country was ruled by military regimes whose understanding and disposition to governance was a little different from the civilians they displaced. Like their counterparts in other parts of the African continent, military officers in Nigeria had highlighted government extravagance, corruption and incompetence as well as the need to end wasteful rivalry among the political class as reasons for taking over political governance of the country. The voluntary surrender of political power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari after multi-party elections in 1979 was seen as a great pride to the military. Curiously enough, the return of the military political stage four years later was welcomed by the citizenry with jubilation and optimism despite the inherent impunity in military rule. This could be explained by the popular perception as an agent of order and stability. In contrast to the widespread rivalry and chaos associated with the civil political class.

While it governed with popular appeal and little opposition, the military, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa was seen as a viable alternative to a corrupt civilian administration. But the military soon become infected with the alls it cited at overthrowing the political class holding tight to power thus creating sit-tight leaders:

Nearly all of Africa has been shepherded into penury and dissolution by leaders who do not stand for election. Only three countries in black Africa, Botswana, Senegal and the Gambia allow multi-party elections that give voters a voice in choosing the head of state.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Blaine, Harden. 1993. Africa- Dispatches from a fragile continent. London: Harper Cowins. p. 219.

The sit-tight attitude of coup leaders had evoked a waned public optimism about military rule as coups became inspired by personal gains of leaders of such putsch. When they assume powers, military rulers predictably seek to discredit projects of preceding administration. This chapter discusses the change in government and its effects on the development of urban infrastructure in metropolitan Lagos, the urban renewal effort of the previous civil administration and the programmes of the new military regime at tackling the emerging urban sprawl as well as the impact of the continuing migration from the hinterland.

### **THE CIVILIAN LEGACY OF INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT**

The short respite in housing shortage came with the inauguration of a new civilian administration on October 1, 1979, that felt it had the obligation to fulfill its own electoral promises by implementing the programmes and projects for which it was elected into power. In the first quarter of its inception, the Lagos state government set for itself seven sectoral programmes including;

- a. Free medical services for all citizens
- b. Free education at all levels
- c. Integrated Rural Development
- d. Full and gainful employment for all its citizens
- e. A massive low-cost housing programme
- f. Rehabilitation and construction of road and
- g. The construction and maintenance of drains.<sup>2</sup>

Much of these programmes were at various stages of implementation and completion when the military struck two months into a renewal four-year term for the civilian regime. Characteristic of military regimes, the advent of the regime of major General Muhammadu Buhari, the administration had a fixation that the immediate civilian administration it swept out of office was thoroughly corrupt.<sup>3</sup> This explains why the regime embarked on intensive investigation of the various aspects, programmes and projects of major arms of government in the civilian administration. Such probes were aimed at discrediting the politicians while at the same time

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<sup>2</sup> Lagos State Government. n.d. 4<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan 1981-85, Lagos State Programme,

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Friday Dokubo, 58, Trade Union activist, at the National Theatre, Iganmu. December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014



etching the image of a social reformer in the subconscious of Nigerians who had seen the administration as savior from the extravagant and corrupt politicians.”<sup>4</sup>

In Lagos State, efforts to incriminate the civilian administration only resulted in commendation:

The civilian administration of Lateef Jakande launched a programme to address the problems of housing accommodation, road construction, water management, transport development, and the provision of social amenities. This contributed to the socio-economic transformation of the state, which in turn led to more prosperity for the people. It also led to a population explosion.<sup>5</sup>

### **MILITARY RULE AND CHANGES IN INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT**

One of the programmes of the ousted civilian administration intended to address mass transit and population explosion was the construction of Lagos metro line, a rail network that was to convey large number of passengers from the outskirts of the metropolis with a terminus:

His biggest aspiration was probably the creation of the Lagos metro line project that, however, did not come to fruition. A mass transit rail system, flagged off in a ground-breaking ceremony by the president of the Federal Republic, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, was unfortunately terminated when the military returned to power on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1983.<sup>6</sup>

The termination of this vital infrastructural project by the military administration in 1984 represented not only the mutual suspicion with which the military regimes viewed programmes of the political class but also reflect the inconsistent and organizational structure as a result of political instability and over-centralised mechanism of decision and execution of public projects.

It will be recalled that in spite of its spirited effort, the civilian administration only made 23,352 units before the military intervention at the end of 1983. The military take-over resulted in a review of the Low-Cost and Medium Cost Housing programme of the defunct Civilian administration. The Military Governor, Group Captain Gbolahan Mudashiru explained to

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<sup>4</sup> Dokubo, F. Oral interview. December 13, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Filani. Michael O. 2012. *The Changing face of Lagos, from Vision to Reforms and Transformation*. Lagos: Cities Alliance. p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Lagos State Government. 2012. *From Colony to Megacity- 160 years of Administrative History*.

Lagosians in a broadcast that the review was crucial to ensure new designs that were of better quality and durability.<sup>7</sup>

The 1984 military administration of Group Captain Gbolahan Mudashiru completed 200 units of the 8000 housing units planned for 1983-1986<sup>8</sup> This era marked a change in the state government's housing policy; The government planned to provide infrastructural facilities in designated areas for people to erect their buildings instead of a direct construction of houses.<sup>9</sup>

It also marked the commencement of institutional changes in ameliorating problems of urban decay, and planning defects in the Metropolis. At the height of the immediate past civilian administration, Lagos metropolis was tagged with the image of one of the dirtiest cities in the world. This was the effect of the breakdown of the institutional arrangement designed to cope with the environmental needs of the city's infrastructure which became inadequate as its population, extent and commercial activities expanded so fast that urban sprawl was inevitable. The consequences of this were growing heaps of refuse, heavy flooding from silted drains and the continued development of illegal structures.

When the military took over on the last day of December 1983, one of the touted excuses for the coup was the prevalence of acts of indiscipline among the ruling political class as well as the populace. To check the incidence of indiscipline that was taking its toll on available public utilities, the new military administration began what seemed like a public re-orientation programme named "War Against Indiscipline" (WAI) – across the country to imbue new values like cleanliness, orderliness through a "Queue" culture and a compulsory environmental sanitation. This crude mode of addressing urban environmental clean-up was made compulsory nationwide for three hours on the last Saturday of every month. This tallied into the intention of the military regime to buy legitimacy for itself in its early days of mass mobilisation for its programmes. Even without the requisite political leadership skills needed to run the country, the

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<sup>7</sup>Lagos State Budget. 1984 financial year. Presented by Governor Gbolahan Mudashiru on Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> May 1984.

<sup>8</sup> Olayiwola, L.M. et al. 2005. Urban Housing Crisis and Responses in Nigeria: The Planners' view point. A paper presented at World Congress on Housing, September 27-30, 2005, Pretoria South Africa.

<sup>9</sup> Odumosu, Tayo. Problems of Housing and Transportation in Lagos State: A Critical Review of Marwa's magical solution. Okebukola, Peter. (ed). 1999. *Piercing the Armour of Development: The Marwa Touch in Lagos State*, Lagos: Academy Press. p. 214.

new military regime was warmly embraced by the civil populace that had been frustrated by the prevalence of corruption, mismanagement of the economy, misappropriation of public funds, electoral and violence in response to election rigging and interparty acrimony:

Nigerians were unified in accepting the intervention and looked forward hopefully to progressive change for the better. The general acceptance of this new administration, therefore, became a source of legitimacy for it. The new administration was, however, excessively radical as it wasted no time in portraying its true colour as a corrective one.<sup>10</sup>

Because it was a military dictatorship, it was easy for the administration in Lagos state to apply unwholesome methods in addressing the problem of squalor and urban sprawl in the metropolis.<sup>11</sup> The ousted civilian government had made inconsistent efforts to address what it called “a situation aggravated by the high population growth giving rise to uncontrolled urbanisation and a number of social problems”<sup>12</sup> by creating a ministry for the Environment, a ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters and the adoption of a Lagos State Regional Plan (1980-2000).

Besides the nationwide environmental sanitation during which there was a restriction on human and vehicular movement while the 3-hour event held, the military administration early in 1984 stressed its commitment to a campaign against filthy environment with the establishment of an ad-hoc agency on environmental sanitation whose activities were backed with the promulgation of various edicts. These included the Environmental sanitation law of 1984, Removal of Abandoned Vehicles Edict of 1984 and Town and Country Planning Laws of 1984 and 1986. The task force was mandated to carry out regular monitoring of all local government areas to assess residents’ response to the government efforts cleanliness. The state government in conjunction with the local councils, embarked on the beatification of parks, roundabouts and other recreational facilities.

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<sup>10</sup> Ugboajah, P.K. 2013. *Military Rule and the failure of Legitimacy mobilization strategies in Nigeria, 1966-1998*. Sofela, B. et al (eds). 2013. *Nigeria at 50. Politics, Society and Development*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd. p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> Oral interview with Prof. Abubakar Momoh, 46, University Lecturer on August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009 at LTV, Ikeja

<sup>12</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> national Development Plan 1981-85.

One important symptom of environmental degradation prevalent in the urbanisation process of Lagos metropolis is the problem of solid, liquid and chemical waste disposal that became very pressing at the height of the civilian administration. These wastes include human and animal wastes, remnants of food, paper, leaves, used containers like: bottles, plastics, scrap metals and industrial effluents that are dangerous to the environment. The absence of a central sewage system in Lagos metropolis since the colonial days had manifested in the problems of Sewage Disposal until 1981 when the civilian administration initiated the abolition of the Pail system, used by about 56 percent of the households in which workers removed human wastes from the various tenants using pail. This method of waste disposal was complemented by other methods, mostly on the mainland, such as the pit and the septic tank systems. These systems were frowned at in Lagos Island because of the severe danger they posed to underground water reserves in a state where the water level is high.

While it abolished the pail method of human wastes disposal, the civilian government also promised, and built, waste-treatment plants in areas where they posed no threat to underground water. It further embarked on the construction of public toilets in many locations in the metropolis. A state military Governor described the problems of sewage disposal in Lagos as a major negative result of the rapid growth of the metropolitan areas promising that the Government would redouble its efforts to provide a permanent solution to the problems and to provide good sanitary environment by providing centralized sewage system and sewage treatment plants to check the dumping of human waste into the lagoon.<sup>13</sup>

It has been noted that despite the manual disposal of human waste on into the lagoon at Ebute Ero for many years, it posed not much hazard to public health except for its odour as the disposal at the bank of the lagoon encouraged fishing in the neighbourhood.<sup>14</sup> The absence of or inadequate infrastructure in some wards of the metropolis had encouraged residents of these areas to develop skills that ensured their survival event at the expense of their well-being.

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<sup>13</sup> Rasaki, R. 1988. Managing Metropolitan Lagos. The human waste was hitherto dumped into the lagoon at Ebute Ero on the island until 1973.

<sup>14</sup> Oral interview with Gafari Yakubu, 76 a fisherman from his teenage at Idumoyinbo, Lagos on July 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009

## **FLOODING AND INADEQUATE DRAINAGE**

One environmental problem in Lagos metropolis that predates the creation of Lagos State in 1967 is the drainage. Until 1972, drains in the metropolis were treated as part of the roads along which they were constructed. They were thereafter constructed and maintained jointly by many agencies namely; the state Ministry of Works, Local governments, LEDB, the Town Planning Authorities (TPAs) and the Federal Ministry of Works. It has been noted however that the function of construction and maintenance of the drains by multiple agencies had only succeeded in compounding the problem of flooding in the city that is situated in a city noted for its flat topography.<sup>15</sup>

The military government was compelled by perennial flooding to commission a study in 1972 for the preparation of a drainage master plan for Lagos mainland. Two years later, the report of the study was submitted and it recommended the establishment of an agency to take charge of the functioning and maintenance of drainage in the state. It also highlighted six major primary channels to be built over ten years covering areas like Apapa, Ebute-meta, Yaba, Somolu, Ikeja, Mushin, Oshodi, Isolo Surulere, Iganmu and Amuwo Odofin. The government had to seek the assistance of the World Bank in the implementation of the project expected to stem perennial flooding in Lagos metropolis. Urban decay and ways of solving it engaged the attention of the military administration of Government Gbolahan Mudasiru that succeeded the civilian regime of Lateef Jakande in Lagos state. Under his watch and to ensure success in the state's environmental sanitation programme, the government gave institutional support to its efforts with legislative backing. The task force established to curb environmental nuisance in the state was further empowered to clear various illegal structures particularly those built along the drainage path. The quest for shelter among the populace had prompted them to build residential structures on drainage channels. The inadequacy in shelter delivery system in Lagos to cater for the urban population remained during the military administration leading to an extensive development of squatter or unplanned settlements.

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<sup>15</sup> Tanwa Kenku, 63, a Retired Director of Drainages in Lagos State Ministry of Works in an informal chat with the Researcher at Radio Lagos, Ikeja on November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

While the process of urban decay is usually seen as a feature of big localities like metropolitan Lagos, slums often resulted from rapid population increase without a corresponding housing and social services provision.<sup>16</sup> The absence of planning in the urbanisation process of Lagos has found expression in the fact that the process has not been accompanied with a corresponding supply of adequate housing basic infrastructure and amenities, successive administrations in Lagos state have had to deal with the problem of urban decay in varied ways. Two methods have been identified in this regard; the first method was a complete redevelopment of identified slum areas by first demolishing existing buildings and the relocation of residents to new areas. This option was adopted in the late 1950s for the first slum clearance in Central Lagos where residents of Akanni, Martins Street and Oluwole areas were relocated outside Lagos Island. The second method for urban regeneration is one in which the identified areas are renewed gradually through the provision of infrastructure and upgrading of existing residential buildings without disrupting the social life of the residents. The first option of outright demolition of identified slum area seemed to have found favour with military regimes while civil administration, opted for gradual renewal of such areas.<sup>17</sup> This highlights the need to examine the urban renewal programmes in Lagos during both military and civilian regimes.

### **URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS AND PUBLIC RESPONSE**

Slums are often seen as “expression of structural informality”.<sup>18</sup> The growth of slums is a global phenomenon associated with major cities of the world where urban migration in the face of inadequate land supply and space make the incidence of informal settlements a reality that most not be ignored. Slums in Lagos have their roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even before colonial incursion, when migrants who were mostly fishermen dwelt in riverine communities in temporary shelters and accommodation. With time, these temporary shelters expanded and were taken over by new wave of migrants, low income earners seeking accommodation on the fringes of the city. These areas are now known and designated as ‘blighted areas’. In 1981 a World Bank

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<sup>16</sup> Jerome F. 1990. *Human Geography: Landscape of Human Activities* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed) USA: WCB Publishers.

<sup>17</sup> Oral interview with Deji Adenekan. 68 a retired Town Planner who explained that the military only wanted instant result through drastic action while the politicians were mindful of going back to seek votes in such communities.

<sup>18</sup> Pieterse, E. 2008. *City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development*. New York: Zed Books. p.30.

urban Renewal Project identified 42 slum communities in Lagos metropolis.<sup>19</sup> The civilian administration at the time (1979-83) had realised that:

The situation is aggravated by the high population growth rate which has given rise to uncontrolled urbanisation and a number of social problems including inadequate housing and water supply, crime and poor environmental sanitation.<sup>20</sup>

The government, aware of the need to stem the social and economic problems of the uncontrolled urbanization, set out to put the relatively small land area of the state optimum use, initiated measure to stem squalor and reduce problems associated with access to land in the state. These include the creation of a ministry for the Environment, a ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters, the adoption of a Regional Plan (1980-2000) and the enunciation of a comprehensive land policy designed to control urbanisation and make land a major revenue earner.

The military administration that took over governance in December 1983 inherited the Master Plan for metropolitan Lagos and gave priority attention to urban renewal with the creation of an Urban Renewal Division in the Department of Physical Planning and Development Matters of the Governor's office. The adoption of the concept of urban Renewal by the state government signposted a departure from the outright destruction or clearance of a slum area as it was done in central Lagos in the 1950s. The new Urban Renewal Division was mandated to develop an urban renewal/upgrading scheme for each of the 42 identified blighted areas of the state.

In 1984, Olaleye/Iponri village in the Lagos Mainland local government was chosen as a pilot scheme for the execution of the Urban Renewal Programme. Olaleye/Iponri village had grown along the railway line between Iganmu industrial area and Ebute Metta. It consisted mainly of shanties that provided accommodation for artisans and workers of the nearby industries as well as overflows of Badia and Orile Iganmu slums. The settlement aptly fits into the aims and expected benefits of the new policy which includes:

- a. Improvements of urban environment and infrastructure by the provision of more open space, community and other facilities.

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<sup>19</sup> Adenekan, I. O . 2004. Vulnerability of poor urban coastal communities to climate change in Lagos, Nigeria. Proceeding of the 5<sup>th</sup> Urban Research Symposium (URS'95) Lagos, Nigeria p. 1-18.

<sup>20</sup> Lagos State Government, 4<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan, 1981-85, Lagos State Programmes.

- b. Improvements of urban layouts; road networks and other infrastructure
- c. The replacement or renovation of obsolete buildings.
- d. Thinning out of development and population densities to reduce the strain on overburdened transport and other infrastructure
- e. Making land available to meet various uses such as housing, industrial, commercial, tourism and transportation
- f. Redeveloping a particular area in order to act as a catalyst for the redevelopment of neighbouring areas by private developers.<sup>21</sup>

The implementation of the Urban Renewal policy at Olaleye/Iponri village exhibited an idea that had been found wanting in past redevelopment schemes in other parts of the metropolis: involvement of the end beneficiaries, the residents in the planning and execution of the scheme. From the planning stage at Olaleye/Iponri, representatives of the community worked with the government agencies on the platform of the Community Development Committee for an inclusive participation in the execution of the scheme. Through this, the community was able to actualize its needs by working with the planners thus enabling the ease with which the scheme was executed. This approach of planning with the people, according to the Military Governor, was beneficial as the planners were able to widen all the roads without resorting to the demolition of some structures as the representatives of the community were carried along in the process of renewal.<sup>22</sup>

This cheering achievement by a military administration was however distorted a few years later by a policy somersault or inconsistency in implementation of a public goal associated with military regimes as the same military government embarked on the demolition of a massive slum community in the heart of the metropolis; Maroko in the neighbourhood of elitist Victoria Island. The demolition of Maroko and the forced eviction and relocation of residents need to be examined in the backdrop of the state government's adoption, and implementation of the urban Renewal Policy.

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<sup>21</sup> Njoku C. and Okoro, G.C. 2014. Urban Renewal in Nigeria: case study of Lagos State. *Journal of Environmental Science and Water Resources*. vol. 3(7). Pp. 145-148.

<sup>22</sup> Rasaki, Raji. 1988. Managing Metropolitan Lagos.



## URBAN RENEWAL AND DEMOLITION OF MAROKO

The urban renewal programme of the military government in Lagos state was viewed with skepticism in the early 1990s with the demolition and evacuation of Maroko slum settlement whose squalid condition before its demolition had evoked public sentiment. Maroko is a small island lying East of Victoria Island, a developed elitist neighbourhood it was formerly a peninsular connected by a narrow neck of land to Victoria Island but severed from it through combined processes of waves, currents and dissection.<sup>23</sup> The establishment of settlements along the Lekki Peninsular began more than two centuries by migrant traders founding settlements for farming at Ilasan, Olukotun by Fishermen, hunters founding Mopo Akinlade and herdsmen establishing Alaguntan village. Maroko consisted of distinct villages, hamlets and ethnic communities that had for over a century absorbed a large number of the poor urban population. Movement into Maroko had not been voluntary late the establishment of the earlier settlement on the peninsula. The first movement into Maroko occurred in 1958 when 23 villages were evacuated for the development of the present day Victoria Island. The evacuees were later joined by others were directed by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) to the Oniru family for a temporary three year renewable leasehold.<sup>24</sup> Land speculators took interest in the area and before long; the population began to grow as many leased land not only from the Oniru family but also from the Elegushi landlords who pandered to the demand for cheap accommodation in the area. The government however denied approval for development in the area because it had not designed a Development scheme.

The government acquired the land in 1972 to stem uncontrolled development in the low lying land. The acquisition was challenged in court by a private firm, City property Development Ltd, which claimed the land, had been given to it by the Oniru family.

However, between 1972 when notice of acquisition was published and 1976 when the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Government, both the Oniru and Elegushi families had leased more land to people. The government however had to grant 296.27 hectares of land to the Oniru family in compliance with a recommendation of the High Court that the family be granted some portion of land. Even if it had any at the time of the court ruling, the government could not embark on the development of the area because of the several litigations by parties to establish the legitimacy of their claims. This encouraged the rapid but unplanned growth of the slum. The

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<sup>23</sup> Sule, R.A. 1990. Recent Slum Clearance Exercise in Lagos (Nigeria): Victims or beneficiaries. *Geo Journal* 22.1 81-91.

<sup>24</sup> The Oniru family had claimed that the family, as one of the Idejos, owned about 6000 acres stretching from Lagos Island, Ikoyi, the whole of Victoria island and some part of Lekki peninsula.

growth of Maroko, like that of many other informal settlements in metropolitan Lagos, was fuelled by the rapid economic growth of the city from the 1960s through the oil boom days of the 1970s to the 1980s when oil prices began to wane globally. This attracted large numbers of migrants and foreigners from neighbouring countries seeking employment in the city and cheap accommodation closer to their places of employment to minimize the cost of commuting to and from work. Speculators were attracted to the area as the demand for cheap accommodation grew leading to a boom in estate business in the area as dwellings of the rooming type in which several families shared facilities like kitchen, bathroom and toilets grew in number in the area. This type of housing was favoured by the speculators who desired quick returns on their properties which they knew would eventually be demolished as they were built without approved plans in violation of planning regulations.<sup>25</sup>

Maroko grew as refuge for migrants seeking cheap accommodations in the city but was more noted for squalor and environmental degradation, overcrowding and congestion:

Studies reveal that from a population of about 91,000 in 1976, the population grew to 122,000 in 1980 and to about 300,000 in 1990 when the settlement was demolished, but this growth area was unplanned. The area with its haphazard development was overcrowded and mostly submerged in water, particularly in the rainy season. It lacked acceptable infrastructure like roads, drains, open spaces, electricity, water, health facilities etc. – a condition that reduced the inhabitants' propensity for outdoor recreational activities. Maroko presided a social problem of considerable magnitude which probably accounted for the wariness of previous administrations in taking positive steps to reverse the situation.<sup>26</sup>

The previous civilian administration tried to check the untoward development in the Lekki corridor in 1981 but the move was resisted by the residents who along with some community leaders invoked partisanship in the move by the government to demolish some illegal structure. Here the value of a slum in urban development manifested as politicians of the opposing camps in the state, the ruling Unity party of Nigeria (UPN) and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) that controlled the Central government gave a political colouration to the issue of redeveloping the area. Maroko, like many of the urban slums in the developing nations housing majority of the

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<sup>25</sup> A survey of dwellings conducted by the New Towns Development Authority (NTDA) in Moba in 1984 showed that 60% of the dwellings in the area had no kitchen.

<sup>26</sup> Report of the Technical Committee on the Redevelopment of Maroko and Adjoining Area. Vol. 1. Submitted to the Lagos State Government. September 1991.

urban poor emphasized the need for a policy to accommodate its urban poor in decent housing accommodation. Slums like Maroko also provided immediate shelter for rural-urban migrants and low-income families serving as a reservoir of cheap labour for growing industries and homes providing residents of Victoria Island and Ikoyi a large proportion of their required domestic labour. Despite its elitist nature and availability of modern infrastructure, Victoria Island did not have a market included in its planning.<sup>27</sup> This made an illegal market established between Maroko and Victoria Island an acceptable infrastructure to residents of the two areas. Its importance is underscored by the fact still existed even after the demolition of Maroko.

The demolition and forced eviction of residents of Maroko, for obvious reasons, evoked so much emotions and sentiment by the public on the perceived conditions of the area before the demolition and even after the eviction of the inhabitants. This stresses the need for a thorough understanding of the conditions that led to the demolition and the reason for the government's justifiable responses to the evacuation of the area. The existence of a slum of such magnitude as Maroko close to a planned high-income neighbourhood like Victoria Island was seen as an unacceptable development that threatened the city's socio-political stability.

Maroko was seen as a good example of poverty in the middle of wealth and affluence.<sup>28</sup> Inhabitants of the area became pawns in the game of blame-shifting between the government and civil service organisations that felt the idea of demolishing the area by the government was an act of lawlessness and callous disregard for dwellers of the slum.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to popular misconception of Maroko as a monolithic urban agglomeration that developed from a single point expanding unabated until the government intervention, it was an agglomeration of different and distinct communities that cherished their uniqueness as much as any other community in the state.

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<sup>27</sup> The only facilities of such nature in the community were the 'mammy market' in the Bonny camp and the Legico, both military residential areas.

<sup>28</sup> Ola- Sule, R. A. 1990. Recent Slum Clearances in Lagos.

<sup>29</sup> Morka, Felix. 2007. A place to live: a case study of the Ijora-badia community in Lagos Nigeria, a case study prepared for Enhancing urban safety and security: *Global Report on Human Settlements*.

One feature of slums that could not be denied in Maroko was urban poverty. Poverty implied deprivation or human needs that are not met arising from a lack of income or assets.<sup>30</sup> Poverty is also seen as “a state of general powerlessness, the inability to exact a positive influence on the physical and social economic environment to one’s benefits.”<sup>31</sup> In Africa, it is believed that there is a correlation between urbanisation and poverty. Thus metropolitan Lagos, based on its high urbanisation rates and its dense population, has a very high poverty level (See Table 5.1). This is manifested mostly in informal settlements like Maroko where a large proportion of the population lives below the poverty line.

**Table 5.1 Percentage of poverty headcount, 1996/97**

	<b>Non poor %</b>	<b>Moderately poor</b>	<b>Extreme Poor</b>	<b>% Poor</b>
Lagos	47	29.4	23.6	53.0
National Urban	41.8	33.0	25.2	58.2
National Rural	30.7	38.2	31.6	69.8
National-Male headed Household	41.5	33.5	25.0	58.5
National Total	29.3	36.3	34.4	70.7

Source: (FOS, 2001)

Poverty has a spatial expression in Lagos metropolis; it varies from one neighbourhood to another as poor households tend to live in communities in which most of the other households are also poor. It has many far reaching consequences for the poor as it places constraints on their access to basic services such as water, education, housing and sanitation.<sup>32</sup> Urban poverty also has environmental consequences for the city one of these is the existence of Maroko.

Despite its growth of the area to form a sprawling, urban slum, many of the communities within Maroko, like Igbosere, Olukotun, Apese, Ahoyaya, Gedegede and others could be distinguished clearly as individual communities as some of them had their own “Baales” who derived their

<sup>30</sup> UNCHS. 1996. *An urbanizing world: Global Report on Human settlements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Ogundele, O.T. 1992. *The Marginalized Urban Dwellers: Planning Issues and Challenges*. LASPOTTECH Inaugural Lecture series No. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Ariyo, A. 2004. *NEPAD city programme profile of Lagos city, Nigeria*. A study commissioned by UN HABITAT Nairobi, Kenya for the Lagos state Government.

authority and right of occupation from the chieftaincy families in Lagos including. The Oniru, Onikoya and Elegushi families.

Community leaders in the area felt cheated that their life investments in the slums were being destroyed by the government that had sought to include residents in its poverty alleviation programmes.<sup>33</sup> The community had few months before the demolition witnessed the opening of a branch of the people's bank and fish smoking facility for women's co-operative society in the area. This and the resolute of the government to evict inhabitants of the area smirked of political colouration as hinted by the military Government.

Efforts by government to rid Maroko of its perennial problems had often been wanted by political interest and inordinate ambition of certain people. Absentee landlords who had been very vocal on Maroko problems were in fact the people who had been exploiting the unfortunate tenants in Maroko, sadly, the efforts of these people in concert with political rumpires had only contributed to the sufferings of the people and Maroko continuously remained a shame to the nation.<sup>34</sup>

The civilian government that began the Urban Renewal programme in 1982 backed out of the demolition of the Maroko slum when political motives were read to its intention. It was possible for the military administration to effect the evacuation because it had the monopoly of force and would not come around to seek votes from the residents.<sup>35</sup>

It was widely believed that many property owners in Maroko that were absentee landlords had a fore knowledge of the demolition but kept the information that the government actually served notices of demolition which was hidden from tenants for fear of losing rents accruing to such landlords.<sup>36</sup> This confirms another important value of slum dwellers – source of votes during elections and pawns in political mischief.<sup>37</sup> The demolition and clearing commenced in Maroko on July 15, 1990 and continued for several days amidst subdued protests. At the end of the

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<sup>33</sup> Chief Sunday Aiyeyemi, leader of the Maroko community Development Association in a chat with newsmen two weeks before the demolition of the area.

<sup>34</sup> Governor Raji Rasaki, in a broadcast to the State on the demolition and evacuation of Maroko on July, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1990.

<sup>35</sup> Oral interview with Pa Tijani Maiyegun, 94, at Obalende on 14<sup>th</sup> of March, 2009. He lost his two bungalows in the slum

<sup>36</sup> Oral interview with Pa Tijani Maiyegun, 94, at Obalende on 14<sup>th</sup> of March, 2009

<sup>37</sup> Oral interview with Chief Yinusa Onisiwo of Lagos 84, on Nov. 17<sup>th</sup> 2010 at the Onisiwo Palace, Isale Eko.

evacuation nothing was left standing in the area while former residents were disposed to live in various parts of Lagos. Those resettled by the government in its low cost housing scheme units at Ilasan, Ikota, Epe and Ikorodu were mainly landlords that could produce documents to back their claims.

The evacuation of Maroko, while it added to the housing problems of the metropolis, also contributed to the formation of new informal settlements on the fringes of the city. The demolition was said to have been carried out without some necessary considerations including:

1. The socio-economic characteristics of the victims to determine the degree and magnitude of negative impact;
2. The quality of the houses to rationalise which of the structures were to be salvaged;
3. The total number of households or residents to be affected
4. Their ability for self-regeneration with respect to their purchasing power and alternative housing within the Lagos metropolitan Area.
5. What re-settlement schemes are available as at the time of demolition.
6. Their livelihood and continued survival.<sup>38</sup>

The growth of Maroko had been fuelled by the scarcity of buildable land in Lagos which in turn encouraged encroachment on government land that has been left underdeveloped for many years as it is believed that: “public land provides the most attractive target for the squatter and he will most often select such land rather than the private holding”.<sup>39</sup> The demolition of Maroko without a pre-arranged resettlement for the evacuees did not however prevent the erection of shacks at the other end of the metropolis or even close to Maroko, near Ikota village as those displaced by the demolition desperately sought shelter for their households.

## **HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN THE MILITARY ERA**

While the military administrations might have resorted to act of impunity in the urban regeneration of Lagos metropolis with its spate of demolitions to enforce planning laws, the resolve to provide adequate houses did not wane. Efforts were made to modify and complete the housing units initiated by the civilian administration of Lateef Jakande. The policy of direct

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<sup>38</sup> Olu- Sule, R.A. 1990.

<sup>39</sup> Olu- Sule, R.A. 1990.

construction of houses was however subtly discarded by the government for a planned provision of infrastructural facilities in designated areas for people to erect their houses. This, too, could not meet the ever increasing demand for housing in Lagos.

### **JUBILEE HOUSING SCHEME (1992-1993)**

The policy of direct construction of housing units initiated by a previous civilian regime was reactivated in June 1992 when the Lagos state government under the civilian regime of Governor Michael Otedola launched its Jubilee Housing Scheme intended to provide 100,000 housing units of 2-bedroom bungalow at affordable prices to alleviate the acute accommodation shortage in the State, The buildings were to be constructed in five locations across the State's administrative divisions: Oto-Ijanikin in Badagry, Eredo in Epe, Omole Phase 11, Magodo in Ikeja, Odogunyan in Ikorodu and Ogombo/Ikota in Lagos. The Governor while presenting what he called "Budget of Reality and New Direction" enunciated a Housing Policy that would focus mainly on the provision of low-cost housing units for low-income earners in the State and the provision of new set of houses at Ikota under the Maroko Resettlement Scheme:

In addition, residential plots shall be laid out for mixed development under a special "Site and Services" scheme which this government intends to establish in some Local Government Areas in the State. Adequate infrastructural facilities such as roads, sewage, drains, water supply and electricity shall also be provided in these estates.<sup>40</sup>

The government also took care of the Middle class as LSDPC constructed 68 blocks of 4-bedroom Medium Income houses at Ijaiye, Agege, 60 blocks of 3-bedroom and 8 blocks of 2-bedroom flats at Ojokoro. 15 Duplexes were also built at Amuwo Odofin while 235 Duplexes and 536 3-bedroom flats were built at the Dolphin Estate. In addition, two 12-Storey Luxury flats and ancilliary facilities were built at Adeola Odeku Victoria Island.

The government's ambition of building the low-cost housing units was scuttled in November 1993 by another take-over of government by the military. This occurred after months of political impasse that followed the annulment of a presidential election that was described as the most

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<sup>40</sup> Address delivered by Governor Michael Otedola to the Lagos State House of Assembly on the State Budget proposals for the 1992 financial year on Monday 11<sup>th</sup> March, 1992.

peaceful and fairest in Nigeria. The political crisis that followed the military coup threatened the nation's stability for a while.

By 1995 however the State government through the LSDPC, had embarked on Private Property Development Programme negotiating with private developers for financial participation in the development of commercial/high rental office buildings in Central Lagos. These include:

- Falomo/Cinema/Restaurant Complex, Ikoyi.
- Central Lagos Shopping Complex, Tinubu Square.
- Olowogbowo office Complex, Marina.
- Aromire Towers, Marina.
- Idejo Towers, Marina.
- Ehingbeti Building, Marina/Broad Street.
- 10-Storey office block at Adeola Odeku Street, Victoria Island.

These were complemented by the Lagos Building Investment Corporation (LBIC) which granted mortgage facilities to allottees of Low and Medium income housing units as well as private developers.

### **HOUSING IN MARWA YEARS (1996-1999)**

Public housing was revived in Lagos State with the appointment of Colonel Buba Marwa as the governor. Marwa's programme on assumption of office was the completion of the housing projects of the immediate past civilian administration at Ikota, Magodo, Ikorodu and Epe. Apart from honouring the initiators of the housing programme by naming one of the estates for him, the military administrator attempted to embrace and even beat the populist housing programme of the Jakande civil administration of 1979-1983 (Table 5.2).

The military government was interested in developing mixed income housing estates for both upper-income and low-income workers. The completion of a low income earners' estate at Owutu and housing units for the medium and high income earners at Ikeja could have been a measure of a military regime seeking to buy legitimacy from the populace but Marwa's further attempt to complete the abandoned Amuwo Odofin Estate initiated by Governor Raji Rasaki for whom it was named, like the Otedola Estate, was seen in the state as a rarity and commitment to



the goal of providing housing units in Lagos.<sup>41</sup> By the end of the Marwa's administration on the eve of another civilian administration, it had completed the 300 housing units in Magodo initiated by the Otedola's regime, 264 units at Ikorodu, 304 units made up of 80 duplexes, 80 terrace unit and 144 units at Omole Housing scheme within the Ikeja Central Business District mainly for upper and medium income earners. Other housing projects are located at Ojokoro and Isolo Housing estate as well as 23 bungalows and 13 blocks of six flats of four bedrooms each.

**Table 5.2: Marwa's Housing Development Schemes**

<b>Division</b>	<b>Residential</b>	<b>Industrial</b>	<b>Social Services</b>
Lagos (Eko)	8,695	467	393
Ikeja	13,309	1450	345
Badagry	11,412	1289	535
Ikorodu	4,933	1729	354
Epe	2,813	991	144

Source: Lagos State Government: 365 Days of Purposeful Administration in Lagos State

By the end of the 1990s, direct intervention by the government in various housing programmes had resulted into estates around the metropolis (See Table 5.3)

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<sup>41</sup> Odumosu, T . 1999. Problems of Housing and Transportation in Lagos State.

**Table 5.3: Housing Provision in the 1990's**

<b>Bungalows</b>	<b>Number Built</b>	
Isolo 3 bedroom (semi-detached)	614	
Ikorodu 3 bedroom units	23	
Ijaiye bedroom (semi-detached)	12	
Ikorodu:	T.O. Shobowale Benson Estate	
2 bedroom (terrace)	229	
3 bedroom (terrace)	158	
Oko-Oba: Palm View Estate		
3 bedroom (semi-detached)	44	
Flats		
Alapere Phase II:	4 bedrooms	32
Ogba Phase II:	4 bedrooms	56
Dolphin (Ikoyi) Phase II:	2 bedrooms	136
Games Village (Surulere):	3 bedrooms	440
Games Village (Surulere):	3 bedrooms	12
Ijaiye	4 bedrooms	44
Ojokoro	3 bedrooms	90
Isolo	2 bedrooms	6
Oko-Oba: Palm View Estate	3 bedrooms	54
Ikeja: M.K.O. Abiola Gardens	4 bedrooms	12
Duplexes		
Amuwo-Odofin:	4 bedrooms	72
Raji Rasaki Estate	3 bedrooms	72
Ikoyi: Dolphin Estate Phase II	4 bedrooms	142
Ikeja: M.K.O. Abiol Gardens	4 bedrooms	236
M.K.O. Abiola Gardens (terrace)	4 bedrooms	126
Lekki Phase I	4 bedrooms	80
	100	

**Source: Lagos State at a glance, LSDPC, 2003**

Beyond steady efforts at providing houses for the rising population of Lagos, the administration, mindful of the problem of access to land in housing development, embarked on the reclamation of swamps for housing purposes at Amuwo Odofin Extension where 3,591 plots were made available, Oko-Oba Phase II, Second Avenue, Ikoyi and Oregun mixed development scheme. In all, 48,657 hectares of land was earmarked across the five divisions of the state for

residential, industrial and social services development. These include: Ilasan, Iwaya and Ebute Meta foreshore in Lagos Division, Igando, Egan, Abesan, CBD (Agidingbi/Alausa) in Ikeja division, Ibereko, Iworo, Ajido, Ilogbo-Eremi, Amuwo-Odofin, and Kirikiri in Badagry Division. Ewu-Elepe, Ikota, Ijede, Majidun, Oke-Eletu, and Ikorodu in Ikorodu Division as well as Agbowo-Ikosi, Odomola/Poka, Igboye, Ilara, Odoragungin and Noforija/Eredo in Epe Division. One hindrance to the accessibility to the houses, unlike that of the Jakande era was the fact that such houses meant for the low income group ended in the hands of middle and upper income groups who then let them out at high gains to low income earners.

One area of direct government intervention in the provision of houses during this military administration was a programme of sale of model building plans for various types of houses. The design which took cognizance of location, plot sizes and income groups into consideration and sold at subsidized cost was aimed at having “a uniform and well ordered structure for a particular environment thereby checking illegal structures, improving sustainable environment and saving building cost to ease urban housing problems”.<sup>42</sup>

## **RENT CONTROL IN LAGOS METROPOLIS**

During the first military administration in Lagos State, the government, in a desperate move to check the high cost of housing in the state, resorted to legislation to control rents. It was not the first time the government was seeking to regulate rents in the city. In 1947, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the problems of overcrowding and unhealthy congestions and rent profiteering made the colonial authorities to take steps to regulate lettings in Lagos.<sup>43</sup> Rent Control is a statutory intervention into the contractual relationship of landlord and tenant.

The populace was confounded at the Governor Mobolaji Johnson’s novel idea of rent control in specified areas of the metropolis. Udemegwuna (2017) describes the move as:

An intervention by Government through measures put in place on the pretext of protecting the urban dwellers from being pushed off the open market in the course of securing accommodations by putting a ceiling on the maximum rent payable on all classes of residential properties.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Odumosu, Tayo. 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Elias, T.O. 1971. *Nigerian Land Law*. London: Sweet & Maxwell. 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. P.288.

<sup>44</sup> Udemegwuna, L. 2017. *Is Rent Control in Nigeria a pain or gain?* Accessed on [www.kolet.com.ng](http://www.kolet.com.ng) on January 12, 2017.

The introduction of such tenancy law in the early 1970s in Lagos evoked so much passion among the populace that its ineffectiveness in curbing the spiraling cost of renting a residential accommodation was inherent in the public disposition. Stories were told of landlords who directed prospective tenants to the military Governor for their needs.<sup>45</sup> Needless to say that the much-sought regulation of rents in the state by the government was short-lived<sup>46</sup> as the government itself could not provide enough to meet the yearnings of migrants.

Ugorji (1998) hinted at the futility of the promulgation of a rent decree by the government on housing properties it did not possess.<sup>47</sup> Many landlords and property owners share this view insisting that it is a disincentive to investment in property development if the government must legislate on what it does not provide.<sup>48</sup> In many cases however, many of the prospective tenants were not willing to abide by the Edict because of the scarcity of housing in the city.<sup>49</sup>

The use of rent control was updated, for the fifth time since Mobolaji Johnson's enactment in 1974, by the Marwa's administration. Appropriately named 'Lagos State Rent Control and Recovery of Promises Edict No 6 of 1997', the law came into effect on March 21, 1997 calling for:

- Fixation of standard rent payable in respect of any accommodation in any particular location in the state.
- Categorisation of home types and the division of the state into eleven zones for the purpose of determination of standard rent and terms of tenancy agreement.
- Prescription of orders and regulations to safeguard the security of tenancy and the interest of the landlord.

The general principle of the rent control edicts has always been to guard against the social and economic evils generated by the shortage of housing and the greed and rapacity of some

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<sup>45</sup> Oral interview with Alhaji Sikiru Atanda, 76, a retired civil servant at 33 Tadeyo Street, Mushin on 16<sup>th</sup> October, 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Oral interview with Olatunji Badejo, 59, a Town Planner at the Alausa Secretariat on July 11, 2017. He believed the Government could only control what it has.

<sup>47</sup> Ugorji O. 1998. *The impact of Rent control Edicts on the Housing supply in Lagos State*. unpublished MURP Project Report. Centre for Planning Studies, Lagos State University.

<sup>48</sup> Oral interview with Alhaji Muraina Adegoke, 74, a House-owner at Alasia, Sogunle.

<sup>49</sup> Oral interview with Dapo Olukoya, 43, an official of the Lagos State Ministry of Housing, Alausa.

landlords who increase rent and try to evict tenants who refuse or are unable to pay the higher rents demanded.<sup>50</sup> Unlike the previous editions of the law, this edition was intended for operation beyond the fringes of the metropolitan Lagos including Epe, Badagry and other medium towns in the state. The law also protected the interests of landlords, unlike the past moves in this direction. Populist as these adopted approaches to the provision of houses by the government looked however, the rising population ensured that the housing sector of the state's economy was largely dominated by the private sector. While it was suggested that the law was to assist tenants by re-emphasising the need to only pay one year rent in advance, it is still believed that there would be no need for any legislation on rents if houses were available.<sup>51</sup>

In the closing days of military rule in Nigeria, the rapid population growth of Lagos metropolis occasioned in the main by inward migration resulted in the exertion of tremendous pressure on land and a consequent inadequacy of basic infrastructure such as housing, access roads, effective drainage and sewage system, public transportation, recreational and other communal facilities.<sup>52</sup> Despite the government's return to its Urban Renewal Programme that was put into the backburner during the demolition of Maroko slum, the congested inner city areas remained a haven for migrants who prefer such locations for easy access to their places of work and the relatively cheap housing facility.<sup>53</sup>

The intervention of the World Bank in the Lagos slum upgrading programme enhanced the state government's commitment to the improvement of the livability of the slum communities which a World Bank review in 1995 said had increased to 100.<sup>54</sup>

The bank recommended a 4-year successive upgrading for the 9 most blighted of the communities namely;

1. Badia in Apapa Local Government Area (LGA)
2. Ajegunle in Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGA

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<sup>50</sup> Oni, Ayotunde Olawande. 2008. An Empirical Study of the Lagos State Rent Edict of 1997. *Journal of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors and Valuers. Vol.31. No.1.*

<sup>51</sup> Oral interview with Chief Kola Akomolede, 70, Estate Surveyor and Valuer at Airport Hotel, Ikeja on August, 18, 2018.

<sup>52</sup> George C.K. 2007. Basic Principles and Methods of Urban and Regional planning (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Lagos: Libro-Gem Ltd.

<sup>53</sup> George C.K. 2007. The Challenges of Urbanisation in Nigerian Urban centres: The Lagos Mega City situation – A Town Planner's perspective. Lagos: Libro-Gem Books.

<sup>54</sup> Abosede, Francisco. Housing in Lagos MegaCity – improving livability, inclusion and Governance. A paper presented at the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre's (CERAC) International Conference on Building Nigeria's Capacity to implement Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Lessons Learned, Challenges and the way forward, Abuja September 27-28, 2006.

3. Amukoko in AJeromi-Ifelodun LGA
4. Ilaje in Sololu LGA
5. Bariga in Somolu LGA
6. Agege in Agege LGA
7. Ijeshatedo/Itire in Mushin LGA
8. Iwaya in Lagos Mainland LGA
9. Makoko in Lagos mainland LGA

Towards the end of this study in 1999, Nigeria returned to a Democratic Governance and a civil administration was inaugurated in Lagos State. For the first time in the State Public Service, a Ministry of Housing was created at the inception of the administration to translate into reality the government's planned construction of about 45,000 housing units in four years. The ministry took over the various estates already developed, but abandoned by the previous administrations. The administration produced a revised layout design for Alliance Mixed Housing Estate, Ajah ; Alliance Housing Estate in Ojokoro, Alliance Housing Estate, Ikorodu; Gbagada Mixed Development Scheme, Lekki 1 and 11 Mixed Development Schemes. By redesigning the various scheme from a Low-cost to Mixed Housing, the ministry put in place a method where the estates would have a sustainable maintenance system.<sup>55</sup> To check the development of squalor in the estates, a cluster design that allows for stratified arrangements was introduced to provide for the following:

- a- Central parking and an open space with housing units clustering around the facilities.
- b- One main access is provided into each cluster.
- c- Reduction in traffic intrusion into the Estates.
- d- Enhancement of maximum use of space.
- e- Maximum guarantee of social cohesion among residents.
- f- Provision of adequate space for both social interaction and relaxation.
- g- Provision of adequate security for all residents.

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<sup>55</sup> Lagos State Government. 2000. Tinubu: One year of the People's Governor. A publication of the Ministry of Information and Strategy, Alausa-Ikeja. P.67.

The administration conceived and inaugurated, with the approval of the World Bank, the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project (LMDGP) whose core components include;

1. Infrastructure upgrading, including drainage and solid waste management
2. Public Governance and capacity building
3. Urban policy and project coordination

The urban Renewal programme has been described as a panacea for slum upgrading, and Redevelopment of slums which is said focuses only on demolition and reconstruction’:

Urban upgrading is a poverty focused, effective, and affordable approach for providing access to basic municipal services to the urban poor with none or minimal disruption or involuntary resettlement.<sup>56</sup>

Urban renewal is expected to have at its major focus inclusion in planning where public participation in planning is sacrosanct while every policy and project is open to five yearly review in line with changes;

There has to be regular funding and continuous review so that what is happening to the environment will be taken into account in the use of the land.<sup>57</sup>

## **URBANISATION AND MARKET DEVELOPMENT IN LAGOS**

Closely related to the provision of houses in the development of urban infrastructure is the issue of markets for commercial activities in Yoruba land, of which Lagos is an integral part, and other cities of Africa, markets are informed by the need for a forum to exchange excesses of agricultural produce with producers of other items of domestic need.<sup>58</sup> In the pre-colonial era markets served more than a meeting place for exchange of commodities as it also provided platform for social engagements, political and even religious activities.<sup>59</sup> Before the advent of colonialism, the fishermen that occupied the foreshores of the coastal Lagoons brought their fish daily in their canoes to major market centres, popularly called ‘obun’ or ‘oja’ and exchanged

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<sup>56</sup> Oral interview with Catherine K. George. November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Oral interview with Catherine K. George, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>58</sup> Olufemi Bamigboye and Oluranti Edward Ojo. 2014. Influence of British Economic Activities on Lagos Traditional Markets, 1900-1960. *Journal of the Historical society of Nigeria*, vol. 23 (2014). Pp. 111-130.

<sup>59</sup> N.A. Fadipe. 1970. *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press.

them for yams, pepper or other food items produced by the upland dwellers.<sup>60</sup> It may not be out of place to recall that Lagos served as a major slave port for many Spanish and Portuguese traders who exchanged goods like arms and ammunition, cigarettes, textile materials, jewels and other ornamental goods for slaves that were shipped to Europe and the New World to provide cheap labour on plantations. It must also be noted that distributive trade is a prominent occupation of Yoruba people particularly women who dominated the markets. They administered the market with the assistance of Yoruba youths.

The markets were usually the open system where goods were exchanged without inhibitions, this gradually became well organized such that stalls were built in clearly designated sites and the markets properly named and manned. The open market system was threatened with the annexation of Lagos by the British that in its urbanisation bid felt it was appropriate to restrict trading activities to an enclosure. This was resisted by the local traders Brown (1964) reports that:

Once a market building was completed the people sometimes declined to use it immediately or later found that it had been unsuitable for their purpose.<sup>61</sup>

The colonial authorities, in its bid to transfer the British concept of urbanisation into the colony built a building for the Faji market, the largest in Lagos and opened it in 1878. Ten years later only a few persons still used it – most traders preferred to display their goods outside the market hall.<sup>62</sup> The amendment in 1882 to the market ordinance of 1878 insisting that no goods for which markets existed could be sold elsewhere and the unofficial rise of the Idumagbo market made it obvious that the natives preferred to trade as they deemed fit. By 1885 the Idumagbo Wharf rivaled the markets held on Porto Novo market street, Elegbeta, Alakoro and Ebute Ero that were all important landing wharves. The colonial authorities responded to the natives' defiance of their policy by introducing various ordinances that undermined the traditional market administrative structure. The colonialists in their desperation to enhance European trade expanded the markets, provided basic infrastructural facilities and built modern shops while

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<sup>60</sup> Lagos State Handbook. 1987, a publication of Lagos State Ministry of Information.

<sup>61</sup> Spencer H. Brown. 1964. A History of the People of Lagos. 1852-1886 Unpublished PhD Thesis. North Western University, Evanston. Illinois. P. 319

<sup>62</sup> Spencer H. Brown. 1964. P.319



existing shops and stalls were demolished without compensations as well as converting residential houses near the markets to shops without consulting the local market officers. This enhanced the migration of other Yoruba and non-Yoruba merchants to Lagos. Ebute Ero, Jankara and Balogun markets were reported to have created the pull and traders from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa flooded the market and increased the population of the markets and of Lagos too.<sup>63</sup>

The rapid increases in the population of traders from across the nation in the development of the markets portend inherent conflicts particularly in market leaderships. The growth in market stalls and the penchant of traders and stall owners to display their wares without regard to laid down rules started as a form of the local traders' response to what they felt was the repressive disposition of the colonial authorities to the traditional leadership of the markets. This however laid the foundation of a malady that was to impact on future trading and urban development, street trading. The influx of migrants who engaged in petty trading around the markets in the city increased the display and sale of wares along the major streets around the markets attracting the attention and concern of the Lagos Town Council authorities.

Street trading was becoming a health concern by 1932 as many of the migrant petty traders were so indigent they could not afford the stallage fees.<sup>64</sup> Yet the Town council was concerned by their activities that were found to be detrimental to the environment. Residents of the areas around the major markets around the city also made representations to the city council on this malfeasance noted in identified areas like, Idumagbo market area, Palm church, Victoria, Alli, Obun Eko, Docemo Alakoro, Ereko, Agarawu, Elegbata and Lewis streets on the Island as well as Kano and Griffith streets close to Oyingbo markets. These traders were however reported to be well organised in their areas of operations such that they had various associations that catered for their needs and protection.<sup>65</sup> Activities of these traders were linked to the problem of plagues

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<sup>63</sup> O.A. Awofisayo.2004. 'Aspects of Economic Transformations in Lagos' in Ajetunmobi (ed). *The Evolution and Development of Lagos State*. Lagos: A-Triad Associates p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Adebayo Lawal. Markets and street trading in Lagos. Toyin Falola and Steven J. Salam (eds) . 2009. *Nigerian Cities*. Tranton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 238.

<sup>65</sup> NAI, CE/FOI, Question for market and street trading, 55.

in the city but they were exonerated by the Lagos press that put the blame on city authorities' neglect of drains since 1902.<sup>66</sup>

The street traders were pointers to inadequate market facilities expanding informal sector of the urban economy. In the heat of the slum clearance in central Lagos in the 1950s, the traders were fingered as part of the emerging urban sprawl. The fact that the slum clearance took place in the core of the city impacted on the cost of commercial premises that increased the army of hawkers on the streets. In its bid to organise Lagos as a prestigious federal capital, the federal government and the city council forbade street trading in several neighbourhoods and the commercial hub of the Marina as well as the four main roads of the seven avenues and on 56 streets. This move failed few years later as the traffic on the four main areas, Victoria, Broad, Balogun and Ereko streets had become congested while the Martin Street that was widened during the slum clearance scheme had been occupied by a large number of shopkeepers and street traders as well as a car park.<sup>67</sup>

The problem of street trading and inadequate market facilities also continued into the contemporary time as they not only remain indicators of inadequate urban facilities but source of conflicts and concern in inter-group relation in the metropolis. The problem of street trading persisted from the colonial era through the nation's independence and creation of Lagos State not only as a symbol of inadequate provision of markets by the government but a reflection of local social values conflicting with Western Standards introduced by the government. The Lagos press had through the ages remained a formidable opponent of the government assuming the role of the defender for the street traders.<sup>68</sup> The public response to the problem was informed by the poverty level and the class difference between public officers who lived in planned areas of the city.

Post independence governments at state and local levels have devised various measures to cope with the problems of street trading and inadequate market facilities including the development of

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<sup>66</sup> Lagos Daily Record. 30 June 1932.

<sup>67</sup> Abrams, et al. 1980. *Metropolitan Lagos. Habitat International*. 55.p 55-83.

<sup>68</sup> Lawal, Adebayo.2009. *Market and street trading in Lagos* p. 241

open markets, more stalls and the creation of a Market Development Board in 1980 that built many shopping centres in the metropolis.

The seeming failure of such measures in stemming street trading particularly during the military era has led to the revival of an old concept in trading in Lagos – the Night market. The night markets were not new to Lagos:

In the beginning night markets in Lagos were very small affairs like those in the majority of other parts of Yoruba land... they held less than one thousand people and were scattered evenly through the metropolis. Their function was to distribute cooked meals and petty articles of trade to people in their neighbourhoods<sup>69</sup>

The concept of night market was stifled out of existence by the colonial administration in its quest to create market for European goods under the guise of promoting good sanitation in Lagos. The resuscitation of the night markets by the military in 1984 was informed by its determination to remove street traders from the road. Such markets offered the small-scale operators another scope to maximize their operations. They also provided for low income earners in paid employment to supplement their earnings. Yet street trading has become a tacit feature of urban life in the metropolis. This and the problem of housing the metropolis have brought to the fore the settler/indigene question in the inter-group relations in Lagos. The desire of the two groups of residents to control limited communal resources often end in disputes that degenerate into inter-ethnic conflicts.

## **THE SETTLER/INDIGENE QUESTION IN LAGOS**

By the end of the Second World War, Lagos had become a cosmopolitan area resulting mainly from migration from different parts of the country. The economic growth of Lagos and the desire of other Nigerians to benefit from the economy kept the migration high until the National crisis of 1967-70. The end of the Nigerian Civil war in 1970 marked the beginning of another era of rapid urbanisation of Lagos promoted in the main by the oil boom that fuelled the industrial activities in the city. Industrial establishments in the city had been barely affected by the three-year civil war. The expansion of commercial opportunities in the early 1970s also saw an

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<sup>69</sup> Kumuyi, A. J. 2003. The Emergence of Night markets in Nigeria's metropolitan Areas, The Case of the Oshodi Night market in Lagos. NISER Monograph Series No. 13.

increase in the number non-Yoruba immigrants as well as Indians, Lebanese, and Chinese in Lagos.<sup>70</sup> It was also a period that aliens from Nigeria's neighbouring West African countries flocked to Lagos in large numbers towards the end of the decade up to 1982. Majority of these aliens were Ghanaians who were forced by political instability and economic hardship at home to seek refuge elsewhere.

The problem of indigene/settler conflict has been a feature of intergroup relation in Nigeria even before the colonial enterprise. Adesoji and Alao (2009) note that unlike in the past, the "problem has assumed a more serious dimension in contemporary period" perhaps due to its manipulation for individual and group gains.<sup>71</sup> In Lagos, the indigene/settler issue is as old as the city itself since the Idejo laid a firm control on the land at a time the Benin sought to supplant the Awori. The issue is often seen as Indigene/stranger syndrome and value in other parts of Nigeria where the conflict is along ethnic or cultural lines, the situation in Lagos sees no-Awori Yorubas and others as strangers.<sup>72</sup> This was informed by the fear of the potential of non-indigene Yoruba to dominate commerce and administration on account of being better educated<sup>73</sup>. This, perhaps, laid the foundation for the clamour for the creation of Lagos State might have brought governance close to the people but this also evoked the penchant of migrants to form associations based on ethnic lines to defend their interests. These associations actually pitched their members against the indigenes by seeking for equality of rights with the indigenes. This had promoted conflicts between indigenes and migrant communities in the access to urban infrastructure that has become a regular feature of urban life.

The inherent conflict in the struggle for scarce resources occasionally resulted in open confrontation particularly with the emergence of ethnic militias like the Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in 1994 at the height of the struggle for the actualisation of the 1993 elections believed to have been won by a Yoruba. The conflict emanating from the struggle to access

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<sup>70</sup> Adebayo Lawal. 2009. p. 278

<sup>71</sup> Adesoji, A. O. and Alao, Akin . 2009. Indigenship and citizenship in Nigeria: Myth and Reality. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. vol. 2. No. 9.

<sup>72</sup> Aworawo, D. The Stranger problem and social ferment in Lagos. Toyin Falola and Steven J. Salon (eds) 2009, *Nigerian Cities*. Trenton.NJ: Africa World Press Inc. p. 282.

<sup>73</sup> Aworawo D. 2009.

available but inadequate infrastructure may continue in the face of a unabated influx of people into the metropolis. The problem of inadequate basic infrastructure the inability to plan for the rapid and chaotic growth of Lagos metropolis have brought to the force the need to assess the role of the informal sector in the infrastructural development in what is considered a new paradigm for urban development in Lagos.<sup>74</sup>

One aspect of the social ferment between indigenes and settlers in Lagos is the access to socio-economic infrastructure like housing and market facilities. Some markets or particular lines of trade are dominated by non-indigenes who strive to control the administration and development of such markets. A good example of such facility is the Alaba (International) market. The Alaba (International) market had its beginning at the Orile Iganmu ward of the city in the mid-1970s as an electronics market dominated in the main by non-indigene traders. The growth in the market resulted into overcrowding and congestion that was becoming an environmental eyesore. This led to its relocation to Ojo the present site in 1978 but still retaining the name of its previous location, Alaba: from 1978 when it relocated under the watch of a formidable market association, Alaba market has grown to be a big electronics market in the metropolis metting more than \$ 2 billion annually as it accounts for 75% of electronics trade in the sub region.<sup>75</sup> While the success of the market as a self-sufficient effort at providing the much-needed facilities is acknowledged, it has generated huge revenue for the local governments even as it has grown its own form of operations including its own brand of governance and justice administration.<sup>76</sup> Because the market is dominated by traders of a particular ethnic group, election into its management committee is often restricted to members of the ethnic group. This sometimes draws reactions from traders from other groups who were mainly in the minority.<sup>77</sup> The Alaba market's disposition to the provision of infrastructure in a self-regulatory setting and the private sector's hold on the provision of housing through well-laid out 'site and service' schemes in new layouts of the metropolis should be a pointer for a loose development strategy by the Lagos State

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<sup>74</sup> Mabogunje, L. 1991. A New paradigm for Urban Development . Proceedings of the World Bank Conference on Development Economics. P. 201.

<sup>75</sup> Cheshmehzangi, A. and Bond, O.A. 2014. Rapid urbanisation and challenges of sustainable development in the City of Lagos, Nigeria. *Open Journal of Architectural Design (OJAD)* 2014, 2(3) 27-34.

<sup>76</sup>Cheshmehzangi, A. and Bond,O.A. 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Oral Interview with Wale Afolabi, 37.

government in many areas of the state to encourage high-density development that could match the seemingly unending migration into the state.

The Government's Urban Renewal Programme was inclusive as it planned the upgrade of the slum area in conjunction with the residents who are the end users of the upgraded facilities. This new approach which aimed at addressing the preponderance of slums in the metropolis holds the prospect of sustainable urban development. Public response to the effort has demonstrated the prospects of the informal sector's inclusion in the design and provision of urban infrastructure even in the face of an unabated migration. This measure has shown that there should be a shift in the paradigm on government's direct involvement in the provision and maintenance of urban facilities. There is also the need to ensure strict compliance with government policies and legislation on urban planning and development to ensure a holistic urban development.

It has been shown that the change in government in 1984 halted the housing programme of the civilian administration though the military regime made feeble attempt at increasing the housing stock in the state. The military administration however made strident efforts in urban development as it embarked on rigid enforcement of environmental sanitation laws, removal of illegal structures on drainage path and entronement of orderliness among the populace through the queue culture. As part of their urban renewal efforts, the successive military regimes adopted ruthless methods in attaining their objectives as demonstrated in the evacuation of the Maroko slum even as a UN method of slum upgrading was deployed in another area of the metropolis.

The second coming of a civilian administration brought hope for mass housing in the state but the hope frittered on account of untimely end of the administration during another military taken over. The new military regime came at a time the nation was in the throes of a national crisis occasioned by the annulment of a widely acclaimed free and fair election. This new administration could not but pander to the needs of the citizenry in its desperation to earn legitimacy from the populace as it embarked on the resuscitation and completion of abandoned housing projects of the previous administrations. The military government's introduction of programmes aimed at reducing bureaucratic bottlenecks in land transactions and documentation also contributed to the stock of housing units in the metropolis as individuals and property

developers in the private sector took advantage of the ease inherent in the implementation of the policy to expand the scope of their operations.

The rapid expansion of urban population has made the challenge of providing adequate housing facilities for the population a daunting one particularly with the cost of access to land, rising cost of building materials, disregard for planning laws by the citizenry, inadequate mortgage financing and inconsistencies in programme and policy formulation as well as their implementation. But the problems of housing in Lagos metropolis are not intractable, surmounting the many obstacles to adequate housing namely; Financial, social, technical and legal require consistent, focused, varied and inclusive as well as concerted efforts at addressing the challenge. Above all, the state needs to demonstrate the political will essential to effect changes in this important sector of the economy. The emergence of a new civilian administration at the end of this study shows the promise of a comprehensive and inclusive approach to the challenge of infrastructural development even as the urban influx remains unabated.

### **CHALLENGES OF OVERPOPULATION IN LAGOS**

Lagos had been an important town emerging as fishing and farming settlement in the 7<sup>th</sup> century even before colonial intervention. Its natural features as the only break for more than 2000 kilometres along the West African coast made it an important port in the Slave trade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>78</sup> The wealth accruing from the Slave trade evoked bitter rivalry and wrangling for the throne by the ruling dynasties that provided an excuse for the British intervention and the eventual commencement of Crown colony administration in 1861.

The establishment of the British rule and the end of the Slave trade as well as the commencement of the legitimate trade encouraged a growth in the population of Lagos with the return of freed slaves from Brazil, Cuba and Sierra-Leone as well as refugees from wars in the interior.<sup>79</sup> It would be recalled that the Slave trade for which Lagos had been a vibrant port in the 1750s was a

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<sup>78</sup> Abiodun, J.O. 1974. Urban growth and problems in Metropolitan Lagos. *Urban Studies* 11:341-347.

<sup>79</sup> Abiodun, J.O. 1974.

major pull factor for migrants. The port had, by the commencement of colonialism, become a major centre for the extension of the “legitimate” trade enhancing the primacy of the city.<sup>80</sup>

The rise of Lagos to commercial pre-eminence came with a price—a steady increase in its population particularly by migrants from the hinterland, mostly young men desirous of seeking fortune in the new trade. This army of youths contributed in no small measure to putting pressure on land and housing in the emerging metropolis with deplorable effect on urban sanitation.<sup>81</sup>

By 1866, the city’s population stood at about 25,000<sup>82</sup>, 40,000 by 1901, 74,000 by 1911 and 346,137 by 1952.<sup>83</sup> By 1963, the population had reached 665,000. It is noteworthy that while the growth rate of Lagos between the two World wars never exceeded 3.3 % per annum, it recorded a rate of 14 % per annum in the first decade after independence in 1960.<sup>84</sup> Lagos grew as a trade centre and seaport to an urban complex that embodied overwhelming contrasts.

Rural-urban migration has been observed to be the main driver of population growth in Lagos since the establishment of colonial rule in the city. People were encouraged to leave the hinterland by push factors like absence of job opportunities, low wages and seasonal farming practices. It has been shown that: to a large extent, the movement pattern of people reflects the socio-economic conditions of a place.<sup>85</sup> The push and pull factors attract or repel migrants to an area or destinations. These include level of economic development of a place, provision of social amenities in the area and the availability of other infrastructure necessary for the development of the area.

In the case of Lagos in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the influx of migrants was both a cause for concern and a blessing during the period. In 1915, a Lagos newspaper was alarmed at the rapid rise in the population of Lagos that it had to decry the influx of those it described as

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<sup>80</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004. Population Pressure, Housing and Sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos: c.1900-1939. Lawal, K. 2004. Urban Transition in Africa: Aspects of Urbanisation and Change in Lagos. Ikeja: Longman. pp34-49.

<sup>81</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004 p.35.

<sup>82</sup> Ayeni, B. 1981. Lagos. Pacione, M (Ed) Problems and Planning in Third World Cities. London: Croom Helm.

<sup>83</sup> Abiodun, J.O. 1997. The challenge of growth and development in Metropolitan Lagos. Rakodi, C. Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

<sup>84</sup> Abiodun, J.O. 1997.

<sup>85</sup> Afolayan, A.A. 1985. Is there a Step-wise Migration in Nigeria? A case Study of the Migrational Histories of Migrants to Lagos. *GeoJournal* 11.2 189-193.



“indigent persons without visible means of support.”<sup>86</sup> Few years later, in 1918, the newspaper remarked that the influx of migrants was the saving grace that masked the declining birth rate in Lagos at the period.<sup>87</sup> During this period, Lagos was restricted to the island inhabited mainly by the indigenous Lagosians and other different groups of people making the problem of congestion apparent. The overcrowding living conditions was blamed for the outbreak of tuberculosis in Lagos in 1919.

The plague that ran through the years between 1924 and 1930 ravaged the city leaving a casualty of 318 people in the three months of its outbreak evoked a positive reaction from the colonial government that embarked on the evacuation of swampy areas, slum clearance, drainage and reclamation of swamps and the development of Yaba Housing Estate on the Mainland to reduce congestion on the island. Government’s provision of transportation between the two parts of the Metropolitan Area encouraged a drift to the Mainland.

While this effort reduced the population pressure on the Island, it promoted the unregulated development of suburban Lagos that still remained a feature of the city till the end of this study.. It also changed the demographic configuration of Lagos such that while by 1950, 65.40% of the population of Lagos was concentrated on the Island, by 1963, the mainland accounted for 68% of the population of Lagos,

Migration destinations were not restricted to the urban areas at all times. At a stage of the development of the Nigerian economy, rural areas were opened up for the production of cash crops and such places witnessed a large in-migration despite their location in the rural areas. These include the cocoa-producing areas in the West, the oil-palm belt in the East and cotton and groundnut belt in the North<sup>88</sup>. While the rural-rural migration was seasonal, the movements were tied to the monetisation process in place.

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<sup>86</sup> Nigerian Pioneer (NP) 1 July 1915: “Random Notes and News”.

<sup>87</sup> Nigeria Pioneer (NP) 8 Nov., 1918.

<sup>88</sup> Afolayan, A.A 1985.

Rural-urban migration has been identified as one of the factors for the population growth of Lagos, Kano, Enugu, Jos and Ibadan. The decentralisation of the civil service between 1954 and 1964, the regionalisation of the public service with the creation of Mid-West region led to the creation of new administration headquarters in Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and Benin heightening urban migration to the new headquarters. These new centres were enhanced as places of attraction to the rural dwellers.<sup>89</sup> Added to these was the growth of new towns along the railway route up to Lagos.

The introduction of free primary education in 1956 also boosted the migration into urban centres as products of this scheme came in search of employment abandoning farming over low wages. The development of secondary sector of the economy encouraged the establishment of industries. By 1965, Lagos had 37% of the nation's manufacturing plants, followed by Kano, Port Harcourt and Ibadan. This encouraged massive in-flow of migrants to the urban centres during this period.

The creation of more political units with the creation of twelve States from the old four-regional structure expanded the number of State capitals and new urban centres attracting more people from the rural areas. The urban migration before the Civil war had been encouraged by the uneven distribution of social facilities in the country. This was further enhanced by the human displacement during the Civil war. At the end of the hostilities, Lagos, because of its prime position and availability of urban and social infrastructure, became the favoured destination of people coming out of the war.

Overpopulation is associated with negative environmental and economic outcomes ranging from the impacts of overfarming; deforestation and water pollution. Effects of overpopulation also include depletion of resources, human congestion, squalor, high unemployment rate, environmental degradation, urban crime and erosion of socio-cultural values. For Lagos that had experienced congestion as far back as the opening years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, social problems which accompany urbanisation had been most noticeable in the metropolitan area.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Afolayan, A.A 1985

<sup>90</sup> Olukoju, A. 2004 p.37.

The spate of migration into Lagos increased in the years after the war with the new wealth from the Oil boom that ensured more investment in infrastructural development of the urban centres that kept attracting more rural dwellers to the detriment of agriculture and rural development. Along with this was the decline in urban governance standards as the political control of Lagos and the rest of the country came under military rule between 1966 and 1979 and again from 1984 and 1999.

The increasing social segregation of housing in developing countries like Nigeria led to dramatic growth of slums in urban centres including Lagos as entrenchment of poverty turned the cities to hotbeds of violence and social problems. Lagos was confronted with recurrent ecological issues like the threats of heavy rainfall, flooding, pressures from overcrowding and the continual encroachment of rapid urban development activities into fragile natural areas to the detriment of ecosystem stability.<sup>91</sup>

With the challenges of overpopulation came the need to meet the housing needs of the growing population that encouraged the shoddy construction of houses that resulted into collapsed buildings as the services of non-professionals were usually employed in a bid to maximise profits.<sup>92</sup> Collapsed buildings have also been attributed to ecological status of the site, social, economic, human, engineering and political factors as well as government policies.<sup>93</sup>

In spite of the challenges of overpopulation, Lagos reportedly attained the status of a megacity in early 2000 with a population about 10 million people but the continued problems of widespread poverty, poor sanitation, pollution and road traffic congestion have contributed to remove the allure of a megacity on the metropolis. The rapid population growth in Lagos Metropolis results in shortages of housing and growth of slums, lack of housing finance and failure of the urban community to adapt to changing conditions.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> CICRED, 2007, Urban Population, Development and Environmental Dynamics. Paris: Committee for International Co-operation in National Research in Demography (CICRED)

<sup>92</sup> Oni, A.O. 2010. Analysis of incidences of collapsed building in Lagos Metropolis, Nigeria. International Journal of Strategic Property Management, 14:4. pp332-346

<sup>93</sup> Yusuf, S.A. 2006. Planning Strategies for stemming building collapse in Lagos. Paper presented at CPD Seminar of Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors and Valuers, Lagos State. 30-08-2006.

<sup>94</sup> Aliyu, A.R. 2017. Urbanization, Cities and health: The challenges in Nigeria - A review. Annals of African Medicine. 2017. 16(4). 149-158

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION**

From the foregoing study of urban migration and infrastructural development in metropolitan Lagos, it could be seen that migration was a vital factor in the population growth and the provision of infrastructure in the metropolis during the period of study. It is essential to conclude this study with our observations.

It was observed at the beginning that pre-colonial Lagos began as a finishing and farming settlement in the 17<sup>th</sup> century becoming a major slave-exporting port in the 18<sup>th</sup> century because of its feature as the only natural break for about 2,500km along the West African coast. The end of slave trade and the cession of the town to the British in 1861 marked the beginning of its population growth with a population of about 25,000 in 1866, the inherent primary of Lagos become evident as refugees from slavery and war in the interior, freed slaves from Brazil and Sierra Leone as well as colonial administrators and traders of varied origins pushed the population to 40,000 in 1901 and 74,000 by 1911.

The pre-eminence of Lagos metropolis is predicated on its adoption by the British as an administrative and military settlement or outpost for the pacification of the hinterland regions. With the conquest of the hinterland, the colonial administration began the economic exploitation of the agricultural and mineral resources available in the hinterland like palm oil and cocoa in the south as well as cotton and groundnuts in the North. This enhanced the commencement of the railway line between Lagos and Kano and the development of the Lagos Port as well as other infrastructure to enhance the implementation of colonial economic policy of exploitation. It would be recalled that the development of the port which lacked a natural harbor was financed not by the British Treasury but by revenue of the colony particularly from the port that provided an average of 84% of the total annual revenue between 1880 and 1906. The expansion of the port enhanced the industrial potentials of the city thus creating more waged employment that attracted further migration from the hinterland.

The 1914 amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates and the colony of Lagos intensified the political and administrative roles of Lagos as Nigeria's capital and seat of administration. Despite its emergence of Lagos as one of the commercial centres in West Africa however, the city suffered from what was termed incomplete modernity as successive colonial administrations could not tackle the problems of overcrowding, disease and inadequate urban infrastructure for lack of funding from the British Treasury, we have demonstrated in this study how attempts to improve the sanitary conditions and housing conditions in the city evoked a policy of segregation that saw the creation of conclave for the Europeans at Ikoyi while overcrowding continued to be a feature of the native residential wards. This depository was rubbed in with the classification Lagos as a first class town by the Town planning ordinance of 1917.

It has also been shown how Colonial political and economic, as well as planning policies had profound impact on the provision of infrastructural facilities particularly housing. The negligence of public health by the colonial administration manifested in overcrowding and substandard housing as well as unhygienic environment that led to influenza epidemics and bubonic plague that ravaged the city – between 1924 and 1930. The outbreak of diseases led to the establishment in 1928 of the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) whose first major task was the slum clearance of central Lagos, and the resettlement of residents on the mainland. This however did not check the problem of congestion in housing in Lagos Island even as population density was increased from 23,000 per square mile in 1901 to 53,000 by 1934. While improved health conditions might have encouraged natural increase in population of Lagos between the two world wars, it is argued that internal migration and the expansion of the city's borders from 1950 played a prominent role in the continued congestion and formation of informal housing in the metropolis. The congestion of central Lagos had encouraged the formation and growth of unplanned settlement on the fringes of the city where cheap housing facilities were available for the growing migrants. The location of these settlements close to the industrial estates of the neighbouring western region encouraged urban influx without the availability of the required infrastructure. Migration into Lagos had been encouraged by the growing gap in employment opportunities between Lagos and other Nigerian cities. The population growth did not abate even

as Lagos grew in importance as the nation's economic, social political, administrative, commercial and financial hub in the late 1950s on the eve of political independence. At independence, Lagos still continued its roles in these sectors generating employment opportunities that attracted both internal and international migrants until the national crisis that led to the creation of Lagos state that imposed a dual status on the city as the Federal and state capitals as Ikeja, within the metropolis became the seat of government in Lagos.

Another factor that affected urban governance in Lagos metropolis even before political independence was the politicisation of the urban space. Lagos metropolis has been administered, since its cession in 1861 under a variety of administration from being a city state till its inclusion in the "West African settlements" under a Governor resident in Sierra Leone in 1866, a separate colony until its merger with western Nigeria in 1951. The carving out of a federal territory in 1953 including the colony of Lagos created a problem as the new territory was managed by the Federal government led by a different party from that of the western region. This led to a fragmented political authority and the eventual absence of co-ordination in the provision of infrastructure including housing in metropolitan Lagos. This continued until the creation of Lagos state under series of military administration from 1967 to 1979. Conflict between the state and the federal governments reared its head again during the civilian regime of 1979-1983 when the political parties at the helm of affairs at both tiers of government sought to implement their housing programmes. The Federal Government complained that its Shelter programme was being sabotaged by the State authorities that was not willing to oblige it with land within the metropolis.

Between 1955 and 1972 when the LEDB was dissolved, succeeding governments provided a total of 4502 housing units. In three years of its operation, the successor to LEDB, the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation, LSDPC, completed the Akerele extension low cost housing, the Isolo low cost and medium housing schemes, the Gowon village medium income houses and the Ogba housing projects.

We expected that the increase in revenue in the oil boom days should have informed the need for the central government to invest in the mass provision of housing to meet the needs of the

expanding population of Lagos metropolis, but the rapid urban growth outpaced the capacity of the government to plan for the growth. The participation of the Federal Government in housing delivery in Lagos at the time was noted in the development of new Towns at Amuwo- Odofin (FESTAC) and the Ipaja Housing Scheme, Gowon Estate. But these were initially intended to provide accommodation for participants invited to the 1977 International Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC). The planned village with a housing stock of 25,000 units in different categories turned out inadequate.

Housing received a boost when the first civilian administration in Lagos state came into power in 1979 and embarked on an ambitious public housing project aimed at providing 200,000 housing units between 1979 and 1983, Unfortunately, at the time the government was sacked by the military in December 1983, 20,685 applicants had been given letters of allocation while only 10,428 housing units had been completed.

The coming of the military into governance for the second time altered the focus of providing mass housing. While the regime embarked on a massive urban renewal and environmental regeneration, it went about this with impunity. The military regime's bid to eradicate slums adopted the option of clearance even while it had commenced a slum upgrading option.

A brief interlude of civil rule between 1991 and 1993 brought the issue of housing to the fore again. This, too, was also halted by another military intervention in November 1993. This military regime however sought to resuscitate and complete the housing projects abandoned by the previous regimes. This, and other moves by the regime to enhance access to housing and efforts of the various housing authorities in the state has not meet the needs of the swelling population as more than 80% of the housing in metropolitan Lagos is still provided by the private sector.

This prompts an assessment of the National Housing Policy launched in February 1991 with a goal that all Nigerians own or have access to decent and affordable accommodation by the year 2000. The policy which sought to encourage greater participation of the private sector in housing development as well as active participation in housing delivery by all tiers of

government has not been embraced by the third tier of governance that is reputed to be close to the populace, the local government. Rural areas were taken into consideration by the policy but the absence of functional rural infrastructure makes the realisation of this objective not tenable.

In understanding the problem of inadequate housing infrastructure in Lagos metropolis, we need to point out some of the many factors hindering the provision of adequate and affordable housing in the city. The first hurdle to the attainment of this objective is the increasing population growth particularly the unending urban migration. Overcrowding that has become the bane of public facility exists when the number for which it is designed. This is true of many public housing schemes developed to resettle those evacuated from slums that have over a period become slums.

Access to urban land which are limited in supply and obstacles in acquisition as well as problems in processing development documents, inadequate physical planning in many parts of the metropolis and challenges of housing finance, high cost of building material and non-availability of local variants as well as absence of proper co-ordination of public agencies in the construction sector have all contributed to make the the provision of infrastructure in metropolitan Lagos difficult.

We conclude that the rampant growth coupled with ineffectual, corrupt and ill-implemented policies have stifled the provision of urban infrastructure in the metropolitan Lagos. The inadequate infrastructure and an inability to plan for the rapid and often chaotic growth remain the most pressing issues for sustainable development of Lagos.



## CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The study demonstrates that the problem of inadequate infrastructural development in Lagos particularly housing predate the establishment of colonial administration. The migration to the city following its annexation and end of slave trade was not envisaged by the colonial authorities at the inception of the administration. The colonial efforts to introduce town planning measures into the growth of the city were half-hearted as there were little or no commitment put in place by the colonialists to effectively monitor the implementation of the guidelines of the statutes.

The provision of housing in a piece-meal manner on a rental basis had its root in the early days of the British administration when property owners, mostly merchants, were motivated to build houses for the increasing number of migrants into the city as the government was more preoccupied with the provision of accommodation for colonial officers in secluded or reserved areas of the major cities to the detriment of the natives who, in the effort to fill the void created by the colonial apathy to the infrastructural development on a large scale, further created a deterioration of the environment resulting in epidemics that jolted the colonial administration into the need to redress insanitary conditions that evoked a policy of segregation in infrastructural development.

The establishment of various governmental agencies to oversee the provision of the requisite facilities in the emerging metropolis led to the political dominance on the urban space as many of the agencies sought to over-reach themselves resulting into bureaucratic delays and over-lapping dominance in the design and implementation of urban development policies. It is remarkable that the apathy that dominated the colonial administration continued after the nation's political independence as the new political leaders subtly continued with the old policy of segregated development of the major cities.

The truncation of civil administration at the peak of national emergency before the civil war could have been an opportunity for the military leadership to redress the problem of housing in Lagos but the unabated migration into the city continued to make the government provision of housing inadequate in the midst of uncontrolled population growth and the expanding territorial bound of the city. This led to the growth of urban slums on a large scale stretching the capabilities of government agencies to perform their statutory functions.

It has been shown that the inability of all tiers of government to live up to public expectations in the provision of housing in metropolitan Lagos indicate that this vital sector of the economy is better left to the private sector with the government providing the needed conducive environment for the successful implementation of the various housing policies with the private sector playing a greater role to enable the government to give more attention to other demanding sectors of the economy.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. PRIMARY SOURCES

#### ORAL INFORMATION

	NAME OF INFORMANT	STATU S	AG E	OCCUPATIO N/ POSITION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Alhaji Saliu Maiyegun	NM	94	Community Leader	Ajeniya Street, Obalende.	March 14,1990 *
2	Chief Sunday Aiyeyemi	M	70	Community Leader	Aaron Street,Maroko.	October,1990 *
3	Prof. Abubakar Momoh	M	46	University Lecturer	Lagos Television Premises, Ikeja.	August 19,2009
4	Prof. Kunle Lawal	NM	52	Professional Historian	University of Ibadan	June 13,2011
5	Pa. Akanbi Abisogun	NM	79	Community Leader	Idunshagbe Street, Idumota,Lagos.	March 6, 2012
6	Chief Yinusa Ayeni Onisiwo	NM	84	Traditional Chief	Idunganran Street, Isale Eko.	Nov 17, 2012
7	Mazi Francis Igbozurike	M	78	Pensioner	Igbo Street,Obalende	April 16,2013
8	Pa Jibade Adeyemi	M	81	Retired Estate Agent	Buraimoh Str. Odi-olowo, Mushin	May 1, 2013
9	Bayo Oguntuase	M	51	Human Rights Activist	National Stadium, Surulere	May 1, 2013
10	Alhaji Adisa Shadeko	NM	81	Retired Photo Journalist	SalawuStreet, Surulere.	May 27,2013
11	Alhaji Amuda Sunmonu	M	74	Petty Trader	Patey Street, Epetedo.	July 16, 2013
12	Gafari Yakubu	M	76	Fisherman	Idumoyinbo Jetty, Lagos.	March 16,2014
13	Salimonu Ishola	M	67	Tailor	Ijora Oloye, Lagos Mainland.	June 23,2014
14	Morufu Ayinla	NM	37	Artisan/Omo Onile.	Orilowo,Ejigbo	October 13,2014
15	Comrade Friday Dokubo	M	58	Trade Unionist	National Theatre, Iganmu.	Dec 13, 2014
16	Sidikatu Tijani	M	77	Trader	Enu Owa Street,Lagos.	Jan 7, 2015
17	Olawale Oseni	M	43	CDA official	Papa Ajao,Mushin	June 14,2015
18	Hakeem Adeniji	NM	41	Banker	Ojuelegba Road,Surulere.	July 28,2015

19	Ms.Tanwa Kenku	NM	68	Engineer	Radio Lagos, Ikeja.	Nov 18,2015
20	Rotimi Anifowoshe	M	52	Administrator	Park Lane,Apapa	March 18,2016
21	Muraina Adegoke	M	69	Landlord	Tabon tabon, Agege	March 23,2016
22	Adiatu Yekini	NM	68	Market Leader	Anjorin Market, Apapa.	May 11,2016
23	Alhaji Sulaiman Matti	NM	67	Pensioner	Alausa Secretariat Central Mosque	September 9,2016
24	Rafiu Giwa	NM	69	Builder	Fadeyi, OdiOlowo	September 15,2016
25	Alhaji Sikiru Atanda	M	76	Landlord	Tadeyo Street,Mushin	Oct 16,2016
26	Kamoru Kamoru Oladunjoye	M	40	Logistics Officer	Yaba College of Technology	Feb 27,2017
27	Henry Mbamalu	M	39	Artisan	Airport Road,Mafoluku	April 23,2017
28	Folabi Bangboye	M	57	Lawyer	Borno Way,Ebute Meta.	April 25,2017
29	Bosun Akinde	NM	47	Planner	Lagos State University	June 23,2017
30	Catherine Kehinde George	NM	74	Town Planner	Bola Street, Anthony Village.	Sept 17,2017
31	Jabar Ameen	NM	60	Lawyer	Lewis Street,Lagos	November 23,2017
32	Olaseni Coker	NM	38	Teacher/Family Union Scribe	Ibadan Street, Ebute Meta(West)	February 12,2018
33	Deji Adenekan	M	66	Retired Civil Servant	Lagos State Secretariat, Alausa.	Feb 18,2018
34	Oludare Kuye	M	34	Youth Leader	Ilaje ,Bariga	May 3,2018
35	Adebayo Ilupeju	M	46	Property Broker	Allen Avenue,Ikeja.	June 23,2018
36	Hakeem Badejo	NM	61	Town Planner	Lagos State Secretariat, Alausa	July 11, 2018
37	Hon.Adekunle Alli	NM	84	Community Leader/ Local Historian	Dayo Balogun Street, Agege.	August 13,2018
38	Umaru Nasidi	M	54	Trader	Mile 12 Market	August 18,2018
39	Chief Kola Akomolede	M	70	Estate Surveyor	Airport Hotel,Ikeja	August 18,2018
40	Kola Awobajo	M	36	Technician/ OPC member	Ajelogo, Mile 12	March 16,2019
41	Aliu Olurotimi	M	64	Journalist	Omole Estate,Ikeja	July 19,2019

42	Ganiyu Saulabiu	NM	68	Property Developer	Inabere Street,Lagos Island	July 23,2019
43	Isiaka Adewole	NM	47	Land Agent	Abule Eko,Ijede	August 16,2019
44	Rasheed Oshinowo	NM	39	Town Planner	Obafemi Awolowo Way, Ikeja.	December 17,2019

## **STATUS**

**M- Migrant or descendant of Migrants**

**NM- Non-Migrant**

**\*These two interviews were held with the Researcher as a Journalist shortly before the demolition of Maroko slums by the military administration.**

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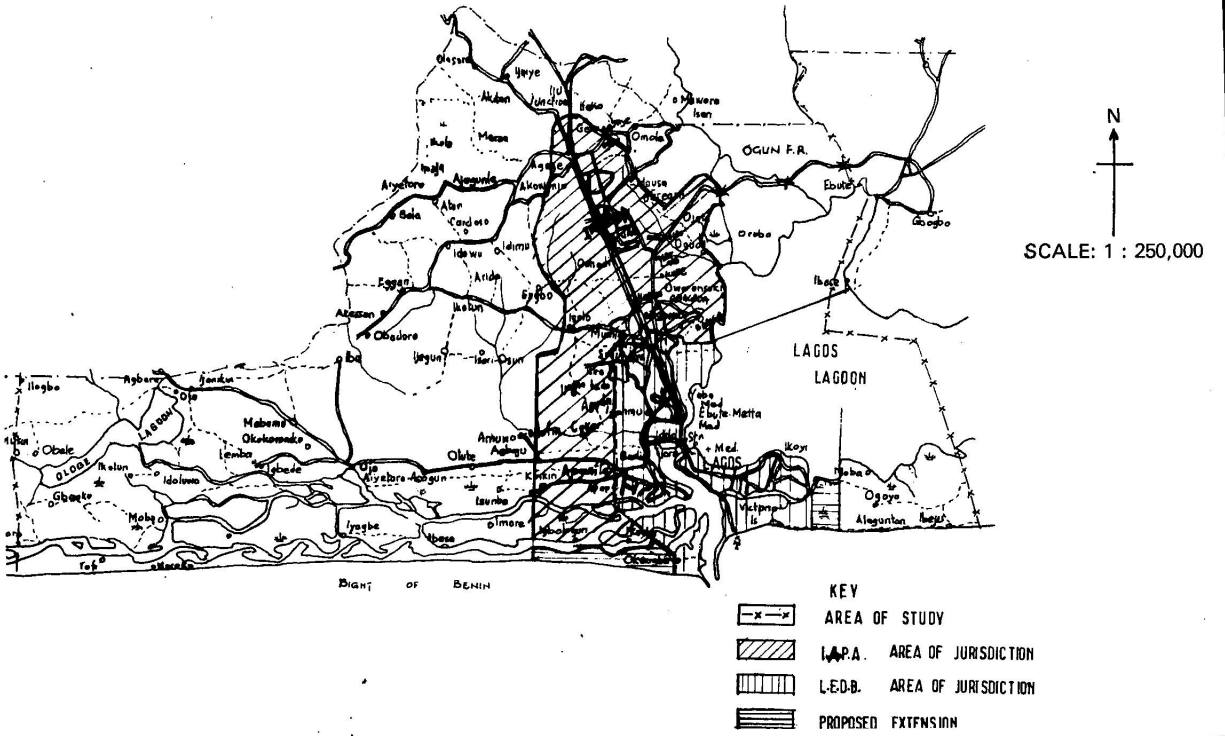
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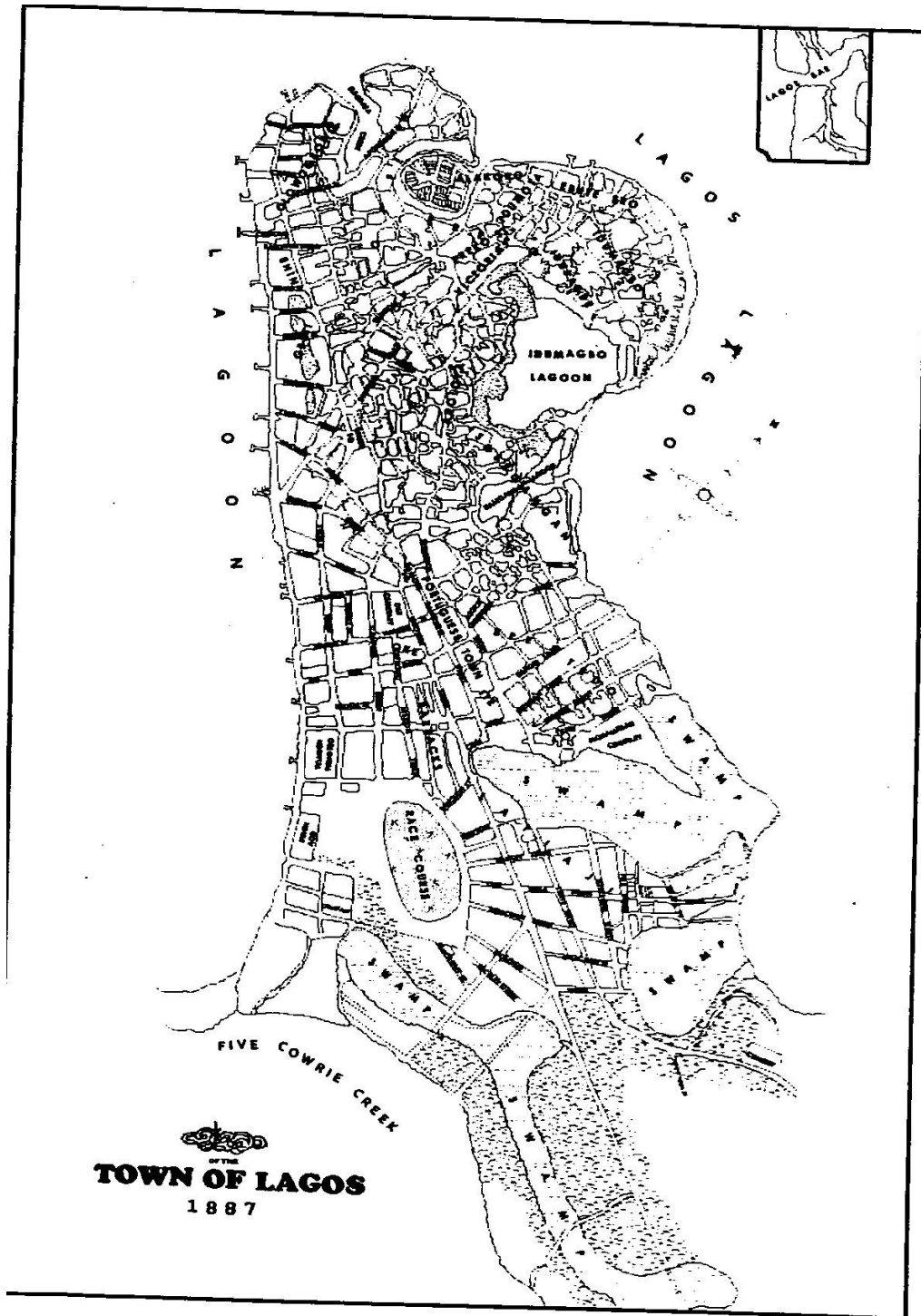
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# APPENDIX A ( MAPS )

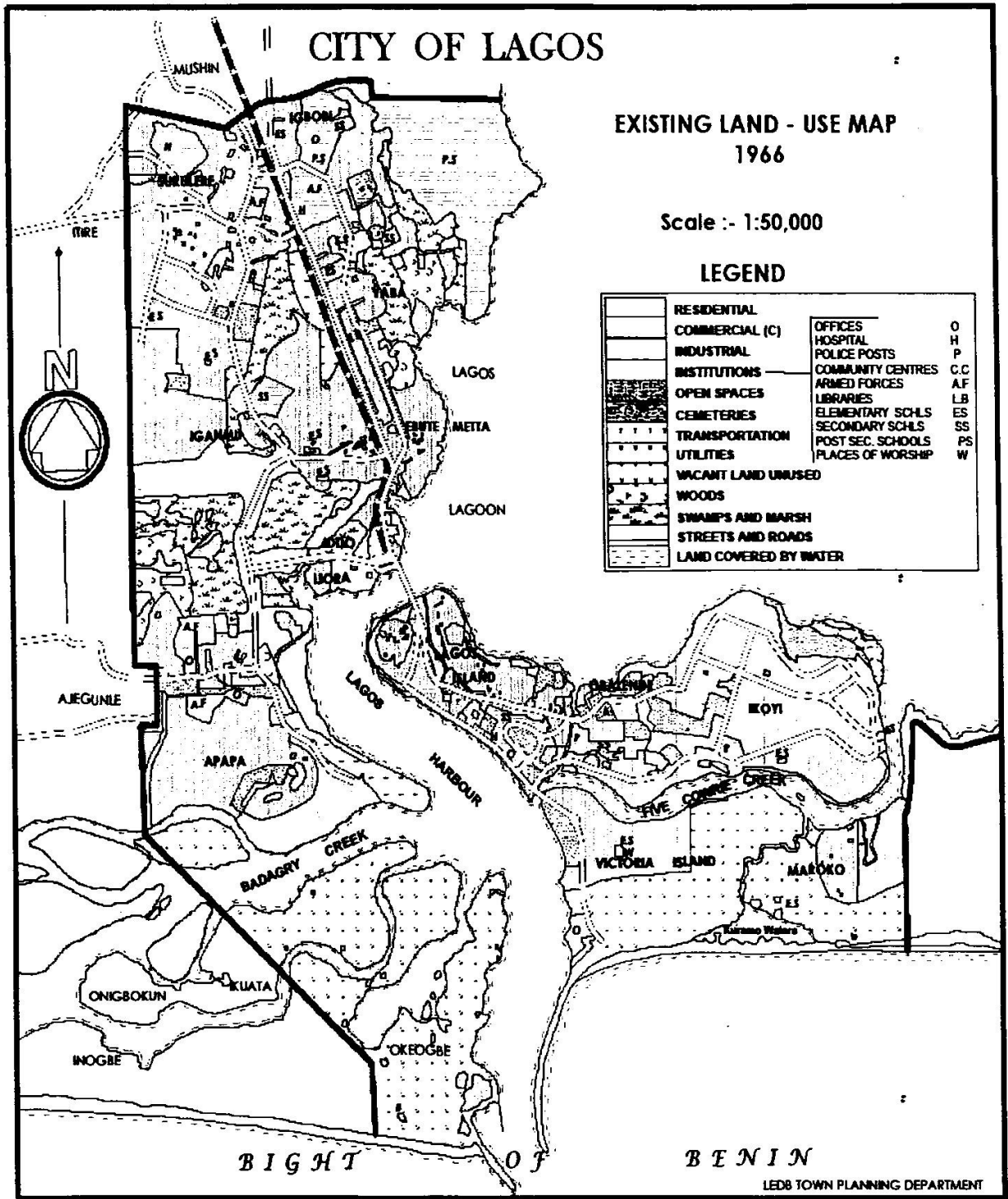
## METROPOLITAN-LAGOS





Source: Preliminary Sketch Master Plan: Lagos Metropolitan Area. Lagos Executive Development Board (1972)

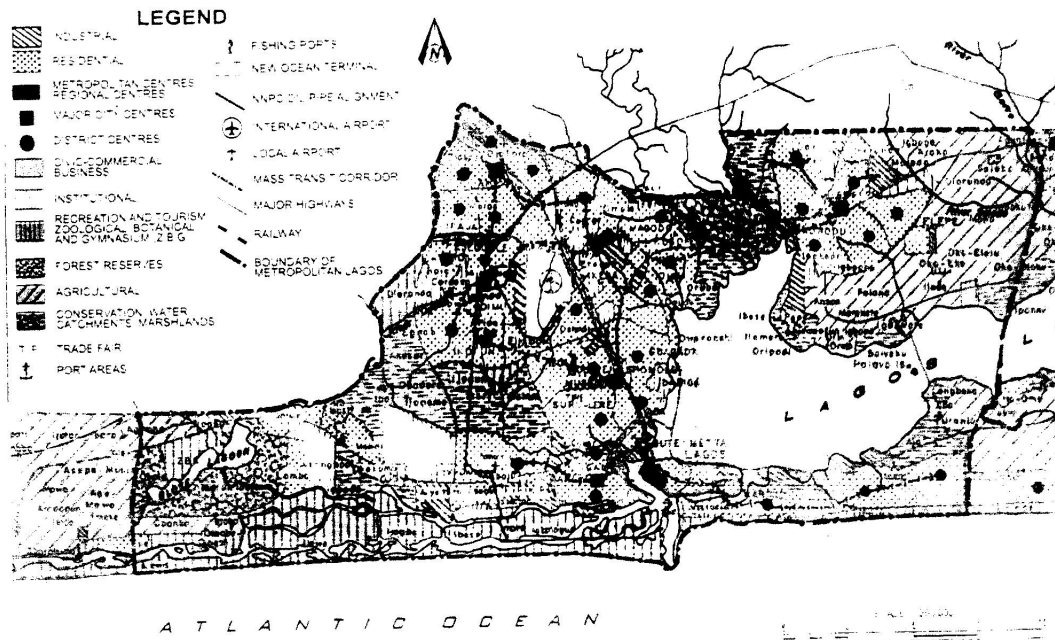




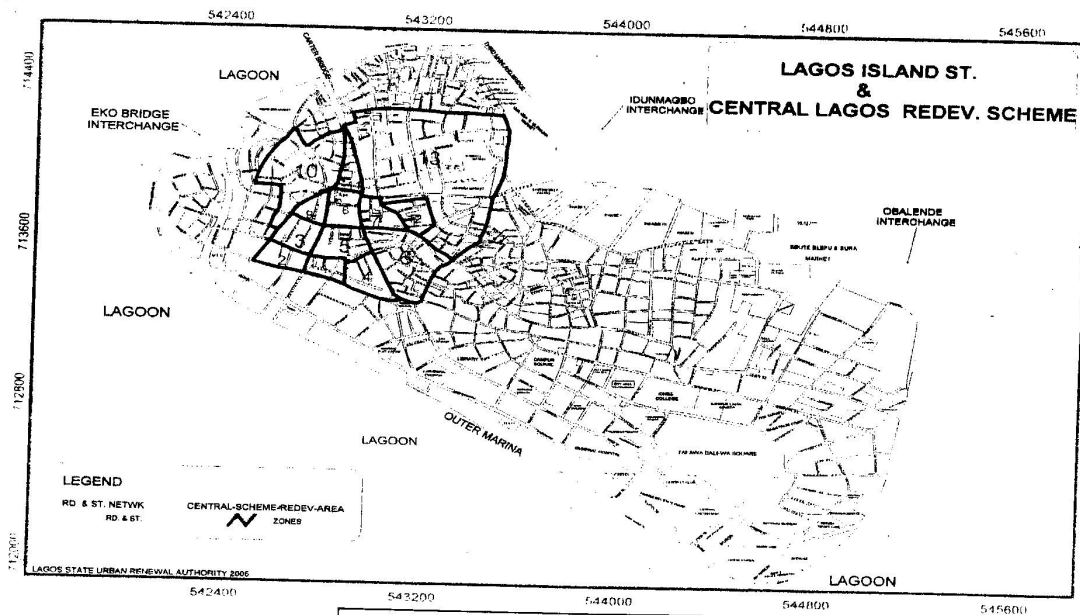
City of Lagos: Existing Land use Map 1966

Source: Preliminary Sketch Master Plan: Lagos Metropolitan Area. Lagos Executive Development Board (1972)





**Metropolitan Lagos – 1980**  
 Source: Lagos State Regional Plan (1980-2000)



**Central Lagos Redevelopment Scheme**  
 Source: Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority (2005).