THE URBAN HOUSING CRISIS AND A CULTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR HOUSING POLICY: THE AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study presents the argument that if housing provision should be orientated towards long-term goals and solutions, then housing policy must consider surely the cultural requirements of the people in the community. Cultural dimension as it relates to the study focuses on urban housing as a strategic vehicle for exploring the evolution of the housing crisis by concentrating on real people and their approaches to informal processes within the community. The study views the informal processes of the people as part of the solution and not the problem by drawing from their lived experience and offering a culturally-informed framework for the development of future housing policy. It suggests that the government must view the informal settlement not as a slum, but as a "case" to understand the intricacies and complexities in housing provision and delivery. Thus the cultural dimension derived from the colloquial knowledge of the people is demonstrated as an important element in the maintenance and continuity of an existing community by doing an in-depth investigation of the internal survival strategies relating to urban living and the government's role in the existing housing crisis. The study expands to issues surrounding the sustainability of the built environment by examining the cultural, economic, environmental and its social aspects in developing countries and challenging the existing practices in the built environment, as regards to urban housing.

This is an empirical study, which has a qualitative perspective that is cross-disciplinary, connecting social theory with architecture and the built environment. In order to understand the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents from their human efforts relating to urban housing crisis, an "African phenomenology" is formulated. While the phenomenological part is used as both the method (practice) and guiding philosophy driving the study, African philosophy, within African phenomenology, enables the study to describe real solutions and applications which are grounded in the African way of life. Thus the urban housing crisis question in developing countries is addressed using Ajegunle, Lagos, Nigeria, as a case study. The doing of the study involves collecting qualitative data through an intrinsic case study using field notes, interviews, observation and photography, comprising of an inductive analysis, whereby themes are generated from the patterns identified in the case study. Through the analysis, the internal survival strategy, referred to as "cultural technology", which is part of people's everyday life and designed to deal with the housing crisis is explored. This separates the social conditions in Ajegunle from a generic understanding of a slum and provides the theoretical underpinnings for the importance and the role of the human element within the approaches developed as a response to the existing urban housing situation.

The primary contribution to knowledge is the cultural dimension to housing. The study provides a culturally-informed framework as a basis for decision-making phase for the formulation of housing policies, a platform for urban development and future research. It does not propose an architectural response in terms of design. The existing studies that relate to the housing crisis appear to be mainly quantitative and do not take into consideration the cultural position of the people. In contrast, the cultural dimension to the existing housing crisis in the study allows for the development of a more informed housing policy which can address the housing issues and further make solutions more plausible. Therefore, this study's contribution has application to governments and professionals in the built environment. A secondary contribution to knowledge is made through the development of an "African phenomenology". This introduces to academia the "cultural technologies" which are the survival strategies of the population in the case study. The African phenomenology has application beyond the current study as a methodological approach which incorporates the culture of a population into the process of research on the African society.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my unborn children, to the living I see (My family and friends), to the dead people that has inspired and believed in me (Aunty Bukola and Mama-*Aya Lareshi Lijumo*) and to the Almighty God who lives out of time, yet ever so present.

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CHAPTER ONE
Introduction: The urban housing crisis

INTRODUCTION

The *United Nations Human Settlements Programme* (2008) suggests that an estimated 50 percent of the urban dwellers in developing countries live in slums (p. 10). The UN-Habitat warned that government face the possibility of a worsening urban housing crisis, if they cannot provide for the teeming city-dwellers which makes 62 percent of the sub-Saharan slum population (UN-Habitat 2008, p. 93). 35 million people are expected to be living in the Lagos city by 2020 (UN-Habitat 2006, p. 8), and it seems a greater percentage of this population will live in the communities labelled as "slum" including Ajegunle community. This foregoing links Lagos to other African cities as an example of a focal point for the delivery of economic and social sustainability for the African continent. Additionally, it makes considering the socio-cultural processes involved in the formulation of the cities an important aspect that should be considered as a plausible perspective into minimising the urban housing crisis. Thereby Ajegunle community is viewed as a "case" to understand the

methods deployed by the people to achieve housing in a challenging built environment, which contributes to its development and macro-economy.

In view of this complex task and the existing urban housing issue, the chapter sets the foundation for the context of this study by exploring respectively: the literature that surrounds the urban housing crisis, its background and context and the definition of the housing problem. The literature that surrounds the urban housing crisis, the background and context as discussed, illuminates issues that surround urban housing in developing countries and Lagos, Nigeria. As such it provides a context to the existing housing problem. Thus, the housing problems are further defined by exploring the nature of the urban housing crisis in Lagos, Nigeria. The chapter organises the study to construct an understanding of the existing urban housing crisis. The context of the study is examined by critiquing the perspective on urban housing. The methodology serves as a link to the research questions, which relates to the empirical analysis that demonstrates the dynamics of housing and links to the contribution to knowledge of this study. The objectives used to achieve the aim, and the claims to originality are explored, as part of the understanding that sets the platform for this study.

In prosaic terms, adequate housing is a fundamental need for satisfactory levels of health and comfort, for a family unit, and to allow access and contribution to the social and economic life of any community. This is highlighted by Sidoti (1996):

> Adequate housing is essential for human survival with dignity. Without a right to housing, many other basic human rights will be compromised including the right to family life and privacy, the right to freedom of movement, the right to assembly and association, the right to health and the right to development (p. 10).

In the context of Africa, *Chaskalson*, in the *Constitutional Court of South Africa, judgement in 'Grootboom' case* (2000) suggested that the right of access to adequate housing is entrenched in

the core philosophy of African society, because of the value they place on human beings and the importance of this basic human need being affordable. He also stressed that the basic necessities of life including housing must be provided to all for a "society" to be based on human dignity, equality and freedom. This extensive discussion reflects on housing as a fundamental human need (see Martin and Fontana, 1990; United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), 2005; Wisner, Toulmin and Chitiga, 2005). Housing can be described as a form of protection from the elements of denudation, a means through which to express individual and cultural values, and a way to produce, consume and accumulate capital. Nevertheless, in all parts of the world, but particularly in third world[1] countries, millions of people are ill housed or not housed at all. The world is presently experiencing a rapid population growth. This rapid population increase creates many problems of which the housing crisis is one of the major issues. According to Fatona (1987), 'six out of every ten city dwellers in developing countries or almost one billion people will be living in squatter[2] settlements, without any promise of permanent or decent shelter …' (p. 7). He went further to estimate that: 'more than one billion people, about one quarter of the world's population are either literally homeless or live in extremely poor housing conditions, unhealthy environments…, [and] close to two billion city dwellers may be living in slums' (p. 7). Fourteen years later, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements stated that:

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[1] The term third world, underdeveloped and developing countries tend to be used as synonyms. McGee (1971) defined "Third world" as 'that group of nations frequently labelled "underdeveloped" which contains almost two-thirds of the world's population. Geographically it includes virtually all the countries of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America and omits developed nations such as South Africa, Israel and Japan. It also excludes the communist countries of China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba for their problems of development are being tackled in a different manner from those occurring in the non-communist third world nations... the Third world… distinguishes its countries from those of the capitalist developed world or the communist world'(p. 10).

[2] The term slums and squatter settlements generally refer to built on land and not "belonging" to the inhabitants but invaded and taken over by them (Leeds, 1981). This is further discussed in chapter two (see pp. 67–77).

> The total number of slum dwellers in the world stood at about 924 million people in 2001. This represents about 32 per cent of the world's total urban population. At that time, 43 percent of the combined urban populations of all developing regions lived in slums, while 78.2 per cent of the urban population in the least developed countries were slum dwellers (UN-Habitat 2003, p. 2).

These discussions reflect on the deterioration of urban housing over the years and the basic difficulties that connect the housing crisis to our everyday life. In addition, it implies the significance of housing as a nexus to a fundamental human existence. This discussion is further explored in chapter two and four (see pp. 103–104; 136–140). Africa appears to have the largest threat of mass "housing-lessness" [3] and not homelessness (see pp. 10–11). Nigeria dominates demographically and geographically the sub-Saharan region of West Africa (Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992). The urban housing crisis experienced in Nigeria is a representation of the African situation and not a case in isolation in the region. Nigeria shares with the other third world countries the dilemma of housing an escalating population at a time of severe economic lack, which impose strict limits on housing and related urban services. The country's cities seem to grow at double or triple the rate of the national population increase. There has also been a rapid increase in the size of individual concentrations in the urban centres due to the population growth and migration over the decades (Mills-Tettey, 1998). The population of Lagos, Nigeria has grown from a modest 1.14 million in the early 1960s to over 9 million in 2007 (Odebode, 2007). Fakorede (2006) described the situation with projections and figures from UN-Habitat showing the potentials of growth of Lagos and possible outcomes:

> What will Lagos look like in 2020? Possibly, one of the massive slums, an expert said, corroborating a recently released UN-Habitat report that placed the city of Lagos top of

[3] This study has formed different neologisms. Based on the context of the study and the arguments in this chapter, some neologisms are created to capture and distinguish meanings of terms that have been generally used. Moreover, the new nature of this study limits the existing words to resonate the nuances of the arguments that this chapter and study intends to pursue (see chapter six and its explanation on "cultural technology"). Part of this is "housing-lessness" which is further explained in the body of the chapter.

> the list of the fastest growing cities in the world. According to the State of the World's Cities Report 2006/07, Lagos is growing at the rate of 5 percent annually and that by 2020 it will become a megacity with over 35 million people (Fakorede 2006, p. A2).

Lagos[4] is reputed to have the worst living conditions of all African cities, as such some parts of the communities has been referred to as a slum (Meek, 2009). The Lagos link to a megacity[5], suggests a large urban population, which affects the existing services including housing. Thus, the acute deficiencies in urban housing and services have resulted in overcrowding and the spread of slums and squatter settlements. The poor and the disadvantaged groups often depend on contaminated sources to compensate for the inadequacies of public services; power, transport, waste disposal and water, to mention a few. The worsening housing and general liveability conditions seem to be influenced partly by the population explosion and the failure of existing policies to address the problem appropriately. Liveability is used in this study to capture the quality of housing and how well it satisfies human needs.

Debates continue over the complexities of the urban housing crisis, extent and composition of the urban housing problem. Also, included are the ingredients of the crisis, the appropriate roles of the individuals, stakeholders and government in addressing the urban housing crisis. While there are numerous studies on complexities of slums, (see Agbola, 1987; Awotona, 1987; Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992; Ogu and Ogbuozobe, 2001;

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[4] In 1991, Lagos was named by UN as the dirtiest city in the world. Much recent writings tend to develop same perspective (see Mcnulty and Adalemo, 1998). As regard Lagosians view on the city travails, see Onibokun and Faniran (1995).

[5] The definition of a "megacity" varies. According to the Global report on Human Settlement (1986), 'megacities are the cities that are expected to have populations of at least 8 million inhabitants by the year 2000' (p. 68). However, according to Perlman, the Director of Megacities project, 'megacities are those greater metropolitan regions which according to UN projections, are expected to have over 10 million inhabitants by the year 2000' (Perlman 1990, p. 8). That said, generally megacities are defined as cities with over 10 million inhabitants (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1992).

Neuwirth, 2005 and Davis, 2006), there are few studies dealing specifically with the cultural aspect of the problem. Onibokun (1973) stressed that while much has been written about the complicated nature of the slums, insufficient emphasis has been given to the systematic analysis of the social and cultural factors responsible for creating the slums and for their continuing existence. The literature review (see pp. 67–77) suggests that this remains the case. Though the timeframes of some of the literature used seems to span up to 50 years (see pp. 13–14), with a mix of the current positions on urban housing (see p. 9), it appears that the issues surrounding the housing crisis remains the same within the period.

Figure 1.1: VIEW OF PART OF AJEGUNLE SETTLEMENT IN LAGOS, NIGERIA. Note the existing housing problem, potential environmental issues, organic response to a particular site problem and the possibility of relating internal components to a cultural context (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

Figure 1.2: STREET VIEW OF AJEGUNLE SETTLEMENT IN LAGOS, NIGERIA. Note the informal but orderly placement of structures with planned drainage and building type. The small scale industries and the business outlets run by daughters, husbands, sons and wives, are an indication of a survival strategy in a poor housing condition (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

Lagos is affected by deficient housing and residential environment commonly characterised by "slums". This suggests a web of problems which are functions of a wider economical and social context. In order to understand and demonstrate the persistent nature of the housing situation, the survival strategies of the people living in what appears to be a chaotic environment and the cultural issues associated with the crisis (see Figure 1.1 and 1.2) the following questions need to be addressed:

- Why the factors that are underlying this housing problem persists and what are the issues associated with the housing crisis?

- How do these factors relate to the cultural position of the residents and differ from the existing governmental structures?

- What can be learnt from attempts by individuals and governments to resolve the urban housing problem?

- Can a culturally-informed framework aid in developing housing policy?

In an attempt to answer these questions and address issues pertinent to the problem, this study presents a systematic diagnosis of the problem and an investigation into the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle. It explores the Nigerian situation with a specific focus on Ajegunle, as the case studied in order to address the existing urban housing crisis. Ajegunle community reflects an example of urban informal housing, within the African region which comprises of different African ethnic groups (see pp. 129–130). There is middle and low income groups that reside in the community (see pp. 112–113). This social composition which captures different African ethnic and income groups, within an urban informal housing context, sets the Ajegunle community as a unique example for understanding the issues that relates to urban housing crisis. The study also aims to offer a culturally-informed framework that takes into consideration the Ajegunle resident's lived experience as a drive for the formulation and the development of future housing policy.

Having lived in south-western Nigeria, with my experience as an architect, and a history of developing urban housing, I have firsthand understanding as a designer and as an end user of surviving the troubles in a community submerged in urban housing crisis. Fisher (2008) suggests that research has a personal relationship with researchers, and it connects with our hopes. Moreover, in my own view, research should process the complexity of reality within a context and in so doing expose and simplify its principles to enhance development. Research can also be viewed as an apparatus used to better humanity, either by creating solutions or indicating ways that a problem can be minimised. This is a practice-informed research, based on my practice as an architect and familiarity with the present urban housing crisis situation in south-western Nigeria. As such, the practice-informed element of this research links to my position as a researcher within the study who seeks to understand the dynamics of urban

housing (the position of the researcher within a phenomenological approach see pp. 191–192) and using my experience as background knowledge to develop insight into the empirical material collected (theoretical sensitivity as it relates to understanding the empirical material see pp. 195–197). This study demonstrates a generalizable context that can be extended and applicable to the lives affected by an urban housing crisis in Africa.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The background and the context of existing urban housing crisis are examined in order to set the foundation for understanding the urban housing crisis. Many of the cities in Africa face an escalating crisis in the adequate provision of basic services including housing, owing to rapid urbanization and growth of the cities. The UN-Habitat, 2008 commented on this position:

> Rapid urbanization in the developing world is the most unprecedented phenomenon of the world's development in the past few decades. The pace of urbanization has exceeded many developing cities' capacity to absorb and provide for the needs of a growing population, despite all innovations and efforts. One of the most pressing problems is to provide housing for all, particularly for the poor. Urban housing conditions are a global problem but conditions are worst in developing countries (United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) 2008, p. 1).

Lagos, the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa, appears to exemplify the lack of basic amenities as it relates to housing. The housing situation has tended to be viewed within a narrow analytical structure. Studies have been confined to general description of the urban phenomena, the historical emergence of the slums and geographical and sociological analyses of the problem (see p. 12). The city may appear to present an apparently unfamiliar set of

urban developments, based on the overwhelming scale of poverty[6] and environmental degradation. The argument presented sets the background for understanding urban change in sub-Saharan Africa as it relates to "slums" and seeks to connect the experience of Lagos, Nigeria with wider developmental issues, within the regional and global arena. This connection is made in chapter two (see pp. 66–77).

Lagos is regarded as one of the worst cities with regard to the housing crisis and urban decadence in the world (Onibokun and Faniran, 1995). The state of deterioration since the post-independence euphoria of the early 1960s, to reach its current position as a leitmotif for urban lack and injustice, has occurred in the midst of global transformation in patterns of urbanisation. The UN predicts that by the year 2015 the population of Lagos, estimated at over 10 million, will reach 17 million making it one of the largest cities in the world. (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2004). The sprawling city now extends far beyond its original lagoon setting to encompass a vast expanse of mostly low-rise developments including as many as 200 different slums ranging from clusters to shacks underneath highways, which are amalgamating to form districts (Gandy, 2006). This urban behemoth has emerged in spite of all efforts to contain the growth of the City (see Fig 1.1 and 1.2). The issues surrounding the existence of the housing crisis sets a backdrop for the context of this study.

The differences between home, house, shelter and housing are explored. It has been suggested that the home is more than mere shelter (Charlton 2004, p. 4). Home refers to social relations and other psychological concepts such as privacy, territoriality, safety and social relations within the physical structure that makes a home more than a house. The

[6] Poverty as expressed in this chapter is meant to capture a state of deficiency. This study further makes a distinction between poverty and urban poverty as it relates to the context of the existing urban housing crisis. This is further discussed in chapter two (see pp. 83–92).

house has been defined as a three-dimensional top structure of a physical foundation layout (Charlton, 2004). There are, however, further dimensions to the characteristics of housing than the physical structure. Housing includes: the infrastructure that serves a house, the nature of the water sanitation, energy and access (roads and footpaths) that supplies the house and the integrated nature of the neighbourhood around the house (see Rapoport, 2001; Zach and Charlton, 2003). In an urban situation, the availability and accessibility of facilities, amenities such as schools, police stations, play lots and sporting facilities are important to the context of housing in a residential environment. Shelter is generally taken to be synonymous with housing, home, dwelling and a physical structure. Housing means more than a structure on the site. Housing reflects the relationship to culture, the larger environmental location, land tenure, related community services and the capacity of the Government. These issues are connected with housing.

This argument suggests that the urban housing crisis in Lagos is an example of the state of "housing-lessness" and not homelessness, because without housing (physical building and facilities that makes up the environment) there cannot be a "home" (psychological experience in a house). Home appears to relate to homelessness. That said, where the physical housing and the environment needed to experience a state of "homeness" is absent or in crisis, the applicable context seems to link to "housing-lessness" as against homelessness. The study uses homeness to capture the lived experience within the community, which relates to the psychological satisfaction experienced within "housing". This discussion further strengthens the nature of the existing urban housing crisis in Nigeria, as compared to other parts of the developed world. It also illuminates issues that relate to different approaches to urban housing in developing world. These issues are elaborated in the body of the study (see pp. 55–60).

The study further argues that if the urban housing in the developing world is to be adequate, then the socio-cultural position of the end users will have to be considered in the housing provision. The nature and the extent of the existing governmental policies may need to change substantially and acknowledge an end user-based approach to housing. Furthermore, it seems that the current housing policy does not consider the people and also has a limited impact on the existing urban housing problem. Okpala (1992) suggested that in spite of the considerable resources available for housing production by the Government, the housing policy system could be linked to the urban housing problems. Moreover, the affected communities have demonstrated flexibility and potential for adaptation in the urban housing crisis (see Awotona, 1988; Ikejiofor, 1999).

Various approaches have been taken to investigate housing issues. A number of writers (Abrams, 1964; Dwyer, 1975; Skinner and Rodell, 1983) have addressed the issues of housing in developing countries, particularly the efforts of the people to provide their own housing. Onibokun (1973) and Labeodan (1989) had looked at the issue in a historical context, while others focused on particular geographic areas or specific potential solutions (UN-Habitat, 1992 and Turner, 1980). Some have examined particular methods of inquiry and specific components of problems (Pepin, 2004 and Davis, 2004). All these discussions, stress the scope of the urban housing problem and the rate at which housing availability is falling behind demand. Furthermore, the inability of many governments to respond adequately, and the difference between what people desire and what has been provided by the Government calls for emphasising the roles of individuals in the shelter provision.

In Africa, recent developments in research have enabled themes such as power, identity and rationality to be explored in new ways and complex realities of everyday life has facilitated a broader conception of social and cultural practice in the contemporary African city (see

Ahluwalia, 2001; Abrahamsen, 2003; Simone, 2004). The cultural practices and the complexity of the general liveability of Ajegunle residents as part of the components considered relates to the existing housing crisis, which is further explored in chapter six and seven (see pp. 210–297). Lagos, at Nigerian independence in 1960, was fast becoming not only the commercial centre but also the pre-eminent cultural centre in West Africa. However, Lagos was viewed to simultaneously manifest a contrast of flourishing city and primitive slum area. This was depicted in Ekwensi's *People of the city* (1963) 'where a young crime reporter discovers a world of money, music and glamour. His motto had become money, money, money. This way the people of the city realised themselves. He saw the treachery, intrigue and show of power involved' (p. 108). Thus, the prospect of urbanisation and city life was closely tied with the attempt to articulate a distinctively African modernity: self confident and largely independent of the colonial powers, but at the same time cosmopolitan and open in outlook. The city's growing international status was due to the economic potential and the inter-community relationships, with each one possessing distinctive characteristics and also creating an urban fusion, thereby evolving with an organic society. The cultural composition of Lagos and the colonial influences are further explored in chapter two of this study (see pp. 51–55).

In the Lagos Colony Annual Reports (1964), Lagos was described as 'the sharp contrast of thriving city and primitive rusticity where substantial residences of wealthier Africans can be found side by side with slums, which present all the more sordid aspects of a Yoruba village' (p. xii). This demonstrates a duality in colonial representations of "culture", as something which is both "dirty" and therefore inferior, but also "stable" in the sense that it enabled some impression of social order and structure. This contrast presents the persistence of indigenous social order in the city and a misunderstanding on the part of colonial

administration of the attitude of the people towards the existing government policies. This misunderstanding is further demonstrated in the report by suggesting that:

> The masses do not desire any change in their way of life and the progressive measures of the Government are usually regarded with suspicion and resentment…evils such as child prostitution, exploration of child labour, bribery and dirt abound in every part of the township but the energetic efforts of the Government to combat them meet with little support, and often with an open opposition, from those who claim to serve their country…the almost complete lack of informed public opinion and of a civic sense places the masses at the mercy of the demagogue and schemes for improving the lot of the people are deliberately distorted and misrepresented for political ends (Lagos Colony Annual Reports 1964, xii).

In this statement, it seems that there is a misunderstanding of the citizen's reactions on the part of the Government. This presents different ideas of "the public" and a challenge to the authority to analyse their actions, determine the meaning and present a clear interpretation of the community's reaction. This lack of understanding on the part of the Government, led to the extensive slum clearance of some "slum" area in Lagos (see Peil, 1991 and Mabogunje, 1968). Thus the demolition, rather than improvement of some parts of the African cities, provoked increased anger and hostility among the youth community (Fourchard, 2006). To avoid the conflict of opinions regarding housing, these discussions strengthen the importance of cultural nuances, as part of consideration for government policies in relation to urban housing (further discussed in chapter three see pp. 112–135).

Academic discourse about Africa, has taken on the normative role of "social engineering" rather than the need to provide critical and cultural insights into the existing conditions (Mbembe, 2001). As a result, the existing urban housing conditions have been labelled as "slums", thereby leading to a negative assumption and a generalisation of communities in urban housing crisis. That said, after the colonial period, other governments took different measures to situate "housing" as an important element of governance and their social responsibility, which informed housing programmes for the Nigerian population. This is further discussed in chapter two (see pp. 98–103). In response to the United Nations

conference on Human settlements (UN-Habitat)[7] in Vancouver, Canada, the Federal Government for the first time adopted a national housing policy, in which the provision of mass housing for the low-income households featured prominently. Thus, the Nigerian Government's commitment to the activity of improving the housing circumstances of the poor majority was established (Awotona, 1987). Onibokun (1985) commented on the housing programme:

> In accordance with the mass housing policy, 54,000 housing units were programmed for immediate construction between 1972 and 1973. 10,000 units in Lagos and 4,000 units in each of the then 11 state capital … the housing volume was distributed as 60 percent for the low income groups, 25 percent for the middle-income and 15 percent for the high-income social strata (p. 5).

Moreover, in relation to the effort of the Government towards housing delivery, 'the Federal military government would build 202,000 housing units per year; 46,000 in Lagos, 12,000 for Kaduna, while 8,000 units would be built in the state capitals' (Ogunshakin and Olayiwola 1992, p. 45). In these statements, the housing policy and programmes present the country's urban housing problems statistically, including numerical shortages and physical standards. That said, the Nigeria urban housing crisis seems to be beyond a quantitative problem that can be solved by numerical division of the number for housing delivery.

The Nigerian housing question is primarily that of a crisis situation, manifesting and expressing itself in qualitative and quantitative forms. These forms were attempted to be resolved by the Government centrally, without consulting the communities involved in the housing crisis. The *United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs* (1976) commented on the central planning concept of the Government:

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[7] On 11 June 1976, delegates from Nigeria and other nations' governments generally endorsed 64 recommendations for national action. These covered six key parts of human settlements and housing: settlement policies and strategies, settlement planning and shelter, infrastructure and services, land, public participation, institutions and management.

> The best way to overcome this housing deficiency is to promote the integration and co-ordination of the inter-institutional programmes at the regional and local levels. This is because the interdependencies of programmes sponsored by different entities are most pronounced at those levels which are closest to their constituencies. Thus, while planning and programming at the national or central level is indispensable for the co-ordination of housing sector with an over-all socio-economic aspects of the country, the consistency of housing programmes for user characteristics and the programming of the ancillary infrastructures, services and facilities are best assured at the local level (p. 13).

In this statement, the importance of central level programming for administration in housing issues is stressed. In addition, the initiation of housing programmes, housing provision and strategies to minimise urban housing crisis, which must consider local and user participation is expressed. As a result, the conventional centralised mass housing approach adopted by the Nigerian Government as a public policy had negative effects in the communities. These negative effects generated by the actions of the Government, appears to have contributed towards the existing urban housing crisis. The urban housing problems of the community were generalised and the individual distinctive characteristic of the communities was not considered in decision making. The Government's short term goals of provision of houses appear to have been more important to them, than the long term goals of providing urban housing that is culturally and functionally satisfying.

It has been suggested that people are usually perceived by the designers as a homogenous mass sharing the same behavioural pattern (Zrudlio, 1976). This perspective reflects on the Government's initiative towards the urban housing policy. The Government appears to have a different cultural position from the people they serve. The inability of a government to understand the needs of the people's culture in the provision of urban housing and the failure of housing policies in Nigeria, suggests that the urban poor is misunderstood. These arguments suggest that culture is a significant element in the process of housing decision. Thus, the study attempts to locate culture as an element in housing decision. This is further discussed in chapter six (see pp. 213–222).

The urban housing crisis in Nigeria requires both specific organisational and governmental activities. Although the state in Nigeria is developing, it nonetheless exerts considerable influence in terms of formulating housing policies. This study attempts to highlight the practical limitations of the existing housing policies initiated by the Government and seeks to analyse the survival strategies adopted by the Lagosians through a case study of Ajegunle (further discussed in chapter two and seven see pp. 98–103; pp. 210–297). Moreover, in relation to the approach of the Government, the study attempts to use governmentality (see Dean, 1999; Clifford, 2001), as an approach to substitute the existing government's action and not a general theory that dictates its constructs (further discussed in chapter eight see pp. 318–347). In order to set the platform for the subsequent chapters, the urban housing crisis as it relates to developing countries and its wider implication on Lagos is defined.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The UN-Habitat (2008) provided a generic outlook of the housing problems facing developing countries by suggesting that there is a lack of adequate knowledge and experiences in housing. They further stressed that 'housing poverty in not only linked to economic poverty, but also linked to knowledge poverty and skills poverty' (UN-Habitat 2008, p. 1). These deficiencies, which are further discussed in chapter three (see pp. 164–166), provide a background for the physical manifestation and also the development of the existing urban housing crisis in Nigeria. As identified, the urban housing crisis in Nigeria is a complex relationship between the different components of human "being", the socio-cultural element of the human activities, the role of the Government to the society and the emergent phenomena; the urban housing crisis. As a result, the problems that are associated with the urban housing crisis in Nigeria and in developing countries are fundamentally

interwoven. This matrix, which is a pattern formed by the contiguous nature of the urban housing crisis, appears to constitute:

- A set of misunderstanding of housing's role as the nexus of the community.
- Lack of comprehension of the main themes connected to urban housing in relation to the context of the society.
- Cultural requirements of the eventual users are not considered in the urban housing decision making process.

The misunderstanding of the role of housing relates to the role of the Government towards the society, while the lack of comprehension of the main themes associated with housing links with the role of government and the emergent urban housing phenomena. The cultural requirements of the residents are connected with the socio-cultural element of the human activities and the nuances that relates to human "being" in the context of a community.

That said, the central part of this problem is the lack of understanding of housing's role as the nexus of the community. Housing as an integral part of the built environment is required to provide a conducive and safe environment for residential activities (Handler, 1984). Housing as a locus of family living affects family relations and creates an environment that influences social relations and neighbourhood activities (Handler, 1984). In Nigeria, a large share of human effort is devoted to the production of housing and sustainability. This study aims to define the complexities associated with housing in order to present a platform for a better understanding of the urban housing crisis situation (see pp. 46–66). The other main part of the problem demonstrated is that the cultural requirements of the eventual users are not considered in the urban housing decision making process. One sector of the population (the Government) supplying, regulating and providing policies on housing for another sector

of the population (the community) appears to use little or almost insignificant consultation with the future users. The eventual users are usually perceived by the Government as the same; without possessing any individual characteristics (see p. 16). The wider effect is that there is no appropriate methodology to tackle the housing situation.

There is a physical manifestation; existing slums and squatter settlements due, arguably and at least in part, to the Government's inability to involve the end-users in the decision making process connected to their housing. The other problems, which stem from the central issues, are related to the evolution of slums and squatter settlements and the urban housing crisis. This study exposes some of the issues that relate to the evolution of existing urban housing, due to the Government's approach, which did not put into consideration the people's cultural requirement (see pp. 77–84) and also separates this particular informal housing type from the generic understanding of slums (see pp. 72–77). One major issue connected with the cultural requirement of the community relating to the context of housing meaning is the importance of African philosophy, which is linked to urban housing in south-western Nigeria. This suggested connection, between African philosophy, urban housing and the existing housing crisis forms part of the underpinning principle for the methodology of this study (see pp. 169–183). Revelations discovered were used to develop a framework to inform housing policies (see pp. 318–347).

The study functions on two levels:

- It describes and evaluates the existing housing situation in Lagos (see pp. 41–146). This presents a platform to develop an understanding of the issues relating to the urban housing crisis. Additionally, identifying and analysing the factors that contributes to the crisis.

- It considers the relationship between the "cultural technology" of the people and the existing housing crisis (see pp. 210–297). As a result, constructing a framework that can be used to inform housing policy.

In relation to these functions and to systematically approach the understanding of the urban housing crisis, the study is thereby organised.

ORGANISATION OF STUDY

Organisation of the study has a systematic approach to the understanding of the urban housing crisis. The study is divided into three parts as follows: Part one: Context of the study: Critical perspective on urban housing, Part two: Philosophical framework and methodological approach and Part three: The dynamics of housing.

Part one contextualises the housing situation in Nigeria and examines perspectives associated with urban housing by reviewing a body of information. This contains chapter two, three and four (see pp. 41–146). Chapter two relates to sustainability of the built environment, the definition and historical context of housing, the contemporary context of the urban housing situation, contextualisation of the existing housing situation and narrowing it to the Nigerian context. Parts of the explorations entail examining the etymology of housing. The existing housing situation is introduced as the background for the discussion in this study. It reflects on the definition and the historical overview of the housing situation by describing emerging issues connected directly and indirectly to the urban housing crisis and understands the Government position on housing. Chapter two, articulates these aspects as an indication of effects of urban housing crisis and locates this discuss within the scope of understanding the nature of the housing crisis in the case study area. Furthermore, the meaning of housing and its significance in south-western Nigeria is explored. This study does not assume or

generalize the meaning and the context of "housing". More so, chapter two presents the importance of the cultural characteristics and the underlying phenomena that surrounds these meanings through the definition and historical aspect of housing.

In south-western Nigeria, housing is referred to as "ile" which appears to be the core, a symbol of human existence and status in the community. The Yoruba proverb "*ile la wo ka to somo loruko*", suggests that after giving birth to a child, you will look at your house before you give the baby a name. Beyond this generic interpretation, the cultural meaning of this proverb is to appreciate your life experience, which has a symbolic representation of a house before you name a child. This shows a strong ontological preference, a hidden meaning which needs a systematic inquiry to understand and partly informed the use of African phenomenology as the methodological framework for this study (see chapter five).

As part of understanding informal housing and spontaneity as a process within the informal evolution of housing, chapter two explores the concept of spontaneity under the contemporary context of urban housing. It sets this discussion in order to deepen understanding of informal housing and the different typologies. "Slum" does not emerge without an initial act. It is created by the actions and reactions of people and other factors connected with housing and the environment. As a result, the physical and the internal composition of slums are discussed. The physical nature of slums, the factor responsible for the emergence and their continuing existence are explored as the background, enabling subsequent categorisation of Ajegunle not as a slum and also provides an example of a slum typology in south-western Nigeria. Other internal components of informal housing, which include poverty and the micro-economy, are explored as well as their relationship to the wider informal urban setting. As part of contextualisation of urban housing, chapter two examines Government participation in urban housing and the perception of urban housing

in Nigeria is discussed. The literature review on housing policy highlights the different housing programmes under different government regimes (see pp. 98–103). This sets the platform for Chapter three, which entails the analysis of the existing housing policies and programmes. Chapter three details and reviews the different housing policies and programmes by the government during different regimes as part of the literature review (see pp. 105–135). Though part of the literature review, chapter three links to phenomenological description (see pp. 195–196) as part of the inductive analysis which appears to need a thorough explanation in order to identify the gap or develop an understanding regarding an issue. This provides a full understanding of the perception and the role of the government in the existing urban housing crisis (see pp. 105–113). Chapter four discusses the complexity of housing theory and concludes part one by drawing from the discussions within chapter two and three in order to set a platform for the methodology and analysis of the case study. Complexity of housing theory surrounds urbanization as a theory to understand the structure of cities in south-western Nigeria. It identifies the role of theory as an instrument to explain the underlying connections between different phenomena that relates to housing in this study. As a result, it is concerned with theory of urbanization, not as a social problem, but as a process to explain the development and the structure of a city. The study presents the role of urbanization in the structuring of the Yoruba[8] town. Thus the understanding generated serves as the platform for the methodological approach. The methodological approach creates the link to derive, or arrive at a plausible solution to the existing housing crisis.

Part two explores the philosophical framework and the methodological approach of the study. It also introduces the relationship of the case study to the empirical development and

[8] A member of the Black people of south-western Nigeria and neighbouring parts (Oxford English Dictionary, 2009).

sets this within the methodological framework. It presents chapter five, which examines African phenomenology as the methodological framework and the empirical development of this study. This uses African philosophy as an underpinning principle for phenomenology. As a result, an African phenomenology is developed as the methodological framework. In addition, the phenomenological approach and the empirical framework are developed. Chapter five: African phenomenology and the empirical development, establishes the need to consider African philosophy as an underpinning principle. Moreover, it positions phenomenology as part of the philosophy that explores the human element of the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. The phenomenological approach introduces and establishes phenomenology as part of African phenomenology. This study demonstrates the relationship and connection between phenomenology and African philosophy.

The complexities and composition of the urban housing situation (see pp. 5–6), the different layers of the housing crisis, the earlier studies undertaken (see p. 12), the nature of the case study area (see pp. 129–130) and the emerging issues from the housing problem, suggests that Ajegunle community is a phenomenon. That said, the same elements that makes Ajegunle a phenomenon contributes to its generalizable context within the African region, because it captures the nature of the existing housing crisis in this region as compared to the developed world (see p. 11; p. 27). The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2009) defines a phenomenon as 'a very notable or extraordinary thing; a highly exceptional or unaccountable fact… a thing, person, or animal remarkable for some unusual quality; a prodigy'. The *OED* (2009) further defined "-ology" as 'the study… of what is indicated by the first element'. In generic terms, this presents phenomenology as an agglutination of a "phenomenon" and "-ology", thus, phenomenology attempts to study a phenomenon. Chapter five proceeds from this generic understanding and interpretation of the use of phenomenology, to a methodological use as both method (practice) and methodology (philosophy).

Van Manen (1990) suggests that 'Phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences… Phenomenology asks for the very nature of a phenomenon, for that which makes a some-'thing' what it is-and without which it could not be what it is' (p. 10). That said, chapter five is not attempting to study phenomenology as a science, but uses phenomenology as an approach to understand the meaning, structure and essence of the lived experiences of the people of Ajegunle. Furthermore, it concentrates on the Husserlian school of thought of phenomenology. Moran (2000), asserts that 'phenomenology is not just an abstract, metaphysical philosophy, but it is an attempt to come in contact with the matters themselves with concrete living experience' (p. xiii). He further suggested that 'phenomenological description of things is just as they are, in [the] manner in which they appear…' (p. xiii). The need for phenomenological description is strengthened by using, 'Phenomenology [to] examine the structure of consciousness from within… as well as… complex conception of the nature of the historical and cultural elements of human experience' (p. xiv). This characteristic of phenomenology opens up a deepened philosophical understanding of the human element of Ajegunle community. As a result, exposes the need to explore African philosophy as part of the underpinning principle guiding this study.

Pepin (2004) stressed that 'research methodology deals with the philosophical constructs which underpin the research process as well as the fluency and coherence of that process, guiding the manner in which the research is evaluated and expressed' (p. 142). This stimulates an argument raising the question of whether an African based thesis on core issues as regards urban housing crisis be based on a "western" philosophy? In order to offer a culturally-informed framework for the development of future housing policy, the question that should research methodology "express" or "support" the research question, needs to be considered. Firstly, the earlier works of Mabogunje (1968) and Onibokun (1973), on social

implications of urbanization in developing countries, housing enablement and affordable housing for the urban poor has used different methodologies, which were quantitative in nature to support the crisis in their research. However, most of their study areas appear to be in continuing deterioration. *Oxford English Dictionary* (2009) defined "support" as "provide", which may suggest that the methodologies used could have been for the sake of the fluency of the project. In contrast *OED* (2009) defined "express" as "manifest". Chapter five argues that methodology should manifest the interest that lies in the research question. Phenomenology appears not to be sufficient to illuminate a plausible solution to the existing urban housing crisis, without considering the African element within the urban housing issue. Thus, the study is not deploying a "methodology of convenience" which appears to suggest the provision of a methodology to "support" the research process. In contrast, it applies a methodology that goes beyond "support", but "express", respond and serve as a link between the research questions and the contribution to knowledge (see pp. 263–272). As a result, the study posits African philosophy as an intrinsic part of the methodological framework.

Adeeko (1998) stressed that 'Africa's contribution, to world's civilisation… [is enormous, in fact,] Africans colonised reality' (x). He further stressed that a deconstructive analysis of Yoruba proverbs shows that the material texts, and its use, are more complex than what is admitted in clear communication. This foregoing suggests that even though African philosophy is claimed not to be coherent, it is an embodiment of virtual knowledge that is passed from one generation to the other. Kamalu (1990) further argued that African philosophy possesses a strong internal system that makes it culturally independent. The study connects with the importance of the meaning of a "house" in the south-western Nigerian context, which creates the basis for the cultural dimension to urban housing in this study. This makes African philosophy worthy to be considered as regards fundamental issues that

affect urban housing and also strengthens the guiding philosophical undertone of the study. The study through a discourse separates African philosophy from Phenomenology and aims to express the similarities by stressing the characteristics they both possess (see pp. 150–158). By so doing, the characteristics of phenomenology liberate the ontological attributes within African philosophy. As a result, chapter five derives African phenomenology as the methodological framework. As such, African phenomenology as a methodological approach is a secondary contribution to knowledge.

The empirical understanding for the study is also developed. In metropolitan Lagos, the industrial nature of this city and the rural-urban migration are part of the causes of the increase in population. The increased population has a multiple effect, thereby creating slums and squatter settlements in the Lagos area. In order to strengthen this position, Isichei (2002) stressed that 'Lagos is a difficult city to study or understand. Its spatial organisation has a kinetic quality that allows it to escape conventional methods of analysing cities' (p. 14). The choice of Ajegunle community, as the study area relates to the visual characteristics, as a community in urban housing crisis, yet possessing an internal social mechanism that makes it different from a generic understanding of "slum". Ajegunle community has similar representation of a slum in the region of study in terms of density, population and location as suggested by the Local Government representative:

> [Ajegunle] is a "mini West Africa" because there is a conglomeration of 250 languages in the Local Government. The residents comprise of people from the neighbouring countries, which includes: Ghana, Republic of Benin and Togo. These imply that there are 250 ethnic groups represented in the communities. As a result, it replicates the different groups in Nigeria as a country and other neighbouring nations (pp. 129–130).

That said, Ajegunle community possesses features that makes it a complex case which needs a systematic understanding in order to illuminate the embedded socio-cultural nuances in the community. A qualitative method is adopted for this study in order to understand the

internal element (human activities, general liveability) and the physical element (urban form, physical condition) of the urban housing crisis. As a result, the study gains new perspectives on existing issues and in-depth information, which will be difficult to convey quantitatively (see Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The qualitative empirical research is structured in chapter five by a phenomenological approach. Moran (2000) stressed that 'phenomenology claims, first and foremost, to be a radical way of doing philosophy, a practice rather than a system' (p. xiii). The qualitative empirical research is located within this phenomenological frame, through a process of interview, observation and field study.

This study used an intrinsic case study as the method, because it examines the case to provide insight into an issue (Stake, 1995) and for further justification there is the consideration of Yin's classifications of case study methods (see Yin, 2009). The use of intrinsic case study appears to concentrate on a unique case that is complex in order to provide an insight into the urban housing issue. The uniqueness of Ajegunle community does not suggest an exclusive housing condition, which inhibits the generalisation to other urban housing situation in Africa or limits the application of the culturally-informed framework developed by this study. Rather, Ajegunle is unique because of the social composition which captures different African ethnic and income groups (see pp. 129–130; pp. 112–113), within an urban informal housing context. Thus, the Ajegunle case represents the complexities within the existing housing situation in Africa. As such, the understanding of the Ajegunle case sets the platform for a generalizable context for the culturally-informed framework as it relates to urban housing in Africa. The uniqueness of Ajegunle as a case and its composition captures the depth and demonstrates the housing phenomenon in Africa. This contributes to the generalisation of the study, which is drawn from the conclusions

generated from the analysis of the empirical data collected in Ajegunle. The empirical data collected was by informal interviews, observations, photographs and taking of field notes with the residents of Ajegunle Community (see pp. 195–198). The study uses purposeful sampling as a qualitative strategy, in order to seek a case rich in information, which can be studied in-depth (see pp. 193–195).

Based on this background a field trip was made to Ajegunle in July 2009. However, earlier trips made in 2006 to Ajegunle are used as part of the discourse, which forms the literature review of this study. Moreover, African phenomenology as the philosophical framework along with the empirical development, serves as a platform for this study to engage in the analysis of Ajegunle community.

Part three: Empirical analysis: The dynamics of housing, presents the full complexity of housing, which consists of chapter six, seven and eight. Chapter eight is treated separately within part three, because it is the conclusion of the study. Chapter six contextualises the methodology as it is applied to, and within the case study and discusses the ethical issues surrounding African philosophy, phenomenology and the case study. It presents the method derived from the phenomenological framework and discusses the components of "cultural technology" (cultural strategy used to achieve a general liveability) as it relates to the study. Bassey (1999) stressed that ethical considerations are important for research that deals with real people in a real world situation. Research surrounding the lived experience in a community appears to raise ethical issues. This links to the case study, the phenomenological approach and the African philosophy adopted. The ethical dilemma of Ajegunle requires considerations that are based on the cultural views and their chronological experience with government initiated policies. Parts of the ethical considerations as it relates to the case study are: recognizing and identifying possible risks and how best to avoid or minimize them,

probable benefits and identifying how to capitalize on it. In addition, this study notes that ethical considerations may impact on achieving the aim and objectives of the research. The knowledge gained from this process aids in achieving the aim and objectives and better understanding of the community.

Chapter seven presents the development and the analysis of the case study. The case study serves as the basis from which the study draws the elements that underpins the development of the culturally-informed framework. Therefore, the analysis of the case study through an inductive process, whereby the empirical material yields the core of the urban housing issue by systematically peeling the different layers of urban housing in Ajegunle, sets the platform for the development of a culturally informed framework (see pp. 261–272). Within the process through which African phenomenology operates as a methodology by "bracketing" into the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents and attending to the African socio-cultural element, lies the cultural position of the study. An inductive analysis fits an African phenomenological setting, because the empirical material (interviews, observations and photographs) through a case study yields findings by a systematic reduction and developing themes (see pp. 265–272). Thus, the study comes in contact with the core of the urban housing crisis and addresses the issues by: condensing extensive and varied empirical material into a thematic summary (see pp. 261–272), establishing links between the research questions and the findings (see pp. 261–272) and developing a cultural framework underlined by the lived experiences within the empirical material (see p. 343). The relationship of the case study in an African phenomenological framework through an inductive analysis appears to be different from other methodological setting within which case study are used. For example, case study in a grounded theory setting appears to show in detail the processes of the case study analysis, because grounded theory focuses on the processes of theory and generating theory, as such axial coding as a method of analysis, which emphasizes the case study process

is applicable (Patton, 1990; Saldana, 2009). The grounded theory and case study methodological relationship aims to generate a theory. However, this study uses different theoretical content in order to understand the lived experience of Ajegunle residents. Therefore, within African phenomenology, the study describes the processes inside the case study (see pp. 261–272) and concentrates on the description of the themes generated from the analysis (see pp. 273–297). This is because the details from the lived experience of the Ajegunle community form an important element of the analytical process, which leads to the conclusions of this study (see p. 343).

Chapter eight, Conclusion: Development of a culturally-informed framework concludes the study by building a cultural framework that can be used to influence housing policy. This examines the role of professionals in relation to the urban housing crisis and provides prospects for the future. It draws together views formed and the arguments generated as part of the analysis in each chapter to a holistic perspective of the study. This holistic perspective is represented with drawings showing the existing housing crisis and the cultural framework proposed with their different components that were discussed. Additionally, the philosophical and other positions that informed the doing of the study were expressed.

In summary, the critical perspective on urban housing is explored by articulating the meaning of housing and the importance to the cultural dimension proposed to address the urban housing crisis (explored in chapter two). The contextualisation of the housing situation in Nigeria (chapter three and four), establishes the causes of the urban housing crisis situation by identifying different roles played, the perception of the stakeholders that is connected to the urban housing crisis and an analysis of the existing housing policy and programmes. An African phenomenology is developed by explaining the relationship between African philosophy and phenomenology as a methodology. The empirical development is examined

in order to set the platform for the analysis (chapter eight). The analysis of the case study is achieved by exploring the full complexity of Ajegunle community (chapter six and seven). Chapter eight, through connecting the analysis of the study, shows the relationship between different aspects of housing discussed. As a result, it constructs a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES AND CLAIMS TO ORIGINALITY

The aim and objectives and claims to originality are explored by linking them to different aspects within the study. This includes: the meaning of housing, the role of housing in relation to the cultural nuances and the general liveability of the people in south-western Nigeria. The study establishes a way of understanding the evolution of the urban housing crisis by considering the different elements that contributed to its emergence and develops a culturally-informed framework to inform housing policies.

These objectives : To describe and evaluate the housing situation in Lagos; To develop an understanding of the issues related to urban housing; To analyse the social, economic and political factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis; To investigate the role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis; To develop the Ajegunle case study to inform a cultural framework towards influencing housing policy, are set out as a process in order to achieve the aim of this study, which is:

- *To develop a culturally-informed framework to inform future housing policy*. If the housing provision must be orientated towards long term goals and solutions, then housing policy must consider carefully the cultural requirements of the eventual users. The understanding of cultural aspirations and distinctive features of a community cannot

be generalised. This is supported through the analysis of the empirical case study of Ajegunle.

The following are the objectives of this study with a brief explanation:

- *To describe and evaluate the housing situation in Lagos*. This research focuses on Ajegunle, a community labelled as slum in Lagos. Abrams (1964) suggests that despite human being's unprecedented progress in education, industry and sciences, the simple refuge which affords privacy and protection is still beyond the reach of most members of the society. The study examines the forms, social character and the image of the physical environment. It explores some factors responsible for the continuing housing deterioration. This is accomplished, using literature review of existing studies and also the empirical study.

- *To develop an understanding of the issues related to urban housing*. The lack of understanding on the part of housing stake holders in Nigeria has accelerated the crisis situation. Onyiuke-Eluma (2006) and Onyolu (2007) argued that Nigeria's housing problem is discouraging as different stake holders including the Government as the major player, had intervened in various ways by evolving a series of strategies to ameliorate the housing crisis which comprise of: policy formulation, direct housing fund and land supply through site and services schemes. Instead of minimising the crisis, these supposed solutions appear to have marginalized the citizenry. These problems are still vivid in the urban landscape. This is explored in the literature review and the empirical work.

- *To analyse the social, economic and political factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis* and *to investigate the role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis*, requires an

analytical approach. This explores the cultural, economic, social and political factors that contributed to the urban housing. The environmental, legal and technical factors that are influencing the case study area are highlighted. The role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis and the "cultural technology" adopted by the people to survive in the existing urban housing crisis is investigated. Thus, it helps to clarify and define the nature of the problem and how it has affected the area. This is achieved through literature review and the empirical case study.

- *To develop the Ajegunle case study to inform a cultural framework towards influencing housing policy*. Although this embraces the aim, the focus of this objective is for the case study. During the fieldwork, parts of the issues that were considered are: Whether the Ajegunle people are aware of the extent to which they have been affected by the urban housing crisis? What efforts have they tried in order to minimize the effect on their everyday life? How do they feel living in such a condition? And their perception of housing, house and home. All these enhanced the clarity of the extent of the housing crisis. This objective is achieved through the analysis of the empirical case study.

Claims to originality

There is a primary claim to originality and two secondary claims emanating from this study. These are as follows, respectively:

- The cultural dimension to housing as a perspective to understand and derive a plausible solution to address the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. This is achieved in this study by developing a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies. This primary claim to originality is grounded by and within the methodological framework, which

subsequently allowed the survival strategies developed by the residents of Ajegunle community to be exposed.

- Part of the secondary claim to originality is the methodological framework. This relates to the African attention that has informed "African phenomenology", as the philosophy that underpins the analytical process of this study. This pays attention to the cultural nuances of the Ajegunle community and ensures that the "Africanness" (This study uses Africanness to capture the particular African essence within south-western Nigerian society and its wider application to Ajegunle community) within the philosophical process is maintained (see chapter five).

- Another aspect of the secondary claim to originality is that the study brings into the academic sphere, the survival strategies and the methods used to survive and achieve a general liveability in the existing housing crisis situation. As such, it is referred to as "cultural technology" (see chapter six).

The primary claim to originality in this study results from the links made between urban housing and culture. The study observes and analyses strategies derived from the culture of the people, for minimising the effects of the urban housing crisis. This identifies the gap in knowledge, which is shown in the literature review and addressed through the analysis of the empirical work. The cultural dimension towards urban housing crisis is a new perspective addressing the effects of urban housing crisis in developing countries. Moreover, it has a practical function that aims to develop a framework to inform housing policies. The cultural dimension towards urban housing informs the need to explore culture beyond its generic explanation. Culture has moved from the anthropological position of collection of pots and pans, bits and pieces that we all have to a complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a

society (Tylor, 1871). This transformation of culture from something you have to something you do, suggests that culture is not an equivalent to identity and tradition. This study interprets culture as a resource which circulates globally, with an increasing velocity (Yudice, 2003). Furthermore, as a whole body of effort made by people in a sphere of thought to describe and justify the actions through which that people keeps itself in existence (Fanon, 1968). The function of architecture in the built environment is one of the most important elements to the existence of a community. However, culture is an integral element in the maintenance and the continuity of an existing community.

A lot of research has gone into the study of the complexities of the urban housing crisis (see pp. 5–6; p. 12). The lived experiences and culture of the people in Ajegunle community appears to have been neglected, as a possibility of the basis of understanding the housing crisis and also a route to a probable solution to minimise it. In Africa, this untapped knowledge and the people's culture, has been misrepresented as ignorance, which also lacks subtlety in any sphere of activity (see Kamalu, 1990). As a consequence, such informal knowledge cannot benefit a fundamental human need like urban housing. This study attempts a fluidity of knowledge, from the informal colloquial to a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies. This is achieved with the use of empirical research, as a tool to unravel the complexities of culture in relation to housing and its conversion to usable academic elements, to develop a framework as a foundation for housing policies. This entails the use of elements of culture such as: proverbs, the cultural technology used to survive in the urban crisis situation to derive meanings and concepts from the general liveability of the community. Thus, these discussions evolve a new paradigm in addressing the urban housing crisis, consequently showing the claims to originality.

CONCLUSION

The chapter provides the background and context for the suggestion that, if the urban housing provision must be orientated towards long term goals and solutions, then housing policy must consider carefully the cultural requirements of the eventual users. In order to underpin this position, the study developed an understanding of the cultural aspirations and distinctive features of Ajegunle community. As a consequence, it proposes an analysis of the general liveability of the community, social character, and the physical and internal elements of the Ajegunle community. It explored some factors responsible for the continuing deterioration of the housing situation by defining the housing problem (see pp. 17–20). As a result, a backdrop for understanding the nature of the housing crisis in the study area is examined (see pp. 9–17). This development is important for the building of a culturally-informed framework and understanding meanings that relates to housing in the Ajegunle community and the wider urban informal settlement.

The chapter sets the background to unlock and externalise a body of knowledge (socio-cultural nuances embedded in the community) that has been concealed within Ajegunle. This position is significant in defining the cultural experience of the people and connects to the use of housing as a cultural expression for the community. This develops into the contribution to knowledge, which is discussed in chapter eight of the study. The cultural position of this study informs the use of African phenomenology, as the methodological framework. This discussion illuminates on the potentials for transformation of informal knowledge within a community, into an academic, economic and social applicable use, which contributes to addressing issues surrounding the urban housing crisis. The processes within

this study are organised (see pp. 20–31), in a systematic way, which maintains the understanding, analysis and the discoveries from the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. Furthermore, it defines the housing problem (see pp. 17–20), explains the connections between the aim and objectives of the study and describes the contribution to knowledge (see pp. 33–35). Thus, the discussions in the chapter set the platform for the context of study, which is examined by critiquing the perspectives on urban housing.

PART ONE
Context of the study: Critical perspective on urban housing

Chapter Two
Sustainability of the built environment

Chapter Three
Analysis of the existing government housing policies and programmes

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Part One
Context of the study : Critical perspective on urban housing

INTRODUCTION: Contextualisation of the housing situation in Nigeria

In simple terms, this part demonstrates the complexity and contradictions in trying to describe the nature of housing, and how this becomes more complicated when endeavouring to apply to a real situation. It sets the background for the analysis of the research questions (see pp. 8–9). As a result, it provides the platform for the methodological framework, to illuminate the underpinning issues of the existing urban housing crisis. This function is fulfilled in two folds. Firstly, the depth of literature review is an important element to the analysis of a case study (Stake, 1995). Based on this position, the discussions of the definition, historical and contemporary context of urban housing is set as the theoretical

background for the case study. Secondly, the part sets the platform for the African phenomenological position of this study by providing the theoretical background for housing, as the foundation for understanding the empirical material from the case study.

This chapter contextualises the existing urban housing situation in Nigeria, through the discussion of existing literature that surrounds housing and analysis of different government's housing policies and programmes. Chapter two explores the sustainability of the built environment as the platform to understand the cultural, economic, environmental and social sustainability aspects of the Ajegunle community. As a result, it develops the foundation to understand the complexity of the notion of housing, informal settlements and slums as discussed respectively in the body of this chapter.

The definition and the historical context of urban housing are explored in order to set the foundation for the evaluation of Ajegunle community as one in a housing crisis condition. The historical context of urban housing involves housing history in Europe, south-western Nigeria and Lagos. The definition of the urban housing entails etymology, broad definition of housing and operational definitions, which informed the existing housing in south-western Nigeria.

Based on the understanding of the definition and the historical context and the background set by the discussion of different aspects of sustainability in Ajegunle community, the contemporary context of urban housing is explored. In order to understand the existing situation in Ajegunle, the notion of "spontaneity" in housing and other forms of informal settlement is examined. Spontaneity is an important element in the processes of informal settlement. These forms of informal settlement include: communal invasion, organised invasion, clandestine development, slum and squatter settlement. Urban housing shortage is discussed as part of the factors that led to the development of informal settlements. As a

result of the discussion of spontaneity of housing and the different forms of informal settlement, chapter two sets the background to understand the context of Ajegunle community. Categorising Ajegunle not as a slum, separating its components from the existing understanding of slums and other forms of informal settlement establishes its context. The complexities within the internal elements of Ajegunle community as compared to other forms of informal settlement are explored. This is achieved by exploring the notion of economy and poverty, within the Ajegunle community and the connection to the notion of "culture of poverty" as developed by Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966). As part of contextualising urban housing within the discussion of contemporary context of urban housing, an overview of the Nigerian existing housing situation, its government participation and the perception of the housing condition are explored.

Chapter three investigates the different interventions of the Government regarding the urban housing crisis in Nigeria. It examines the previous and present urban housing policy and programmes developed as a response to the existing urban housing crisis. The successes and failures of the programmes created and the implementation processes based on the urban housing policies formulated by the Government are explored as a basis to understand the complexity of the existing housing situation.

Chapter four concludes part one by drawing from chapter two and three and discussing the existing housing theories that relate to urban housing and its relationship to the existing urban housing situation in Nigeria. As a result, there are discussions about Rapoport's theory (1981; 1986; 1995; 2001) on the form of urban settlements and urbanization as a process of urban development. This is related to the structure of south-western Nigerian cities and the wider implication on the existing urban housing crisis.

Chapter Two

SUSTAINABILITY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Sustainability through the different aspects of the built environment is explored. The cultural, economic, environmental, and social means through which sustainability is expressed as a multidisciplinary notion that relates to different parts of the environment are examined. Sustainability presents different perspectives which need to be understood in a holistic way and as a process, in order to understand the cultural, economic, environmental, and social factors that relate to the society. The Sixth International Conference on Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability (2010), outlined the cultural, economic, environmental, and social aspects of sustainability as it relates to the society:

- Cultural sustainability refers to the constituents of human nature and meanings that explore the sources of cohesion and commonality for the

human being. As a result, cultural sustainability seeks knowledge through the multilayered combinations of human interaction by: ways of meaning, ways of thinking, ways of relating to each other and ways of relating with the environment.

- Economic sustainability considers the dynamics of an economic system to the human economy, which challenges the viability of the means to achieve human needs by ensuring that these are not damaging to life sources for human beings.

- Environmental sustainability presents nature as a dynamic element in human relations that views human beings as an agent interacting within a natural process. Thus, environmental sustainability asks questions which relates to: how we can create a viable home and other life forms in the planet? What have human beings done to nature and their environment and what has been the implication of the forms of human intervention on the environment?

- Social sustainability contributes to the systems of regulation, governance and resource distribution, which integrate the economic, environmental and social factors, to function as a tool that will improve and enhance the human potential. It also relates to the notion of poverty and urbanisation as it links to human settlement.

This chapter connects with the different aspects of sustainability in the following ways. It addresses cultural sustainability by establishing meanings that are associated with the notion of housing in south-western Nigeria, in order to explore the lived experience of Ajegunle residents (see pp. 52–57). Economic sustainability is considered by examining the human

activities that contribute to the economic survival of the people in the community. It also examines the systems within the micro-economy that informed and contributed to the general liveability of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 83–87). Environmental sustainability is linked by discussing the notion of slum in Ajegunle, as a means to understand the contemporary context of the human element in the environment (see pp. 72–84). Social sustainability is examined by investigating the existing housing policy in Nigeria and the effects on the existing urban housing crisis in the community (see pp. 98–103). These cultural, economic, environmental, and social elements of sustainability examined, set the platform to address the complexities within the notion of housing and other issues that relates to the existing urban housing condition.

DEFINITION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF URBAN HOUSING

Housing is one of the most important notions of this study and the complexity of its meaning is investigated. The discussion illuminates philosophical and theoretical issues surrounding housing. The etymology of the word "housing" is examined, to establish the various contexts in which the word has been used along with broad definitions and the existing particular definitions of housing in south-western Nigeria. Furthermore, it traces the history from the earliest forms, to the influences that affected the history of housing in south-western Nigeria. The general approach to housing in developing countries and the complexity of housing definition as a means to understand the specific details of the context of housing is examined. Thus, it sets the platform for the methodological framework (see pp. 189–191) and the understanding of the existing housing crisis in Ajegunle community.

Etymology of housing

Housing is a derivative of the word "house". It appears that there is no history of the word "housing". The etymology of the word "house" from which there are other different derivations of housing is uncertain (OED, 2009). The Oxford English Dictionary (2009) suggests that, the earliest entry for this word was before the 11th century, and it was referred to as "*husa*", which suggest a form of enclosure. Over the years, it has also been referred to as verbal root (*hud*) and the skin of an animal (hide). As regards the skin of animal, the term house is particularly applied to the skins of the larger beasts, either raw or dressed, which may be tanned into leather.

There are other suggestions which link house to the history of architecture where human beings used caves and animal skin with skeletal frames to make shelter in early centuries (Glancey, 2003). This etymology of housing suggests that the several forms in which house are used demonstrates either the manufacture of a material for the purpose of protection or the physical erection of an enclosure for shelter. House has also been used to describe shelter, defence, and preservation from harm, danger and damage. In order to investigate the meaning of housing, the broad definitions of housing are examined, thus establishing the different contexts in which housing is used.

Broad definitions of housing

OED is used specifically for the broad definitions of housing, because it is a compendium of the different definitions of housing. It uses other sources to support the development of the arguments from the main definitions gathered from OED. OED (2009) gives an array of broad definitions of housing. The broad definitions are considered to guide the main perspectives on housing. This process is important to this study to set the platform for the full complexity of housing, which is further discussed in chapter seven (see pp. 261–297).

Housing definitions according to OED (2009) include: housing as the collective dwelling of houses, the actual process of building a house and covering and framing or a lateral support for a section are explained. The definition of housing as a collective dwelling of houses suggests that housing is the plural form of a house. The earliest writers in English confirm this by using "*housen*" as the plural form for houses (OED, 2009). The description of housing as the actual process of building a house suggests that housing relates to a house. It posits that there is a connection between house and housing, through the processes involved in the actual erection of the house. The other meaning of housing is associated with the mechanical part of a component and carpentry, which suggests a covering, framing or a lateral support for a section. The definitions of housing, which includes, an action word describing the process of building a house or "housing" as the plural form of houses, seems to be connected to the context of a house as a form of shelter. Apart from these definitions, the other definition which suggests a covering, framing or a mechanical part is related to the notion of a house in terms of the function it performs, as a form of enclosure to protect.

This chapter is concerned with housing as it relates to the house. Thus, it proceeds to examine more definitions of a house in order to better understand the notion of housing. Further definitions in the OED (2009) defines the house as a 'building for human habitation, building for human occupation, for some purpose other than that of an ordinary dwelling, place of worship, place of business and education'. This description suggests that there are diverse ways in which house is used. It challenges the generic interpretation of the house, as a dwelling for domestic purposes. The physical connotation, function, form of use and purpose of a house, suggest a three-dimensional structure that is used for covering, habitation, worship, communication and other purposes aligned towards human comfort. This human comfort is underpinned by different levels of human needs, which include physical, religious and social needs. In essence, the house in the context of housing fulfils

human existence by providing for the tripartite sense of a human being; the "spirit, soul, and body" (Heard, 2009).

In order to strengthen this point, for example, the definition of a house, which suggests the religious fraternity and place of abode of a religious house, indicates a religious function. Moreover, the definition of a house as a place of business or a university, relates to a social aspect of human comfort. These functions of the house appear to fulfil another level of human comfort that relates to the mind, thereby achieving psychological satisfaction. Other descriptions of a house as the state of dwelling and habitation suggest the use of the house for the purposes of shelter, which accomplishes physical comfort that ensures the protection of the functions in the human body. As a result, this role of the house that protects bodily functions appears to maintain the physiological aspect of human existence. The house, as it relates to housing appears to play an important part in human existence. Depending on the role of housing, as an enclosure that is used to fulfil religious, physiological and psychological functions of a human being, housing plays an integral role in supporting human existence. The definitions of a house appear to relate to an enclosure, which fulfils diverse functions in order to achieve different types of comfort or human need. Furthermore, it seems that the words "house and housing" were used interchangeably to mean habitation. Thus, the notion of housing appears to be based on habitation and protection, but beyond this view, it provides for different aspects of human existence. Housing may therefore, be described as a fundamental element that contributes to human well-being. Housing history is explored, as it relates to the context of this study.

Housing history

The trace of housing history as an element of the built environment from the earliest period to south-western Nigeria sets the context in which housing has been used over the years. The

chapter draws from this housing context, in order to set a background for the understanding of housing in south-western Nigeria. Glancey (2003) suggested that around 8,000 BC, people of ancient countries (Egypt, Israel, Iran), needed to live in established places and to cultivate their land. They intended to substitute the nomadic lifestyle of hunting for farming. Even though, in certain parts of the world, hunting as a lifestyle is still prevalent, there was a major shift in pattern from temporal settlements to permanent settlements. Based on this shift in pattern, there was a need to develop settlements, which partly resulted into the development of architecture. Thus the people of these ancient countries raised permanent homes, shrines, temples and palaces, which suggest that the evolution of architecture was simultaneous with the development of cities. As a result, there were different architectural periods and influences, which were reflected through the development of diverse residential, religious, civic buildings and settlement patterns.

This chapter acknowledges that during the nomadic way of life, there were settlements used for accommodation purposes. However, this position contests the argument that developments of cities were simultaneous with the development of architecture. Even though the nomadic way of life had structures for accommodation purposes, it seems that they cannot be regarded as housing because they were not permanent. The permanent attribute of a building, with the intention that it will be situated and not moved from one point to another, separates housing from the understanding of a temporary shelter. As a result, an important element of architectural design and construction in the existing built environment appears to be the physical foundation of the buildings.

The human element in development of housing is important, because it seems that through architecture, as "housing", human beings have accomplished their religious, psychological

and physiological needs. As part of the influences that defined housing in south-western Nigeria, housing history in early Europe is considered.

Europe: Early Housing history

It is acknowledged that the history of housing in Europe is extensive (Glancey, 2003). However, part of the history of housing in Europe that has influenced the existing forms of housing in Nigeria, as a former colony of British rule is explored. Housing in early Europe is examined as part of the influences that effected the built environment in south-western Nigeria. Nigeria which was a British colony was influenced partly by the European ideas brought to the region (Gandy, 2006). In order to establish how colonization has affected existing pre-colonial settlement patterns in south-western Nigeria, the structure of housing in early modern Europe is examined.

During the 16th century, in early modern Europe, housing was associated both with living and working conditions; the combined function of housing informed the outward form and internal organization of the houses during this period (Kishlansky *et al.*, 2005). During this era, housing forms reflected political elements in a culturally bounded area, which resulted in housing styles being distinctive to particular places (Kishlansky *et al.*, 2005). More so there were variations in the kind of materials that were used to imply rural and urban living conditions. Thus, the form of employment or status in a community informed housing classification. These classifications include peasant housing, noble housing, and urban elite housing. The earliest housing in Europe was characterised by form of culture, employment, politics and status, which suggested a hierarchy in the community. This position on housing being characterised by different forms of employment informed a hierarchy in the society, which appears to influence the approach of the colonial administrators to housing in south-western Nigeria.

Housing history in south-western Nigeria

The form of the urban centres and design of the residential units before colonization and after, in south-western Nigeria, provides an approach to understand the notion of housing in the region, and also the British colonial influence on housing in south-western Nigeria. This understanding is set as the background to the contemporary context of the existing housing crisis in Ajegunle community. The Yoruba people based in south-western Nigeria operated a diverse form of settlement that stemmed from their cultural, economic, political and social needs, which generated a complex urban form (Davidson, 1996 and 2004). This is due to a tradition of simultaneously maintaining both urban and rural residences (Mabogunje, 1968). Since the 16th century before colonization, the Yorubas have lived in rather large cities, many of which contained more than 50,000 residents, which at that period was a considerable population for an urban centre (Bascom, 1955 and 1969). In the major cities, the buildings are of different types, which include: palace of a king, the residences of chiefs and important families, and shrines to minor and major deities, as well as the houses of ordinary citizens (Vlach, 1976; Aradeon, 1981; Vlach, 1984; Davidson, 1996 and 2004).

In the 18th century, the typical housing unit comprised of courtyard or compound houses composed of rooms arranged around either large open yards or small atria (Vlach, 1976; 1984). The number of courtyards varied with the number of specific ritual functions performed in the building or the number of its residents. The traditional housing typology in the south-western Nigeria appeared to be informed by the structure of the family and their main profession. The Yoruba family structure comprises of an extended families living together, resulting in a large family living in a "compound or courtyard house" (Ojo, 1966). The Yoruba's main profession was farming, leading to a complex settlement of housing

units, both in urban centre and the farm area (Mabogunje, 1968). However, since the early 19th century, these architectural traditions transformed into bungalow[9]-like structures and one-story houses. Despite the plainness of this building, the history is complex, and it is embedded in different layers of meanings that are directly connected to core existence and the general liveability of the Yoruba people (Vlach, 1984).

The origins of this modern form and its rise to contemporary importance are linked to the cultural exchanges which were informed by slave trade during the 19th century. This informed a "contemporary" Yoruba bungalow and its various sub-types, which have their origins in Brazil. A large proportion of these housing types dominated the cultural landscape of south-western Nigeria. Early history of Lagos establishes how housing types that originated from Brazil evolved in south-western Nigeria. The influence of the British colony on the settlement patterns that developed in the city reflects on how the social changes during this period effected a new housing typology in Lagos. Gandy (2006) suggested that, from earliest history, the British made Lagos their colonial capital and this decision was informed by its strategic location. He further suggested that the British colonial administrators sought to change Lagos into the "Liverpool of West Africa" (Gandy 2006, p. 375). Lagos was dubbed as the commercial hub and the centre of trade for West Africa, due to its port and central location to the region.

In the early 19th century, Lagos was merely an island, where fishing was the main occupation, and it was known in the Yoruba language as "Oko" which means a farm (Baker, 1974). Under the British control, the Portuguese gave the "farm" the name Lagos, which means

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[9] This chapter uses the term "bungalow" to describe a building form, which is one storey with three or more rooms parallel to each other used for residential purposes (Vlach, 1984). OED, 2009 suggests that a bungalow is one storied building sometimes with a veranda, which functions for leisure and is commonly referred to as "summer house". The Yoruba form is not for leisure and in this context usually used for residential purposes.

"The Lakes" (Crowder, 1966). The character of the place became increasingly cosmopolitan, during the mid-19th century, Lagos Island was both a major port and a British protectorate. In order to reinforce this position, a quote from the British adventurer, Sir Richard Burton, who visited Lagos in 1861, provides a vivid description of the city's architectural highlights at the onset of English control:

> The thin lines of European buildings that occupy the best sites, fronting the water, are, first prettily surrounded with gardens; then a large pretentious building… They are interspersed with tenements of fewer pretensions… and the thin line is backed by a large native town, imperceptible from the sea, and mainly fronting the Ikoradu Lake… (Quoted in Lumley 1974, p. 50).

Vlach (1984) contends that this large scale of the buildings as expressed by Sir Richard Burton and built by the British colonials impressed the Africans. As such, an impression was informed by the grandeur of the architecture, which implied a "sense of superiority" to the native people of Lagos. This form of grandeur architecture as developed by the colonial administration appears to have informed the hierarchical approach towards housing in Lagos during that period (see pp. 51–52). As such, because the colonial administrators were the ruling population, their forms of buildings were larger in scale and impressive in detail, compared to other forms of building during the colonial period. It seems that the impression of superiority based on the scale of the buildings, contributed to the European economic and political order, which was used to rule the region during this period. The large mansions became advertisements for the benefits of a new civilization, which was brought about by colonization. As a result of the colonial conquest migrants from Brazil immigrated to Lagos. These migrants bearing surnames like "Da Silva, Da Costa", which were not names which originated from the Yoruba people, were ex-slaves (Vlach, 1984). After attaining their freedom, they returned to their homeland. A major part of the people who returned to Nigeria were the descendants of the Yoruba people. Even though, these "Afro-Brazilian" were part of the minority, they contributed to the city's architecture. They were initially

involved in the building trades in Brazil, as such they found their technical skills in carpentry and masonry useful in Lagos (Vlach, 1984). As builders, the Afro-Brazilians influenced the architecture of Lagos during these periods. They incorporated building forms from their building trade experience in Brazil into different building typologies, ranging from religious to residential housing types (Vlach, 1984).

The migration and the colonisation seem to bring about a social change which impacted the pre-colonial political, religious and social views of the south-western Nigerian people. This impacted on the traditional structure of the family and the existing Yoruba religion. In line with the colonial influence, the religion of Christianity had also become a significant alternative to the traditional Yoruba religion (Vlach, 1984). This religion appears to have a dual effect on the social life of the Yoruba people. Firstly, there was a change from practice of polygamous marriage to monogamy. Secondly, this change reduced the size of the family. As a result, the traditional building typology of "compound or courtyard house" was not functional for the nuclear family. Thus, there emerged a new pattern in the domestic design of urban housing. However, it is acknowledged that there was not a total movement from the existing traditional forms of religion into Christianity. The African religion as discussed in other parts of this study, forms part of the foundation for African philosophy (see pp. 169–174). The movement from traditional religion to Christianity relates to the practice of the religion. It seems that the Yoruba community attended churches, and they interpreted the Christian faith through the principles of their existing traditional religion. Based on the impact on the social structure of the community, some parts of the community, adopted this particular interpretation of the Christian religion and its social changes. While others adapted their religion to suite the social changes that were informed by Christianity because of the advantages of the new housing design, the new pattern of urban housing had economic,

functional and social benefits to the Yoruba community. As a result, this created a hybrid of multi-religious society that was bounded by grounded cultural values.

The Brazilian house style combined status with the new housing type. It was first deemed an appropriate symbol of significance (Vlach, 1984). Thus, the Brazilian house provided a familiar way to be flamboyant, proud, and modern, which was independent of the dictates of the colonial rule. While the British elite had dwellings that were tall and impressive, the new Yoruba elite had dwellings that were tall and flamboyant (Vlach, 1984). Even though, the Brazilian house style had functional shortcomings such as internal rooms without adequate ventilation, it was aesthetically, politically and sociologically appropriate to contest the grandeur of the buildings that were developed by the colonial administrators (Vlach, 1984). Rapoport (1969) suggested that the Afro-Brazilian house type was the symbolic register that positioned the Yoruba people on cultural grounds between the European grandeur architecture and the Yoruba traditional building. It is recognized that a percentage of the Yoruba community could not afford the Afro-Brazilian house (Vlach, 1984). That said, they introduced elements of the Afro-Brazilian style into their house. Despite, the ratio of the affluent to the poor, the Afro-Brazilian style moved to be an ethnic symbol of social status and also implied to the colonial administrators that the Yoruba community could not be subdued (Vlach, 1984). This understanding seems to influence housing in south-western Nigeria. The housing definition by international institutions, which aims for development in developing countries, advanced the approach towards housing.

Existing housing definition in south-western Nigeria

The approach to housing and the existing definitions developed is examined in order to capture the notion of housing in developing countries. It explores the function of the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) and World Health Organisation,

because their approaches and definitions have been used as a charter for housing delivery in developing countries, including Africa. The World Health Organisation (WHO) is involved in ensuring that good health is provided for the people in developing countries (WHO, 2007). Based on this position, they are directly linked to the housing provision, which informs housing delivery in Africa. Thus, housing provision has other integrated functions that must be considered in order to develop an adequate shelter. WHO (2007) suggested that adequate shelter is more than a roof over someone's head. It means to have a home, a place which protects privacy, contributes to physical and psychological well-being, supports the development and social integration of its inhabitants, and a central place for human life. Based on this suggestion, the WHO developed a four layer model as a means to understand the notion of housing. This includes: the physical structure of the house; the home, which suggest the psychological experience in the house and the interrelationships between family and each individual (see pp. 10–11); the external dimension of the house, which suggests the social infrastructures that makes housing (see pp. 10–11) and the external social interactions with people living in the community.

The method WHO used in understanding housing is explored. It suggests that these four dimensions of housing are the fundamental aspects of the notion of housing. These elements have the capacity to effect an individual state of well-being through mental, physical, and social routes that has been provided by the model. It seems that the four dimensions are interlinked with each other. These four basic layers: the house, the home, immediate environment and the community are the parameters that must be taken into consideration for there to be an "ideal" housing. Housing provides human beings with satisfaction of physical and mental health needs. Therefore, based on these understanding, housing conditions appears to play a relevant role in the general liveability of a community.

The declaration of human rights of the United Nations is connected to the formulation of Nigerian housing policy. It explores the objectives of the Nigerian housing policy in order to establish whether the housing policy fulfils the tenets of the human declaration of the United Nations. As part of the functions of the United Nations in developing countries, the provision of housing is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 25, which is an aspect of this declaration states that 'everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family including…housing' (UN, 2009). Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has served as the charter for the foundation of the Nigerian housing policy. This is stated in the main objectives of the National Housing Policy (1981), which aims to:

> Ensure that every Nigerian has access to decent and affordable housing accommodation in a livable environment; to reduce the cost of shelter; to increase production of affordable owner-occupier housing in urban and rural areas; to increase the quantity and improve the quality of man-power needed in the construction industry (indigenous sector); to make adequate provisions for financial resources to institutions charged with home and building construction industry; to provide government assistance in the provision and maintenance of facilities which households cannot provide for themselves and support self-help construction (National Housing Policy 1981, p. 26).

This objective demonstrates an intention to achieve an ideal housing situation. It refers to more than the physical structure of a house. The Nigerian housing policy includes the infrastructure that serves the house, which entails: the condition of the environment, provision of clean water, sanitation, energy, access (roads and footpaths) that supplies the house and the integrated nature of the neighbourhood around the house. The objective was also designed to directly or indirectly maintain the physical, mental and social well-being of the people. In an urban context, the availability and accessibility of facilities, amenities such as schools, police stations, play lots and sporting facilities are factors that contribute to the general urban liveability of a residential environment. However, the present situation of the existing urban housing condition does not reflect the fundamental principles of the housing policy.

The guiding principles provided by the United Nations (UN) and World Health Organisation (WHO) seem to be the basic elements of housing delivery adopted by the Government in Nigeria. On the other hand, there seems not to be a proper distillation of this principle in order to adapt or conform to the cultural context of housing, which is an important socio-cultural element in this particular region (see pp. 52–57). As a result, there is a gap between the housing policy as a governmental intention and the housing delivery as a governmental action. This labyrinth of housing policy and delivery appears to have led to the existing urban housing crisis. The urban housing crisis situation seems to involve the lack of responsibility on the part of the Government to determine the underpinning issues that resulted to the crisis. As a result, the existing housing crisis comprises of deficient social infrastructures, which includes: personal security, portable water, roads and safety.

The people of the south-western Nigeria appears to have been accustomed to defective condition of housing, as such their current perception of the present situation is regarded as the normal form of "housing". Part of the residential schemes that were developed by the Government have been abandoned, with no physical developments (Olotuah, 2000). In order to achieve an "ideal" housing situation, the housing policy or fundamental tenets guiding housing delivery must put into consideration the cultural nuances of the people. Additionally, understanding is drawn from the definition and historical perspective of housing.

Complexity of housing definition and history

The complexities within the definition and the historical context of urban housing were explored. The etymology, broad definition, history and the existing definition of housing as it relates to south-western Nigeria constructs an understanding, which links to the definition and the historical context of urban housing. By so doing, it sets the platform for exploration

of the contemporary context of the existing situation in Ajegunle community. The complexity involved in the use of "house" in different parts of the world and period, suggest an interrelationship in the notion of a house, as a form of protection, an enclosure and an integral part of people's life. Considering part of the broad definition, where the "house" was used interchangeably with housing (see pp. 47–49), suggests that there are similarities in the function that the house performs in different contexts.

The early European and Yoruba civilisation associated house with consuming, living, producing and working conditions. This combined function shaped the outward form and internal organization of the houses in these two regions. Although, there are similarities between the function, there are distinctions in the cultural meaning that housing generates in different regions. In the early housing history, the European houses were associated with both living and working conditions (see pp. 51–52). However, housing in the fundamental Yoruba society is linked to cultural values that reflect the tenets on which the foundation of the community is built (Vlach, 1984). Despite the different level of economic class that influenced the design of the house in the Yoruba society, there was a common cultural logic to housing. This cultural logic entails communal strength informed by societal bonds, which led to the "compound or courtyard house" design in the south-western Nigeria. The Yoruba society provided its members with a platform for self-expression and some measure of autonomy (Vlach, 1984). This cultural self-expression was delivered through using the house as a symbolic register for their status and ego. Thus, the sense of ego, individually and collectively, was realized in the grand designs of the residential Yoruba architecture. In the "contemporary" Yoruba community, there was a change from the traditional extended family residential design to individual nuclear families (Vlach, 1984). Afro-Brazilian houses gave the opportunity to express the cultural milieu of status, as well as maintain the "contemporary" setting of the Yoruba society (Vlach, 1984). While part of the Brazilian housing models were

massive in size; which was intended as a social statement to the colonial administrators (see pp. 52–57), there were other of bungalow-like structures that contained elements of the Brazilian style. These versions of bungalow-like structures were affordable to build for the low income earners in the community. A larger percentage of the Yoruba society, embraced this Brazilian model, which included the one-story house. This includes a corrugated iron sheet roof, decorated with cast concrete balusters, like those found on mansion houses so that it will still connote an awareness of the correct fashion and overtly display a measure of the economic success of the owner (Vlach, 1984).

There are fundamental issues that surround the understanding of housing in south-western Nigeria. There is a generic use in the context of what housing means, which has influenced housing policy and its delivery in the south-western Nigeria. The approach to housing based on the United Nation and World Health Organisation's housing models, forms the foundation of the housing policy in Nigeria. Furthermore, the context of housing used in different transitions of the built environment suggest protection, enclosure for shelter and personal security, which have been arranged under the Nigeria housing policy. Thus, the existing housing policy suggests an intention to achieve shelter, protection, security and the tenets of an ideal housing based on the foundation laid by the United Nation and World Health Organisation, without a cultural alignment to the existing context of housing. In Nigeria, the provision of housing by the Government lacks a cultural position, which is the core of the notion of housing in south-western Nigeria. This cultural position in south-western Nigeria deepens the meaning of housing from a generic understanding of protection, shelter or security, to fulfil an added socio-cultural importance in the community, as such it contributes to the human existence. Moreover, in the south-western Nigeria, the house appears to be the symbol of their human existence and the representation of their lived experience (see pp. 52–57). Housing decision should consider the cultural element in the

processes of developing policies. The present housing policies in Nigeria do not consider any specific cultural position. Part of the factors that contributed to the existing crisis appears to be the lack of consideration of a cultural element in the decision process of housing policy. This suggests that there is the need to gain an understanding of the general liveability and the lived experience of the people, as a means to explore the fundamental element of culture[10] in the community. This should be considered as a possible step that will contribute to the understanding and the foundation for the development of a plausible action that can address the existing housing situation. The contemporary context of urban housing is considered, in order to illuminate the existing issues that surround urban housing.

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF URBAN HOUSING

The contemporary context of urban housing explores the different aspects that relate to housing and sets the platform for the analysis section (chapter seven) of this study. Defining the notion of spontaneous housing, provides the foundation for understanding the informal processes involved in the formulation of informal housing. This informal housing consists of different typologies of slums and Ajegunle community, which is an informal housing yet to be defined and as such labelled a slum. Based on this understanding of spontaneity of housing, the slum phenomenon is explored by discussing urban housing shortage that informed the development of slums in developing countries. Slum is defined by considering its etymology, generic and operational definitions and other various forms in which slum has been expressed.

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[10] The term culture is further explained in the body of this work (see pp. 213–216). Even though, the term culture is used interchangeably with identity, status and tradition, in this study it is meant to capture the lived experience of the people of the south-western Nigeria.

Based on this foundation, in order to relate the understanding of slum to the existing housing crisis in Lagos, slum in south-western Nigeria is explored. The discussion draws from the existing forms of slum and relates these to south-western Nigeria, in order to put into context the existing housing crisis in that region. By so doing, sets the platform for categorising Ajegunle community "not as a slum". The Ajegunle community is separated from an existing position on slum by setting a foundation to show that Ajegunle is not a slum.

In line with these physical issues to support Ajegunle, other internal issues on the notion of economy and poverty in Ajegunle community were explored. These internal issues are discussed to strengthen the position that Ajegunle is not a slum. The physical and internal elements highlighted and other aspects of the contemporary context of urban housing, serves as the foundation for the analysis of Ajegunle, which is further discussed in chapter seven of this study.

DEFINING THE NOTION OF SPONTANEOUS HOUSING

It appears that there are no terms that describe collectively and completely the many dimensions of the urban housing phenomenon in developing countries. In order to understand the process involved in the evolution of informal housing, "spontaneity" is used to capture the activities that led to its formulation. The discussion of urban housing shortage focuses on developing countries, as part of factors that informed informal housing. The role of the urban poor, professionals and the Government in the process of developing a suitable urban housing condition, are examined as part of processes involved in understanding the spontaneity of housing. The different forms of informal processes involved in the formulation of informal housing are also explored.

The urban housing shortage is an underlying issue, which relates to the existing urban housing crisis in developing countries. This problem is not exclusive to developing countries. For example, squatting has been identified in abandoned tenements in New York and other cities, although not of the scale to be found in developing countries (Smith, 1996; Kidder, 2009). This section focuses on the developing world, where policies and the existing framework towards the user's housing provision appear to be deficient. Observers in the built environment in developing countries attribute the housing shortage in these countries to a series of events. These include: combination of rapid population growth resulting from decreased mortality and sustained fertility (Dwyer, 1974), the migration of rural populations to urban centres in search of employment and better living conditions (Dwyer, 1975; Drakakis-Smith, 2000; Davis, 2006) and the low purchasing power of the poor people (Buick, 1975; Hernando De Soto, 2000).

The rapid population growth reduced the ability of the Government to provide housing, community services and the basic infrastructure (Payne, 1984; Tepperman and Wilson, 1993) and low income prevented people from acquiring decent housing (UN-Habitat, 2003; 2005). Thus, the results in many communities included: the creation and expansion of areas of unsanitary and unsafe housing, increased population densities and lack of essential community services (Drakakis-Smith, 2000). These impacted areas, with deteriorated housing and inadequate community, have been labelled as "slums". The assumption is that housing in these areas labelled as "slums" do not provide adequate shelter, and they are largely affected by various forms of poverty-related problems, such as unemployment, and poor health (Rondinelli, 1990; Drakakis-Smith, 2000). However, this assumption is not applicable to all informal housing in developing countries that have similar characteristics with slums. Although Ajegunle community, which represents a separate type of informal housing, is visually chaotic and shows similar physical characteristics of housing in deterioration, they

possess a different internal composition. For example, Ajegunle community contains sustainable structures that meet the community's needs at an affordable price, which is situated in a location that has economic gains in relation to income. This community also possesses practicable internal survival strategies that have been developed in order to cope with their present situation. Thus, they can also be regarded as the engine of the central business districts of the society. In addition, these communities seems to be the business entry level to the urban business centre, whereby people from this labelled "slum" community participate actively in the micro-economy of the community and contribute collectively to the macro-economy of the urban society. This is further discussed in the body of the study (see pp. 83–87; pp. 112–113).

The concept of slum appears not to consider the social and cultural networks that exist in the informal settlements and its potentials in improving the condition of the existing housing crisis. This chapter does not romanticise the communities in an urban housing crisis situation. It argues that the word "slum" is a negative connotation, which is not an appropriate description for some particular communities going through urban housing issues in developing countries. The chapter explores urban housing shortage and highlights factors that led to the existing urban housing crisis in developing countries, in order to establish that not all existing urban housing crisis conditions are slums. Based on this discussion, "spontaneity" of housing is explored as a characteristic of informal settlement, which relates to slums and Ajegunle (see pp. 72–84). This discussion sets the background to separate Ajegunle community from the existing understanding of slum and its other various forms that exist in south-western Nigeria.

Spontaneity of housing

The existing urban housing crisis sets the background to understand the spontaneity of housing. It proceeds to understand "spontaneity" and its relationship to informal housing. The existing urban housing condition in developing countries is a complexity of different conditions, which includes: makeshift housing, shanty towns and various forms of substandard housing. As a result, the UN-Habitat (2003) suggests that the definition and the evaluation of the housing deficit are filled with problems. They claim that this is due to the government and the stake holders in the built environment, which relate to a generic value rather than the cultural standards in the decision making process relating to housing (UN-Habitat, 2003). Based on this gap in understanding by the government, it seems that the urban poor manage to find some kind of housing based on their low-income level and cultural standards. This understanding of the urban housing situation and the inevitable need for the urban poor to own an accommodation creates a socio-cultural tension between the government, professionals and the community. Thus, there is spontaneity towards the development of housing, which appears to lead to the growth of informal housing.

Spontaneity of housing relates to housing development that is invented by individual action without external motivation from the government or professional support to attain an ideal built environment. Housing in developing countries is included as part of the social responsibility of the Government (see p. 142). As a result, the Government's role serves as an external motivation for the development of housing in developing countries. The individual action that relates to spontaneity of housing comprises human effort, which puts into consideration the economic and socio-cultural position of the residents of the communities in developing countries. The human effort leads to the development and creation of an accommodation in order to achieve comfort based on their level of income. This process results in spontaneity of housing, through the creation of makeshift housing,

shanty towns and various forms of substandard housing. These forms of housing are generally categorised under notions of slums, informal and squatter settlements (Dwyer, 1975). Dwyer used the term "spontaneous settlements" in a similar sense. However, because this study focuses on urban housing, the term spontaneity of housing is used to depict the informal processes and the complexities that led to the creation of informal housing. As part of understanding the different informal housing that resulted from spontaneity, the slum phenomenon is examined.

The slum phenomenon

In order to understand the Ajegunle situation and as a basis for the classification of the existing housing condition, the concept of slums is explored. Through a brief overview of slum phenomenon and the criterion used to evaluate or define slum, the etymology, the existing broad and operational definition of slum, the different aspect of a slum situation, and its effect on the community are explored. This discussion provides the background to explore slums in south-western Nigeria. By so doing, sets the platform to separate Ajegunle situation from the existing understanding of slums, thus defining Ajegunle community not as a slum. Part of the negative perception is that Ajegunle community is being referred to as slum (see Gandy, 2006; Meek, 2009). The difference between the negative and positive perspectives of a slum situation, which have contributed to perception of Ajegunle as a slum is examined. The internal composition of informal housing is investigated by examining the economy within the informal housing and its relationship to the wider urban setting.

The relationship between poverty and the slum are explored. Part of examining the relationship between poverty and slum, is exploration of the notion of "culture of poverty" as formulated by Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966). The discussions under the complexity of slums

and poverty are drawn from to differentiate the existing urban situation in Ajegunle community.

As part of UN-habitat (2003) findings on the slum condition of the world, the details of the percentages were given:

> …924 million people, or 31.6 percent of the world's urban population, lived in slums. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 percent of the urban population, in contrast to 6 percent in more developed regions. Within the developing regions, sub-Saharan Africa had the largest proportion of the urban population resident in slums in 2001 (71.9 percent) and Oceania had the lowest (24.1 percent). In between these were South-central Asia (58 percent), Eastern Asia (36.4 percent), Western Asia (33.1 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (31.9 percent), Northern Africa (28.2 percent) and Southeast Asia (28 percent)… Asia (all of its sub-regions combined) dominated the global picture, having a total of 554 million slum dwellers in 2001 (about 60 percent of the world's total slum dwellers). Africa had a total of 187 million slum dwellers (about 20 percent of the world's total), while Latin America and the Caribbean had 128 million slum dwellers (about 14 percent of the world's total) and Europe and other developed countries had 54 million slum dwellers (about 6 percent of the world's total).

The existing data demonstrates that the slum is a major phenomenon affecting the world. It shows that the third world has the higher percentage of the slum situation (see pp. 9–10). The percentages indicate numerically the presence of the slum conditions in these areas, the extent of, and the magnitude of the spontaneous housing, which effects partly the slum situation that is complex to evaluate. The occurrence of slums and squatter settlements in the third world cities, are estimated to affect between 40 and 60 percent of the population (Akom, 1984). UN-Habitat, 2003 suggested that sub-Saharan African had the largest proportion of the urban population resident in slums within the developing region; about 20 percent of the world's population. This chapter concentrates on this region and draws from Ajegunle community, which is situated in the south-western part of Nigeria. It proceeds to further define a slum, in order to understand its intricacies and, as such, illuminate the misconceptions that surround some of the informal settlements.

Slum definition

The existing definition of slum is explored. The notion of slum is a worldwide phenomenon affecting all parts of the world and has been used to suggest a community in housing crisis condition (see pp. 67–68). The existing generic and operational definitions of slum are investigated. The generic definition suggests slum has being characterised by inadequate housing and basic services. The etymology of the word slum is traced, in order to have an insight into its generalisation to capture inadequate housing and basic services. In the early 19th century, the word slum appears to be a jargon used in London (OED, 2009). The term slum was used to describe the poorest quality housing; the most unsanitary conditions; a refuge for marginal activities including crime and drug abuse; a likely source for many epidemics that ravaged urban areas and a place apart from all that was decent and wholesome (OED, 2009). Additionally, during the 19th century, the word appeared in the written language as a phrase referred to as "back-slums". At the end of the 19th century, slum meant:

> A street, alley, court, situated in a crowded district of a town or city, inhabited by people of a low class or by the very poor; a number of these streets or courts forming a thickly populated neighbourhood or district where the houses and the conditions of life are of a squalid and wretched character, a foul back street of a city, especially one filled with a poor, dirty, degraded and often vicious population; any low neighbourhood or dark retreat; a house materially unfit for human habitation (OED, 2009).

Other similar definitions, which inform the way slums are evaluated with regards to providing policy documents is the Cities Alliance Action Plan's description that suggests:

> Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums [include]: high-density, squalid central city tenements and spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities (City Alliance, 1999).

These broad definitions, fulfils the perception of slum as a physical deterioration and relates to illegality of land tenement within an urban community. Part of the problems with understanding slums is the lack of a consensus definition on the phenomenon (UH-habitat,

2003). This relates to urban poverty assessments in developing countries being provided with qualitative information on urban poverty. As a result, the enumeration of slums has not yet been incorporated within mainstream monitoring instruments, such as national population censuses, demographic and health surveys, and global surveys. Part of the surveys provides proxies or related variables, such as the proportion of unauthorized housing or proportion of squatters' settlement (UH-habitat, 2003). These definitions are not associated with operational definitions that would enable one to ascertain whether or not a particular area is a slum, and as such it questions the association of poverty and tenure illegality with a slum condition. Slum has many connotations, meanings, which vary considerably, in what it describes in different parts of the world, or even in different parts of the same city. In developing countries, the term slum, often in the dialectical colloquial of the region, refers to lower-quality or informal housing, which is connected with perceptions of poverty, lack of access to basic services and insecurity (UH-habitat, 2003).

In order to affirm the extent of this worldwide phenomenon, the variety of equivalent words in other languages and geographical regions are highlighted, which includes:

> French: *bidonvilles, taudis*…, Spanish: *asentamientos irregulars*…, Barcelona: *conventillos*, Quito: *colonias populares*…, Mexico: *tugurios* and *solares*…, Lima… *cuarterias*, Cuba: *villa miseria*, German: *Elendsviertel*, Arabic: *mudun Safi*, *lahbach*, Russian: *trushchobi,* Portuguese: *bairros da lata*, Portugal: *quartos do slum*, Brazil: *favela, comunidade*, American English: 'hood', (Los Angeles), *ghetto*, South Asia: *chawls/challis*…, Mumbai: *ahatas*… Kolkata: *zopadpattis*…, Africa: *umjondolo* (Zulu, Durban), *mabanda*... (UN-Habitat 2003, p. 10)

The range of different types of names, within the same geographical region suggests coverage of settlement types, which is complex. The term slum has been used interchangeably with shanty, squatter settlement, informal housing and low income community by governmental agencies (UH-habitat, 2003). Slum is considered an understandable terminology, which disguises the intricacies within the informal settlements. Generically, the term slum is used to describe 'a thickly populated neighborhood or district

where the houses and the conditions of life are of a squalid and wretched character' (OED, 2009). UN-Habitat, 2003 suggests that these inadequate housing conditions are characterised by: lack of basic services, substandard housing or illegal building structures; overcrowding, high density, unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations; insecure tenure, irregular or informal settlements, poverty, urban poverty, social exclusion and minimum settlement size.

The main attributes of the characteristics of low-income settlements with poor human living conditions (as outlined by UN-Habitat, 2003) are physical and spatial. While the social and behavioural aspects of the slum are recognised, there is a shift in concentration of the character of slums, which has influenced not just its definition but also the perceptions of these phenomena. The houses and housing in such settlements vary from simple dwellings with basic materials to more permanent structures with access to basic services, and infrastructure tends to be inadequate. The traditional definition of slum suggests housing areas that were once respectable or even desirable, but which have since deteriorated as the original dwellers have moved to new and better areas of the cities. The condition of the old houses has then declined, and the units have been progressively subdivided and rented out to lower-income groups (UH-habitat, 2003). These are referred to as the inner-city slums of many towns and cities in both developed and developing countries. The quality of dwellings in such settlements vary from the simple shelter to permanent structures, while access to water, electricity, sanitation and other basic services and infrastructure are usually limited. Such settlements are referred to by a wide range of names and include a variety of tenure arrangements. These vast informal settlements are becoming a visible expression of urban poverty in developing world cities, including squatter settlements and illegal subdivisions. In order to relate the characteristics of this informal settlement to the context of this study, an example of a slum typology in south-western Nigeria is explored.

Slum in south-western Nigeria

Slum typologies in south-western Nigeria are explored based on the background understanding of slum through its broad definition, etymology and other various forms of informal housing. The various forms of informal housing are arranged under the general term spontaneous housing, acknowledging that there are different positions, which have viewed such a housing provision as a problem while others viewed it as the solution (Davis, 2004). These other forms of informal housing include: informal settlements, squatter settlements, slums, titled plots and unauthorised housing. These existing types of informal housing are explained, in order to construct an understanding for existing slum typologies in Lagos. Thus, this gives a broad view of the existing forms of spontaneous housing by describing the notions that are related to these forms of informal housing. By so doing, sets the background to differentiate Ajegunle community from the existing definitions of slum. This chapter is neither assuming nor accepting the existing positions on slums as the existing situation in Ajegunle. It sets these discussions as the foundation for the emerging argument, re-classification of the existing situation and the background, to understand the existing housing condition in Ajegunle.

Spontaneous housing is associated with residents of a community developing housing personally outside the Government or private housing delivery method (see pp. 66–67). This is achieved solely by the owner of the property with the help from friends and family with various amounts of hired labour (Leeds, 1981). Sometimes, this development is done on appropriated land, as a result it is referred to as squatter settlement or illegal developments. Other instances involve the owner of the land erecting a structure that is not permitted by the town and regional department of the community. The term unauthorised housing is applicable to this situation (Leeds, 1981).

Leeds (1981) further relates this to invasions of someone else's land. The settlers may invade land belonging to a government agency, perhaps an open-land which belongs to the local government, lands reserved for access purposes or a privately owned land. These invasions, in some cases, could be genuine where the owner's consent is requested. That said, because the community has not been formally considered by the planning authorities makes such communities to be illegal. As a result, this leads to the lack of provision of amenities to the communities. This particular situation which is further discussed is similar to slums in south-western Nigeria. These different situations are applicable to the processes of informal housing. Informal housing shares the same similarities in terms of the motivation for their growth and the reason behind their housing developments. Informal housing is developed personally by families and individuals with the aim of home ownership and frequently renting part of the houses developed. This appears to relate to the strategic location of the informal housing in terms of the economic viability and accessibility to the core of the city. This residence comprises of economic migrants and city dwellers that aspire to own a property. Thus, the primary aspiration of being a "Landlord" appears to have informed the economic migration of the people. The term landlord is used to describe the home-owner in developing countries, because of the importance placed on land ownership. This is also further explained in the body of the study (see pp. 282–284). Part of the reasons for urban migration appears to be the inability of aspiring home owners to achieve home ownership in the formal housing market. They gather resources that are used to effect an informal housing, where they can realise their goals in an economically conducive environment (Drakakis-Smith, 2000).

Informal housing processes appear to be geographically exclusive. The informal housing processes in the different regions of the world are different. Even though the physical characteristics are similar, the motivations, organizations and causes are diverse in different

regions of the world. Turner (1967); Gilbert and Ward (1982) identify different types of processes involved in informal housing. Their work stems from cases in Latin America, however in terms of the processes involved, there are similarities to slums in south-western Nigeria and as such, has a wider application to Nigerian existing condition. These types of informal processes are highlighted in the similarities drawn to slums in Lagos. These discussions set the platform to categorise Ajegunle community not as a slum. The informal housing processes are distinguished by the forms of organization and motivations. These classifications of informal housing were developed from the works of Turner (1967); Gilbert and Ward (1982) which comprise of: the communal, the organised and the clandestine invasion.

Firstly, the communal invasion is initiated by a group of activists among a larger number of poor households linked by ties of kinship or origin (Turner, 1967). This form of invasion is organised in the sense that, it is a systematic infiltration by the individual households or group of families. Other forms of this invasion are stimulated by the professional invaders. This is actualised by selling the equity in their land or property, after which they proceed to organise an invasion on the lands and property they have sold (Turner, 1967). Secondly, the organized invasion comes from outside the community of the actual invaders. This is political with the aim to strengthen their political support within that particular area (Turner, 1967). Thirdly, the clandestine development is an invasion by the land owners. This is located on the outer part of the city; on land that has not been zoned or approved for urban development (Gilbert and Ward, 1982). Thus, these developments lack urban infrastructure or social amenities. The distinct characteristics of this classification are the lack of legal entitlement to the invaded land.

There are no distinctive differences in the informal process in Lagos, which leads to a slum situation and the processes suggested by Turner (1967) and Gilbert and Ward (1982). In the Latin American context, there are clear distinctions between the different cases of the classification of processes of informal housing. However, in the context of south-western Nigeria, there is a main type of informal housing process that informs a slum situation and contains elements of the classification developed for the Latin American case. The characteristic of the classifications of Turner (1967) and Gilbert and Ward (1982) which include: the communal, the organised and the clandestine invasion are obvious in the informal processes involved in south-western Nigeria. This informal process is partly ventilated by activists, who have ties to kinship or origin of the land, influenced by external political forces and also linked to the original owners of land. It is acknowledged that the classifications of Turner (1967) and Gilbert and Ward (1982) are not an overall representation of the informal processes involved in developing countries. That said, elements of the characteristics of these classifications, form a major part of the existing urban housing situation in the south western region. In order to explore the existing situation, the *"Omo Onile"* phenomenon as a contributory factor to the existing urban housing crisis is explored (the information regarding *"Omo Onile"* was gathered during the interview with the local government representative see pp. 226–231).

Communal invaders in the context of the south-western Nigerian situation have an economic perspective. They are people referred to as "*Omo Onile*". The local government representative explained "*Omo Onile*":

> As a colloquial term that is used to refer to the indigene of a community. Literally, this means the child of the land owner. These are people who are directly connected to the families that originally own a piece of land. This invader capitalizes on the economic situation and forms gangs with political links and sells the same land to different buyers, thereby constructing a systematic confusion regarding the land ownership. Thus, there is a series of legal cases between the buyers, the "communal invaders" and the original owners of the land. The communal invaders often show their physical presence by

> demolition of existing on-going construction or preventing the erection of the buildings (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

In the context of Lagos, the housing crisis surrounds landed property that is apposite in terms of location for residential purposes. These locations are not far from the central business districts, which make these areas of interest to the professionals in the city. The legal process to identify the right owner takes a longer period because of the political connection of these invaders. As a result, the land becomes desolate, and it is controlled by the invaders. They in turn translate to professional estate agents, who collect a fee from the informal residents, in order to develop these disputed areas. This form of invasion is underpinned by both political connection and the acclaimed powers of land owners, thereby convoluting into an informal housing. The characteristic of this informal housing formed by the communal invaders who translated into estate agents entails communal efforts. This communal effort includes the provision of services that include: construction of sidewalks in areas where there is poor drainage, organisation of solid waste removal, illegal tapping of electricity and water provision by entrepreneurs. The processes that are involved in the land development are shorter than the formal housing provision. This is due to the form of the development which is intended towards immediate accommodation. Though this situation is acknowledged, not all informal settlements appear to be illegal or provided with illegal services. The case study in Ajegunle revealed that not all informal processes involved in informal housing are linked to either illegal means or sustained by illegal services. This is further discussed in the body of the work (see pp. 261–297).

It seems that there is a generic understanding of informal housing as "slum" because of their similar physical characteristics in terms of the visual condition, which include: buildings which appear to be temporary because of the construction material (wood); community toilets and baths separated from the main building, and streets littered with waste that seems

to suggest a dirty environment (see pp. 289–291). This generalisation has affected the perception of informal housing, though with physical similarities to a slum situation, but in some cases these areas possess distinct social composition and internal mechanisms within the community. Ajegunle community appears to be an example of this type of informal housing development, which is different from the existing understanding of slum (see pp. 73–77) in the region. In order to separate Ajegunle from the existing understanding of slum, Ajegunle is further explored.

Categorising Ajegunle community not as a Slum

Ajegunle community is categorised not as a slum by separating the Ajegunle case through a further discussion on the existing definitions of slums, its various forms and how it relates to the Ajegunle condition. The notion of economy and poverty in the community is explored. To strengthen the discussion on Ajegunle, the notion of "culture of poverty" is illuminated as an existing position that generalised the context of slums and informal housing. As such, this generalisation seems to have affected the perception of Ajegunle community.

Based on the physical characteristics of Ajegunle community, it has been described and labelled as a "slum" (see Meek, 2009). However, based on the unique internal survival system and the legality of the community, the Ajegunle community cannot be referred to as a slum (see pp. 261–297). Spontaneity of housing and how it relates to Ajegunle community links to the discussion on informal housing. The existing form of slums is explored and a distinction is made for the Ajegunle community by explaining the differences between these slum typologies and the Ajegunle case. The existing forms of classification that can be used to categorise Ajegunle community are critiqued. As a result, demonstrating whether this classification is sufficient to express the discoveries made by this study from the complexities of the existing Ajegunle condition.

Spontaneity is part of the feature of informal housing in developing countries (see pp. 66–67). This chapter is not suggesting that spontaneity is a negative influence to the community, but it is attempting to understand spontaneity as an urban process, that leads to the existing informal housing form. This concept is examined in order to understand the socio-cultural underpinnings that are related to this type of evolution. The developments in Ajegunle can also be referred to as spontaneous housing. The concept is analysed, as a background to understand the existing housing situation. The existing literature that focuses specifically on the socio-cultural aspect and the spontaneous nature of housing are examined. Dwyer (1975); Hernando De Soto (2000); Davis (2006) and Neuwirth (2005) gave documentaries on the different aspects of the urban crisis situation. Respectively, this includes: analysis of the realities of slum existence and the limitation of the existing policies in developing countries (Dwyer, 1975), an investigation into areas of urban life that have been affected by the urban housing crisis (Hernando De Soto, 2000), the measurement of the economy of these areas and the assessment of the nature of the crisis (Davis, 2006) and scale and policy implications of urban squatter settlements (Neuwirth, 2005). On the other hand, Leeds (1981) and the UN-Habitat (2003) examined the provision of a comprehensive review of the housing situation among the urban poor and suggested classifications for the different types of the pattern of spontaneity that evolved from the processes of the informal settlements. Leeds (1981), distinguished mainly between squatter settlements, titled plots without services and inner city slums and an overview of conditions of these different types of informal settlements. UN-Habitat (2003) grounded the concept of slums by analysing: the social and spatial forms, the existing definition and notion, the characteristics and the dynamics of slums as it relates to the economy.

The Leeds' (1981) classification of the informal settlement is described. The concept of slum is explored by investigating the UN-habitat (2003) analysis, as part of the background to

understand the existing situation in Ajegunle. The concept of spontaneous housing cuts across the Leeds' (1981) classification of squatter settlements, titled plots without services and inner city slums. By squatter settlement, he suggests the informal settlements built on land not belonging to the residents but invaded and taken over by them (see Leeds 1981, pp. 168–175). In spontaneous housing, lack of confidence of tenure instils fear in residents, which suggests inadequate investment on the part of residents that result in the lack of improvement by the Government. "Titled plot" implies some security of tenure and an organized spatial arrangement (Leeds, 1981). The inhabitants are encouraged to build a better quality of housing depending on their earnings. However, this form of settlement is left with no external assistance and low sense of community, which challenges the development in the community (see Leeds 1981, pp. 32–42). "Emergency housing" suggests a firmer judicial status than squatting. It is often established under the guise of the Government authority with a political undertone. This leads to a limited duration and does not offer inhabitants the opportunity of an indefinite or guaranteed period of occupancy (see Leeds 1981, pp. 35–41). Inner city slums suggest a deteriorated housing that may have been of initial high quality (see Leeds 1981, pp. 41–42).

These classifications are used as the backdrop for understanding the Ajegunle situation by comparing the characteristics of the informal housing typologies to the findings of the case study. Firstly, the existing situation in Ajegunle community, based on Leeds' definition, cannot be referred to as a squatter settlement. Leeds (1981), pointed out that an important element of squatter settlement, is the land taken over without any legal agreement between the owners and the occupiers (see Leeds 1981, p. 168). However, in the context of Ajegunle community there is a legal agreement between the land owner and the occupiers consented by the Local Government (see pp. 282–284). Ajegunle community can thus not be regarded as a squatter settlement. Secondly, the term title plot refers to an informal settlement with a

form of organised planning, but part of the issues which relate to this type of settlement is the lack of external support. In Ajegunle, there seems to be a strong sense of community, which informs the physical development of their built environment (see pp. 289–291). Even though the external support is minimal, which is similar to the titled plot, the strong internal mechanism within Ajegunle eliminates the community from this type of informal settlement. Thirdly, the notion of emergency housing, suggests temporal land ownership based on the Governmental position that has a political undertone. The Ajegunle community context is excluded from this group, because the residents are landowners and their land tenure is not influenced by political decision. It appears to be based on the existing government laws on land ownership (see pp. 282–284). Fourthly, Ajegunle is not an inner city slum based on the discoveries from the case study. The existing definition and evaluation of slums based on Leeds classification, appears not to be sufficient to categorise Ajegunle community as an inner city slum. Leeds (1981) suggests that inner city slum is a deteriorated housing that may have been of initial high quality. This study revealed that Ajegunle is not a community in deterioration; rather, it appears to be going through an initial phase of its physical development (see pp. 289–291). Ajegunle community is not suggested as an ideal housing condition. However, the existing notion of informal housing is separated from the context of Ajegunle community. Though Ajegunle community appears to be an informal housing, the chapter shows that the existing definitions and classifications of informal housing are not appropriate to categorise Ajegunle's existing situation.

The study disagrees on referring to the Ajegunle community as a slum. Thus, the analysis of the existing notions of slums, seeks to set the background to re-define the Ajegunle context. The etymology, measurement, generic and operational definitions of slum suggests a negative connotation (see pp. 66–71) that does not represent the evolution of Ajegunle community and as such, it is miss-represented as a slum. However, UN-Habitat (2003) suggests that

slums can be divided into two broad classes. Firstly, "slums of hope" which refer to informal settlements characterised by self-built structure, going through development but with an illegal land tenure system. That said, *slums of hope?* is also used as a title of a book by Lloyd (1979), which examined the challenges of the urban poor in developing countries, but "slums of hope", was not defined as stated by UN-Habitat (2003). Secondly "slums of despair" which suggest deteriorating neighbourhoods, in which environmental conditions and domestic services are undergoing a process of degeneration. Ajegunle community is maintained as a case of neither "slums of despair" nor "slums of hope". The distinct difference between these two classifications is that "slums of despair" were an ideal housing settlement, but the housing condition degenerated into a slum. In contrast, the "slums of hope" evolved, as an informal housing with an existing housing crisis that relates to the illegality of the land tenure (UN-Habitat, 2003). The Ajegunle situation appears not to be a slum of despair. This is because there was no earlier form of ideal housing, where the conditions degenerated to the existing housing condition in Ajegunle community. Ajegunle appears to be in the initial phase of its developmental transition. Based on this position, it does not belong to this typology of slum. The "slums of hope" could have been used to describe the Ajegunle situation, based on the informal aspect and the developmental notion connected to this type of slum (see UN-Habitat, 2003). However, because of the illegality feature of this typology, the Ajegunle community has moved beyond this definition and classification due to the internal strategy developed. Furthermore, considering the etymology, definitions and the existing classification of slum (see pp. 66–71), "slums of hope" appears not to have the theoretical and the operational capabilities to demonstrate the tenets and internal mechanism of the Ajegunle community. In addition to this position, "slums of hope" cannot comprehensively describe the evolution of the Ajegunle community. This community operates a concentric land tenure system, which aligns with the Local

Government laws and recognises the private land owners (see pp. 282–284). As a result, the question of illegality as regards the land tenure seems not to be an issue in the labyrinth of the existing conditions facing the Ajegunle residents.

In order to understand the rejection of the use of slum to describe the Ajegunle situation and why "slum of hope" cannot be used to demonstrate the existing condition, the syntax of "slum of hope" is further analysed. Generically, "slum of hope" appears to be a complete sentence, where "slum" compliments the word "hope". In the vocabulary construction, "slum" is the subject and "hope" is the object of the sentence. This suggests that, the word "slum" is a principal factor that influences the possibility of "hope". The use of "slum" in this sentence, suggests that "hope" is a probability that depends on slum. The sentence situates "slum" as the dominant feature of the sentence. This construction suggests that "slum" is the main focus, whereby hope is reduced to a possibility. Thus, the notion of progression and development in the Ajegunle community is limited in context, and in relation to the textuality of "slum of hope". The use of slum in the context of the existing physical conditions and in text to describe the internal and the external elements of the Ajegunle situation are rejected. Slum appears to be a negative connotation which disguises the vital aspects of the evolution of an informal housing. Even though, the community is in housing crisis, there seems to be the need to develop a positive connotation, which recognises the existing problem and concentrates on internal social-cultural mechanisms, thus informing the social outlook of the community.

To strengthen this position, the construction processes involved in Ajegunle are explored (see pp. 289–291). Part of the characteristics of spontaneous housing as it relates to Ajegunle community, is its physical construction, which is done by the residents. They do not depend on the building contractors but use their own labour to erect buildings and also engage in the

provision of community services, which includes water drainages. This concept of self-dependence is referred to as "disintermediation". The term used by Hawken (1982), who suggests that disintermediation is the evading of professional services and a dependence on one's abilities. The Ajegunle situation cannot be totally regarded to as disintermediation. Even though the residents are engaged in the construction themselves, they can be classified as skilled in different aspects of the building professions, but cannot be classified as professionals. They are most often times skilled labour, but they do not have the legal documents or the formal education in order to be regarded to as professionals. They are however used as skilled labour for the major constructions in the macro-urban setting. Hawker's "disintermediation" appears to be part of the characteristics of the service oriented economies. There is a low level of disintermediation as a strategy that an individual displays in the case of economic decline. Although, the self-dependence construction team of the Ajegunle community is part of the survival strategy which is similar to disintermediation (see pp. 289–291). In the context of Ajegunle, this survival strategy does not lack the knowledge or the expertise to achieve the construction of their buildings. These discussions demonstrate that the Ajegunle community is distinct from the existing classifications, definitions and various forms of slum. Ajegunle community is divorced from the generalisation that communities with physical characteristics, which are similar to urban housing crisis condition, are slums. To strengthen this physical composition of Ajegunle community that has been used to separate it from slum, part of other internal elements that associates a community with slum conditions are explored.

Exploring the notion of economy and poverty in Ajegunle community

The internal elements that are connected to a slum situation are explored, to further establish that Ajegunle community is not a slum. It explores issues that relate to the informal micro-economy of Ajegunle and its wider implication on the formal macro-economy of the

urban setting. The notion of poverty, the ways in which it is evaluated and the relationships to communities in urban housing crisis are examined. The existing definitions of poverty in relation to an urban housing crisis are also investigated. Poverty as part of the entities that are related to slum is clarified by investigating the misconceptions that combine poverty and slumdom. As part of the process of understanding poverty and its relationship to urban housing crisis condition, the chapter refers to Maslow's theory of human need. That said, it is acknowledged that Maslow's hierarchy of human need has been criticised because of the hierarchy that has been used to classify the different level of needs (see Maslow, 1987; Fisher 1990). This suggests that lower level of needs is "material related" while the higher level of needs are considered to be "non-material", as such the lower level of need, requires satisfaction prior to achieving the higher level of need (see Fisher 1990, p. 92). He further suggested that human needs are not pursued strictly by hierarchy, but dependent on a social condition or context. This chapter acknowledges this position and refers to Maslow's theory of human need not because of the hierarchy. However, it uses Maslow's classification in order to understand the relationship between poverty and the living conditions that are associated with a community in urban housing crisis. This discussion forms part of the foundation for the examination of "culture of poverty" which is developed by Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966), and further explained in the body of the chapter (see pp. 92–95). To further strengthen and separate the Ajegunle context from the existing theories that relate its components to similar characteristics of slum, the internal composition is explored.

The internal composition of cities is explored by investigating the relationship between the formal and the informal sector of the urban setting. Cities in developing countries possess a dual economy (Castells, 1977; Santos, 1977). There is the formal sector which involves the business conglomerate that functions on the international economic level. On the other hand, there is an informal sector comprising of the accumulation of small-scale urban

activities. This involves petty trading, hawking and other forms of small enterprises, which need minimum amount of capital. The formal sector can be described as the major business that is featured in the central business districts. This business contributes to the overall economy of the nation. It is capital intensive and the activities are structured in international institutional forms in order to ease international exchange with other companies. This formal sector is corporate in nature and is designed to follow the tenets guiding the corporate business. On the contrary, the informal sector is different from the corporate typology of the corporate sector. It consists of small enterprises, which includes the family or local co-operative institutions in order to withstand considerable fluctuation in demand of their products. There is an inward mobility from one activity to another or the cultivation of different activities simultaneously. Family labour is the key to the survival of this type of business and thus, the salary paying system is removed from the logistics of this business type. This type of business is not operated on an interregional or international scale, the focus is within the city or the neighbourhood. This type of informal sector business characterises the commerce in the slum areas and informal housing. The informal residents in the developing country earn their living from the informal sector activities. This is situated either within or outside the slum areas. UN-habitat (2003) suggested that most slum dwellers are in low-paying occupations such as informal jobs in the garment industry, recycling of solid waste, a variety of home-based enterprises, which includes: domestic servants, security guards and self-employed hair dressers and furniture makers. However, information from the case study in Ajegunle community, a supposed "slum" community, suggests that occupations and income generating activities of "slum" dwellers emphasizes the diversity of the "slum" populations (see pp. 112–113). This ranges from university lecturers, students and formal sector employees, to those engaged in informal sector business, which includes petty trading and other home-based enterprises.

It seems that there exists a symbiotic relationship between the formal and the informal sector. Although part of the issues facing the informal sector is the lack of recognition by the formal sector, low levels of productivity and incomes also affect the informal society. Each of them plays a vital role in the sustainability of the economy of the nation. While the informal sector generates a micro-economy in the neighbourhood, the formal sector contributes to the national economy of the nation. As such, there are intersections between the services that these sectors provide. This intersection informed competition and a complimentary action between the activities generated from this sector. An example of competition is in the aspect of urban transport. In the context of Lagos, it seems that the informal sector enterprises cannot fund equipments needed to manage bus operations. As a result, they use motorcycles as a business venture to commute in the city, because the waiting period for the buses is not as effective as the motorcycles in terms of manoeuvring the traffic of the community. A competition between the informal and the formal sector informed a complimentary action, where both sectors are employers of labour, which discourages and reduces crime in a community. Thus the complimentary action of the informal and formal sectors contributes to the development of the society.

There seems to be a wider importance of the formal sector to the economy of a nation. That said, the informal sector seems to be the business entry level into the formal sector. As such, the informal economy is an essential mechanism that allows the migration of people into the city. It maintains immigrants at an economic status that might not immediately fit into the urban economy, to prepare and sustain the migrants, until they can enter the higher level of earnings of the urban setting. Even though, the business opportunities that are available at this level are not capital intensive, they include home-based enterprises and petty trading. The volume of the customers, based on the higher percentage of people living in these communities, appears to give an opportunity of informal education in the informal processes

of the enterprises (see pp. 112–113). The education seems to be accrued informally by developing their inter-personal skills based on the higher volume of social interactions between the customers. The informal sector seems to be a relevant entity in terms of the economy of a community and the wider context of the urban setting. This discussion contributes to the importance of informal sector to the wider macro-economy and illuminates the internal elements of Ajegunle community.

The internal elements of informal housing that inform its generalisation as a slum is investigated by exploring the notion of poverty, the various interpretations and its wider implication on the Ajegunle community. Poverty is a phenomenon that has been given different descriptions. This ranges from the conceptual approach to different dimensions of poverty. The notion of poverty is a complex occurrence that needs an understanding for an adequate perception. Poverty is associated with "deficiency". However, in relation to human needs, there are still arguments on what constitute the basic human need and how they can be identified (see Wratten, 1995).

The notion of poverty in the urban setting is considered by exploring urban poverty in relation to the slum condition. Urban poverty is also associated with structural causes, which are socially constructed constraints to opportunities (Wratten, 1995). There are different positions on the definition of urban poverty and the evaluation of urban poverty is complicated by other regional factors (Moser *et al.*, 1993). Part of the factors that complicates the evaluation of poverty is the difference in national definitions of urban areas. Definitions of urban areas are based on national criteria such as population thresholds. Settlements over 1,000 people qualify as towns in Canada, but the lower limit is 2,000 in Kenya, 10,000 in Jordan, 50,000 in Japan (Wratten, 1995). Other factors include: density of residential buildings; type and level of public services provided; proportion of population engaged in

non-agricultural work; and officially designated territories (Wratten, 1995). That said, two interpretations were identified that established the evaluation of poverty, which includes: the economic and anthropological approaches (Wratten, 1995). Firstly, economic definitions use income or consumption complemented by a range of other social indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrolment rates, access to health clinics or drinking water, to classify poor groups against a common index of material welfare. Wratten (1995) provided justification for using income as a proxy for welfare. He suggested that it is highly correlated with other causes of poverty, a predictor of future problems and an indication of deprivation. For instance, the quantity of a city's households that are earning less than what is needed to afford basic necessities or living is demonstrated as less than 1 or 2 Dollars a day. Financial measures of poverty have been used in many countries, but they appear not to resonate with the multidimensional nature of poverty (see Amis, 1995; Moser, 1996; Jones, 1999; Courmont, 2001). Secondly, the anthropological approach developed by the social planners working with communities in the third world allow for local variation in the meaning of poverty. Thus, they expand the definition to encompass perceptions of non-material deprivation and social differentiation (Satterthwaite, 1995; Wratten, 1995).

In order to understand other factors that are associated with poverty, it is recognized that human beings' state of poverty is not just because of low incomes. Poverty may be derived from: an unstable risky asset, housing overcrowding, low quality of life, inadequate sanitation, health care or schools and lack of supportive structure similar to protection by laws and regulations concerning civil, cultural, economic, political, social and welfare. Inter-related aspects of poverty were considered by addressing monetary resources or livelihoods with other aspects of poverty that may ensure a sustainable transition from poverty.

Moser (1996) suggests a conceptual approach to the different dimensions of urban poverty, which encompasses and classifies the different aspects of urban poverty. This includes: Low income: consisting of those who are unable to participate in labour markets, lack other means of support and those whose wage income is low, as such they are below a nominal poverty line; Low human capital: low education and poor health; Low social capital: this involves a shortage of networks to protect households from shock; weak patronage on the labour market; labelling and exclusion. Low financial capital: lack of productive assets that might be used to generate income or avoid paying major costs (for example, a house, a farm or a business), particularly applies to minority groups.

In the context of Ajegunle community, people's own perceptions of "urban poverty" are different from those of the professionals and government officials in the urban community. The people of the community place an importance on qualitative dimensions such as: "culture", freedom, identity, independence, legal and political rights, respect and social relationships. This position makes relevant the debates on poverty to include perceptions such as entitlement and vulnerability (Wratten, 1995). Entitlement refers to the complex ways in which individuals or households command resources, which vary between people over time and long-term trends (Sen, 1981). Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, but refers to defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk (Wratten, 1995). Vulnerability is reduced by assets, such as: human investment in health and education; productive assets including housing and access to community infrastructure and claims on other households (Wratten, 1995). These arguments of entitlement and vulnerability as part of the measurement of poverty, connects with the risk experienced in informal settlements. This risk surrounds uncertainty in land tenancy in some forms of informal settlement (see pp. 72–77). Although, the concept of entitlement and vulnerability is useful in explaining how "urban poverty" is connected to the issues emanating from areas experiencing an urban

housing crisis, however it does not link "poverty" directly to the creation of informal housing. Even though the existing housing condition in Ajegunle is in crisis, the residents of the community are connected to "urban poverty", as against "poverty" because of entitlement and vulnerability definitions, which are within the perceptions of urban poverty.

The "material" position to "poverty" as being the underlying factor for the description of this urban phenomenon appears to be contentious. The question is poverty defined by the people experiencing a situation or by the observers analysing an existing condition that suggests a state of poverty is considered. In order to explore this question, this study refers to Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs. Maslow developed a model in which basic low level needs such as physiological requirements and safety must be satisfied, before higher level needs such as self-fulfilment are pursued (Maslow, 1987). These basic physiological and safety needs comprise of air, water, sleep and personal security, while the other hierarchy of needs consists of social needs, such as esteem and self actualisation. This entails the need for friends, self-respect, recognition, reputation and self-actualisation; which is the state of profound happiness (Maslow, 1987). He also reinforced that if a level of a need is not satisfied, then motivation will not arise for the quest to satisfy other needs. Furthermore, some level of needs such as social needs and esteem are not felt until the basic physical needs that are directly linked to bodily functions are achieved.

The absolute fulfilment of basic physical need including shelter, has been the core of the evaluation of poverty, as such it has effected a misunderstanding, which affected the central analysis of concept of poverty in slums (UN-Habitat, 2003). Poverty as it relates to Ajegunle community is discussed by referring to the classification within the Maslow's theory. The general position is that slums or communities that are submerged in housing crisis are synonymous with a symbolic register of poverty (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Maslow (1987) identifies different classifications of needs in his model. These basic physiological and security needs are achieved in housing. Housing comprises of the house which is the physical structure and the services that supports its continued existence. This combination of services and the house appears to form the foundation of the community (see pp. 169–172). The basic needs that are identified by Maslow appear to be fulfilled in the ideal concept of housing. Physiological needs such as sleep, personal security are accomplished through the fundamental functions of housing, which includes: provision of shelter, protection from weather agents of denudation, comfort and personal security. The residents of Ajegunle are pre-occupied with the essential function of providing housing, which comprises of the fundamental needs; personal security and accommodation as described by Maslow model. This pre-occupation does not suggest that they do not have the potential, or are not achieving the other classification of needs such as social needs. In contrast to Ajegunle context, the formal urban setting appears not to spend much time on this fundamental development of housing as compared to the informal housing under which Ajegunle community is classified. Thus, this lack of connection to the fundamental process of housing development in an informal community appears to have informed an assumption from observers that slum condition is synonymous with poverty (see Lewis, 1966). This assumption, posits that because the residents of Ajegunle and most communities in housing crisis condition are not in the same category in Maslow's classification, then the people are lower in status, as such they have been categorised as "poor" or related to poverty. It seems that because the residents of Ajegunle community are pre-occupied with the fundamental task of achieving the basic classification of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, does not mean that they are not motivated to achieve, or not achieving the higher level of needs.

The residents of the Ajegunle community seem to achieve this other classification of needs in a different manner, as compared to the formal urban setting. The position that suggests,

'…concentrating on poor people's priorities [gives] a dominant view of the poor as passive or irresponsible, and [encourages] the patronizing assumption of experts that poor people are there to be planned for' (Wratten 1995, p. 18) is rejected. In contrast to this position, the concept of "participatory investigation" which allows drawing on the life experiences of people, thereby developing an in-depth understanding of the processes involved in the people's general liveability (see Wratten, 1995) is in line with this study. There appears to be the need to understand the internal interpretation within the informal community, as against generalising the context of informal urban setting. Furthermore, considering the informal resident position on their lived experience contribute to the understanding of the housing crisis situation.

"Urban poverty" as it relates to informal housing, the definitions of entitlement and vulnerability regarding land tenement is explored. "Poverty" is separated from "urban poverty" and other qualitative dimensions, which has been overlooked as part of the indicators of poverty in informal housing. These discussions of the issues that relate to a qualitative position of poverty, such as: culture, identity, independence, respect and social relationships, connects poverty to informal housing as compared to the physical condition of the community. This physical condition has been used as a factor to indicate a community that is related to poverty. Thus, poverty has been used to capture informal housing that has similar characteristics as a slum. The "culture of poverty" as formulated by Lewis (1966) is explored.

The notion of "culture of poverty"

The theories that connect poverty to informal housing are examined by arguing that Lewis (1966) notion of "culture of poverty" is not reflected in the Ajegunle situation. By so doing, constructs an understanding for the existing situation in Ajegunle community. Many writers

characterised the residents of informal settlements as marginally skilled people who do not adapt to the urban setting Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966). This position was grounded by Fanon (1968); Friere (1970), which suggested that the local variations of informal housing conditions cannot affect the generalisation that residents of informal housing are marginally skilled, as such they are a burden to the macro-economy. Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966) maintained the position that slum dwellers were a burden to the existing social structure and a potential threat to the social and political relations of the urban dwellers. He argues that "culture of poverty" has been the characteristic of the slum communities. He suggests that the physical condition of the slums is linked to the psychological status of the slum dwellers, which inhibits their economic progression (Lewis, 1966). In his book, *La vida: a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty-San Juan and New York*, he asserted this position:

> The culture of poverty…is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the larger society. Once it comes into existence it intends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children. By the time slum children are six or seven they… usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities, which may occur in life time (Lewis 1966, p. 50).

He further suggested that the "culture of poverty" is applicable to the African context because of the "relatively" low level of "western" influence. This implies that the upward progression of residents of Ajegunle community is limited, because their existing physical condition has affected them psychologically, as such they are not driven to take full advantage of opportunities. This view is rejected because part of the solution to the existing housing crisis appears to be the understanding of the socio-cultural nuances of the community.

Hernando De Soto's perspective of having the right standpoint to the residents of communities submerged in housing crisis aligns with the need for socio-cultural

understanding. In his book, *The Mystery of Capital*, Hernando De Soto (2000) explains his view towards images depicting the existing housing crisis in developing countries:

> The words 'international poverty' too easily brings to mind images of destitute beggars sleeping on the kerbsides … and hungry African children starving on the sand. These scenes are, of course, real and millions of our fellow human beings demand and deserve our help. Nevertheless, the grimmest picture of the Third World is not the most accurate. Worse, it draws attention away from the ardours achievements of those small entrepreneurs who have triumphed over every imaginable obstacle to create the greater part of the wealth of their society. A truer image would depict a man and woman who have painstakingly saved to construct a house for themselves and their children, and who are creating enterprises where nobody imagined they could build. I resent the characterisazation of such heroic entrepreneurs as contributors to the problem of global [crisis]. They are not the problem. They are the solution (p. 34).

This standpoint suggests that having the right perspective to the existing urban situation, connects with the rejection of the view that the residents of a community in an urban crisis are either a burden or a threat to the existing structure of the society.

There are contours to the phenomenon of the existing urban housing crisis in developing countries that affect its perception. That said, the internal strategies developed seem to be part of the response to the existing situation and not a contribution to the existing crisis. The discoveries made in Ajegunle from the case study reinforce this argument (see pp. 261–297). It suggests that Ajegunle is an upwardly mobile community that is separate from Lewis (1966) position on "culture of poverty" of informal housing (The discoveries from Ajegunle are further discussed in chapter seven of this study). By so doing, it separates Ajegunle community and its internal composition, from the assumptions based on a generalisation that did not consider the socio-cultural meanings associated with housing.

As discussed earlier (see pp. 52–57), these socio-cultural underpinnings of a community, illuminates the core elements of housing. Thus, it alters a generalised view of housing that separates the Ajegunle community from a generic understanding of informal housing. Ajegunle community is separated from the existing understanding of slums by exploring the

notion of "culture of poverty" as expressed by Oscar Lewis. The discussions that relate to slum and poverty set the background for the analysis of Ajegunle community.

Complexity of poverty in slums

In order to construct an understanding for the existing situation in Ajegunle community, poverty and its relationship to slum were explored. Ajegunle was established as a community that relates to "urban poverty" as compared to "poverty". Wratten (1995) suggested that part of the risk of poverty is that people without any effort remain in poverty. The survival strategies developed by the residents can be considered as an effort made to have an upward progression in their present urban housing condition. Based on this effort by the people, the Ajegunle community cannot be classified as a community in poverty.

UN-Habitat (2003) suggested that the notion of slum and poverty are related, and the relationship is not always direct or simple. The residents of a community in a slum condition seem not to be a homogeneous population. Parts of these residents are people with reasonable incomes, who choose to live within, or on, the edges of slum communities. As a result, there are a large percentage of people living in the informal settlements, who work within the formal sector of the economy. Due to the growing urban informal sector, there has been a growth in the informal economy, the large-scale informal and squatter settlements in urban centres (UN-Habitat, 2003). As a result, the informal sector accounts for as much as 60 percent of employment of the urban population and may well serve the needs of an equally high proportion of citizens through the provision of goods and services (Mumtaz and Wegelin, 2001). As revealed in the case study, the people living in the Ajegunle community have incomes that are parallel to, or even more than, the earnings of formal-sector employees (see pp. 83–87; pp. 112–113). This is due to the diverse population of the residents of the community which involves the people who are majorly in the informal sector

and partly in the formal sector. Some of the jobs in the informal sector appear to have more earnings than the jobs in the formal sector. For example:

> A person employed in the Local Government, who is on the lower level, will earn less than a person using a motor-cycle as a business venture for transportation. The person in the Local Government is placed on 7500 Naira fix salary, while the person in the transportation business makes within the range of 10,000 and 12000 Naira per month (Interview Local State Government Staff 1).

Furthermore, it is maintained that the slum population is not a homogenous population of people in poverty. The "slum" or informal housing population are a diverse population of residents of the community that belong to a different sector of the economy, which implies that a major part of the residents in an urban society, stay in the informal housing. This position does not suggest that they earn less than the people in the formal sector. However, it demonstrates that these areas labelled as "slum" are economically viable, in a strategic location to the urban setting, which informed a mixed population of residents, belonging to different parts of the economy.

The notion of slums is associated with poverty. UN-Habitat (2003) suggests that this is due to slums being designated areas where it is easiest to see people affected by urban "poverty" in the highest concentrations and the worst conditions. This does not imply that formal areas will not have some low-income people. UN-Habitat's position affirms that slum conditions are caused by urban "poverty", which is due to inadequate housing responses, which partly informs such informal settlement. Thus, the characteristics of informal settlement or housing are often confused by act or implication with the description of the people living in them. Furthermore, the issues of living conditions, poverty, urban poverty and poor people's management of their own situation are complex, which leads to a confusion that resulted to the connection of poverty and slums. "Poverty" in urban areas seems to be increasing for some decades and there are now higher numbers of the poor people in the urban centres,

due to the urban poor's migration to explore perceived economic opportunities (UN–Habitat, 2003).

There is the need to distinguish and understand different levels and types of poverty as it relates to informal housing. This chapter is not addressing slum conditions as part of an overall poverty situation. It does not assume that those living in slums appear physically uniform; as such they all have the same needs and demands. However, it is presenting the slum condition as part of the response to the existing housing crisis, thereby acknowledging that there are positive aspects of a "slum", which needs an analysis in order to develop an understanding of the existing housing crisis. The existing housing crisis in Ajegunle community is contextualised.

CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE EXISTING HOUSING SITUATION

By exploring the existing government concepts and strategies deployed to minimise the housing crisis, the existing housing situation is contextualised. This sets the background for an overview of the Nigerian existing housing situation. Based on this background, the Government concepts and strategies to housing in Nigeria are examined, through exploring the different interventions to urban housing used by the Government. Moreover, it explores the existing government participation in housing through highlighting the different housing policies that were formulated by the Government. In line with these discussions on the role of the Government on housing, the perception of the housing condition in Nigeria is explored. These discussions set the background for the analysis of the existing government housing policies and programmes.

Overview of Nigerian existing housing situation

The existing government participation in housing, the concepts and strategies that were adopted to tackle the housing crisis situation and the effects of the housing condition in Nigeria is examined. In order to understand the Government intervention, the Government involvement is divided into pre-independence, post-independence and post-second republic[11] till recent housing programmes. The principles behind these programmes and the national housing policies developed during different periods in Nigeria are highlighted.

These periods are explored in order to construct a backdrop for the existing housing crisis situation. Pre-independence, post-independence and post-republic Nigeria, has adopted several strategies such as: Federal and State housing programs, slum clearance and resettlement, public but international assisted settlement upgrading and sites and services. These appear to have a limited impact on housing development and improvement in Nigeria (see Awotona, 1988; Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992; Ikejiofor, 1999; Ogu, 1999; Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). That said, the Government's urban housing participation in Nigeria is explored, in order to understand the approach of the Government to housing.

Existing Government's urban housing participation in Nigeria

The Government's concepts and strategies to housing in Nigeria are explored, through understanding the existing government's urban housing participation and housing intervention carried out during the different regimes. This section concentrates on housing policies and programmes that affected Lagos, which has a wider implication on the existing situation in Ajegunle community. As a result, it sets the background to understand the

[11] Nigeria gained independence in 1960. The country became a republic in 1963. The second republic is a political classification for a particular regime of government. This second republic was between 1979 to 1984 (see Falola and Ihonvbere, 1985)

different government participation in housing under the different political periods (further discussed in chapter three). Governmental intervention to housing in Nigeria began before 1960, in the colonial era (Aribigbola, 2000). The policies during this period attempted to provide housing reservation for government officials and there was no intention to tackle the housing problem on a national scale (Omange and Udegbe, 2000). The housing policy of the Government focused on the provision of quarters for the expatriate staff of the Colonial Government (Oni, 1989) and for selected indigenous staff in specialized occupations, like the railways and the police (Aribigbola, 2000). This marked the advent of Government Residential Areas (GRAs) in Nigeria (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). The basic idea in the GRA policy was to provide a habitable housing and environment for the expatriate administrator, which is comparable to the best housing in their respective countries (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). Their housing quarters were well planted, with all the possible comfort, services and amenities; including water, closed sewers, electricity, and abundance of open space and recreational areas. The idea of housing reservation was thus initiated and implemented in Lagos and in regional and provincial capitals throughout the country.

Part of the effect of the pre-independence housing programme is the "slum-clearance" (see Marris, 1962; Olayemi, 1980; Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). In Lagos, the slum clearance exercise was the central part of the Lagos housing Scheme (Olayemi, 1980). These involved about 29 hectares of densely populated area of the city and which contained about 30,000 inhabitants (Olayemi, 1980). The slum clearance divided the city marginalizing it into high and low density areas (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). The Surulere housing scheme in Lagos, which was established in the late 1950, was partly designed to provide temporary residential housing for the displaced people from the slum areas of central Lagos (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). The scheme, however, became permanent housing for such families as a result of problems associated with the re-allocation of redeveloped land in central Lagos

(Abiodun, 2000). In 1958, the Western Regional Government pioneered the establishment of housing corporations, where other regions of Nigeria followed the same plan. Onibokun (1990) suggested that, the main function of the housing corporations was the construction of housing units for sales to members of the public and the issuance of loans, to whoever wished to build their own houses on their land. He further argued that, the corporations were largely irrelevant to the needs of the poor majority. Thus, their efforts had no significant impact on the housing situation of the urban poor. This was due partly to the inadequacy of funds, the stringent conditions attached to the issuance of the loans and lack of technical expertise.

The post-independence public intervention from 1960 to 1972 in housing was not different from the colonial period in terms of housing provision for the generality of the urban settlers (Abiodun, 2000). The post-independence had a series of development plans, which included: the First National Development Plan (1962–1968), the Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980) and the Fourth National Development Plan (1981–1985) (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). In the First National Development Plan (1962–1968), the Government's effort towards the housing provision was focused principally on Lagos. However, out of the 61,000 units that was to be built during the period, only 500 units (less than 1 percent) were actually built by the Federal Government. Moreover, the bulk of the housing units were meant for senior civil servants while the housing situation of the poor majority was left unattended. The Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), was a review of the First National Development Plan, which shows only marginal improvements in government efforts in the housing provision. Further consideration of the Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), reveals that funding was allocated by the Government of the federation, and some state governments were neglected, while some states did not allocate money for such programmes. During the

Third National Development Plan (1975–1980), the Government accepted housing as its social responsibility. The Government pledged to provide housing for all income groups, especially low-income groups and to ensure that average urban workers did not pay more than 20 percent of monthly income as rent. The thrust of the Government's effort was direct construction of housing units at federal and state levels, increased construction of quarters for public officials and expanded credit facilities to enhance private housing construction. This informed the development of the Nigerian Building Society, which later transformed to the Federal Mortgage Bank (Omange and Udegbe, 2000). The Third National Development Plan made some progress in the provision of housing (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). However, the actual housing provision of 28,000 units represents only 14 percent of the target of 202,000 units (FGN, 2004) or about 3 percent of the actual housing shortage of 867,000 by 1975 (Benjamin, 2000). Despite all the policies and efforts of the Government during the 1975–1980 development plan period, the actual provision of low-cost housing for the teeming population of urban poor was lacking (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009).

The Fourth National Development Plan (1981–1985) housing provision seems to be based on the concept of affordability and citizenship participation (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). During this period, the Government embarked on a programme and in the first phase, it planned the construction of 160,000 housing units nationwide between 1979 and 1983. Olotuah and Bobadoye (2009) commented that the development plan proposed the construction of 2,000 houses for each of the then 19 States and Abuja annually, out of which 80 percent was earmarked for low-income earners. By 1983, only about 20 percent of the set target was achieved (Benjamin, 2000). Moreover, the buildings, which were tagged "low-cost housing", ended up being costly for the target group; the low-income earners. These were in most cases sited in locations distant from workplaces, which made it unattractive to the low income group (Olotuah, 2000). As a result, the houses provided were purchased by the high

income earners, who in many instances, let out the houses to the low-income group at exorbitant prices (Benjamin, 2000; Olotuah, 2000). The second phase of the housing programme (with a target of 20,000 dwellings to be built all over Nigeria) was initiated mid-way through the first phase; it never took off in several states, mainly because of undue politicizations and the uncooperative attitude of the state executives (Olotuah, 2000). The housing provision drive during this period appears to be substantial, but the urban poor benefited little from it as the cost of the housing units was beyond their reach.

The subsidised housing reservation that was reserved for the colonialists became a reservation for the new Nigerian administrative and political elites after independence. Thus, the policy of Government Residential Areas seems to be retained. The new government officials utilized the Government Residential Area as a distinction from the people of the community (Aribigbola, 2000). The undeveloped parts of reservations were later developed and more quarters were built and allocated to the civil servants and there was not a holistic view towards the existing housing crisis. The period concentrated on some aspect of the community (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). There were various forms of restructuring to the Nigerian housing policy from 1985 till recent (this is further discussed in chapter three). However, most of these housing policies appear to have approached the existing urban housing crisis with a quantitative provision of houses (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009).

The Government intervention in the pre-independence Nigeria in the colonial era was largely limited to the provision of staff housing units in Government residential areas and regional capitals (Olotuah, 2000; Omange and Udegbe, 2000). The post-independence had series of development plans, which includes: The First National Development Plan (1962–1968), The Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), Third National Development Plan (1975–1980) and The Fourth National Development Plan (1981–1985) (see Olotuah and Bobadoye,

2009). Even though these development plans intended provision of housing for different regions of the country, it was not delivered adequately, because it was underpinned by political quagmire (Olotuah and Bodadoye, 2009). Furthermore, there was no holistic formulation of a national housing policy that concentrated on the notion of affordability. The second republic till present had the framework to initiate housing provision, however it focused on the quantitative needs of the people. This quantitative position seems not to be a derivation of a qualitative process that considers the human element of housing provision, thus informing a gap in understanding of the housing situation on the part of the Government. To strengthen this, the perception of the housing condition in Nigeria is explored.

Perception of the housing conditions in Nigeria

By examining the effect of different housing programmes formulated by the Government, the housing perception is explored. The existing urban housing crisis in Nigeria, in the last few decades have become more challenging because of the teeming urban population. As a result, there are negative aspects of this rural-urban migration, which has informed the increase in population. The intelligent quotient of individuals living in a community seems to be a derivation of the state of well-being of the housing condition. Brueckner and Pereira (1997) share the view that housing comprises a major part of a nation's wealth and plays a role in economic development. Housing is not only important for shelter purposes, but also for the role it plays in people's lives. Ideal housing will reduce overcrowding, which is associated with crime, disease, abrasive friction in communities and urban decadence. These positions imply that quality of housing enhances the health and welfare of human beings.

The factors that contribute to the existing crisis seem to be the lack of understanding by the Government on housing delivery to the community. The existing situation appears to reflect

the characteristic of the pre-colonial and post-colonial practises. These practices include the provision of housing for the elite in the community and the slum-clearance phenomenon, which contributes to the existing urban housing crisis. The Government seems to claim that the slum clearance enables development (see pp. 133–134). Despite this, there are evidences that areas cleared under the disguise of urban development, has been used not for a governmental purpose, but for personal use of government officials (Adejumobi, 2000; Meek, 2009). Adejumobi (2000) claims that the personal use of the cleared "slum" by the Government officials, links to the Governmental land acquisition. This is then redistributed to the elite in society that could afford it. The demolition of slums by the Government seems to serve as a disguise under the pretence of upgrading the informal settlement into a better housing condition. This solution by the Government contributes to the existing housing crisis, because the Government seems not to realise that this form of urban development (informal housing), will continue to exist. Informal housing appears to be a response to an existing government housing intervention which does not meet the people's housing need. As a result, in order to develop housing policies that respond to the people, there is the need to consider the human element and the internal composition of informal housing. Chapter three proceeds to further examine the existing housing policies and programme to have a full complexity of the existing housing situation through understanding the action and implementation process of the Government.

Chapter Three

ANALYSIS OF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT HOUSING POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

The analysis of the existing government housing policies and programmes is crucial to this study, because of the phenomenological approach adopted. Though it is part of the critical perspective on urban housing and included in the literature review, it sets the platform for some of the conclusion drawn as part of the analysis (see chapter eight). As part of phenomenologically understanding the Ajegunle community (see pp. 162–165), the Government housing programmes and interventions developed are explored, to come in contact, with the core of the housing issue on the part of the Government. As a result, "peeling" (see pp. 164–166) through the different government regimes and their housing programmes and interventions. Thus, "brackets" of (see pp. 164–166) the elements within the different layers of the Government's administration and housing processes that relate to the existing urban housing crisis. By so doing, phenomenologically: describes the existing

housing crisis (see pp. 195–196), demonstrates the essence of the meaning of housing as it relates to the Government (see pp. 195–196) and draws knowledge from the analytical process. In addition, contributing partly to the understanding of the human element of Ajegunle community (see pp. 185–190).

In order to understand the full complexity of the existing urban housing crisis, the housing policies and programmes in Nigeria from the British colonial period to the recent government is traced. This housing programme includes: housing programme during the Colonial administration (1914–1960); First National Development Plan (1962–1968); Second National Development Plan (1970 – 1974); Third National Development Plan (1975–1980); Fourth National Development Plan (1980–1985); National housing policy (1981); National housing policy (1991) and other variations of housing policy that has been planned till date.

The attitudes towards urban housing and the perceptions of the Government, which has informed the housing policies formulated to tackle the urban housing crisis, are explored. The housing programmes that were designed based on the housing policies, its successes and failures are investigated. The different phases of housing development plan, housing policies and housing programmes have been discussed earlier (see pp. 98–103), to serve as a backdrop for the intervention of government in urban housing crisis. The different housing policies developed and housing programmes implemented are examined, to establish in part, what contributed to the existing urban housing crisis.

Despite the effort of the Government from the colonial administrators to the present government, the existing urban housing crisis seems to be prevalent. Based on the contiguous nature of the prevalent urban housing problem (see pp. 17–18), this study cannot isolate an aspect of the Government's intervention as the basis of understanding the full complexity of the urban housing phenomena. The Government housing intervention from

the colonial period to the present government is explored. Lagos has been central to the formulation of housing policies and the housing programmes developed. These interventions of the Government are examined because it appears to have been the backdrop for the perception towards urban "housing" in the state. This directly affects Ajegunle community, because it is a subset of Lagos state.

In order to come in contact with the core issues that relates to the urban housing crisis and its persistence in the community, the different layers of the housing policies developed are peeled. Understanding is drawn from the different periods as it relates to the existing housing situation.

THE EXISTING NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND URBAN HOUSING POLICIES IN NIGERIA

The Nigerian nation has undergone series of National Development plans, which includes: 1962–1968, 1970–1974, 1975–1980, 1980–1985, 1985–1995 (see p. 96–101). Nigeria has experienced the National Housing Policy 1981; 1991 and its different variations; 2002; 2004 which has influenced the housing programmes implemented by the Nigerian government. The different housing programmes are analysed, to construct an understanding in part, for the existing urban housing crisis. Suggestions that can be used to minimise the existing urban housing crisis are drawn from this analysis.

The British colonial period (1914–1960)

The Government intervention in the form of public housing construction evolved during the colonial administration. The major characteristics of the housing at this time before 1960, which has continued to influence the post-independence housing policy in Nigeria was based on '… class, banished in location, design and cost' (Oyedele 1989, p. 6). Oyedele further

strengthened this position by suggesting that, 'the British government was mainly concerned to house its European staff, some middlemen and African staff' (Oyedele 1989, p. 11). This perception of the policy making by the colonial administrators on urban housing problem focuses on the "working class" and the urban housing congestion in the Government Reservation Areas. The Government Reservation Areas (GRA) was designated for the colonial administrators and the associated staff (see p. 99). The housing policy concentrated on provision of housing for the "colonial population". There was a neglect of areas outside government reservations and it seems that there was not a holistic approach to the urban housing crisis.

The post colonial period: First National Development Plan (1962–1968)

The post-colonial independent Nigerian government inherited the Government Reservation Areas immediately after political independence. Adebisi (1989) explains the interest of the post-colonial government:

> The emergent bourgeois class had its eyes on both the jobs and houses in European quarters while other members of the indigenous Nigerian Society had very little to do with European quarters as they knew that these were out of bounds (Adebisi 1989, p. 12).

This period experienced the extension of the Government Residential Areas (GRA) and the introduction of housing programmes, which were meant for the new elite (bourgeois) in the Government. Although, there was an attempt at improving urban housing largely in the urban centre in the first National Development Plan period (1962 – 1968), it was given a low priority (Adebisi, 1989). Housing seems to be grouped with town and country planning and funds allocated to this sector was minimal, while activities were confined to regional capitals. Even within this urban arrangement that involves a regional development, it appears that the concern was not meant for the urban poor.

The first National Development Plan (1962–1968) planned to provide 24, 000 housing units all located in Lagos (First National Development Plan (1962–1968), 1962). Onibokun (1985) commented on the distribution where, 60 percent for low income group, 30 percent for middle income group and 10 percent for upper income group. The land tenure and the processes involved in each case by this plan were to be catered for by the prospective land owners (Adebisi, 1989). Even though it was the policy of the Government that low, medium and high income earners should benefit from the housing programmes. There was a lack of implementation within the first ten years and the outbreak of the civil war in 1976 affected the actualisation of this programme (Olayiwola *et al.*, 2005). During this period, only 500 housing units were built, which represents 1 percent of the overall housing units intended by the housing programme (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009).

Second National Development Plan (1970–1974)

The Second National Development Plan (1970 – 1974), theoretically establishes housing as a fundamental element that contributes to the well-being of the populace. It emphasized that 'Housing deficiency in both quantitative and qualitative terms is a universal problem' (Second National Development Plan (1970–1974) 1970, p. 207). This is in recognition of the housing problem due to urbanization, mainly through rural-urban migration for civil service jobs and newly established Industries. Thus, the military government accepted housing as a political and social responsibility. They claimed that they are committed to the provision of housing to all social groups irrespective of "class" (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). The first National Development plan (1970–1974) theoretically moved beyond the class divide of housing provision of the colonial administration. This was presented in the aims and objectives of the Second National Development Plan:

> Immediate construction of housing units by the Federal Military and State Military. Government's rent at affordable prices.
> Increase in the construction of houses for government workers.

> Development and expansion of loans for private housing.
> Increase in investment in local production of cement and other necessary building materials. Increase in the importation of cement to supplement the needs created in the housing construction sectors (Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), p. 207).

In accordance with the public housing policy, 54,000 housing units were programmed for immediate construction between 1972 and 1973. 10,000 housing units in Lagos and 4000 housing units were allocated for each of the then 11 state capitals (Onibokun, 1985). Even though, housing within the Second National Development Plan period of 1970–1974 was still grouped with town and country planning, the construction of the housing units was done differently. This was the beginning of Federal Government direct involvement in the construction of housing units. The Federal Housing Authority (F.H.A) was set up to handle Federal Housing programmes, to construct directly and monitor the construction of the housing units. Out of these 54,000 housing units that were planned, only 10 percent of the target housing units were achieved (Onibokun, 1985). Based on the objective of the Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), to expand credit facilities for housing construction through loans to building societies, housing corporations and various staff housing schemes were developed. However, this government programme appeared to favour the elite part of the social group, which already had access to the banks through collateral security and employment stability. The senior officials and the privileged social group were also favoured in the implementation of the housing programmes of the Second National Development Plan (1970–1974).

Third National Development Plan (1975–1980)

Due to the military overthrow of the regime, which formulated the Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), there was a re-appraisal that led to development of the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980). This plan adopted a national housing policy that aimed at a holistic approach to housing by targeting an increase in the supply of housing

units. It focused on the low income groups that are affected by the acute housing shortage. The plan gave priority to housing as compared to the other previous plans. The rise in the crude-oil economy of the country, informed the allocation of 2.5 billion Naira[12] for housing (Olayiwola *et al.*, 2005). Parts of the re-appraisal included in the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980), 1975 were:

> The Federal Military Government would build 202,000 housing units per year; 46,000 in Lagos, 12,000 for Kaduna, while 8000 units would be built in the state capitals.
> The State Government would be directly involved, and FHA would provide the necessary infrastructure.
> Ministry of Housing, National Development and Environment with sole responsibility on housing will be created.
> The additional financing of the Federal Housing Authority [FHA] in order to construct directly and develop housing estates in various cities of the nation (p. 8).

The Third National Development Plan achieved some part of its objectives. Onibokun (1985) commented on the successes of the Third National Development Plan:

> The Nigerian building society was converted to a Federal Mortgage Bank with an initial capital of N150 million. But only 13% of the target housing for the Third National Development Plan period (1975–1980) was accomplished as of January, 1980 (p. 72).

Furthermore, housing was accorded a separate ministry, and it was split from the ministry of works. This fulfils the recognition of housing as an important part of governance, as intended by this plan. It strengthens the need for qualitative housing development in the larger major urban centres including Lagos.

Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985)

The post-military era of 1983 elaborated concerns for housing in terms of policy formulation and its implementation. The Federal Government committed itself to a housing programme by prioritising housing as part of fundamental agenda of the Government. A Federal

[12] The value of Naira before 1980 is 1 Pound Sterling (£) = 1.72 Naira (N), while after 2005 it moved up to 1 Pound Sterling (£) = 230 Naira (N). Recently in 2010 the value is 1 Pound Sterling (£) = 250 Naira (N) (see www.oando.com)

Ministry of Housing and Environment was re-created in October, 1979 to be the implementing agency for the Federal housing programme. This agency formulated and published the National Housing Policy of 1981 (National Housing policy, 1981). Onibokun (1985) stressed the plan of Federal Government during the Fourth National Development Plan of (1980–1985) which included:

> Direct construction of 200,000 houses during the (1980 – 1985) plan period. The Federal Government plans to build 2, 000 housing units in each state annually for five years. The Federal Housing Authority is also expected to build 143, 000 low cost units across the country (p. 66).

Despite these plans towards the housing sector by the Government through giving of loans or direct construction of low income houses or procurement of large quantities of building materials, the housing problem in the urban areas appeared to continue.

Nigerian housing policy (1985–2010)

The second republic in Nigeria, which started from 1985 to 2010, experienced the development of different national housing policies and finance schemes, to support the framework of the housing policies (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). Thus, the quantitative goals set by this period appear not to correlate with the needs of the people. The main goal of the housing policy (see pp. 15–16) was towards a housing provision for the general population and to ensure access of funds for housing implementation. In order to achieve this, the National Housing Policy (1991) estimated that a total of 8 million housing units would be required to cater for the existing and future needs of the population. This was further broken down into 5 million for the urban areas and 3 million for the rural areas. 800,000 housing units were estimated to be constructed yearly to meet this demand. This National Housing Policy of Nigeria was to ensure accessibility to adequate and affordable housing for all Nigerians by the year 2000. The policy was revised in 2004 entailing strategies for the housing provision and an institutional framework that ensures adequate housing

delivery (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). In order to achieve this policy, programmes were initiated, which includes: the inauguration of the implementation committee on housing policy to facilitate and coordinate the implementation of the housing policy, the inauguration of the Housing Policy Council (for monitoring and evaluation of the housing policy), the Federal Mortgage Bank and the National Housing Fund (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009).

As part of the efforts of the Federal Government, they initiated a new housing scheme and proposed to build 121,000 housing units in state capitals where housing needs were acute. Only 1,114 housing units were completed and commissioned on 15th December, 1994 (Benjamin, 2000), which appear to be linked with misappropriation of funds and lack of adequate housing delivery. The poor performance of the National Housing Policy in meeting its set goals and objectives led to a comprehensive review, which culminated in the Housing and Urban Development Policy of 2002 (Benjamin, 2000). The new National Housing Policy was set to meet the quantitative housing needs of Nigerians through mortgage finance. This involves the restructuring, strengthening and recapitalization of financial institutions (Ebie, 2004). In 2004, the Federal Government proposed the construction of 18,500 housing units throughout the federation, with at least 500 units in each of the states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). The programme started in April 2005 in Ekiti State (Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009). Recently, in 2010, the Ministry of Housing, Lands and Urban Development has disclosed on behalf of the Federal Government of Nigeria that, it has concluded plans to construct 54,000 houses in the 108 senatorial districts in the country (PM News, 2010). This suggests that, 500 houses will be constructed in every senatorial district and also projected that this housing scheme will start in Lagos, because of the existing housing condition in the state. Even if these targets were met, the urban centres are growing fast and the projected plans appear to be inadequate.

THE FULL COMPLEXITY OF EXISTING HOUSING PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES

The full complexity of the housing policies and programmes are explored by discussing the housing policies and its programme from the colonial administration to the recent Nigerian government. The different aspects of the different regimes are drawn from, to construct an understanding of the full complexity of the housing policies and programmes. Allocation of funds and the methods adopted to understand the attitude towards housing in the different regimes are examined. The role of rural-urban migration in the urban housing crisis and the approach to policy by the Government is examined, to establish the different factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis. By so doing, constructing an understanding and setting the platform for the findings from the housing policies and programmes.

The Government provision of houses existed during the colonial era, but the Colonial Government perception and definition of public housing appears to be restrictive to different functions that relate to the urban areas. Public housing was perceived by the Government as a 'totality of building structures, whether residential, educational, health, offices or department put up either fully or partially by government funds' (Okpala 1982, p. 82). This definition of public housing illuminates two main elements of the colonial administration's definition and policy on housing. Firstly, that the notion of housing refers to the "totality" of public buildings being carried out directly by part of the arm of the Government, which is referred to as Public Works Department (P.W.D). The projects carried out under the notion of public housing includes: hospitals, houses, offices and schools. These programmes were meant to cater for the populace. However, these projects were implemented without consultation and the involvement of the populace. Secondly, since the minimum percentage of the total budget was allocated to housing, the Government

only provided houses for only top civil servants who worked for the colonial administrators. Onibokun stresses that government activity in housing development was limited during the colonial (pre-independence) period, to the construction of staff housing at Government Reservation Areas (Onibokun, 1982). In Lagos, which was the colonial state capital, the Government Residential Areas (GRA) was for the exclusive use of the colonial administrator. There was a neglect of areas outside the GRA. The neglect of other areas appears to be based on the perception that the people were not active members of the colonial administration. However, they contributed by producing crops that sustained and enriched the colonial economy. The table (3.1) below demonstrates the minimum percentage that was attributed to housing:

ASPECTS OF HOUSING STAFF AND PLANT	TOTAL ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE 1946–1951(Naira)	EXPENDITURE ASSISTANCE FROM COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE VOTE 1946–51 (Naira)
Cost of week	366, 000. 00	36, 000. 00
Medical and Health	961, 800 .00	480,900. 00
Housing for Medical Staff	136,000.00	72,000.00
General Education Scheme	566,000.00	n/a
Technical Education Scheme	172,000.00	172,350.00
Agricultural Scheme Forestry	59,000.00	n/a
Vetinary scheme Zaria	54,000.00	35,000.00
Secondary school unallocated	n/a	n/a
Total	2, 626, 300.00	1,206, 250.00

Table 3.1: SHOWING EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROJECT. Source: A ten year plan of development and welfare of Nigeria; Colonial Administration release (1946), p. 30.

Table (3.1) implies that a total of 2.626 million Naira was allocated to housing out of a total development budget of 55 million Naira. This meant that a minimal percentage of 4.775 of

the total plan were budgeted for housing. The amount was not only for residential housing, it included other forms of building constructions other than residential accommodation. 46 percent of this allocation of 2.626 million, that is, 1.21 million was released (Onibokun, 1982). This contributed to the minimal success recorded by the housing programme. Attempts by the Colonial Government at providing housing were often restricted to urban areas. This contributed to the notion of exclusive Government Reservation Areas (GRA), which neglected development of other parts of the community that gave rise to the growth of substandard residential areas, especially in the urban areas. This perception of informal settlements as "slums" seems to have started during the colonial administration. Any form of housing that does not conform to the Government Reservation Area is regarded to as "slum" and were cleared in order to develop into another GRA, which appears to be eventually allocated to the elite of the society (see pp. 99–101). Government began to show its concern for the general housing situation by attempting to solve the expansion in housing demand in Lagos after the independence in 1960. However, the Government intervention in the provision of housing in the early 1960s was limited to the development of a few middle-class housing estates, the introduction of mortgage lending through the then Nigerian Building Society and staff housing loan schemes designed to promote house ownership by civil servants (see pp. 99–101). The Regional Government after the post-military regime (see pp. 101–103) initiated the nation-wide housing schemes by establishing housing development agencies, with the primary responsibility of providing houses for Nigerians, within the limit of available resources (see p. 99). There was concentration on the urban core of Lagos and regional bodies were developed to manage the housing programmes. In 1964, the association of housing corporations was formed by the housing agencies of the regional governments, and the Lagos Executive Department Board (L.E.D.B) was also initiated. The central government disbursed the 'sum of N2.7 million [which] was spent in 1962, N3.0 million in

1963 and N4.8 million in 1964 in Lagos' (Onibokun 1985, p. 5). There was also the construction of modern housing estates (Onibokun, 1985).

The First National Development plan of 1962 to 1968 was an improvement to housing, as compared to the colonial era housing programme. Even though the housing policies adopted initiated provision of houses for the people of the community irrespective of class, the action taken appears to be biased and elitists in orientation. While the plan had the elaborate ambitions with an inadequate allocation to housing, its achievement seems to be limited. The plan intended to provide for the construction of 24,000 housing units, where a housing unit is defined as an accommodation suitable for six people for the Federal territories of Nigeria (Onibokun, 1985). The breakdown of such constructions was to involve 60 percent for low income earners, 30 percent for the middle income earners and 10 percent for persons of high income brackets (Onibokun, 1985). Generally, 'a total of N15.028 million was allocated to land development, housing and provision of mortgage credit nationwide' (Onibokun 1985, p. 9). This reflects on the attitude of minimum input and contrasts with the elaborate housing plan by the Government. Part of the housing programme was implemented in Lagos, because it was the state capital and the commercial hub of the nation (Onibokun, 1985). As a result, less than 10 percent of the housing programme was actualised, because less than 2 percent of the Federal budget was allocated to housing.

In the Second National Development Plan of 1970 to 1974, housing was still grouped with Town and Country plans, which thus, reflected the low priority level the Government accorded housing. This Second National Development Plan (1970–1974), 1970 allocated the sum of 49 million Naira to housing, out of this, N33 million was to come from state governments while the Federal Government is to supply N16 million. Part of the housing plan that was allocated to Lagos, includes:

(i) Expansion of the Nigerian building society	N1.4 million
(ii) Staff quarters in Lagos	N1.4 million
(iii) Transit block flat in Lagos	N0.160 million

Source: Second National Development Plan (1970 – 1974) 1970, p. 207

The figures imply that Lagos state was central to the housing programmes. Furthermore, there was the granting of 6 million Naira loan to the Nigerian Building Society, thus increasing the organisation's lending capacity for housing to the pubic. There was also in 1973 the announcement of an 'allocation of N500 million for the construction of 59,000 housing units nationwide with a new body – the Federal Housing Authority to take charge of this' (Onibokun 1985, p. 10). The Government also created: Housing corporations, Nigerian Building society, and staff housing schemes, to facilitate the housing programmes. However, the housing programme seems not to be supported fully by the Federal Governments because of the lack of financial support. The State Government's financial allocation for the housing programme was larger than the Federal Government's support. As a result, there was a minimal success in the housing programmes during this regime, partly because of lack of financial support. The First National Development plan of (1962–1968) and the Second National Development Plan of (1970–1974) did not provide a broad housing policy for Nigeria. A minimal effort was made to evolve a broad housing policy for the country. This seems to be because of either the regional nature of the Nigerian politics or lack of concern by the policy makers (see pp. 275–277). The Second National Development Plan (1970–1974) in particular, laid the platform for housing policy by theoretically perceiving housing as absolutely a fundamental need essential for the populace (see p. 99). This recognition of the housing and environmental problems implied that the Government was aware of existing urban housing crisis.

The Third National Development Plan (1975–1980), 1975 in which the '…government now accepts as part of its social responsibility to participate actively in the provision of housing

for all income groups and will therefore, intervene on a large scale in this sector during the plan period' (p. 5). This reflects on the interest of the Government to concentrate on the housing provision. The government assumed for the first time a social responsibility to participate actively in the provision of housing for all income groups in the urban centres and also provision of roads, water supply, waste disposal, electricity and other basic facilities as a collective service that makes up "housing". The Third National Development Plan (1975–1980) continued on the perception of housing, as representing one of the most basic human needs with an impact on health, welfare and productivity of the individuals (see pp. 101–102). The plan attempted to solve the housing problem by allocating more money compared with the past efforts of other governments. Onibokun (1985) commented that N2.5 billion of the total development plan of N30 billion was allocated to housing. This reflects a percentage of 8.3 percent to the total development plan budget. Under the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980), 1975, the Federal Government aimed at making housing policy and objectives achievable by (see pp. 101–102):

- Strengthening of existing policy on housing through giving financial aid to Federal Housing Authority (FHA) which was established in 1975. Thus, increasing its size and geographical spread to make it more effective.

- Establishing a housing mortgage Bank –The Federal Mortgage Bank (FMB) was established in 1976 to replace the Nigeria Building society with an initial capital grant of N150 million.

- Creating a housing unit in the Federal cabinet office together with a ministry of housing, urban development and environment.

- Investment in domestic production of building materials, increase importation to supplement domestic production, encouragement of the use of local materials and expansion of credit facilities to enhance housing construction

The Government also started 'a series of low cost housing units with the aim of subsidising housing cost, especially for low income earners' (Amdi 1984, p. 84). The Government went further by increasing investments on production of cement, burnt bricks and importation of building materials (Onibokun, 1985). The Government planned constructing 202,000 housing units within a five year period at a cost of N1,837 billion (Onibokun, 1985). Onibokun further implied that about 40,000 housing units per annum will be implemented. By 1979, about 7 billion Naira had been spent on housing by both federal and state governments. He suggested that about 24,397 housing units had been completed to habitable level, which includes: completed with roofing, plastering, electric and water fittings together with windows and doors. This amounts to 12.1 percent of the total 202,000 housing programme planned by the Government, which demonstrates that there was a minimal success recorded in this programme.

The Government accepted the social responsibility of housing provision particularly for the low income groups in the urban area (see pp. 101–102). That said, the form of direct construction of housing units by the Federal and state governments appears to be affected by the lack of understanding of provision of housing. Thus, the actualization of the objectives of the Third National Development Plan was affected. Despite the accepted responsibility by the Government to provide housing in the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980) and the amount of money allocated for housing in the Fourth National Development Plan (1980–1985), there seems to be a minimal success recorded within these periods. These plans seem to have made an attempt to make available substantial sums of N1.6 and N2.8 billion

respectively and a keen interest in providing housing. The budgeted plans for housing were effected through the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), but the funds appear to have been mismanaged. As a result, the funds were not translated to housing as aimed by these plans. This agency (FHA) was directly involved in the construction of houses. The mismanagement in the utilization of these funds included the appointment of personnel who appears to lack understanding of housing; its management, development and related issues. Adeniyi (1972) commented on function of the Government regarding the direct construction of housing by suggesting that, 'the organisation directly by government of the second republic of Nigeria, to the building of houses [was done] at the most inappropriate sites and sometimes of the most unsuitable [plans]' (p. 89). He also observed that the housing programmes were '30 percent achieved in terms of expenditure and 20 percent in terms of physical achievement, 50 percent lost to unaccounted for activities' (p. 6). In addition to these failures of the housing programmes, even though the lower group of the urban residents was included in the housing programmes, the actualisation of the policy seems to favour the urban upper class, which included the elite of the society. This reflects on the attitude of the colonial administrators, and the first and Second National Development Plans, where the housing policies and the programmes were forged in order to support the elite in the society.

Cigler and Vasu (1982) argue relating to the appropriate approach to housing policy by asking whether housing is a market commodity or an inherent societal right. They suggested that public housing policy can be regarded as a means through which the larger arm of a society (Government) provides and protects the smaller part of the society (low income earners) by providing the fundamental needs which include housing. This position strengthens the role of the Government not just as a provider, but also as a regulator for the private sector interested in housing programmes (see pp. 339–341). This also ensures that the low income group are not abandoned in the processes involved in the provision of housing.

The Fourth National Development plan of (1980–1985) presented a National Housing policy that had a holistic approach to the existing urban housing crisis, compared to the regional method adopted by the various national development plans. Based on the constitutional provision of 1979, which makes it mandatory on the part of the Government to ensure that a suitable and adequate housing is provided for all citizens, the Nigerian government adopted a broad housing policy (The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979). The constitution states that 'suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, and pensions and unemployment and sick benefits are provided for all citizens' (The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979, p. 10). The Fourth National Development plan of (1980–1985), 1981 aimed to implement this constitutional provision by gradual upgrading of low quality housing. This Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985), under which the Nigerian housing policy was formulated, had four major approaches to the policy implementation, which includes:

- Firstly, the idea of direct provision of houses by awarding contracts to indigenous contractors by the Government. This 'enable[d] the housing sector to provide for the broadest possible segment of the urban… population' (Salau, 1982). The Government in this arrangement only provided the surveyed land and the plans of the houses. The land owners are expected to supply the logistics involved in the construction of the house. This led to the wide acceptance of "site and services" method of construction.

- Secondly, the housing site and services provision, which was imported from the United States of America and was widely adopted in Holland (Onibokun, 1985). This involves the Government provision of surveyed land divided into housing plots, road network, water, electricity, police security, recreational centre and schools. This is

then sold fully or by lease agreement for 99 years to the populace, which have the responsibility to construct their houses. This encourages private ownership of houses as the land provision is backed up by the mortgage lending facilities to make the system feasible. These mortgage loans would be provided by the Federal mortgage bank, the Federal Government savings and Hire Board for the public and civil servants respectively. The site and services provision was mentioned both in the National Housing Policy and finance allocation to federal housing programmes. However, 'Its implementation was never found in Government reports between 1979 and 1983' (Onibokun 1985, p. 32).

- Thirdly, the involvement of the State Government in the Federal housing programme. This was based on the intention of de-centralizing the implementation of the housing programme. The programme was expected to contribute N1.1 Billion out of N2.7 Billion projected for government housing and environment, which is supplied to the then 19 state governments by the Federal Capital Territory (Fourth National Development plan (1980– 1985), 1981).

- Fourthly, the involvement of the private sector in the housing provision. This was implemented in two ways. Firstly, the Federal Government provision of surveyed land which is leased to private organisations and individuals to construct specific designs that are then sold to the prospective owner. The owner in turn pays on long term bases within specified years. At the end of this period, the owners take over their houses from the contractor and the finance company. At this point, the contractors would have realized some profit. The Government in this arrangement further charges a relatively low amount as tax on the land. Secondly, the Government appeals to private employers of labour and organisations to provide houses directly

> for their staff. Onibokun (1985) commented on this form of implementation by suggesting that '…even the proposed private sector involvement in issuing provision was not successful among others, it was a plan that lacked motivation and was a punishment for [low income earners]' (p. 32).

Despite the massive investment in the housing sector during the Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985), in terms of money disbursed for construction of low income houses and the loans advanced through different schemes, the urban housing crisis in Nigeria was not reduced. The Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985) completed about 30,972 low cost houses out of 202,000 housing units, which were completed by May 1982 (Onibokun, 1985). The then Minister of Housing and Environment (Wahab Dosunmu) also commented on this achievement in his speech *Housing for the people* by suggesting that: 'What we (the Federal Government) have achieved is like a drop of water in an ocean' (Dosunmu 1980, p. 13). This comment is demonstrated in Table (3.2) over, which shows that less than 15 percent of the 1975–1980 urban housing targets had been achieved by the end of January 1980. This results to about 20 percent of the total urban housing development, which was planned for Lagos. Even if the target of 202,000 housing units had been reached, this would appear to be a minimal input in the context of housing needs of the people in the urban area. Salau's study also strengthens the figures in Table (3.2) below by showing a disproportionate number of houses were delivered to 'civil servants and perhaps more importantly most of the allottees were in the middle and upper income categories' (Salau 1982, p. 12). This appears to be a result of the expensive price of the Government houses, which led to high rents that the low-income families could not afford.

The main factor that influenced the plans of the Government during the Fourth National Development Plan appears to be the rural-urban migration. Adeniyi (1972) suggested

regarding this movement that one quarter of the rural increase per annum migrates to town. This movement of rural settlers into the urban areas was due to two major reasons. Firstly, the impact of the crude-oil "boom" resulted into an economic wealth that effected the expansion of urban centres. Thus there was the creation of urban centres, which stimulated the need to have urban housing development. Secondly, the creation of more states in Nigeria attracted new employment opportunities, whereby the public and private sectors needed both skilled and unskilled labour.

STATES	NO OF HOUSING UNITS COMPLETED	SUM TOTAL OF HOUSING UNITS COMPLETED PLUS PLOTS ALLOCATED	TARGET PROJECTED FOR 1975/1980	% ACHIEVEMENT
LAGOS/F/H.A FESTAC TOWN AND IKEJA	8, 616	8, 616	46,000	18.7
ANAMBRA	400	400	8,000	5.0
BAUCHI	1, 819	1, 819	8,000	22.77
BENDEL	250	250	8,000	3.1
BENUE	38	38	8,000	-
BORNO	2,480	2,480	8,000	31.0
CROSS-RIVER	525	1,076	8,000	13.4
ANGOLA	382	382	8,000	4.8
ANGOLA AREA	488	488	8,000	6.1
KADUNA	1, 620	1, 620	8,000	13.5
KADUNA AREA	976	976	8,000	12.2
KADUNA AREA	941	941	8,000	11.8
JOS	848	848	8,000	10.6
NIGER	520	520	8,000	6.5
NIGER AREA	512	1, 405	8,000	17.6
NIGER AREA	1,370	1,408	8,000	17.6
NIGER AREA	323	1,402	8,000	17.5
PLATEAU	1,000	1,000	8,000	12.5
RIVERS	281	281	8,000	3.5
SOKOTO	1,000	100	8,000	12.5
SOKOTO AREA	24,389	26,950	8,000	13.3

Table 3.2: TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSES COMPLETED AND PLOTS ALLOCATED AS AT 30 JANUARY, 1980. Source: Federal Housing Authority, Lagos 1980.

Due to these factors, which resulted to the impact of rural- urban migration, there was an increase in the population of the urban areas.

The Third National Development Plan (1975–1980), 1975 also commented on the impact of the population increase by suggesting:

> The rapid growth associated with accelerated tempo of socio-economic development has seriously aggravated the shortage of dwelling units… resulting in over crowding, high rents, slums and squatter settlements, which are visible features in the urban scene throughout the country (p. 307).

During this plan, the rate of migrant influence into the urban centres was more than the implementation of the urban housing programme. As a result, the demand for housing was more than the proposed housing development. This appears to have led to housing shortage and also resulted to overcrowding in most urban areas. Thus there was continuous deterioration in the living conditions within the urban housing programmes that were formulated by the Government.

Findings from the processes of housing implementation

The implementation process deployed by the Government and other related factors involved directly or indirectly in the delivery of the housing programme, affected the results in the various national development plans and housing policies. The interpretation of the people by the Government as the "mass", laid a generic platform which informed the low cost housing scheme that seems not to reduce the effects of the urban housing crisis. Politics within the Government political parties and the difference in how to tackle the existing urban housing crisis appears to have affected the delivery of housing to the residents of the community. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as perceived by the Government affected the social responsibility of the Government to housing. These issues that are related to the implementation process, seems to have contributed to the minimal success achieved by the housing programmes. These issues were explored, and how it relates to the implementation of the housing programme, to develop an understanding of the factors that contributed to the prevalent characteristics of the urban housing crisis on the part of government.

During the first National Development plan 1962–1968 (see pp. 108–109), what emerged as National plan in 1962 appears to lack a holistic focus on the urban housing crisis. It dealt with the urban housing crisis regionally. This government approach was not adequate for the contiguous nature of the urban housing crisis. It also affected the implementation of the housing programme that was developed during this regime. The housing programme also suggests that not all part of the populaces were intended to be provided urban housing, because of the concentration on the "colonial population". The housing programme appears to be baised, or resulted into favouring the elite of the community, as such it was not designed to tackle primarily the existing urban housing crisis. In other plans, there was a change in the attitude of the Government towards housing. As a result, the Government accepted welfare responsibilities of its citizens. Thus, planning institutions were developed in order formulate national housing policy that will respond to the need of the people. However, these housing policies (see pp. 111–113) interpreted the low income earners as a monolithic mass, which does not have any cultural specificity. The housing plans quantitatively measured the housing problem and as a result of their perception of the people, they referred to the programmes as "low cost housing scheme" and "mass housing".

For example, Onibokun (1984) suggested that policies included 'the construction of 59,000 housing…' (p. 18). This housing policy seems neither based on a mathematical principle nor relevant to an understanding of the existing urban housing crisis. The Government did not engage in an empirical approach as part of the process to understand or determine the solution to the urban housing crisis. The notion of "low cost housing" has been central to the housing programmes that have been informed by the different housing policies and development. The second, third, fourth National Development plans (see pp. 109–112) and the Federal housing policies (see pp. 112–113) appears to quantitatively perceive the houses provided for the Nigerian community. Even though, Lagos was given priority and more

houses were allocated during the periods of the National Development plans (see pp. 108–112), the lower income group of the community were perceived as a "mass". This implies a group of people without any specific needs or cultural nuances that should be considered during the formulation of their housing policy, as such the Government derived a generic solution to the existing housing crisis. The housing programmes that were developed as the solution to the existing urban housing crisis was referred to as "mass housing" or "low cost housing" (see pp. 101–102).

This idea of "low cost housing", seem to have been imported and used in Nigeria, as part of the components of a federal government system from the United States of America, without clarifying the context. The United States of America, which appears to be the Government model adopted for the Nigerian system of housing policy, allocates the responsibility of public housing to the National Government (Bratt, 1986). In 1970, the USA launched major programs to improve the nation's housing stock by developing "low cost housing" in order to develop the housing situation (Bratt, 1986). While the Nigerian government was formulating and implementing housing programmes based on this concept of "low cost housing", the USA seems to be recording failures in this type of housing programme. An example of the failure of this type of housing is the "Cabrini-Green" that was developed under the National Government through the Chicago Housing Authority. Cabrini-Green is a Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) public housing development (Dinitto and Dye, 1986). Over the years, gang violence and neglect of this community, created terrible conditions for the residents, as such "Cabrini-Green" became synonymous with the problems associated with public housing in the United States (Dinitto and Dye, 1986). Based on the extent of the problems in the community, Cabrini-Green was referred to as a "killing field" (Stodghill, 1998). Due to the condition of the community, most of the buildings have been razed, and the entire neighbourhood is being redeveloped into a combination of high-rise buildings and

row houses (Saulny, 2007). The intention of creating a mixed-income neighbourhood, with some units reserved for public housing tenant development appears to have been based on an empirical consultation. This empirical consultation was not performed initially, which seems to result to the destruction of the housing units, because of its lack of functionality as "housing"; that is meant to give both physical and psychological comfort (see pp. 47–51). In relation to this position, in 1996, the Federal Government mandated the destruction of 18,000 units of public housing in Chicago (along with tens of thousands of other similar units nationwide) (Schimich, 2004). The Cabrini-Green case demonstrates that the foundation, on which Nigerian housing policy and other development programmes during the various political regimes are based, seems to be a failed concept.

The existing Nigerian housing situation seems to be an evidence of a forced imported housing policy ideas into the Nigerian context, without considering the cultural position of the people. This forced importation of housing policy ideas seems to have informed a convoluted urban situation that did not reduce the existing urban housing crisis, but contributed to its deepened effect in the urban community. Regarding housing policy and its implementation, the populace should not be viewed as "mass", as such the same housing solution applies to all the communities. There is the need to consider the cultural nuances and approach to the urban housing crisis with an empirical position, which effects a plausible urban housing solution.

There were also political issues that contributed to the minimal impact of the housing programmes proposed during the National Development plans. Part of the problems of the implementation of the Fourth National development plan (1980–1985), can be derived from the deficient political arrangement in the country. This led to the conflict between the Federal and State Governments over which level of government had the constitutional

power to provide housing for the citizens. The State Government argued that the Federal housing scheme in the state is an unconstitutional intrusion by the Federal Government on the domain of state's responsibility (Nwabueze, 1982). Some states rejected the use of the instrument of housing construction of the Government (Federal Housing Authority), but demanded for a financial allocation for the housing programme. The State Government insisted that the money for the housing scheme should be handed over to them, in order to execute the project on behalf of the Federal Government. A refusal of the Federal Government to entrust the states with its housing programme resulted into a conflict. This conflict, was between the then National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which was at the Federal level and at the state level in the south west was Unity party of Nigeria (UPN) (see pp. 275–277). As a result, this reduced the progress of housing development, which affected the intentions of Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985) regarding the provision of housing programmes for all levels of income earners.

Part of the insensitivity of the Government regarding the role of the community in the decision making appears to be reflected in the attitude of the political parties ruling the different regions in Nigeria. This tension, whereby a political party intends to approach the housing policy in a specific way and the other political party of the region does not agree, affected the impact of the housing policies. It seems to delay the processes involved in the delivery of housing programmes, which led to minimal success or failure within the Third and the Fourth National Development plan (1975–1985) (see pp. 110–113).

The different perceptions of the urban housing crisis from the Government and the high income earners also contributed to the failures of the housing programme. The Government accepted the social responsibility to provide housing for the "masses" (see pp. 110–111). However, the higher income earners capitalise on this responsibility by translating into

private developers, which seems to use this position for accumulation of wealth and does not concentrate on the provision of housing (see pp. 298–299). Based on the lack of interest, the projects constructed which seem to be wrongly located, lacked infrastructures and did not meet the immediate needs of those who required housing.

Identifying the problem associated with urban housing appears to be the basis of understanding the crisis. The first National Housing policy which was introduced in 1981 perceived some of the major problems in the housing sector as:

- Gross inadequacy in the total quantity of housing from low level of production.
- Poor quality of structure of dwelling units and related infrastructural services.
- High cost of construction causing the decline in effective demand for affordable housing.
- Lack of access to housing finance for low and medium household and practical difficulties in obtaining land for average households.

Despite, this perception which suggests that the Government had a generic understanding of the urban housing issue, the implementation process was affected by a difference in political interest towards housing and the biased interest of the developers. On the part of the Government, there was misappropriation of the building contracts to the elite, which siphoned the funds and developed poor quality of housing (see pp. 153–155). The goals initiated by the housing policy documents aimed to meet the needs of the low income groups with housing challenges and to reduce substandard housing. These goals were not achieved because it was affected by the political differences and the methods adopted by these regimes to implement their housing policies. The people were not involved in the policy formulation

stage, the implementation stage and the overall process of the housing policy, which contributed to the failure of the housing programme. As a result, the housing schemes seem to be unsuitable in architectural design and were imposed on the "housing culture" within the various communities. Thus, the low cost housing schemes were not inhabited by the people, which appear to lead to the failure of the urban housing units.

The Fourth National Development Plan (1980– 1985) projected an allocation of 2.7 billion Naira to housing between 1980 and 1985, only a total of 705.7 million Naira was actually released to the programme. The plan increased housing construction by 34,000 out of the projected 200,000 that was completed. This was an improvement as against the 26,000 completed out of the projection of 202,000 by the previous housing plan (The Fourth National Development Plan (1980– 1985), 1981). This appears to be an indication of success, but the state of economy in the subsequent years affected the approach of the government towards housing.

The state of the economy between 1985 and 1990, affected the acceptance of housing as part of the Government's responsibility. The fall in the value of foreign exchange revenue of the country, arising from the decline in the price of crude-oil in the international market affected the Nigerian economy. Thus, the Government in line with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank adopted an adjustment programme. The structural adjustment lending scheme adopted by the IMF and World Bank for developing countries, 'supports the major changes in policies and institutions of developing countries that would reduce their current account deficits while maintaining feasible development efforts' (Philips 1987, p. 2). This Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) informed the decision of the Nigerian government between 1985 and 1990. As outlined by (Philips, 1987), the programme was set out to achieve the following objectives:

> To restructure and diversify the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and on imports.
> To achieve fiscal and balance of payments viability over the period.
> To lay the basis for a sustainable non-inflation or minimal inflationary growth.
> To lessen the dominance of unproductive investment in the public sector, improve the potential of the private sector (Philips 1987, p. 2).

The implication of restructuring and the reduction of the Government investments as contained in the objectives of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), were translated by the Nigerian government as reducing their responsibility towards the production of housing for the population. Based on the National Housing Policy (1981) and other national development plans (see pp. 108–112), the Government accepted the responsibility of provision of housing for Nigerians as a social responsibility. However, because of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the Government seems to disengage from the provision of housing for the people. As a result, the high income earners developed private housing development, which increased the housing rent of the houses in the urban communities, which also contributed to the existing urban housing crisis.

These issues that relate to the implementation process of the housing programmes of the Government appear to link to the minimal success recorded during these various housing plans and policies. Recently, the decision to build houses based on the senatorial partition of the Nigerian nation reflects the continued lack of understanding and the perception of the Government on the urban housing crisis issue (see pp. 112–113). This outlook by the Government on the existing housing crisis, suggests a generic perception of the existing urban phenomena, without any specifics or cultural nuances that should be considered. It lacks an empirical approach to the existing situation. These perceptions and the lack of understanding on the part of the Government align with the processes involved in the implementation of the Government's housing programmes. This includes the difference in the political view towards minimising the existing housing crisis, which affected the

implementation of the housing programmes (see pp. 164–166). This contributes to the lack of understanding of a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) to suggest the disengagement of the Government of Nigeria from its social responsibility of housing provision. As a result, this led to inflation in rent due to lack of regulation of the private developers by the Government and the "mass housing" notion, which was an imported policy that was imposed on the people (see pp. 129–131). All these discussions contributed to the existing condition of the urban housing crisis in Lagos. Thus, it is part of the factors that informed the evolution of Ajegunle community, as an informal settlement that responded to the failures of the Nigerian housing policies and programmes. In order to understand the composition of Ajegunle as an informal housing the complexity of housing theory is explored, to establish whether there are existing theories that relates to the informal element of the community.

Chapter Four

COMPLEXITY OF HOUSING THEORY

The existing housing theories that relates to Ajegunle is explored and conclusions drawn from chapter two and three to set the platform for the methodology and analysis chapter of this study. Examination of theories that relate to housing sets the background to construct an understanding of the urban composition of informal housing. As a result, the theory is used to understand and locate the existing urban housing situation in Ajegunle community into the wider context of existing housing theory. The existing housing theory formulated by Rapoport (1981; 1986; 1995 and 2001) on housing and settlement patterns is examined, in order to classify the organisation and the urban form of Ajegunle community. Furthermore, the Foucaultian theory of Governmentality is highlighted as an approach to the existing government housing policy. This suggests the importance of the consideration of the people's cultural position in the process of making governmental decision. This is further

developed in chapter eight. Based on the background of the role of theory in understanding housing, urbanization is explored as a process in the development of a community and not a social problem. Thus, the structure of the cities in south-western Nigeria is examined, to establish the internal processes within the formulation of the community and the wider perspective of the relationships between the complex phenomena in housing. Urbanization is deployed as a theory, to generate understanding from the social phenomena, whereby constructing a logical notion that contributes to the arguments developed. By so doing, these understanding set the platform for the analysis of Ajegunle community which is discussed in chapter seven.

The role of theory is to explain the fundamental links between groups of related phenomena. Dubin (1978) suggests that theory delves into underlying processes to understand the systematic reasons for a particular occurrence. Dwyer (1974) identified that there are positive and negative aspects of the spontaneous housing. Some observers have viewed such type of housing provision as a problem, while others has viewed it as a solution (see Davis, 2006). The negative connotation that relates to spontaneous housing is the physical deterioration of the communities and the illegality of land tenure. The positive aspect that has been identified is the effort by the poor people to create an accommodation in the existing housing crisis (Hernan De Soto, 2000). Based on the background of identifying different aspects of housing, the theoretical foundation of housing is examined, to construct an understanding for the existing situation in Ajegunle.

Rapoport (2001) relates the concept of housing and its environmentality to a set of systems. He suggests that housing is embedded in different ways into larger systems of settings, which includes: blocks, compounds, neighbourhoods, settlements and regions (Rapoport, 2001). Thus, housing must then be considered in relation to streets, open spaces, and

neighbourhoods. To understand an existing situation of housing, it becomes important to discover the extent and the context of the type of system that is used for the classification. There are two main classifications of housing systems from Rapoport's theory on housing. This relates to the environment and the process of the evolution of a settlement pattern.

Firstly, in terms of the environment, he conceptualizes that housing relates to ambience, communication, meaning, time and other hidden functions such as culture, identity and status. He explained that the role of different layers of elements in communicating meanings informs a natural unification and increased understanding. Thus, meanings such as identity will vary with culture, because they will be communicated through different aspect of housing (Rapoport, 1981). This position leads to context of culture as it relates to housing. Rapoport (2001) suggested that housing is the most typical product of vernacular design and as such most directly related to culture. Thus, housing is suggested as a form through which people express their culture. The relationship of housing and culture implies that housing often, but not always, communicates an identity (Rapoport, 1981). This synthesis suggests that meanings and images as they relate to housing are vital part of its function. It also informs variability in the purpose and the utility of housing, making it a dynamic system, which needs a systematic analysis to capture the different levels of meaning that is contained in the concept of housing (Rapoport, 2001). Secondly, in terms of the processes of the evolution of a settlement pattern, this involves the organisation and its structure. Rapoport suggests that vernacular environments and spontaneous housing in developing countries is the result of "selectionism". He defined selectionism as an evolutionary process, whereby environments gradually become compatible with existing activity systems, lifestyles and meanings (Rapoport, 1995). This is achieved by applying rules, which are often unwritten with housing comprising large portions of such cultural landscapes (Rapoport, 1995). Even though, the rules are usually unwritten, he recognized that the cultural landscapes and style in

building results from the systematic and consistent application of activity systems, which include culture and meanings (Rapoport, 1986). He identified another form of organization of settlement, which he referred to as "instructionism". Rapoport defined this as the designed environment which is based on legal, formal and written rules of design. He suggested that it is formulated based on the involvement of professional designers, mobility of populations, rapid culture-change and specialized settings of human groups (Rapoport, 1985).

In terms of the housing theory relating to Ajegunle, selectionism as Rapoport described, entails activity systems that considers culture and meanings within a community, which captures the informal settlement process in Ajegunle by linking to the internal composition and the survival strategies developed in the community (this is further discussed in chapter seven). On the other hand, instructionism in relation to housing in Nigeria, relates to the rigid formal approaches towards housing, as adopted by the Government that does not consider the cultural element of the community. Governmentality as a theory connects the approach of the Government to the people's cultural position by suggesting a governmental activity with recognition of the cultural and historical specificity of the people that are governed (Dean, 1999; Clifford, 2001) (further discussed in chapter eight). Instructionism and selectionism are set as part of the foundation to analyse the existing situation in Ajegunle. Urbanisation as a theoretical foundation for communities in south-western Nigeria is examined.

Urbanisation

The chapter is concerned with theory of urbanization not as a social problem (see Montero and McDowell, 1986), but as a process to explain the development and the structure of a city (Little, 1974). This links to spontaneity as an informal process within a community. The

"urbanisation" of cities is examined in south-western Nigeria in order to have a theoretical basis for the understanding of the existing patterns of settlement in Ajegunle community. In his book, *Urbanization in Nigeria*, Mabogunje (1968), explains the concept of urbanisation as a process of development:

> Urbanisation is a continuing process, related to the increasing functional specialisation in human society. As such, it is easy to conceive communities as different stages of the process. The stage reached by any community has important repercussions on a whole set of social, economic and political relations in that community (Mabogunje 1968, p. 42).

Mabogunje's position on urbanization suggests that the urban formulation process of a settlement pattern needs to be examined, as part of the procedure to understand the existing situation in a community. Urbanization in African countries includes incorporation of territories into a global economy due to the process of colonization in the 18th and 19th century (Mabogunje, 1968). European powers required urban centres in their colonial territories to facilitate their administration and economic development. This process led to the re-ordering of the existing social and spatial structures that informed the evolution of new cities evolved with the creation of new social systems (Mabogunje, 1968). In south-western Nigeria, the colonial administrators utilized the existing social organisation in the communities (Mabogunje, 1968). This implies that the existing Yoruba's (people of south-western Nigeria) pre-European urbanized cities were not rural areas. They were trading regions, which also functioned as cities and commercial centres with international networks, rather than urban centres for a rural peasant population. The structure of Yoruba society is explored in order to construct an understanding for its "urbanisation".

Structure of Yoruba society

To explore the wider urban setting that relates to the urban composition of Ajegunle community, the structure of Yoruba society is examined. The structure of earliest Yoruba cities is investigated, to understand and establish the dynamics of the form of settlement in

the south-western Nigeria. The Yoruba cities do not adequately fit the usual concepts of urban groupings and the reasons for their earlier development in south-western Nigeria are not based on the influx of colonized trade in the region (Ottenberg and Ottenberg, 1960). Trigger (2003) commented that a thousand years ago, the Yoruba, a people rich in creativity, flourished despite difficult climatic and farming conditions and also created a sophisticated society.

For example, early Romans or Greek cities, brought a number of civilizations into symbiosis, especially that of the people who initially lived there and that of the conquerors (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005). However, in terms of physical form and internal arrangement, Yoruba communities are more homogenous than the European counterparts of the same period (O'Connor, 1983). Thus, the formation of the Yoruba urban centres in the early civilisation was not due to colonisation. However, there exists a pre-European urban centre, which evolved through the combination of social-cultural activities.

In the southwest of what is now regarded to as Nigeria and the adjacent states of Benin and Togo, tough conditions confronted the population. A hot climate and a barren landscape made agriculture hard. Pasture was scanty and yet the Yoruba-speaking tribes built a civilisation, creating one of the West Africa's most recognised groups (O'Connor, 1983). Life in the most sub-Saharan Africa seemed naturally to take a place at the village level. Large towns then were established by the foreign traders. However, the ancient culture of the Yoruba was different. The early Yoruba tribes had lived in urban centres; some with more than 100,000 inhabitants (see Bascom 1955, 1969; O'Connor, 1983; Vlach, 1984; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005). Mabogunje (1968), in his book *Urbanization in Nigeria,* commented on the social status of the pre-European Yoruba towns:

> Travellers through the area in the nineteenth century described most of the towns by such epithets as 'large' or 'small'. However, estimates were attempted at various times…

> It showed that the middle of the nineteenth century, three Yoruba cities [were] at least close to the 100,000 mark and a few others of considerable size. This situation is a peculiarly nineteenth century development and is related to the historical events which shook the whole of the Yoruba land in that century (p. 90).

The Yoruba people were involved in farming on a large scale. Based on this large scale farming, it seems that they formed a network of farm houses and second houses in the city. This resulted into a society (or a set of societies) whose members lived in a wide area. These societies were bounded by ties of the community and kinship (rituals, festivals and other social activities). They also had a strong sense of identity (see Vlach, 1984). These cities played a major role, as a social mixing point, influencing the entire governance of the community. This led to an urban civilisation which brought about a region that was politically and economically sustainable. As part of the process of formulation of the urban centres, the people brought their techniques of settlement and housing design. Thus, they created partly traditional villages in an urban setting, which led to building houses on their own using designs, motifs and materials that are locally sourced (Mabogunje, 1968).

Urbanization as discussed suggests that the composition of the cities in south-western Nigeria has been based on the people's general liveability and socio-cultural activities. The jobs (farming) and the socio-cultural activities (festivals) has informed a general liveability, which resulted into an urban form that was sustainable at that time, as such it was adopted by the colonial administrators as established trade routes (see Mabogunje, 1968). This characteristic of an urban form at that particular period was novel, as such it was not a generic feature of cities in that particular region (Mabogunje, 1968). The characteristic of south-western Nigerian cities, which directly connects general liveability to urban form, appears to underpin the importance of the human elements to the community through "housing". As a result, the urbanisation of the south-western Nigerian cities demonstrates the additional role of the general liveability and socio-cultural nuances of the people to

housing, as an element of the community for socio-cultural expression. This position strengthens the notion of housing as it relates to south-western Nigeria and sets these understanding as a background for the analysis of Ajegunle community.

CONCLUSION

Part one contextualises[13] the urban housing situation in Nigeria by reviewing literatures, which are central and have a wider implication to the notion of housing. Chapter two deepened the understanding of housing, part of which explores the definition and the historical context of urban housing (see pp. 46–62). The discussion established that the notion of housing transcends shelter or accommodation for domestic purposes, and as such it has moved beyond its function as a physical structure. It revealed that housing was not only used to achieve physical comfort but also fulfilled psychological, religious and social human needs (see pp. 46–52). This distinction and variation in what housing means, is reflected in: the approach of the colonial understanding of housing; the traditional and additional cultural functions that housing possesses in the context of south-western Nigeria and the importance of housing as a means to express the deepened socio-cultural characteristics in south-western Nigeria, which underpins the different aspects of its community (see pp. 52–57). These understanding widens the importance of housing, as such relocates the socio-cultural human element that is connected to housing as an entity that needs to be explored, to understand the complexity surrounding its different components.

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[13] The summary of the context of the study was captured in a poster titled: The urban housing crisis; a culturally-informed framework for the development of housing policy, a case study of Lagos, Nigeria. This was presented in the Regional East Midlands Poster competition at Keele University, UK, July 2008, see appendix 1 pp. 362.

The contemporary context of urban housing explored the contemporary issues that relate to housing and its wider implication on Ajegunle community. The discussion addressed spontaneity as it relates to informal housing, the informal process of the city and the notions of slums and its other various forms. The relationship between poverty and informal settlements were explored (see pp. 83–92). Spontaneous housing seems to be misinterpreted as a negative aspect of the environment. As discovered, spontaneous housing is a product of the natural evolution of a city, and as such the character of an informal housing. Consequently, the spatial arrangement is not a result of professional principles of design, rather an effort of human beings, which are regulated by the wider systems of the community. That said, spontaneity is not only a function of "slums", it also relates to other forms of informal housing, which is not negative, but it is a response to a gap in understanding between the Government and the people of a community (see pp. 66–67). This clarification was made for Ajegunle community by exploring its internal and physical composition, in order to categorise Ajegunle community not as a slum (see pp. 77–95). The discussion surrounding the physical composition entails Ajegunle not as a slum (see pp. 77–84) and the internal aspect that explored the notion of poverty as it relates to informal housing and the economy (see pp. 83–95), illuminated the distinct characteristics of the community.

As part of understanding the Ajegunle community and other wider issues, the existing housing situation is contextualised. An overview of the housing situation in south-western Nigeria, the Government participation and the perception of housing in Nigeria, establishes that there is a gap in understanding on the part of the Government (see pp. 98–104). In addition to the gap in understanding that was identified, the distinction made for Ajegunle community by separating it from the existing understanding of slum, reinforces the need to develop a culturally-informed framework for housing policy. Separating Ajegunle community

from the existing generic understanding of informal housing (see pp. 77–84), distinguishes the Ajegunle condition from the reasons of the government action for slum clearance, which appears to connect to the government's negative perception of the informal housing as slum (see pp. 63–67). As such, this distinction sets the platform for Ajegunle as a case to address the urban housing crisis, because it exhibits a social composition and internal mechanism through the lived experience of the residents of the community, which underpins the cultural dimension to housing adopted by this study. By so doing, the distinction sets the background for the development of a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies (further discussed in chapter eight). The understanding of the contemporary context of urban housing (see pp. 62–97) sets the platform for the analysis of Ajegunle community, which is further explored in chapter eight.

Chapter three draws findings from the existing housing policies and programme, based on the analysis of the different housing policies and the implemented housing programme. The processes involved in the implementation, the approaches adopted by the Government and the factors that contributed to the minimal success of the different housing policies and programmes were examined (see pp. 105–113). The findings were discussed within the full complexity of the existing housing programmes and policies (see pp. 114–135). The discussion strengthens the analysis of the empirical material gathered in Ajegunle.

As part of chapter four, the complexity of housing theory sets a theoretical foundation for the methodology of this study. The housing theory developed by Rapoport (see pp. 169–172) and the understanding of urbanization as a development process (see pp. 139–140), connects the form and the internal composition of cities in south-western Nigeria to existing housing theory. Rapoport relates to the form of housing and also connects culture to housing (see pp.

169–172), while urbanization illuminates the structure of the city (see pp. 140–143). Thus, the understanding of the existing housing condition in Ajegunle community is expanded.

Respectively: the definition and historical context of urban housing, the contemporary context of housing, the contextualisation of housing, the analysis of the existing government policies and programmes and the complexity of urban housing theory, collectively constructs an understanding which can be applied to the existing situation in Ajegunle. This understanding serves as the basis for this study to engage in an African phenomenological position, as the methodological framework, which sets the platform for a qualitative analysis of the empirical material gathered from the Ajegunle community.

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CHAPTER FIVE
African phenomenology and the empirical development

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand African phenomenology as the methodological framework, and set the empirical development for the analysis of Ajegunle community, this chapter explores the different aspects of African philosophy, phenomenology and processes involved within the empirical development. Methodology: Philosophical framework and methodological approach, within which African phenomenology and the empirical framework is located, serves as the link between the research questions (see pp. 8–9) and the analysis. As a result, through the methodological framework (African phenomenology), the study can arrive at an analysis of Ajegunle community, as such construct a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies. By so doing, form part and lead to the contribution to knowledge proposed (see pp. 33–35). The meanings, definitions and origins of phenomenology are explored, as a background for phenomenology as an approach to the

urban housing crisis in Ajegunle. Phenomenology as an approach sets the platform to understand phenomenology as a philosophy used to explore the human element of Ajegunle community. This entails the understanding of the different contributions to phenomenology, which includes: Husserlian school of thought of bracketing, Schutz's expression of phenomenology as reality construction and ethnomethodology and the works of Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology.

An understanding of phenomenology is constructed in order to allow the empirical process to illuminate the human element and the lived experience of Ajegunle community. As a result, the Husserlian school of thought of bracketing is explored, because it relates to peeling of layers of meaning in order to come in contact with the core housing meaning that is connected to the housing crisis. Schutz's reality construction and ethnomethodology (a phenomenological expression as derived by Schutz) are examined, in order to understand the perception of reality (in this instance the existing housing crisis) see pp. 158–161by the people who are involved in the housing situation. Furthermore, ethnomethodology is linked to the cultural technology (survival strategies and methods developed by the people) see pp. 159–161, and their general liveability that has been informed by the existing housing condition. Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology comprises of themes that are used in this chapter. Therefore, Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology is engaged, because his themes summarises the different aspects of phenomenology through which this study understands and explores the existing urban housing condition. This aspect of phenomenology is then related to the context of Ajegunle community in chapter seven (see pp. 261–297).

As earlier explained (see pp. 24–26), to derive or arrive at a plausible solution to the existing housing crisis, African philosophy is considered as part of the underpinning philosophy

guiding this study. Even though phenomenology aims to come in contact with the empirical information in its original form, it appears not to have the capacity to understand the socio-cultural embedded meanings, which are at the core of housing and community in south-western Nigeria. As a result, African philosophy is explored with other aspect including proverb, to construct an understanding of African philosophy as it links to the existing urban housing condition.

Actors, participants, residents and subjects are used through the study in different contexts (see pp. 8–9), to capture the role of the Ajegunle people. In the context of phenomenology, Ajegunle people are described as actors or subjects to capture them as an active and important element of the society. In relation to gathering empirical material, participants have been used to express the role of the Ajegunle people in the case study process. Residents are used to convey the Ajegunle people as inhabitants of the community that contribute to its social, cultural and economic sustainability. These terms are deployed to convey the appropriate meaning in different contexts. Phenomenology as the method is examined, that is, as it relates to "doing" the case study. The empirical development that was used to explore Ajegunle community is expanded. Phenomenology and African philosophy are drawn from, to arrive at an African phenomenology. Thus, African phenomenology and the empirical development set the background to engage African phenomenology as the methodological framework deployed to arrive at the analysis of the study.

DEFINING PHENOMENOLOGY

The meanings, definitions and origins of phenomenology are explored. This sets the background for phenomenology as a framework within which to approach the urban

housing crisis in Ajegunle. 'Phenomenology asks for the very nature of a phenomenon, for that which makes a some-"thing" what it is-and without which it could not be what it is' (Van Manen 1990, p. 10). The initial clarity of this definition can fade, because the term phenomenology has become popular and widely embraced; its meaning has become multifaceted. Phenomenology has been conceptualised as a philosophy, a research method and an overarching perspective from which all qualitative research is sourced (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). It can also refer to a philosophy (Husserl, 1970a), an inquiry paradigm (Lincoln, 1990), an interpretive theory (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, p. 14), a social science analytical perspective or orientation (Schutz, 1967, 1970; Harper 2000, p. 727) and a major qualitative tradition (Cresswell, 1998). Furthermore, transcendental, existential and hermeneutic phenomenology offers different perspectives on the meaning of phenomenology. Respectively, these different aspects of phenomenology are defined as: the essential meanings of individual experience, the social construction of group reality, the language and structure of communication (Schwandt 2001, pp. 191–194). Though phenomenology is grounded in the social sciences, it seems to be developing in some disciplines such as education (see Chamberlin, 1974), psychology (see Giorgi, 1983) and management related studies (see Sanders, 1982; Gibson and Hanes, 2003). These discussions illuminate the wider context in which phenomenology has been explored. That said, phenomenology as a philosophy that promotes understanding of the relationship between the individual and the community is concentrated on, thus phenomenology as an approach is explored to understand the human element and its wider implication in Ajegunle community.

PHENOMENOLOGY AS THE APPROACH

Advancing the understanding of phenomenology as an approach involves the explanation of the role of phenomenology as an approach to this study. Phenomenology as a philosophy and its related aspects are explored, to provide an understanding of, and analyse the existing situation in Ajegunle community. Husserlian school of thought of bracketing, Schutz's expression of phenomenology as reality construction and ethnomethodology and the works of Merleau-Ponty's celebrated themes of phenomenology are examined, because of earlier reasons stated (see p. 158). The chapter aligns with Natanson (1970) position on phenomenology, as an approach that reveals the human awareness in the context that relates to social action, situations and worlds. Phenomenology as an approach perceives society as a human entity, as it relates to: social reality, organizations, situations and human interactions. This position advances phenomenology as a notion that makes humans the creative agents in the construction of their social worlds (Ainlay, 1986). Phenomenology as an approach is not used to substantiate the social activities of the people of Ajegunle, as a social menace informed by the existing urban housing crisis. However, phenomenology proceeds to view the social activities that have informed the urban form as a response within their built environment, thus these social responses are investigated as humanly meaningful acts. These humanly meaningful acts, have been referred to as: attitudes, behaviours, classes, culture, ethnic groups, families, lived experience and societies (Armstrong, 1979; Starr, 1982; Herek, 1986; Gubrium and Holstein, 1987; Petersen, 1987; Van Manen, 1990). The production of these social elements (humanly meaningful acts), are understood within the context of their empirical accomplishment, that is, the interview setting, the observational location, the data collection situation, the field and the research instrument (Schwartz and Jerry, 1979). The social elements that are processed through an empirical understanding are referred to as

"cultural technology" (further discussed in chapter six). This chapter understands and reveal how actors (Ajegunle residents) interpret themselves, the points of view of the actors and the expression of their lived experience. It proceeds to recognize the interpretations of the actors (Ajegunle residents) for themselves as subjects (Ajegunle residents), within the human environment.

Smart (1976) suggests that phenomenology reveals the constructions of humankind. The chapter aligns with this position and uses phenomenology to reveal the efforts of Ajegunle residents, in achieving a general liveability and also uncovers the theoretical grounds for their efforts as these relate to the built environment. It proceeds to understand the social processes involved in order to achieve a lived experience by critiquing the existing upheld views regarding the urban housing crisis. Also, explicating the phenomenological approach as a vehicle to understand the Ajegunle community and as a human construction veneered by concrete ideas, making sure that the meaning of the human element of the community is maintained within the context of the built environment.

The phenomenological approach explores the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents within the context of the urban housing crisis. As a result, the study reveals how the efforts of the people have influenced their survival strategies through everyday life (see pp. 223–297). The study penetrates the inner world of the Ajegunle society by phenomenologically understanding the actors' in their own terms, from their level and viewpoints (see pp. 261–297). This phenomenological process involves procedures that are distinct to any positivist approach and also shuns any pre-conceived notions about informal settlements. Wilson (1996) interprets phenomenology as a process that yields an understanding of the interplay of life worlds and culture material. Thus, this study uses a phenomenological approach, to understand the cultural context of the existing urban housing phenomenon (see pp. 261–

297). As a result, it proceeds to understand the communication, functioning, interaction and the relationship of different parts of the Ajegunle community, which leads to the achievement of a culturally, economically, socially sustainable community. The platform of this study is set by discussing the function of phenomenology as an approach in relation to the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. Parts of this phenomenological approach are investigated by exploring phenomenology as a philosophy.

Phenomenology as a Philosophy

Husserl's notion of bracketing, Alfred Schutz[14] interpretation of reality construction and ethnomethodology of phenomenology and Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology are explored, as part of the philosophical basis for understanding the existing situation in Ajegunle community. Husserl's notion of bracketing is understood as the philosophical process for reaching by peeling the layers of meanings, thus, understanding the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. Schutz's phenomenological expression of reality construction and ethnomethodology are examined. The manner in which reality construction understands knowledge and perceives reality is investigated, as part of the relationship between phenomenology and African philosophy (see pp. 183–190). Ethnomethodology is not used as a separate philosophy (see Patton, 1990). Ethnomethodology is arranged under phenomenology as part of the philosophical constructs that focuses on the everyday life and activities of Ajegunle residents. Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology is used, because the themes under his contribution to phenomenology, summarises the aspects of phenomenology used to understand the lived experience of Ajegunle residents. This aspect of phenomenology is discussed in Husserl's notion of bracketing and Alfred Schutz's

[14] Alfred Schutz (1899–1959) had some problems with Max Weber's theory of action, which informed his interest in phenomenology. His migration to the United States prior to World War II, along with that of other phenomenologically inclined scholars, resulted in the transmission of this approach to American academic circles and to its ultimate transformation into interpretive sociology (Schutz, 1967).

interpretation of reality construction and ethnomethodology of phenomenology. However, it is through Merleau-Ponty's themes (description, essence, intentionality and reduction) that the study explores the Ajegunle community. These explorations set a methodological framework through which the investigations are understood.

The central task of phenomenology as a philosophy is to understand the lived experience of Ajegunle residents. Van Manen (1990) explains the role of phenomenology in gaining deeper understanding of the lived experience:

> Phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday [lived] experiences… Anything that presents itself to consciousness is potentially of interest to phenomenology, whether the object is real or imagined, empirically measurable… consciousness is the only access human beings have to the world. Or rather, it is by virtue of being conscious that we are already related to the world. Thus, all we can ever know presents itself to consciousness. (Van Manen 1990, pp. 9–10).

Thus, phenomenology is used to view all dimensions of the lived experience as part of the community's social activity. Phenomenology is tasked to make manifest and untangle the different layers of human actions involved in achieving a lived experience, which contributes to the general liveability of the Ajegunle residents. Part of the basis of understanding phenomenology as a philosophy is to explore Husserl's notion of bracketing.

Husserl's notion of Bracketing

The development of phenomenology is understood, through the discourse of Husserl's bracketing. Phenomenology was initially developed by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). Husserl's background as a German mathematician, informed his position that the objectivism of science precluded an adequate apprehension of the world (Husserl, 1970a; 1970b). He presented philosophical conceptualisations and methods designed to locate the sources or essences of reality in the human consciousness. Husserlian phenomenology emerged as a response against the then dominant scientific (positivist) view of philosophy

(Hammond *et al.*, 1991). This study opposes any positivist view and philosophy that suggests human experiences as just appearances with no empirical value. Hammond *et al.* (1991) further suggested that phenomenology seeks to offer a correction to the emphasis on positivist conceptualizations and research methods, which may take for granted and fail to understand the issues that phenomenology find of interest. As a result, phenomenology is interested in the experience of human beings in the world.

Phenomenological approach seems to bring to light the human being's experience of the world. In line with disagreeing with a positivist view, Descartes' dualism of mind and body or consciousness and matter is rejected (Hammond *et al.*, 1991). Descartes maintained that real objects can exist independently of our consciousness. He saw subjective experiences as "appearances" and as a result he biased science over experience. For phenomenology, this separation between appearances and reality or objects and the external world was the opposite of experience, because experience is the contact with the external world (Hammond *et al.*, 1991). Husserl (1970a; 1970b) reinforces this position by suggesting that phenomenology as a philosophy would not separate mind from matter, rather it pointed to experience as a central feature of life. McCall (1983) interpreted Husserl's philosophical phenomenology as the achievement of transcendental subjectivity where the absoluteness of conscious existence could be established. Jennings (1986) draws that Husserl was interested in developing a means by which essential knowledge can be yielded. To achieve essential knowledge, Sanders (1982) interpreted Husserl's bracketing as a proposed number of "reductions", which involved individuals "bracketing" or suspending the natural attitude, so they could experience a phenomenon in a new and unconventional way. Deploying this phenomenological understanding for the Ajegunle context, the phenomenal experiences of the Ajegunle residents through the exploration of their lived experience is explored. It examines the different aspects of social activities that contribute to the general liveability of

the people. The study examines layers of influences on the community which includes: government action, housing policies, social dynamics, micro and macro economy, built environment, urban form and spatial distribution (see pp. 105–134; pp. 261–297). These influences are understood by deploying phenomenology as part of the philosophy, which allows the researcher to be theoretically sensitive and restricts the researcher from tampering with the reality of the lived experience of the community (see Patton, 1990). Consequently, the researcher interprets the lived experience of the people without pre-conceived notions and also comes in direct contact with the context involved in a phenomenon.

This foregoing discussion explains the role of "bracketing" as developed by Husserl, as a process of reaching by peeling layers of understanding in order to come in contact with the core context of housing in Ajegunle community. In addition, the role of reality construction and ethnomethodology is explored as expressed by Alfred Schutz, in order to advance the understanding of phenomenology as a philosophy.

Reality construction and Ethnomethodology

Reality construction and ethnomethodology as it relates to phenomenology as expressed by Alfred Schutz is examined. It uses reality construction as an agent in phenomenology that connects with the elements of African philosophy. Furthermore, it employs ethnomethodology as arranged under phenomenology, to understand the methods and the systems developed by the Ajegunle residents to achieve a lived experience in the existing urban housing condition. Schutz distilled from Husserl's writings a sociologically relevant approach. Schutz set about describing how subjective meanings give rise to an apparently objective social world (Schutz, 1962; 1964; 1966; 1970; Schutz and Luckmann, 1973; Wagner, 1983). Two expressions of this approach have been termed as "reality constructionism" and

"ethnomethodology". Reality constructionism and ethnomethodology are recognized to be among the most fertile orientations in the field of sociology (Ritzer, 1996).

Reality construction as developed by Alfred Schutz presents a particular construct of the human experience. Thus, the researcher steps back and observe a case with the intention of understanding and perceiving reality in its original form. This aspect of phenomenology which is referred to as reality construction relates to the characteristics of African philosophy and its tactile principles towards a community (see pp. 169–183). Reality construction was distilled from phenomenology to account for social reality (Berger, 1963; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Berger, 1967; Garfinkel, 1967; Berger and Brigitte, 1972; Berger and Kellner, 1981; Potter, 1996). As a result, reality construction is engaged as part of the philosophical constructs, which underpins the perception of reality (existing urban housing crisis) in Ajegunle community. By so doing, this function of reality construction is relayed, through the similarities with the perception of reality as explored under African philosophy (see pp. 169–183). Thus, reality construction is engaged as a strand from the phenomenological approach to understand the lived experience, as part of the "reality" (existing urban housing crisis) in Ajegunle community. Therefore, describing the different elements of their lived experience, as it relates to the context of socio-cultural activities and their general liveability. "Reality" (existing urban housing crisis) is perceived, without interfering with the meanings excavated from the lived experiences of the people. The Ajegunle resident's lived experience of the world and their relationship to the environment are gathered empirically, which is analysed and then forms part of the basis for achieving the aim of the study; the development of a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies (see pp. 318–347). Reality construction is further used as it relates to the colloquial knowledge drawn from the social processes in the Ajegunle community (see

pp. 187–189). In line with understanding phenomenology as a philosophy of which reality construction is explored, ethnomethodology as arranged under phenomenology is examined.

The ethnomethodological branch of phenomenology has been developed to unveil the practices used by individuals to produce a sense of social order and the methods involved to achieve everyday life (Mehan and Houston, 1975; Leiter, 1980; Cuff, 1993). Ethnomethodology is understood as part of the underpinning philosophy interested in the methods that people use to achieve a general liveability. In support of this view of ethnomethodology, Wallace and Wolf (1980) define ethnomethodology as, 'If we translate the "ethno" part of the term as "members" (of a group) or "folk" or "people", then the term's meaning can be stated as: "members" methods of making sense of their social world' (p. 263). This aligns with the function of ethnomethodology as suggested by Gubrium and Holstein (2000) as '[The combination of] phenomenological sensibility with a paramount concern for everyday social practice' (p. 490). Ethnomethodology as arranged under phenomenology is drawn from, to understand the everyday method used to achieve the everyday life in Ajegunle community. The methods that are used by the people to adapt to the existing urban housing crisis and its wider implication on the built environment are investigated. The study asks how the Ajegunle residents have been able to achieve a general liveability under extreme circumstances informed by the existing urban housing crisis. It explores how the Ajegunle residents persevere with the challenges of their existing urban housing condition. This method and practices of which ethnomethodology has set its platform, within the phenomenological approach relates to the survival strategies used in the existing urban housing crisis. Thus, the method and practices are referred to as "cultural technology" in this study (see pp. 210–222).

This study does not discover the methods and practices that relate to the survival strategy of the people by ethnomethodological experiments or as an ethnomethodologist. Ethnomethodologist approach is rejected, because ethnomethodological experiments disrupt and violate the lived experience and social processes of the society, to gather empirical material (Garfinkel, 1967; Patton, 1990). This study neither hinders nor manipulates the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. It adopts an unobtrusive approach towards understanding and gathering qualitative empirical information from the Ajegunle residents within their community. Wallace and Wolf (1980) agree with the manipulative strategy of ethnomethodologist by suggesting that they make sense of a lived experience by thrusting participants into 'situations in which meaning is problematic' (p. 280). The study does not force the knowledge and the core of meanings in the community to the surface by forcefully precipitating information. It observes the Ajegunle community in its normal settings without any form of violation.

Husserl's bracketing is understood, as a way of coming in contact with the core of housing in Ajegunle community in its original form. Reality construction as the process of perceiving reality (existing housing crisis) and ethnomethodology as the methods and practices used to achieve a general liveability are explored, which in the context of Ajegunle community relates to their survival strategies (cultural technology). These understanding forms part of phenomenology as a philosophy, as such it contributes to the phenomenological approach of the study. The understanding of phenomenology as a philosophy is advanced by exploring Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology.

Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology

The different parts of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents are classified to understand the existing housing crisis by exploring the Merleau-Ponty's contribution to

phenomenology. This is because Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology, through his four qualities of phenomenology, appears to relate with Husserl's notion of "bracketing" and the phenomenological expression of Schutz's reality construction and ethnomethodology, as explained (see pp. 158–161). As such, it summarises the aspects of the phenomenological approach adopted by this study to understand the Ajegunle community. Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology is used as an agent, to arrange into different themes, the fundamentals of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. Merleau-Ponty's contribution to phenomenology condenses this process by identifying four key qualities (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). These qualities are: description, essence, intentionality and reduction. As a result, "bracketing" into the elements of the lived experience of Ajegunle residents by understanding through a phenomenological approach, described by these four key qualities, which include:

- "Description" as it relates to the complexity of the informal housing in Ajegunle community. This study provides concrete descriptions of the lived experiences (see pp. 261–297). These involve the detailed description of the fundamental structures of the lived experience and not just an explanation of the issues surrounding the urban housing crisis in the community. Human beings are open to social experiences and strive towards a meaningful involvement in the experienced world. Descriptions entail the explanation of the interactions of human beings within their environments. This interaction in the society includes: knowledge and social activities which contribute to the urban, micro- economy and the general liveability of the people, which involves unravelling the layers of meanings of the existing social and urban forms of the city. This description internalises the frame of the different layers of the community and identifies the sedimented layer, which has settled beneath the foundations of the existing social and urban forms of the community. The

component of the description entails identifying part of the factors that contributed to the existing housing crisis on the part of the Government by exploring the Government's housing policies and programmes (see pp. 105–135). Schwandt (2000) suggests that actors assume other actor's perception of the world. The study uses phenomenology to emphasize that human's life within an inter-subjective world is surrounded by boundaries of reality experiences, cultural and social elements of the society and understanding different layers of meaning (see pp. 261–297).

- "Essence" in relation to the core meaning of an individual's experience connects to what makes it (individual's experience) and what it (individual's experience) is. Contextualizing essence relates to the fundamental elements of the experiences, which human beings go through as regards the urban housing crisis in the community. The study commences with an analysis of the "essence" of the Ajegunle resident's lived experience. This is understood as the way the ordinary individuals participate in the world, considering their existence, culture and any other undertaking actions in their micro-world (see pp. 261–297). This ensures the understanding of the features of their micro-world through the actors' lived world. These features include: government action, housing policies, social dynamics, micro and macro economy, built environment, urban form and spatial distribution of the community and other aspects of their lived experience (see pp. 105–134; pp. 261–297).

- "Intentionality" refers to the consciousness that 'individuals are always conscious of something' (Merleau-Ponty 1962, p. 3). This encompasses more than what is given in the perception of a single perspective and aims to understand in detail the meaning in question (Chamberlin, 1974). "Intentionality" connects with the motivations that stimulated their growth and the interplay of the actors involved. For phenomenology,

all human consciousness is practical. Actors intend to project into the world; they act in order to implement the intentionality of their consciousness. This consciousness appears to be composed of the ontological material of living, which entails thinking, perceiving, feeling, remembering, imagining, and anticipating directed toward the survival in the community. These acts are the sources of the social realities that in turn, formulate the materials of knowledge, which creates a philosophical grounding for the effort of the people in the urban housing crisis. This knowledge seems to be internalised, becoming the tools that individual consciousness uses to constitute a lived world; the unified arena of human awareness and action. This knowledge seems to serve as an ever-present resource to assure actors of the reality that is projected from human's experience. Since all actors are involved in this intentional work, they sustain the collaborative effort to reify their projections. These appear to reinforce the frameworks that provide the basis for the development of the society. As a result, intentionality of the Ajegunle residents is explored by understanding the motivation that informed the Ajegunle residents' persistent to achieve a general liveability, in a challenging built environment (see pp. 118–122).

- "Reduction" is a process that involves suspending or bracketing into a phenomenon, in order to experience it in a new way and also gain better understanding of the context (Van Manen, 1990). This involves bracketing or suspending one's beliefs so that phenomenology can return to the originality and the actual context of a phenomenon (Husserl, 1970a). In order to uncover the integral structures of the lived experience of the Ajegunle community, this study uses a phenomenological approach to put aside biases and presuppositions so that the lived experience can reveal itself. By this approach, "bracketing" is performed. Bentz (1995) and Ihde (1977) contend that bracketing lifts an item under investigation from its meaning and context in the

generic sense, with all judgments suspended. This chapter does not argue whether an experience or an essence is either true or false. It explores within a phenomenological frame the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. This study proceeds to understand the reduction through the analysis of the lived experience and the meanings generated from the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 289–297). By this, a theoretical insight is gained into the meaning of the lived experience.

This discussion synthesises with the Foucaultian theory of understanding knowledge. In order to further understand the notion of reduction, this study deploys the Foucaultian theory of understanding knowledge. In his book: *The archaeology of knowledge*, Foucault explains that:

> These tools have enabled workers in the [research] field to distinguish various sedimentary strata: liner successions, which for so long had been the object of research, have given way to discoveries in depth. From the political mobility at the surface down to the slow movements of the 'material civilization', ever more levels of analysis have been established: each has its own peculiar discontinuities and patterns: and as one descends to the deepest levels, the rhythms become broader (Foucault 2002, p. 3).

In the context of Ajegunle, reduction connects with the peeling of superficial layers of assumed positions pertaining to the urban housing crisis (claimed ideas on slums), which drives systematically into the internal layers of the community (see pp. 261–297). As part of peeling of layers, the study performs "reduction" or "bracketing". It explores the different layers of the Government's housing policies and programmes, in order to come in contact, with the core of the urban housing issue on the part of the Government (see pp. 105–135). This process engages with the intricacies, which include: socio-cultural and economical dynamics of the community, the existing literature of the Government's housing policies and programmes, as such "bracketing" into the phenomena that informed the urban housing crisis. Beneath the changing policies of the Government and the different upheld views of the characteristics of the slum, appears to lay unmoving strata that yields the meaning to the

existence and the continuity of Ajegunle community. This study systematically sheds the layers of meaning by unpeeling the existing governmental actions or the upheld views, to come in contact with the core of housing associated with the existing housing crisis. As a result, it communicates the meaning of the key aspects of the lived experience of the Ajegunle resident.

These strands of phenomenology which includes: description, essence, intentionality and reduction underpins Husserl's notion of bracketing, reality construction and ethnomethodology, as expressed by Schutz, and serves as the philosophical construct guiding this study. Phenomenology insists that society is a human construction (Cicourel, 1964; 1973). A phenomenological approach is developed which brings to focus the Ajegunle resident's lived experiences of their community by understanding the human element of a society, which informs the social component and its urban form. The different aspects of this human element are examined as a response to the existing urban housing condition. Phenomenology contributes to the philosophical construct of a research (Psathas, 1973; Luckmann, 1978; Rogers, 1983; Levesque-Lopman, 1988; Aho, 1998). This position is aligned with the phenomenological approach, as a philosophical construct that contributes to the core of the investigation of the case study. Moreover, to gain an empathic appreciation of the lived experience of Ajegunle community, in relation to the phenomenological approach that has been discussed, a methodological enhancement of African philosophy is explored.

OVERVIEW AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

African philosophy is examined as part of the methodological framework of this study. Although a phenomenological approach on its own is people oriented, and it intends to connect with the consciousness of the people, to come in contact with the real life situation, African philosophy and phenomenology are combined as the methodological framework.

This is because they are both interested in the human element of the community and also consider the consciousness of the people. As discussed earlier (see pp. 24–26), to strengthen the need to consider African philosophy as part of the approach to methodology, it is suggested that:

- African philosophy as a methodological component moves this study beyond "supporting", but "expresses" the socio-cultural nuances of Ajegunle community (see pp. 24–26).

- In relation to this position, the question emerges that should the study which has at its core the need to understand the socio-cultural embedded element within an African community, be based absolutely on a "western" philosophy, without considering the philosophical tenet of the community (see pp. 24–26)? This makes it essential to consider African philosophy.

- Furthermore, the need for a phenomenological approach to understand the complex nature of cultural elements of the human experience (see pp. 23–24) and its lack of capacity to express the socio-cultural nuances embedded in the core of housing in Ajegunle, makes it imperative to engage African philosophy in the phenomenological approach.

As a result, this implies that without African philosophy, the phenomenological approach is incomplete as a methodological framework that can be engaged in this study, in order come in contact with the core of housing and its meaning in Ajegunle community. Based on this position, African phenomenology is formed. While African philosophy in this relationship highlights the cultural context of Ajegunle community and maintains the "Africanness" (see

p. 34) within the empirical process, phenomenology ensures that the study comes in contact with the core of housing in Ajegunle community in its original form.

African philosophy is examined. African philosophy is a combination of two principles (noumenal and phenomenal), which leads to a duality that forms the foundation of African thought (Kamalu, 1990). An understanding is generated from this African position by showing the relationship of African philosophy to phenomenology. Knowledge is examined as the foundation of African philosophy, which links to the concept of proverbs and myths in Africa. Fundamental knowledge relates to the African society through the noumenal aspect of African philosophy. On the other hand, proverbs are a feature of the phenomenal part of African philosophy. These components of African philosophy seem to relate to the character and the composition of phenomenology. In terms of knowledge, African philosophy relates to how phenomenology characterises the understanding of knowledge. African philosophy and phenomenology approaches the perception of reality in the same manner. These relationships are aligned and combined with African philosophy and phenomenology as the methodological framework. To understand the role and the significance of African philosophy in African phenomenology, as the methodological framework, the use and the application of these aspects of African philosophy to the African society are investigated. The informal knowledge seems to be used to frame the economy, judiciary, religious and the socio-cultural aspects of the African society. Thus, this colloquial frame, underpinned by informal knowledge, serves as the origin for the foundation of the formulation of rules and regulations that guides the principles of the community. This is part of the way in which the African philosophy has been used to guide the community. Based on this colloquial frame, there appears to be a fusion of two aspects of the African philosophy (noumenal and phenomenal), which serves as the charter through which the African society views the micro-world. For this study to achieve the development of a culturally-informed

framework, the key aspects of African philosophy are dissected. The similarities in characteristics and composition between African philosophy and phenomenology are drawn from to arrive at African phenomenology. This African phenomenology proceeds to structure the methodological framework that illuminates the emerging discussions in this study, and also constructs the meanings that will be used to understand the existing urban housing crisis.

African philosophy

African philosophy and its other aspects are explored including myths and proverbs, as it relates to the African society. African philosophy seems to stem from the theme that, the world is ordered according to a principle of ontological consciousness, which delivers an epistemological reality. This consciousness is converted to a particular perception of reality. As a consequence, the reality is evident in the everyday activity systems that exist in the African community, which can be conceived through the noumenal and phenomenal. Though the phenomenal element of African philosophy is more related to this study, the noumenal is also explained because of the complex interaction between these parts of African philosophy, by so doing, given a clearer definition of the African part of the methodology.

Kamalu (1990) suggested that 'the noumenal (nothingness or the void) does not refer to any objects of experience and can neither be conceived by the senses nor conceived by the imagination' (p. 47). This represents African religion, which is the basis of African belief. Though African religion represents a whole body of belief systems, the chapter discusses African religion as it relates to African philosophy. African religion has been likened to "animism". The term animism was developed by Tylor (1871). This comes from the Latin word *anima*, which means "soul" or "breath". It refers to that which empowers or gives life

to something. Animism is the religion that sees the physical world as interpenetrated by spiritual forces (both personal and impersonal) to the extent that objects carry spiritual significance and events have spiritual causes (Tylor, 1871). To understand a practical application of Tylor's definition, Halverson (1998) illustrated animism in this context: 'if there is an accident, or if someone is sick, there are spiritual reasons behind such things that must be taken into consideration. Otherwise, the cause behind the accident or the sickness cannot be fully understood or remedied' (p. 59). The view that the whole body of African religion can be equated to animism is opposed. That said, the chapter concentrates not on the whole body of African religion, but discusses African religion, as it relates to south-western Nigeria. It also rejects the approach and attitude of the early western missionaries and anthropologists, which suggest the assumption of African beliefs, cultural characteristics (proverbs and myth) and knowledge as meaningless fantasy (see Kamalu, 1990; Mbiti, 1990). This assumption was forced to the extent that it remains the reference point for the interpretation of the core meanings of the African philosophy (Mbiti, 1990; Asante and Abarry, 1996; Halverson, 1998). These earlier descriptions and studies of African religion were done with terms that are inadequate to convey the nuances and the true meaning of the African philosophy (Mbiti, 1990). Furthermore, in his book: *African Religion and Philosophy*, Mbiti (1990), interpreted Tylor's definition of animism and its consequence on other anthropologists. These early researchers took Tylor's understanding as the basis for their analysis of African religion, which is an aspect of African philosophy:

> This term [animism] has become the most popular designation for African religion and is found in many writings. For Tylor, the basic definition of religion was the 'belief in spirit beings'. He saw the *anima* as a shadowy vaporous image animating the object occupied. He thought that the so-called 'primitive people' imagined the anima to be capable of leaving the body and entering other men, animals or things; and continuing to live after death. Pursuing the theory further, Tylor went on to say that such [notion] considered every object to have its own soul, thus giving rise to countless spirits in the universe. Tylor's idea was popularised by his disciples. Since then animism has come to be widely used in describing traditional religions of Africa (p. 7).

African religion acknowledges the existence of spirits. These spirits are thought to inhabit objects like trees, ponds and rocks. However, a system of belief and practice based on the idea that objects and natural phenomena are inhibited by spirits is a small portion of the many beliefs held in Africa religion. This does not constitute the entire belief system (Mbiti, 1991). He also suggested that Africa religion acknowledges the presence of a central supreme being. As such, the African worldview transmits the messages of the people to this Supreme Being, which metaphysically controls the activities of the African society. As a consequence, the Africa religion considers the human being to be the centre of the universe through which human being experiences the conception of God. This concept of African religion, aids the limited human understanding, which leads to the attainment of profound knowledge referred to as intuition (Kamalu, 1990). Kamalu (1990) further suggested that intuition is gained by a noumenal process through the fundamental attributes ascribed to the ordinary world. In African context, he commented that intuition is a form of immediate knowledge, which is received without recourse to a formal way of learning. It forms the foundation of African knowledge, which is the basis of principles developed to achieve the African society. This knowledge is often masked by a symbolic register. The early African societies used symbolic registers, as a social device to concrete and simply represent the profound philosophical theme embedded in a myth and proverbs. The early anthropologists were not convinced about the intensity and the usefulness of the knowledge excavated from the myths and proverbs formulated by African philosophy (Kamalu, 1990). He further commented on the perspective of early European researchers on this concept of knowledge:

> European anthropologists have in the past been ignorant of the function of myth in African [philosophy]. Coupled with this the African mind was judged incapable of abstract or theoretical thinking and only able to form thoughts about the concrete. Consequently, based on the naive conception of African mind, they led themselves to see African myth, not as a medium or means of conveying any knowledge or wisdom; but as meaningless fantasy (Kamalu 1990, p. 49).

African myth is a medium through which ideas are communicated (Kamalu, 1990). It is a means of explaining some actual or imaginary reality, which is not adequately understood and so cannot be comprehended literally (Mbiti, 1991). This aspect of African philosophy generates an understanding of a particular kind of knowledge, which stems from a noumenal process. The knowledge appears to be gained from consciousness without any recourse to physical experiences. It is generated from intuition and also functions as a means through which ethics and ideals are passed to the community. For example, this Yoruba (see pp. 140–143) myth shows the role of myth in warning children against danger: *Omode ki joko si eba ona, tori ti ara ban san to jo ban ro* (Owomoyela, 2005). This literarily means, children must not sit at the corridor or must avoid being outside during rainfall because of the thunder strike. African myth invokes an instruction in the African society during rainfall in order to safeguard children from disaster. As a result, for example, it instructs the children that they are not allowed to sit at the corridor or being outside during rainfall because of the effect of a thunder strike. The African society seems not to be aware of the knowledge of high voltage, which accompanies a thunder strike and also causes havoc, through formal education. However by the noumenal process, it is understood that the thunder phenomena is associated with evil, which can effect psychological and physical harm to the consciousness and body of human beings. Fish *et al.* (2003) commented on the effect of lightning and thunder strike, 'more persons are killed by … lightning than by any other natural disaster including tornadoes. Lightning can cause several thousand injuries. 70 to 80 percent of persons struck by lightning will survive, but three–quarters of these survivors will have permanent sequela' (p. 345). The African worldview also recognises the high curiosity level in children which might make them want to play or have fun during rainfall. Saklofske and Zeidner (1995) agree with this position on children. They argue there are empirical links, which show that children possess an active curiosity and change of their immediate world.

Based on this understanding of children, the African society formulated a myth, to guard children from harmful disaster which they are susceptible to during rainfall. This process explains how the noumenal aspect of African philosophy transmits knowledge and also functions as an element that is used in the society. It functions as a proactive, health and safety method that is used to safeguard the vulnerable members of the society. As part of this function, the formulation of myths in the African community serves as a medium for communicating messages and not mere fantasy or fictional creation of the African people. African myth is based on the noumenal part of African philosophy, which has been illuminated. The phenomenal aspect of African philosophy is further explored.

The phenomenal aspect refers to the 'objects, which possess the possibility of being experienced either by senses or conceptions [from reality]' (Kamalu 1990, p. 47). Unlike the noumenal which is generated from intuition, the phenomenal is the knowledge experienced in reality. This reality is the phenomenal world of experience, which continuously changes based on the occurrences in the social sphere of the society (Kamalu, 1990). He also suggested that this aspect of African philosophy is conceived as being within space and time and also subject to the lived experience. In order to explain and understand the concept of the phenomenal in the context of African philosophy, as it relates to the African society, (Oluwole, 2010) narrates an event that happened in the early Yoruba community:

> In the early 18th century, during the internecine wars of the Yoruba people, the men went to war on behalf of the communities. The communities were a network of villages that unites to fight threats from neighbouring societies. The absence of the men, made the women to manage the affairs of the community. This led to the women, taking control of the villages. Part of the problems facing the communities was the non-availability of drinkable water. Before the war, women were occupied with the job of providing food for the family. The lack of the presence of the men contributed to the busy schedule facing the women. The women were involved in farming, environmental sanitation, home chores, taking care of children and added responsibility of managing the social cohesion of the villages and also getting the latest news from the war front; regarding their husbands at war. During this period, there were missionaries who offered help in these communities. This help, also functions as leverage for the social entry of their religious messages. Part of the help that was rendered was the sinking of a well that is deep enough to collect drinkable water right in the middle of the village for accessibility purposes. After few days, the missionaries discovered that this well has been filled with sand. The

> missionaries assumed that this was a case of hatred, thuggery and hooliganism by the people (Oluwole 2010, p. 5)[15].

In contrast to this position by the missionaries on hooliganism by the villagers, there was a lack of understanding of the immediate need of the people during this period. Based on their hectic lifestyle, the only opportunity the women had for dialogue with other members of the neighbouring villages was the 20 minutes walk, from the village to the stream where they fetch water. This location serves as a dual purpose; for fetching water and also for meetings to discuss the hope and the travails of their existing situation. However, bringing the well to the centre of the village counters this dual function and restricts the flow of information, which was vital to their survival and existence at that particular time. A further case study, on why this aspect of their general liveability is important could have re-directed the community's responsibility that was taken up by the missionary. The wrong location of the well by the missionaries appears to be based on a limited understanding of the social structure. As a consequence, this action by the missionaries (wrong location of well) caused the reaction (filling of the well with sand) from the villagers. Mbiti (1990) suggested that the deficient view of African philosophy by the early anthropologists, missionaries and researchers that came to Africa has contributed to the misinterpretation of the tenets of the African people. He further suggested that this has led to a gap in understanding of the nuances of the concepts that evolved from their society.

The purpose of this narrative is to show and contribute to the position that the early researchers had limited understanding of the African society, as such it affected the perception of good gestures and intentions of the early researchers. Moreover, the chapter

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[15] This legend and other Yoruba proverbs used has been passed from one generation to the other by oral conversation. This study needs this narrative to explain an aspect of the African philosophy which contributes to the methodology used.

reflects on how this narrative contributed to the establishment of proverbs, which was generated from the phenomenal aspect of the African philosophy. As a consequence of the narrative, which is based on a real life experience, the African people gained a phenomenal knowledge from their lived experience during this period. The phenomenal aspect of the African philosophy develops a proverb from reality that can be used for corrective purposes in future occurrences in the society. It appears that based on this particular lived experience (see pp. 173–174), African philosophy formulated a proverb: *Omo o n ile, a Te jeje, Ajeji ate basu basu* (see Owomoyela, 2005). This literarily means that, an indigene of a society treks with caution, while a stranger manoeuvre without putting into consideration the terrain of the society (see Crowther, 1968). This interpretation has an embedded meaning from this particular experience. The formulation was carefully constructed with symbolic cover for the event. In this proverb, the indigene of the society is aware of the nuances of the community, as such there is an understanding of the social issues of the community. This suggests that the women of the community understand the existing situation in the society. On the other hand, the strangers (the missionaries) did not take time to analyse and examine the social processes. As a result, the lived experience was underestimated as the basis of understanding the hierarchy of needs of the society. This led to the wrong location of a genuine need of a community facing crisis. As a consequence, this resulted into the actions of the people (filling the well with sand), which was interpreted as hatred or non-acceptance by the missionaries. Based on this platform of understanding, proverbs as part of the aspects of African philosophy are explored.

Proverbs

The understanding of proverbs is advanced as part of the philosophical constructs that underpins African philosophy in this study. It explores the notion of "names" as it relates to African philosophy. As a result, form the platform to understand and connect the lived

experience of the Ajegunle residents, to the embedded socio-cultural context of housing in their community. Proverbs have a real application to the world and can be experienced in the lived world. They are created in order to pass a message and used as a symbolic register, to connect with meanings. These symbols represent and have a direct link to a particular context, and are cultural expressions of the society that carries an instruction or message about the African people. Thus, the meanings generated from this symbol, has a connection to the context in which that particular symbol is understood in the community. An example of this is: *Ile la wo ka to so mo lo Oruko* (see Adeoye, 1982). This is interpreted as before you name a child you will look at your house. This text is symbolic and not meant to be taken literally. This feature of African proverb simplifies the understanding of an idea by connecting it to the three-dimensional objects that has ontological meaning in the context of a particular community. The proverb stated above suggests that before you name a child, you think deeply about your lived experience and other real factors that contributed to your being. This position regarding the lived experience is represented in an object (the house). In African philosophy, names reflect the worldview of people. It shows the significance of an experience, an event or phenomena (Fasiku, 2006).

Generically, proverbs are a phenomenon that lacks a universally accepted definition (Mieder, 1989). There are differences between cultures, which suggest that the various meanings attached to proverb are developed in different society (Mieder, 1989; Prahlad, 1996). The various attempts at defining proverb have shown that it is difficult to arrive at a universally acceptable and unambiguous proverb that collectively defines the world (Mieder, 1989; Trench, 2003). In the context of Africa, African proverbs 'have a different function and level of theoretical meaning that make them key components, as well as expressions of a culture's viewpoints on a variety of important topics and problems' (Barry 2000, p. 140). This aligns with Mieder's position on proverbs. He suggests that defining a phenomenon requires

identifying necessary and essential qualities (Mieder, 1989). This process leads to the development of proverbs and understanding the complexity associated with the context. Thus, proverb must be analysed in its unique social context.

In order to connect with the lived experience of the people, the study views proverbs of a community, as 'the real sense of ethnography of the people which if systematized can give a penetrating picture of the people's way of life, their philosophy, their criticism of life, moral truths and social values' (Akporobaro and Emovon 1991, p. 1). Proverbs are the universal phenomenon, portraying the genius of individual nations (Champion, 1950). Among the Yoruba of the south-western Nigeria, the proverb possesses an added significance; they serve as charters of social and ethical norms in human interactions to extol what the society considers to be virtues (Olatunji, 1984). The Yoruba use of proverbs is extensive. In the Yoruba traditional socio-political system and the wider society, proverb assumes a functional role as a vehicle of thought, therefore, a vital aid to societal administration (Adewoye, 1987). Furthermore, proverbs 'constitutes a powerful rhetorical device for the shaping of moral consciousness, opinions, and beliefs' (Akporobaro and Emovon 1991, p. 1). The Yoruba proverb is interwoven into the communicative layer of the society. This makes the proverb, serve as a means of achieving clarity and brevity in the communication process (Fasiku, 2006). To strengthen this position, when a Yoruba proverb says that, *owe lesin oro,oro lesin owe, ti oro ba sonu, owe lafin w*a (A proverb is the horse which carries a subject under discussion along; if a subject under discussion goes astray, we use a proverb to track it) (Delano, 1972). This implies that proverbs are vehicles used in driving the meanings generated from conversations, and furthermore, every word or statement in the Yoruba proverb, communicates or serves as an anchor. This anchor functions as an element, which finds the lost or forgotten meanings in a community. This position correlates with importance of names in the Yoruba society.

For this study to connect directly with part of its cultural position, the proverb that is linked with the south-western Nigeria's community and the internal social activities involved is re-examined: '*Ile la wo ka to so mo loruko* (A child is named according to the circumstances of the home)' (Fasiku 2006, p. 53). This proverb has an ontological position which needs a systematic unravelling to understand. *Ile* which symbolises a house in the Yoruba community possesses a deepened meaning. It suggests home, which is the psychological experience in a house (see pp. 10–11). This psychological experience has a wider interpretation in the context of the Yoruba community. The Yoruba sense of "homeness" (see p. 11) and the experience associated with this state of being is not limited to the lived experience in the house. The Yorubas have a monolithic interpretation of the house and the community (see Aradeon, 1981; Vlach, 1984). Coquery-Vidrovitch (2005) further suggested that native vocabulary used for cities depicts a meaning that transcends a physical setting. The Yoruba, based on their philosophy considered the cities not as a physical location, but as a living community. Thus, the community possesses its own "being", characterised by a peculiar essentiality which connects to the African people's existence. Additionally, in the context of architecture and the design of the society, the Yoruba has an ontological perspective of the community and the house (see Prussin, 1974; Vlach, 1976). The house is a material symbol of the social and cultural expectations of the Yoruba community (Vlach, 1984). Rapoport (1969) agrees with this position by noting that 'the forms of primitive and vernacular buildings are less the result of individual desires than of aims and desires of the unified group for an ideal environment' (p. 47). This view informs the prevalent attitude towards the communal perspectives that guides the existence of the community. Parts of this communal role are the approach towards ethics and morals which guide the social activities in the African communities (see Adewoye, 1987; Kamalu, 1990; Akporobaro and Emovon, 1991).

As earlier discussed*, Oruko* (Name) is important aspect of the Yoruba philosophy, as such it has been linked to housing, which is the central symbol for cultural expression, and at the core of the African community. Fasiku (2006) suggested that names are a means of unravelling the descriptions and explanations attached with a lived experience, not for fixing reference, but to define and establish the bearer's expectations, aspirations and consciousness. He proceeds to explain the importance of names to the Yoruba people and the connection to the experience generated in a society:

> A name, according to most cultural heritages, depicts the nature and life of a corporate personality, body or organisation; the focus and outlook of a personality, body or organisation, to a great extent, are influenced by the name he or she… carries... For the Yoruba, names are more than identification tags; they constitute an integral part of human existence. Some names are used to accentuate and situate the significance of an experience, event or phenomenon, and like proverbs, are instruments of arousing, defining, manifesting and establishing the expectations, aspirations and consciousness [of the] bearers (Fasiku 2006, p. 52).

Names, according to the Yoruba have their own peculiarity, which are connected to the circumstances, environment and the phenomenon surrounding the context of use. This peculiarity serves as the explanation or justification for the name (Fasiku, 2006). This is an integral element of the society, the names serve as a symbolic register for the lived experience of the people in a particular community. Based on this explanation, an understanding is generated from African philosophy and the analysis of the proverb *Ile la wo ka to so mo loruko* (A child is named according to the circumstances of the home), as it relates to south-western Nigeria:

- African philosophy in the methodological framework reveals the particular essentiality of the core, within the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, and the means through which these experiences are expressed. This expression results into the analysis of relationships, social situations and lived experience of the people. It

puts into consideration the Ajegunle resident's interpretations and meanings of social activities and their existing situation (see pp. 284–291).

- The name, within the understanding of a proverb, constructs an 'epistemic cognition of the [Yoruba] worldview' (Fasiku, 2006, p. 52). The use of the name to create an image of the lived experience suggests its importance to the Yoruba society. It serves as a means of defining and establishing the consciousness of the people. Due to this position, the study explores the meaning of "Ajegunle", to establish a connection to the social processes within the community (see pp. 118–122).

- Because the Yoruba has a monolithic interpretation of the house, as such the *ile* (house) has a dual representation to suggest home (psychological satisfaction in the house see pp. 10–11) and the house (physical components of the built environment see pp. 10–11), African philosophy sets the platform to understand the Ajegunle community.

- The sense of "homeness" (lived experience) experienced symbolises the interpretation of *ile* and a wider use, which implies that the lived experience is a vital element for the evolvement and development of the Yoruba society. Thus, the study strengthens the exploration of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, because the lived experience is central to understanding the socio-cultural nuances within the community (see pp. 52–57).

- Based on the ontological perspective, informing a relationship between the house and the community, this study explores the socio-cultural embedded layers, to understand the different aspects and the physical components of Ajegunle community (see pp. 261–297).

These discussions set the role of African philosophy[16] as engaged within the methodological framework of this study. In addition, it connects with the diverse aspects of the people's culture and philosophical positions, which comprise of African religion, ethics, myths and proverb. Based on the process of networking of the noumenal and phenomenal aspects of the African philosophy, an African society appears to have been developed. The extraction of a name from the lived experience, which is symbolised with a house, in the Yoruba community suggests that the community is the foundation for the definition of the Yoruba people. In order to understand this foundation, African philosophy has been used to excavate meaning from the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. African philosophy appears to enact a process, which forges proverbs as the end product of a scientific method that was used, in order to analyse and understand the social activities of the community. That said, it is argued that this cultural process, through the use of proverbs is a scientific method. African phenomenology and the empirical development for the analysis of this study are further explained.

CONCLUSION

The discussions on phenomenology as an approach and the significance of African philosophy to this study are drawn from, by examining African phenomenology as the methodological framework, and its components that relates to knowledge. Within this discussion, the empirical development for the empirical process (developed in chapter seven) is examined as part of the methodological frame, which relates to African phenomenology. The African phenomenological setting which sets the background for the analysis is not

[16] The importance of African philosophy to housing was discussed in a paper published in: The International Journal on Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability (Oluwole 2010, pp. 1-6, see appendix 2 pp. 379–390.

underpinned by a generic understanding of social-cultural processes in a community, but sets the platform for the argument that cultural process involved in this study is a scientific process. Science is suggested as not being culturally universal. The positivist interpretation of science to be a universal notion without any form of cultural dependence is rejected (Kragh, 1987; Carruthers *et al.*, 2002). To support this rejection, in his book*, An Introduction to the Histiography of Science*, Kragh (1987) commented on the cultural aspect of science. He contributes to the social importance of science and also suggested that this form of science has been partitioned from the generalised meaning:

> In particular, history of science can give us a useful reminder that forms in which science is carried out today are not the only forms possible but the socially conditioned selection among many other alternatives. Reference to known historical courses can give us the information about which aspects of science are 'natural' or the inherent parts of science per se; and more to the point, information about which aspects are not but are culturally determined and therefore part of the social context of contemporary science (p. 39).

This study agrees with Kragh's position on the cultural aspects of science. It maintains that 'science is the formal reconstruction or representation of a people's set of systematic and cumulative ideas, beliefs and knowledge stemming from their culture' (Adams III 1983, p. 34). The use of African philosophy as a technique to manage the society led to the development of rules, ethics and guides for the administration and the sustainability of the early African society (see pp. 169–172). Similarly, corresponding with the method adopted by African philosophy, which develops a proverb from the lived experience of the people, to construct meanings from the lived experience (see pp. 179–180). Meanings were used as a resource for understanding and the development of the community. From the same perspective, this chapter proposes to use the lived experience of the Ajegunle people, in order to gain insight into the urban housing crisis. Thus, the study explores the lived experience of a community, as the foundation and its cultural expression (see pp. 261–297). Moreover, it suggests that to gain an insight which is not biased or based on a quantitative

impression of the urban housing crisis, the lived experience of the Ajegunle people is considered. Consequently, the cultural evidence that yields the core meanings of the "cultural technology" developed by the people is illuminated (see pp. 210–222). The study re-interprets the social activities associated with the housing crisis to gain an understanding of the existing situation (see pp. 261–297). These discussions demonstrate that, the cultural position, within African philosophy, as part of the philosophical constructs of this study, is a scientific method that explores systematically, the social context and the cultural meanings embedded within Ajegunle community. As a result, the position of African philosophy is strengthened, as a methodological enhancement to phenomenology, which resulted to African phenomenology, and also as a scientific process that contributes to the analysis of the study.

African Phenomenology

The relationship between African philosophy and phenomenology is explored. Knowledge and how it relates to different components of these philosophies and the connection between them is examined. As such, the combination of African philosophy and phenomenology arrived at African phenomenology. The relationship within the elements of African philosophy is investigated and the discussion sets the connection to phenomenology. The relationship between the noumenal and phenomenal aspects of African philosophy is interwoven (see pp. 169–175). In terms of differences, the phenomenal is conceived as being within space and time (Kamalu, 1990). This relates to a generating knowledge from reality; a lived experience (see pp. 187–189). In contrast, the noumenal exists in consciousness, which links to an ontological position or a knowledge informed by intuition (see pp. 169–174). In terms of similarities, the noumenal and the phenomenal generate a body of Knowledge, which functions as a vital element and serves as a symbolic cover for a deepened African tenet that guides the community (see pp. 169–175). These links between the noumenal

aspect and the phenomenal aspect, forms the foundation of African philosophy. This relationship between the noumenal and the phenomenal is complimentary, yet it functions in different directions to achieve the foundation of African philosophy. The phenomenal and the noumenal are both grounded in the notion that they are both the foundation of knowledge in African society (Kamalu, 1990).

This foundation comprises of two strands: the recognition of the conscious as the initial state of reality, which results to a form of knowledge to guide the society and the perception of reality, as a reference point for the development of the social character of a community. Informal knowledge used to guide the society, based on the perception of reality (lived experience), is a key element of the African community (see Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005). This informal knowledge was formulated based on the existing occurrences, which contributes to the informal educative layer that conceptualises the society as being the core of the human existence (see pp. 296–297). Thus, the economic, political and socio-cultural equilibrium of the Yoruba society is hinged on the informal knowledge, derived from processes within the strands of African philosophy (noumenal and phenomenal). Based on this position, the study describes how the Ajegunle people perceive each other, their general liveability and immediate built environment (see pp. 289–297). It establishes the interrelations between their perception of reality (lived experience), the knowledge generated (survival strategies), to cope in the existing urban housing crisis. This study is concerned with how the informal knowledge has contributed to the general liveability of the Ajegunle residents, as part of their survival strategies (see pp. 210–222). Thus, it excavates from African philosophy and the existing survival strategies in the Ajegunle community the notion of knowledge and its wider implication in the built environment. The strands of African philosophy (noumenal and phenomenal) relates to the approach of phenomenology to knowledge, as part of the processes to understand the human element of a community.

It is argued that the relationship between knowledge and reality is connected to phenomenology, because of its human element (lived experience) as a way of understanding the society. Bourdieu (1992) aligns with this position by contending that the lived experience as part of reality, further exemplifies the phenomenological bent towards knowledge. Layder (1997) suggests that in order for phenomenology to cultivate knowledge in a suitable environment, an inclusive micro-social foundation focusing on the actor as a constructive agent in the micro-world is important. This understanding of the relationship of knowledge and phenomenology laid by Bourdieu (1992) and Layder (1997), seems to set phenomenology as an important element in exploring knowledge, as it relates to the tenets of a society and human behaviour. To strengthen this position, Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggests that, since direct understanding of a phenomenon is a crucial element of phenomenology, then social knowledge posits as the foundation for the perception of human behaviour. In relation to social knowledge, phenomenology relates situations in order to establish and make sense of the knowledge that supports human actions (Schegloff and Harvey, 1974; Psathas, 1994; Silverman, 1998). Thus, the interrelations between these human actions are explored in depth, to establish the knowledge that informed their actions (Knorr-Cetina and Mulkay, 1983; Lynch, 1993; Livingston, 1995).

The basis of understanding the social activities in the community depends on the detailed scope of the social interaction that exists in the society. Social interaction is viewed as a phenomenological process of constructions of actors' activities. The actors (Ajegunle residents) appear to apply knowledge and orient themselves to others, through the application of existing social meanings. This generates actions that intersect with communication and expression in the community by enabling the society to interact within the human context. As a result, there is a continuity of meaning, thereby formulating a society that responds to the challenges of the residents. The interpretation of the built

environment by the Government and the professionals, the effect of the different housing policies in Nigeria, has formed different layers of meanings and knowledge that has affected the perception of the cities in Nigeria, as such informed the attitude towards Ajegunle community. These layers of interpretation, appears to contribute to the drowning of the integral core on which the tenets of the society are based. The phenomenological approach in this study, peel off layers of knowledge and meanings that have informed the structure of a society, as such impacted its perception (see pp. 164–166). Although this peeling process is interested in the integral element that has defined or informed the structure of the society, it does not take for granted the superficial and other sediment layers of knowledge in the community. This chapter sets the platform to explore the other layers of knowledge and seeks to understand the effect of the perception by the Government to the Ajegunle community (see pp. 195–196). Furthermore, to understand the buried integral core of the society during the peeling process, the study considers the hierarchy or the location of other sediment layers of knowledge (understanding of the community by the Government and its wider implication to the Ajegunle community, which is further explored in chapter seven of this study see pp. 274–282).

The role of African philosophy (see pp. 169–183) and phenomenology, as it relates to knowledge, methodically enhances the function of the phenomenological approach by understanding singularly and collectively, the meanings and knowledge that has been attributed to the evolution of Ajegunle community. The chapter sets the platform to understand the actions, interactions and creates theoretical explanations and justifications in order to comprehend the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. Thus, it internalises the knowledge excavated from the community and develops an understanding of the existing situation. While the relationship of African philosophy and phenomenology is established, in terms of knowledge, the formulation of African phenomenology is further explored.

African philosophy is synthesized with phenomenology to arrive at African phenomenology. The term is particular to this study, underpins the philosophical construct and guides the methodological approach. The African attention to phenomenology as the guiding philosophy of this study ensures that the particularity of housing meaning in the context of Africa is maintained. It allows this study to retain the original meanings of the core issues and concepts that will be generated. As a result, it ensures that the study resonate from the "Africanness", which illuminates the cultural position that is developed (see p. 34). On the other hand, phenomenology sets the platform to come in contact with the particularity and the context of Ajegunle community by understanding the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, as the basis of understanding their community (see pp. 289–297). Phenomenology also peels off any superficial layers of meaning and opens up the lived experience in order to come in contact with roots of the issues in the community (see pp. 164–166). This phenomenological process is ventilated by African philosophy, through maintaining the particularity of the cultural empirical evidence that is gathered from the case study. Based on this connection, African philosophy relates to phenomenology in terms of character and composition:

- In terms of character, African philosophy and phenomenology react to knowledge in the same manner. They both recognise consciousness as the foundation for reality in the world (see pp. 169–183; pp. 185–186). This leads to a creation of an informal body of knowledge, which is considered as the foundation of the society (see Kamalu, 1990). The knowledge is used to interpret an emerging situation in the community. African philosophy uses proverbs to perceive actions and reality, to excavate knowledge from a lived experience (see pp. 184–186). This knowledge is used as a model to analyse other forth-coming activities and understand the social

structure of the society. This technique adopted by African philosophy to analyse the society relates to character of phenomenology.

- In terms of composition, African philosophy perceives reality with the aim of understanding a situation and developing a framework that can be used as the basis for the social engagement in the society (see pp. 169–183). In the same way, phenomenology perceives reality to come in contact with the cultural evidence without tampering with the natural meaning and integrity (see pp. 156–166).

The consciousness of the African people defines the connection between African humanity, African philosophy and the society. For this study to qualitatively determine the core issues of the housing crisis, African philosophy connects with phenomenology. The consciousness of the residents of the community and the discussions on some of their attributes connects with how African philosophy defines the people's "being" (see pp. 169–183) and how phenomenology through the human element understands the society (see pp. 153–155). African phenomenology, therefore, consolidates the realities of research rooted in African issues, with a phenomenological stand point by constructing the reality without changing the meanings from which the actions were generated. This study uses African phenomenology as the methodology. Singularly, phenomenology as the method and the practice interprets and gathers the empirical information without interfering with the original meaning (see pp. 153–155). However, the duality of African philosophy and phenomenology to form African phenomenology[17], serves a principal purpose in this study. It ensures that the process of philosophication, interpretation and collection of cultural empirical material puts into the

[17] A paper, which further discussed African phenomenology and its applications, is published by: Journal of the Third World University Forum see appendix 3 pp. 391–402.

consideration the African context. This position particularises the methodology and ensures that the progression and the development of the emerging concepts from this study does not lose its sense of Africanness by maintaining the African tenets that guide its philosophical undertone. Also, in part connects with the contribution to knowledge (see pp. 33–35). In connection to African phenomenology, a methodological framework is constructed for the understanding of the socio-cultural activities of the Ajegunle community that is connected to their survival strategy in the housing crisis situation, as it relates to doing the case study.

Methodological framework

African phenomenology is referred to as the methodological framework of the study, because of the different aspects contained within the methodology. It explores the doing and the human aspect of the case study, through engaging African phenomenology as the methodological framework. The methodological framework synthesises African philosophy with phenomenology to develop the guiding philosophy for the study. This methodological frame dualises the function of phenomenology as an integral part of the philosophy and the method. To fulfil the empirical aspect, a case study method is deployed (see pp. 26–27), also observation, interview, photography and field notes are located within the phenomenological frame. The construction of a methodological framework to guide and underpin the philosophy and investigations reflects the nuances of the research question. In support of this position, Hein and Austin (2001) suggest that: 'there is no one way to carry out phenomenological research since the specific method used depends… on the purposes of the researcher, his or her specific skills… and the nature of the research question and data collected' (p. 2). Based on this position, as part of the methodological framework:

- Phenomenology as the guiding philosophy enables this study to come in contact with the core and the factors that is responsible for the prevalent nature of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle.
- African philosophy ensures that the methodological framework maintain the African context of the urban housing crisis, which is important to the understanding of the phenomenon. It also considers the existing colloquial knowledge and philosophy that has influenced the built environment and its wider implication in this region.
- Phenomenology as a method sets the stage for the process of gathering empirical material. It makes sure that the researcher is theoretically sensitive, thus making sure that the empirical information is not tampered with and gathered in a pure form.

Within the methodological framework, African philosophy's perception of reality is achieved by describing the different processes involved in a complex phenomenon. It separates and seeks to understand this phenomenon by centralizing the main elements involved. The main element is related to other layers of events, as such generating a matrix of information. As a result, the matrix of information demonstrates meanings that are associated with the context of the phenomenon.

The description and the processes involved, locates knowledge as the foundation through which the social activities are produced in the community (the description of the existing urban housing crisis by centralizing the main elements involved is further explored in chapter seven see pp. 261–297). Moreover, as part of the methodological framework, phenomenology aims to perceive reality and operate by responding to the social tenets derived from knowledge as the foundation of a community. The phenomenological approach, achieves this through exploring the human element of the community (this is further explored in chapter six). This study uses this fusion of phenomenology and African

philosophy, to construct a methodological framework through which the investigations are understood. By so doing, the chapter fulfils the secondary claim to originality, which relates to the synthesis between phenomenology with African philosophy, as a way of "knowing". In relation to the methodological framework, the phenomenological frame and other aspects of the empirical development are explored.

Empirical development

The phenomenological frame and the other aspects of the empirical development are considered. This understanding is set for the analysis of the existing situation in Ajegunle community. In understanding qualitative empirical research, framed by a phenomenological approach, through a process of interview, observation and case study, the researcher must be aware of two mutually dependent positions within their research process (Pepin, 2004). Pepin further states that: 'the first [of the dependent position] is their position within the process and how their interpretation of that which is witnessed will be effected by that position' (Pepin 2004, p. 119). This first dependent position, relates to the phenomenological tool, which is referred to as *Verstehen* method. *Verstehen* as interpreted by Patton (1990) suggests 'understanding and refers to the unique human capacity to make sense of the world' (p. 52). It offers a detailed description of how consciousness itself operates and the effect of this consciousness within a particular process (Hitzler and Keller, 1989). This requires an empathic effort to move into the mind of the other and the analysis of subject's self-consciousness and action schemes (Truzzi, 1974; Helle, 1991). This study proceeds to understand the lived experience of the residents of Ajegunle community, acknowledging that the role of the researcher within the process can influence the explorations. The second position is that of the actor (Ajegunle residents) within their environmental context. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) suggest that 'a phenomenological frame centrally positions the subject (actor) and their behaviour within their own environmental context; striving to understand

human behaviour from the actors own frame of reference' (p. 2). This understanding of the different role of the researcher and the actor (Ajegunle resident) contributes to the analysis of Ajegunle community. To support this position, Van der Mescht (2004) suggests that, the effects of investigating particular human experiences outside the confines of pre-existing theories and well established constructs can yield 'startling new insights into the uniquely complex [situations]' (p. 1). In addition, Langsdorf (1995) suggests that, phenomenological research either yield insight into the micro-dynamics of particular spheres of human life for its own sake or to exhibit the constitutive activity of human consciousness. As a result of these positions, it is argued that the outcome of the phenomenological frame, can and does hold much potential to contribute and strengthen the explorations of Ajegunle resident's lived experience.

In line with the phenomenological frame, phenomenological concerns are frequently researched using qualitative methods (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; 1998). Thus, phenomenological researchers frequently undertake analyses of small groups, social situations, and organizations using face-to-face techniques of participant observation (Bruyn, 1966; Turner, 1974; Psathas and Ten Have, 1994). Researches that are connected to human behaviour frequently utilize phenomenological tools (Fielding, 1988), which involves interviewing to uncover the subject's (Ajegunle residents) orientations of their lived experience (Porter, 1995; Costelloe, 1996; Grekova, 1996). This inclusion of qualitative research in a phenomenological approach expresses phenomenology as the method that can be used to tackle human related issues (Bentz and Shapiro, 1998). They also suggested that interviewing and participant observation as part of the phenomenological approach reflects that phenomenology is directly linked to qualitative reasoning. As a result, qualitative tools are employed to enhance the phenomenological approach, to gather empirical material. In accordance to the methodical processes involved in phenomenology, case studies present an

efficient method for the explorations in this study. To strengthen this position, Yin (2009) states that:

> …the distinctive need of case studies as a research method arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. In brief, case studies… contribute to our knowledge of a group, social, political and related phenomena. It also allows investigators to retain a holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events [in a community] (p. 4).

This position establishes case studies as an efficient research method for this type of study. The empirical research in the form of case studies is undertaken in this study. That said, the study does not present its evidence or hypothesis in any quantitative manner. The study is presented as a network of discoveries through a scientific process (see pp. 181–183), that are crucial to its explorations.

Robert Stake, in his book: *The art of case study research* identified three classifications of the case study: "collective" "instrumental" and "intrinsic". "Collective" case study, to enhance understanding, involves the 'co-ordination between the individual [case] studies' (Stake 1995, pp. 3–4). "Instrumental" case study '… [in order] to understand something else, a case study… is instrumental in accomplishing something other than understanding [a] particular [case]' (Stake 1995, p. 3). This study pursues the "Intrinsic" case study which Stake articulates as 'the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (Stake 1995, p. xi). He further explained the reason for undertaken an "intrinsic" case study as:

> We are interested in it, not because by studying it we learn about other cases or about some general problem, but because we need to learn about that particular case. We have an intrinsic interest in the case, and we may call our work *intrinsic case study*. In a different situation, we will have a research question, puzzlement, a need for general understanding, and feel that we may get insight into the question by studying a particular case (Stake 1995, p. 3).

The purpose of an intrinsic case study as an empirical method within this study is providing insight into the phenomena of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. This links in

part, to the research question (see pp. 8–9) which involves: Why the factors that underlie this housing problem persist? What are the issues associated with the urban housing crisis in Lagos? Part of the basis for an "intrinsic" case study also includes understanding, the meaning of "housing" in a context of the community and with respect to the cultural position of the Ajegunle residents. These bring a particularity to the issues surrounding urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. By so doing, this study understands specifically the uniqueness (see pp. 26–27) and the complexity of the urban phenomenon in Ajegunle community. As a result, this implies on the uniqueness of this case, which informs a new understanding on issues relating to the urban housing crisis. In order to frame the actions and integrate the activities within the case study to achieve a coherent interpretation, this study adopts a purposeful sampling for the synthesis of the processes involved in the qualitative process and to seek information-rich cases, which can be studied in depth. Patton (1990) commented on this:

> Cases for study (e.g., people, organizations, communities, cultures, events, critical incidences) are selected because they are "information rich" and illuminative, that is, they offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest; sampling, then is aimed at insight about the phenomenon, not empirical generalization from a sample to a population (p. 40).

This study does not use the case study as the basis for generalization or a qualitative method that derives quantitative measurements based on quantitative "sampling". The study primarily performs a qualitative empirical research and neither uses any quantitative method nor makes any quantitative generalizations on the interpretations. It concentrates on the particularity of the Ajegunle situation and draws generalizations from the interpretations, as the foundation for understanding similar urban housing phenomenon. Patton made the distinction between purposeful sampling as a qualitative process and "sampling" as part of a quantitative method:

> Perhaps nowhere is the difference between quantitative and qualitative methods better captured than in the different strategies, logics, and purposes that distinguish statistical probability sampling from qualitative purposeful sampling. Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on the relatively small sample, even single case…selected purposefully to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon in depth. Quantitative methods typically depend on larger samples selected randomly in order to generalise with confidence from the sample to the population that it represents. Not only are the techniques for sample selection different, but the very logic of each approach is distinct because the purpose of each strategy is different. The logic and power of probability sampling to derive from its purpose: generalization. The logic and power of purposeful sampling derive from the emphasis on in-depth understanding (Patton 1990, p. 46).

Based on this purposeful sampling, the sampling strategy deployed in this study is the intensity sampling. This is because 'an intensity sample consists of an information-rich case that manifests the phenomenon of interest intensely' (Patton 1990, p. 234). This informed the selection of Ajegunle community, because of its potential for rich information, which is central to in depth understanding of the urban housing phenomenon. Thus, the analysis of Ajegunle community will illuminate the issues within the research questions (see pp. 8–9), slums, poverty and the perceptions of housing that have been embedded in the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. Based on this sampling strategy, an intrinsic case study is employed to understand the lived experience, social, cultural and economic interactions of the community. Thereby generating meanings embedded in Ajegunle community and exploring the wider implication on its built environment. As a result, this study draws generalization from the interpretations of the case study for similar situations. In order to achieve the intrinsic case study of Ajegunle community, these qualitative processes are set to gather empirical material:

- During the visit, face-to-face interviews were carried out in a variety of situations; in the home, at work and outdoors to mention a few (further discussed in chapter seven). The members of the general public and other specific segments of the society were also interviewed. Interview guides are used. This helps to keep the interactions focused and makes interviewing multiple subjects more systematic and

comprehensive. It helps to focus attention on areas of particular importance, because of the possibility of deviating, due to the flexible nature of qualitative research designs (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). This allows the opportunity to explore the situation and more time for the development of those answers and including more open ended questions.

- Observations were made as a visual survey and a non-participant observer of the community and the people's actions (further discussed in chapter seven). This is because human beings sometimes demonstrate their understanding of a situation better by their actions than by verbally explaining their knowledge. Observation can lead to deeper understanding, because it provides knowledge of the context in which events occur, and may enable the researcher to see things that participants are unaware of, or unwilling to discuss (Patton, 1990).

- As part of the instrumentation for the documentation of the empirical research, photographs and field notes were taken (further discussed in chapter seven). Field notes serves as a memory aid (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). This was done after the observation, on the same day. The use of photographs, videotapes and audio tapes were also used as a means of accurately capturing settings.

These processes are crucial to this study, because a qualitative research that uses the natural settings as a source of data, attempts to observe, describe and interpret settings in their original format. As a result, the study maintains, what Patton (1990) refers to as "empathic neutrality" (p. 5), to the processes involved in gathering the empirical material, and "theoretical sensitivity", as highlighted by Strauss and Cobin (1990) , who suggest that:

> Theoretical sensitivity refers to a personal quality of the researcher. It indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data…it refers to the attribute of having insight,

> the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand and capability to separate the pertinent from that which is not (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p. 42).

This study's theoretical sensitivity resonated from the researcher's professional experience as an architect, personal experience of life in south-western Nigeria (see pp. 8–9) and literatures reviewed in the context of urban housing in developing countries. In relation to these positions, field trips were made to Ajegunle community as part of the empirical process.

The empirical research is based upon a case study undertaken in Ajegunle in July, 2009. Prior to this visit, the research questions and initial understanding of the urban housing crisis have been informed by an initial empirical research in 2006. This empirical research undertaken in February, 2006, involves observations and face-to-face interviews. Empirical material was collected through photography, field notes and video recording. The purpose of this visit was to understand the urban housing crisis and its effect on the Ajegunle community. It also located this urban housing phenomenon within the existing housing crisis in the region. During this process, the case study identified the different aspects of the community's general liveability, the uniqueness and the complexities involved in this particular case of Ajegunle. The existing literature identified and explored the issues that surround the urban housing crisis in this region. However, there was no emphasis on the cultural response of the people and the reason for the prevalence of this phenomenon (see Agbola, 1987; Awotona, 1987; Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992; Olotuah, 2000; Ogu and Ogbuozobe, 2001). This contributes to uniqueness and the particularity of Ajegunle community as the case study area. The Ajegunle phenomenon was rich in information, which provided in depth understanding into the existing urban housing crisis. The strategic location of Lagos and its present population makes the region a unique case for the understanding of issues relating to urban housing. Part of the complexities of the Ajegunle condition is that, even though the urban housing crisis is prevalent, the method adopted by the residents in order to achieve a lived

experience is phenomena. Based on these discussions, the empirical research undertaken in July, 2009 asked the study's research questions (see pp. 8–9) by deploying an intrinsic case study, located within an African phenomenological methodology, to understand the interactions and meanings associated with housing embedded in the Ajegunle community.

The second trip to Ajegunle community in July, 2009 was furnished with an intrinsic case study to '… study… the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (Stake 1995, p. xi). Based on this understanding, the study aims at developing a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies. The objectives of the investigation include: the evaluation of the meaning of housing and the situation in Lagos; to develop an understanding of the issues related to the urban housing crisis; to analyse the social, economic and political factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis and to investigate the role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis (see pp. 105–135). This involves interviews with the Local Government representatives, to understand the housing policies formulated by the Government as a response to the existing situation (see pp. 261–289). Identifying and interviewing community representatives and members of Ajegunle community, thus understanding the existing social structure (see pp. 289–297). Observing the general liveability of the people, to understand the associated meaning and perception of the notion of housing from the resident's perspective (see pp. 289–297). These processes, and other aspects discussed are vital to this study, because they set the platform for the empirical analysis of the dynamics of housing, as such explore the full complexity of urban housing in Ajegunle community.

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Part Three
Empirical analysis : The dynamics of housing

INTRODUCTION: The full complexity of urban housing

This section of part three containing chapter six and seven discusses ethical issues, contextualisation of phenomenology as a method, cultural technology as the background for the empirical material gathered and the case study process, which is subsequently analysed. By so doing, understands the full complexity of housing. Though chapter eight belongs to part three, it is treated separately as the conclusion of the study, where the culturally-informed framework and its development are expressed. Chapter six discusses the ethical consideration, which is in three folds, including: ethics as it relates to African philosophy, case study and phenomenology. Ethics as it relates to African philosophy and phenomenology are explored, to understand the ethical issues within the methodological frame (see pp. 189–191). Ethical issue surrounding the case study process in Ajegunle are discussed, to understand the issues that relate to ethics in the case study. Contextualisation of phenomenology as a method, explores the function of phenomenology as the frame that pinpoints to the human element, as it is applied to and within the case study. In order to

analyse the empirical material collected from the field notes, informal interviews, observations and photographs, the explanation of "cultural technology" is presented. Within this explanation, the central task of phenomenology and the African attention to phenomenology is discussed. This sets at the background, the construction of African phenomenology as the methodological framework guiding this study. Furthermore, it is used as a platform to examine the colloquial meaning of "Ajegunle" and its influence on the community. Cultural technology captures the efforts of the Ajegunle residents in the existing urban housing crisis. It explores "culture" as what people do to achieve a general liveability and "technology" as the action needed for a transformation for the residents of Ajegunle within the existing urban housing crisis. This explanation is then related to the survival methods developed by the residents of Ajegunle community, which connects to the phenomenological position of this study. The ethnomethodological aspect (see pp. 159–161) of phenomenology is related to the survival method developed by Ajegunle residents.

Chapter seven develops the case study and the photographic evidence. The case study investigates Ajegunle community as a unique case that has rich information on the complexity of the urban housing crisis (see pp. 26–27; pp. 240–196). The separation of Ajegunle from the existing understanding of slum (see pp. 77–84) also serves as part of the basis for its exploration. Through gathering the "cultural technology", as part of the lived experience of Ajegunle residents, the study extracts the socio-cultural elements that contribute to the culturally-informed framework (see chapter eight). Based on these understanding, the full complexity of housing is explored by drawing findings from the observations, informal interviews and photographs that were collected during the case study. This is achieved by identifying patterns and themes that emerge in the empirical materials that were collected. To strengthen the argument that the existing Ajegunle housing condition cannot be labelled as "slum" (see pp. 77–84) and to challenge the notion of "culture of

poverty" as suggested by Oscar Lewis (see pp. 92–95), this study carried out a photographic exhibition[18].

Figure 7.1: PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION AT BONINGTON GALLERY, NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY (Photograph by Ramona Usher).

This photographic exhibition supports the analytical process of the case study. The photographs used were part of the empirical material collected, which serves as photographic documentary evidence. The chapter describes and organizes the material collected, as part of the processes for the analysis of the empirical information from: informal interviews, observation, photographs and the photographic exhibition. It describes in detail: the social

[18] The photographic exhibition was carried out through the Research Seminar Series of School of Art and Design and Built Environment on the 10th of March 2010. This exhibition was titled, *'Stone, Brick and a damned Slum. Is this it?'* The exhibition challenged generic perceptions that relates to slums and the notions of identity through the built environment. It examines the everyday life in Ajegunle community and identity in the Republic of Ireland through different elements of the built environment. Both of these subjects are architectural in nature. The exhibition asserts the importance of the built environment as being tangible in both contexts in varying, but comparable ways. The details of reason for the exhibition and the methods used to analyse the empirical material collected from the exhibition is explained in the body of study.

and physical settings of the Ajegunle community, different physical elements of the built environment, social processes involved in the general liveability of the Ajegunle people and the methods adopted to survive in the urban housing crisis condition.

The construction and the classification of the empirical information into different parts, contribute to the process of the analysis by making clear the different physical and social components of the Ajegunle community. The empirical information gathered is classified into: education and security in Ajegunle community, perception of the Government on existing situation, physical and internal composition of Ajegunle community, structure of the Government and resilience of the Ajegunle residents. The analysis of the intervention of the Government and the existing "cultural technology" adopted by the people are drawn from, as a result illuminating the discoveries from the case study of Ajegunle community.

Chapter Six

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN: AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY, PHENOMENOLOGY AND CASE STUDY

Ethics is explained in three folds and ethical issues relating to the methodology are discussed. As a result, ethical considerations in African philosophy and phenomenology are combined, because they form the methodological framework. Firstly, ethics seems to be an important element within African philosophy, which informs the perception of the community. Thus, ethics is understood as part of the processes guiding African philosophy as part of the methodology. Secondly, ethics is explored as it connects to phenomenology as the approach of this study. Thirdly, ethics is examined as it relates to doing of the case study and the processes involved in collecting empirical material.

Ethics are an integral element of African philosophy that underpins the social system within the African community, therefore it is explored because it influences African philosophy,

which is part of the methodological framework. The notion of moral, as the foundation of the African juristic thought appears to represent ethics in the African community. This principle relates with African philosophy and its importance, as part of the methodological framework. Part of the major influences of African philosophy is on the ethics of the society. These ethics define and form the foundation of the justice system in the African society. Ethics in the society are an integral part of the foundation of African philosophy. In his book, *Introduction to African Religion*, Mbiti (1991) makes this explicit: 'In ancient African ethics, there was a single principle which embodied justice, truth and righteousness; and this was called *Maat*. This principle… is both ancient and traditional' (p. 36). This implies that the organization of the African society is founded on this single principle of ethics. Kamalu (1990) further explained this position:

> The human being is seen to be the replica of his or her external universe, and it is perfectly sensible to make the analogy between the harmonious governance of the society according to the ethical principles and the harmonious motion of the cosmos according to the physical laws (p. 7).

This ethical principle which informed morality in the African society sets the platform for fair distribution of justice and governance among the people. He further suggested that African philosophy perceives moral responsibility as being corporate. Thus, the negative action by an individual will have an adverse effect on their community. In relation to this effect, the African community shares the responsibility for the wrong committed by others (Mbiti, 1990). As a result, African philosophy of the society is based on its ethics and beliefs, which informs a particular perception of the lived experience (Kamalu, 1990). Thus, the ethics are applied to their interpersonal relations and also permeate through the traditional Yoruba social system to the present development of African societies (Adewoye, 1987). Adewoye further commented that in the Yoruba society, *iwa* (good character), which embodies morality is of supreme importance, and everyone is enjoined to cultivate it.

This is the element of human life that ensures joy and also pleasing to the supernatural, which is believed to provide protection against negative happenings in the world (Idowu, 1962). This African position seems to prohibit stealing and condemns wickedness. Good character proceeds to ensure good social relations, and it is laid upon every member of the society to act in such a way to uphold this belief (Adewoye, 1987). Adewoye further suggested that this moral precept grounded in the belief of reality of spiritual forces, is capable of influencing the visible world. The Yoruba believes that there is a metaphysical force, which is constantly present that also influences the physical social systems of the African society (Kamalu, 1990). Parrinder (1968) suggests that the whole organisation of society is maintained by the spiritual forces which pervade the social activities within the African community. This African belief seems to install a mechanism in the African society that is directed by the elders of the community, which strives towards peace and social order. The function is implicit in this proverb: '*Agba ki wa l'oja ,Ko ri omo titun wo*, (An elderly person cannot be present in the market place and allow the head of a young baby to hang)' (Adewoye 1987, p. 3). This Yoruba juristic thought challenges the elders to maintain the cord that binds humanity and broken ties of friendship. That said, this belief is not imposed on the community (Ugonna, 1984). Moreover, they govern naturally the inter-personal and socio-cultural relationships of the African community by functioning as the broad guiding principles or approximations by which general direction can be found (Anazodo, 1987).

The built environment, particularly urban housing is imbued with the relationship between the society and the human behaviour. The African ethical position of *iwa* (good character), informed a moral principle that led to deepened inter-personal and socio-cultural relationships of the African community. As a result, the African ethical position underpins the guiding principles of the African community. Thus, this suggests that the perception of Ajegunle residents of their community and their lived experience is guided by the inter-

personal relationship in their society. This ethical position contributes to the human element which is pin-pointed by the phenomenological approach to this study. As a result, the focus of phenomenology on the human element of the case study and its functions as part of the method of this study, suggest the need for ethical considerations. Ethical implications are important for researches that concentrate on the human aspect of a community. The human element of the case study is central to the methodological framework of this study. The ethical dilemma that relates to African philosophy and phenomenology is considered because of the human element, which underpins the principles within African phenomenology as deployed by this study (see pp. 183–189). African phenomenology is used to excavate the lived experience of the people of Ajegunle. Thus, revealing the actor's (Ajegunle residents) perceptions and socio-cultural relationships within the community.

Based on the processes involved in the case study, there are ethical dilemmas surrounding the lived experience of Ajegunle residents within an existing urban housing crisis. Bassey (1999) stressed that ethical considerations are important for a research that deals with real people in a real world situation. The Ajegunle community case study is a community-based research, which raises ethical issues. The case study considered: the cultural views of the Ajegunle residents as it relates to the existing crisis; their chronological experience with government initiated policies; the distinctive political and social structure of the community. Part of the ethical considerations during the process of the case study, is to recognise risks and capitalize on benefits. This involves recognizing possible risks and identifying how best to avoid or minimize them. The willingness of the Ajegunle residents to engage in the case study process was identified. Thus, it was a benefit that was capitalized on, which resulted in rich information that was collected during the case study process. The ethical considerations made, involve ethics as it relates to: African philosophy, phenomenology and case study enhanced by the aim and objectives of the study (see pp. 31–33). It also contributes to the

deepened knowledge of the Ajegunle community, as regard their nuances in relation to the notion of housing and the different methods developed to cope within the existing housing crisis.

CONTEXTUALISATION OF PHENOMENOLOGY AS THE METHOD

The phenomenological influence upon contemporary social related issues informed the use of phenomenology as part of theoretical works leading to its use as a research method (Darroch and Silvers, 1982; O'Neill, 1985; Potter, 1996; Aho, 1998). Phenomenology functions in this study as an approach, which combines theoretical techniques and the qualitative methods that illuminate the meaning, within the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 153–166). To further understand phenomenology as a method, a phenomenological point of view is considered:

> …we are less interested in the factual status of particular instances: whether something happened, how often it tends to happen, or how the occurrence of an experience is related to the prevalence of other conditions or events. For example, phenomenology does not ask, 'how do these children learn this particular material?' but it asks, 'what is the nature or the essence of the experience of learning (so that I can now understand what this particular learning experience is like for these children)?'(Van Manen 1990, p. 10).

Based on this understanding, phenomenology as the method is interested in the human element of the Ajegunle residents, their lived experience and how it relates to the existing housing crisis. Therefore, the study dualises the function of phenomenology as the philosophy and the method. The role of phenomenology as the method is further explained. Patton illuminates on the utility of phenomenology as a method:

> [He] focuses on exploring how human beings make sense of experience into consciousness both individually and as a shared meaning. This requires methodologically, carefully and thoroughly capturing and describing how people experience some phenomenon. How they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others. To gather such data one must undertake interviews with people who have directly experienced this phenomena of interest; that is

> they have "lived experience" as opposed to second hand experience. (Patton 1990, p. 104).

In relation to the lived experience, to understand and have an insight into the complexity of existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community, phenomenology as a method allows a first hand experience with the phenomena. By directly gathering empirical material, which involves interviewing, observing the Ajegunle residents, thus experiencing the urban phenomena (see pp. 195–196), phenomenology is deployed as a method. Van Manen (1990) suggests that phenomenology as a method, can utilise a variety of data sources including: the researcher's own personal experience; gain insights into the phenomenon from tracing its etymology; obtain experiential descriptions from others via interview or observation; utilise experiential descriptions in literature (poetry, novels, plays, biographies, diaries) and art that will yield empirical data. All of these sources are said to be legitimate ways of helping a phenomenological study understand the phenomenon in question. As a result, the meaning of housing is traced by exploring its full complexity from the existing housing policies and programmes to construct an understanding in part for the urban housing crisis. The empirical material gathered from the Ajegunle case study is used to illuminate the social processes and the "cultural technology" deployed by the people to understand the general liveability within the urban housing crisis.

DEFINING THE EXISTING CULTURAL TECHNOLOGY

The methods and survival strategies used by the residents of Ajegunle community are arranged under the existing cultural technology. Part of the terminology adopted for this study is "cultural technology". This study interprets the term to capture the efforts of the people in urban housing crisis. The term cultural technology emerges currently within the context of:

> Cultural studies, cultural policies, audiovisual media, globalization and culture, cultural informatics and new technologies, new media and information society, cultural management and marketing, cultural goods and communication (see Cultural Technology and Policy Journal, 2009).

However, this position appears to address the issues largely independently. Culture and technology are understood separately as well as fusing them together to develop a construct by which to explain both the context of, as well as the manner of its use in this study. Thus, cultural technology is defined by understanding culture and technology separately in their different contexts. Cultural technology is arrived at and described, as the efforts used to cope in the existing urban housing crisis situation. This explanation forms the background for the analytical process of this study. The processes involved in the case study of Ajegunle community, the reason for the exhibition of photographs collected from the case study and the method used to analyse the empirical material gathered from the exhibition are explored. This analytical process involves the description and the organization of the empirical material gathered and the exhibition of the photographs collected from the case study. It also includes exploring African phenomenology through the meaning of "Ajegunle" and its wider implication on the social processes within the community.

Phenomenology as part of the methodological framework gives the platform to identify the survival methods adopted by Ajegunle residents, as part of the lived experience of the Ajegunle community and also sets the backdrop for its analysis. The central task of phenomenology in this study is to understand the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents. This is achieved by "bracketing" (see pp. 164–166) of the elements of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents who are connected to the existing urban housing crisis. The bracketing is fulfilled by peeling off, the layers of knowledge, to come in contact with the core of the lived experience of the people who is related to the existing urban housing crisis. This bracketing process is accomplished in the analysis by: understanding the "essence" of

the core meaning of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 195–196); "Description" of the complexity of the informal settlement and the urban form, as it is connected to the social interactions of the residents, within the Ajegunle community (see pp. 195–196); exploring the "intentionality" of the Ajegunle residents, their perception of the urban housing phenomena and examining the internalised knowledge that effected their motivation to survive in the existing condition (see pp. 163–164). The African attention to phenomenology (see pp. 183–190), examines the meaning of "Ajegunle" and pinpoints the influences and the relationships to the urban housing phenomena. Ethnomethodology as used in this study, suggests the methods used by people to achieve a general liveability within an existing housing crisis (see pp. 159–161). Thus, ethnomethodology as arranged under the phenomenological framework sets the backdrop for the survival methods adopted by the Ajegunle residents to survive in the existing situation, to be perceived as part of their lived experience. This study addresses the urban housing crisis from a human standpoint. The understanding of the lived experiences of the Ajegunle residents is central to this study. Ethnomethodology as arranged under phenomenology sets the platform to perceive the survival strategies, as methods used to survive in the existing urban housing crisis (see pp. 159–161). As a result, forms part of the cultural technology, which involves the methods used by the Ajegunle residents to adapt in the existing urban housing crisis. These methods appear to be experienced, through the human interactions and the social processes in the community. Thus, the physical and the internal composition of the community are reflected through the methods used for the development of Ajegunle community. In line with these discussions culture is further understood.

Culture

Culture shared with appropriate differences, within its diverse aspects is widespread and transparent in its interpretations based on the context in which it was used. Gayari (2000) expressed this position by suggesting that: 'Every definition or description of culture comes from the cultural assumptions of the investigator' (p. 359). Cultural information should be received proactively, as open-ended and susceptible to a changed understanding and definition. Culture appears to be simultaneously crossed by identity, tradition and change. It seems to be what makes us human, in a vast variety of ways and sometimes these ways are still changing. Culture is separate, yet connected to the politics of our everyday lives. Thus, it is a contested domain that we cannot do without (Clifford, 1988). The development of a particular culture can be traced through different aspects of a society in different forms. This involves culture as recourse, to becoming universal in developmental schemes, which suggest a process that entails forms of liberation (Spivak, 2000).

Culture is used to explain the efforts of the people in a housing crisis situation. It suggests that there is adaptability through cultural change made possible by the efforts of the people in the existing housing crisis situation. However, before the particular relationship of culture to the built environment is explained, some of the general features of culture will be discussed. The general conceptual definition of culture is mapped out. Culture is located as a terminology that is related to the people's social actions in a community. Culture appears to be a flexible conceptual category of social knowledge and one which can be filled in a wide variety of often conflicting ways depending on the context of use.

In order to relay culture to the built environment, the term culture is categorised. Williams (1983) suggests three broad definitions. Firstly, culture can be used to refer to 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic factors' (p. 87). This implies architecture,

philosophy, artistry and poetry. These are products of intellectual and metaphysical elements, resulting most often times to three-dimensional representations of an ideology or documentation of the civilization of a society. Secondly, culture suggests 'a particular way of life, whether of a person, a period or a group' (p. 90). This definition proceeds from intellectual and aesthetic factors and appears to relate to the development of literature, religion, festivals and other social activities of human beings. Thirdly, he further suggests that culture could be used to refer to 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity' (p. 90). This appears to relate to texts and practices, whose main function is the signification and production of meaning.

In *The Long Revelation*, Williams (1965) further described that 'there is the social definition of culture, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life' (p. 57). This social definition of culture introduces other ways of thinking about culture. Firstly, the "anthropological", which claims that, culture 'express certain meanings and values' (p. 57). Culture seems to be rooted in the historical milieu that is connected with perceptions of religion, aesthetics and knowledge. This anthropological understanding of culture, asserts the importance of relations between all cultural forms, within the social formations (Fischer, 2006). Secondly, the claim that the work of cultural analysis should be the 'clarification of meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture', gives another perspective to culture (Williams 1965, p. 57). This involves the 'analysis of elements in the way of life [which contradicts the other definitions, as such suggest that it is not "culture" at all]' (Williams 1965, p. 57). Moreover, such analysis still operates modes of evaluation for human activities in different segments of a society. Williams explores this position by suggesting that:

> ...to an emphasis which, from studying particular meanings and values, seeks not as much to compare these, as a way of establishing a scale, but by studying their modes of [survival

> strategies] certain general trends by which the social and cultural development as a whole can be better understood (Williams 1965, p. 58).

In relation to the perception of culture, the interpretation of culture as studying particular meanings, in order to understand a society, stems from the school of thought of the "new archaeology". The term new archaeology swept through Anglo-American archaeology in the 1960s and early 1970s (Johnson, 1999). In his book, *Archaeological Theory An Introduction,* Johnson (1999) suggested that, remains like pots, implements and ornaments are a complex material expression of what would be called "people", as such this expression is referred to as a normative form of culture. Johnson further illustrated and explained his position:

> The English are the English because they drink tea, speak English, don't eat horse, and queue in orderly fashion, often for hours without complaint. This distinguishes them from the French who drink coffee, speak French, eat horse and do not queue with such equanimity. (These are, of course, all cultural norms, ideas about what is the right way to behave, and one can easily see that they are ideals (in this crude stereotype) that don't necessarily correspond to reality of the case) (Johnson 1999, p. 16).

He asserts that this normative view tends to view culture as unchanging. He further suggested that the traditional view translates present into the past by collecting artefacts into groups, naming those groups as archaeological cultures, which proceeds to human culture by making the assumption that the artefacts are expressions of cultural ideas or norms. New archaeology has moved away from the normative approach to culture as 'an intercommunicating network of attributes or entities that form a complex whole' (Clarke, 1978, p. 495). This new archaeology understanding of culture also points out that 'we could not understand, say a major urban civilisation without looking at its [internal] infrastructure' (Johnson 1999, p. 26). An example of the use of culture in this context is the work of Miller (1996) on Fashion and ontology in Trinidad. Miller argued that fashion is a 'cultural vehicle through which ontological forms are constructed and created' (p. 133). He proceeded to understand the lived experience of the people with respect to fashion by studying the interior decorations of the houses in the communities in Trinidad. Miller used the interior

decorations; as material culture and created links to a wider cultural form existing in the society. Based on this process, Miller formulated theoretical modes that were used to analyse the cultural meaning of fashion in the communities that he studied.

Based on this perspective, this study examines the efforts of the people in the housing crisis as a cultural experience. In the context of an African society there exists a particular sense of culture, which is connected to the lived experience. "Africulture" is recognised as a term used to capture different African cultures (see Africultures, 2010), but it is used in this study as a neologism to describe the distinguished meaning of culture and its peculiarity in the African context. In other contexts, Africulture has been used as the theme for cultivation of the creative spirit and the reaping of the harvest in Africa. This intends on developing corridors of culture in Africa, focusing on public arts' application to infrastructure development and strategically sited urban or wasteland locations (see Idealist, 2009). This term is also used as an African project to address the loss of biodiversity within some parts of Africa, focussing on conserving indigenous medicinal plant species (see Garden Africa, 2008). These appear to address Africulture differently. Africulture is used as an integral element which exists in the African society. The Africulture of the people indicates a complex organisation, which is a particular way of life to the African people. The study of these complex relationships of the lived experience of the Ajegunle community is presented and Africulture in Ajegunle community is understood. Inter-connections and the essential ingredients that make the internal social mechanism sustainable are explored. Technology, as part of the term cultural technology which captures the survival strategies developed by the Ajegunle residents is examined.

Technology

The discussion on technology connects with the human activity in Ajegunle, thereby opening up the actions of the people, not as generic activities but as "technology" in order to achieve a level of satisfaction. Heidegger shows that "technology" is not just a means and that "being" cannot be understood in a purely technological manner (Heidegger, 1993). This notion, contrasts with the contemporary build-up relating to technological advancement in general. Heidegger's philosophy on "technology" sets a stage for a deeper perceptibility of the human effort in an urban housing crisis condition. This section establishes that concepts and strategies developed by people are technologies adopted to achieve a lived experience. Heidegger (1993) commented on our "being" as "dasein". Gur-Ze'ev (2002) gives the following interpretation on the work of Heidegger: The human "being" as "dasein" is not like a stone or one of the beings (person) who is positioned as an object among other objects. The presence in the world of dasein differs. It is that which transcends the physical level of consciousness. Dasein seems not to be understood as though existing within a physical space. Dasein projects human creativity on all other aspects of the micro-world (Gur-Ze'ev, 2002). Heidegger (1993) further explains that this "being" is meaningful within the limited interpretation of reality. Bachelard, in his book *Poetics of Space* commented on this position, '…by this should be understood a study of phenomenon…when it emerges into the consciousness as a direct product of the heart, soul and being of man, apprehended in actuality" (Bachelard 1992, p. xviii). In relation to Bachelard's view on consciousness, McCall interprets Heidegger's position as reflecting that the importance of being in the world was more important than consciousness (McCall, 1983). This suggests that people are not separate from the world, but are experienced as "being-in-the-world" (Spinelli, 1989). In addition to this actuality of being, Heidegger (interpreted by Weinberger) understood reality as the world within, which people live, the place where human "being" find their meaning

and become comprehensible (Weinberger, 1984). In this unfolding of reality through human "being", "technology" appears to play an important role.

According to Heidegger (1993), the question concerning "technology" (which asks for the essential relationship between technology and the world) cannot be answered by referring to something technological. As explained by Heidegger, 'Technology is no mere means. Technology is a way of revealing' (Heidegger 1993, p. 348). He further suggested that technology is not connected with materiality of wood, iron or fuel and also, firstly, a way of doing things, a way of being in the world. By stating this position, Heidegger appears to understand "technology" as a mode of human existence, an essential feature of being. To arrive at this point, he commented on the Greek meaning of *techne*:

> One is that techne is the name not only for the activities and skills of the craftsman but also for the arts of the mind and the fine arts. Techne belongs to bringing forth, to poesis; it is something poetic. The other thing that we should observe with regard to techne is even more important. From earliest times until Plato the word techne is linked with the word episteme. Both words are terms for knowing in the widest sense. They mean to be entirely at home in something, to understand and be an expert in it. Such knowing provides an opening up. As an opening up it is a revealing (Heidegger 1993, pp. 318–319).

To understand the term technology and extract the meanings associated with this study, its etymology is examined. For the ancient Greek, *techne* was an activity in the first place, a practical know-how (Oxford English Dictionary, 2009). The OED (2009) provides an insight into the etymology of technology. The word "Technology" seems to be an agglutination of *techno* and *-ology*. The *techno* possesses various meanings through different context of use, while *-ology* is the suffix which suggests the character or the study of *techne* (see OED, 2009). *Techne*, which is the singular form of *techno* suggests a systematic treatment of art, skill, craft, method and systems. *Techno* was explained as the combination of *techne*, which implies a combination of practical understanding of a particular skill, craft, method or systems (OED, 2009). The Online Etymology Dictionary (2009) further suggested that *techno* was generated

from the Latin word *tek,* which implies to shape or make. By definition, this is connected to the Latin word *taskati*, which suggests a carpenter, as one that fashions, carve or constructs. In Latin, this is also related to *textere*, which means to weave. A further examination of *techno* as it relates to *textere* in German-*dachs*, Hittite-*taksh*, Persian-*taxs*, respectively suggests building, being active and joining (unite) (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2009). These meanings generated from the original used of *techno* by tracing its earliest use through this early civilisations, suggests an action, which comprise of an ability to do an activity that results to a form that consists of a structure. By so doing, the process of achieving the form involves the weaving and shaping, to achieve a structure and texture used for a particular purpose. Thus, the process of doing *techno* (building, being active and joining), leads to a level of satisfaction.

In addition to this understanding of *techno*, Heidegger's philosophy reveals the relationship with *episteme*, which points to an intersection between the understanding of technology and knowing. He further stated that '…technology is a mode of revealing. Technology comes to presence, in the realm where revealing and un-concealment takes place, where *aletheia* (truth) happens' (Heidegger 1993, p. 349). In other words, "technology" incorporates a particular relationship between human beings and the community. This community appears to be interpreted as a micro-world in which the human being is the central actor. Consequently, technology offers a framework as the standard of interpretation of the micro-world. Thus by means of "technology", human beings transform the micro-world into its comfortable "home" (Lambier, 2002).

According to Heidegger:

> …the way in which we approach the world is by our own discretion, supported by the drive for quantity, availability, power and influence…a challenge, which puts to the [micro-world] the unreasonable demand that [the] supply energy… can be extracted… (Heidegger 1993, p. 320).

This process of human liveability based on the technology as an effort, aims to achieve a level of comfort within the micro-world. The progression and the motivation to achieve a general liveability, forms a part of the social activities within the community (micro-world). However, this social process seems to be accompanied with challenges. These challenges seem to force humans to extract energy, to achieve an "existence". The modern interpretation of technology appears to have over-shadowed the ontological meaning of technology. This form of technology which can be regarded to as *onto*[19]*-technology* seems to be the earliest (but not primitive) form of technology. Heidegger (1993) also elaborated on this form of technology as activities in a society that contributes to the social framing and its existence. This theory is engaged to understand the lived experience of the community, in relation to the actor's perceptions. People appear to bring social activities to the nexus of a community. The lived experience is experienced in the society, through the interplay between the social and economic dimensions of the micro-world. As a result, this interplay leads to a social mechanism which delineates the structure of the society. Technology as described by Heidegger and strengthened by the exploration of its etymology that is connected with *techno,* appears to link to the human activities, which is related to achieving or developing a community. Thus, "technology" seems to connect to the functioning of different parts and elements within the community by creating or reproducing social and cultural symmetries within the social system in the community. This discussion establishes that "technology", in the context of the social processes within a community, relates to the "action" (activities) of

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Oxford English Dictionary (2009) suggests that "onto" gives a word a 'sense of, or relating to being or existence'. Onto, prefixes technology to connect to the context that this chapter explains.

the people, which leads to different methods adopted by the people to achieve a level of psychological and physical comfort.

Cultural Technology

The study argues that the physical element of a community is not a reflection of the internal social mechanism. The internal survival method is being captured by the Heideggarian theory of technology as a way of doing things. External observers have tended to see these settlements and their activities (way of doing things) in terms of social disorganization and apathy (see pp. 92–95). In contrast, based on the case study in Ajegunle community, it appears that this is a law abiding population with a great potential for self-advancement. As a result, this study terms the internal mechanism such as human efforts, strategies to sustainably cope in the housing crisis situation as a "cultural technology". The agglutination between culture and technology, termed as "cultural technology" is a theoretically and practically active expression. While "culture" relates to the particularities associated with the lived experience of Ajegunle residents, "technology" connects with the activities involved in physical building and social development of the community. This expression; cultural technology, demonstrates the lived culture of the people as what they do in their lived experienced in a particular place and moment, within a given society, to achieve a level of comfort. Thus the cultural technology describes the process of achieving a significant actual life in the community, through the combination of different social activities, which is connected to their continued "being". This captures the efforts of the people in the urban housing crisis. As a result, cultural technology is understood through a phenomenological approach, which contributes to the methodological process of this study.

Cultural technology is not interpreted as a sign of imperfection of communities in the urban housing crisis. It reveals the internal orderliness in the social structure of the society, through

which it maintains a relationship with the other elements responsible for the sustainability of the community. Contrary to the appearances or the physical elements of the community, which symbolises chaos or slumdom, it seems that there is a matrix of independent, yet connected socio-cultural activities in the community. Thus, cultural technology is explored, within the Ajegunle community by understanding the internal social processes and physical elements of the community, as it relates to the existing urban housing crisis. This part proceeds to develop the case study and the photographic evidence as it relates to the analytical process. The method used to explore the photographs collected, as part of a photographic exhibition that supports the analysis is also investigated.

Chapter Seven

CASE STUDY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

This study, which the photographic exhibition was part of, used a qualitative approach by engaging an empirical intrinsic case study method (see pp. 193–198) to understand the existing urban housing crisis in the Ajegunle community. It viewed the urban housing crisis from a human stand point. This human stand point relates to the phenomenological approach to this study, which seeks to understand the lived experience of the residents of Ajegunle community. The study uses an intrinsic case study to provide an insight into an issue by having a deeper perspective on the existing urban housing crisis (Stake, 1995). In addition, because of the complexity of the Ajegunle case, this study deepens understanding of the urban housing phenomena by exploring the different components of the community (see pp. 289–297).

The empirical material was collected by informal interviews, observations, photographs and taking of field notes with the residents of Ajegunle (see pp. 226–239). The photographs taken as part of the documentation for the empirical process involved in the study were used for a photographic exhibition. The exhibition is important to the study because it is used to strengthen the argument suggesting that Ajegunle is not a slum and its visual characteristics appears not to imply a degrading community. Collectively, the analysis of the Ajegunle resident's lived experience, through the audience's perception and the African phenomenological understanding of Ajegunle (see pp. 297–313), serves as the background to comprehend the existing housing crisis. Furthermore, the African phenomenological understanding of Ajegunle residents lived experience is directly connected to the development of the culturally-informed framework proposed (see chapter eight).

Case Study

The intrinsic nature of the case study, which concentrates on a particular case to have more insight makes gathering of information problematic in the context of Lagos, because of the complex nature of the community and what appears to be an entangled form of government administration. As suggested, Lagos is a difficult city to study (see p. 26), which influenced part of the challenges in doing interviews and gathering information in Ajegunle. There appears to be a lack of internal structure which facilitates research, whereby statistical or empirical information is accessible. Though there are field work challenges in doing the case study, the complexities within Ajegunle as an informal housing contributes to the difficulties experienced during the case study. Part of the difficulties is the non-availability of Ajegunle data including: employment, ethnic groups, housing details, population density and salary levels, which indicates that the demographical statistics of the community are not available for either public consumption or research purpose. This is due to the on-going judicial process relating to the census results (see p. 275). Thus, the raw data which may point to the

basis statistics of Ajegunle are not included in this study. That said, the study concentrates on the socio-cultural lived experience of the Ajegunle residents in their community and the empirical information needed to form a cultural framework was gathered through informal interviews, observations and photographs. However, part of the raw evidence indicating approximate number of household, ethnic groups and population of Ajegunle reflected in the interviews (see pp. 275–276). The area of study is grouped as Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local government and is commonly referred to as Ajegunle. The processes of gathering empirical information through informal interview, observation and field notes are explored.

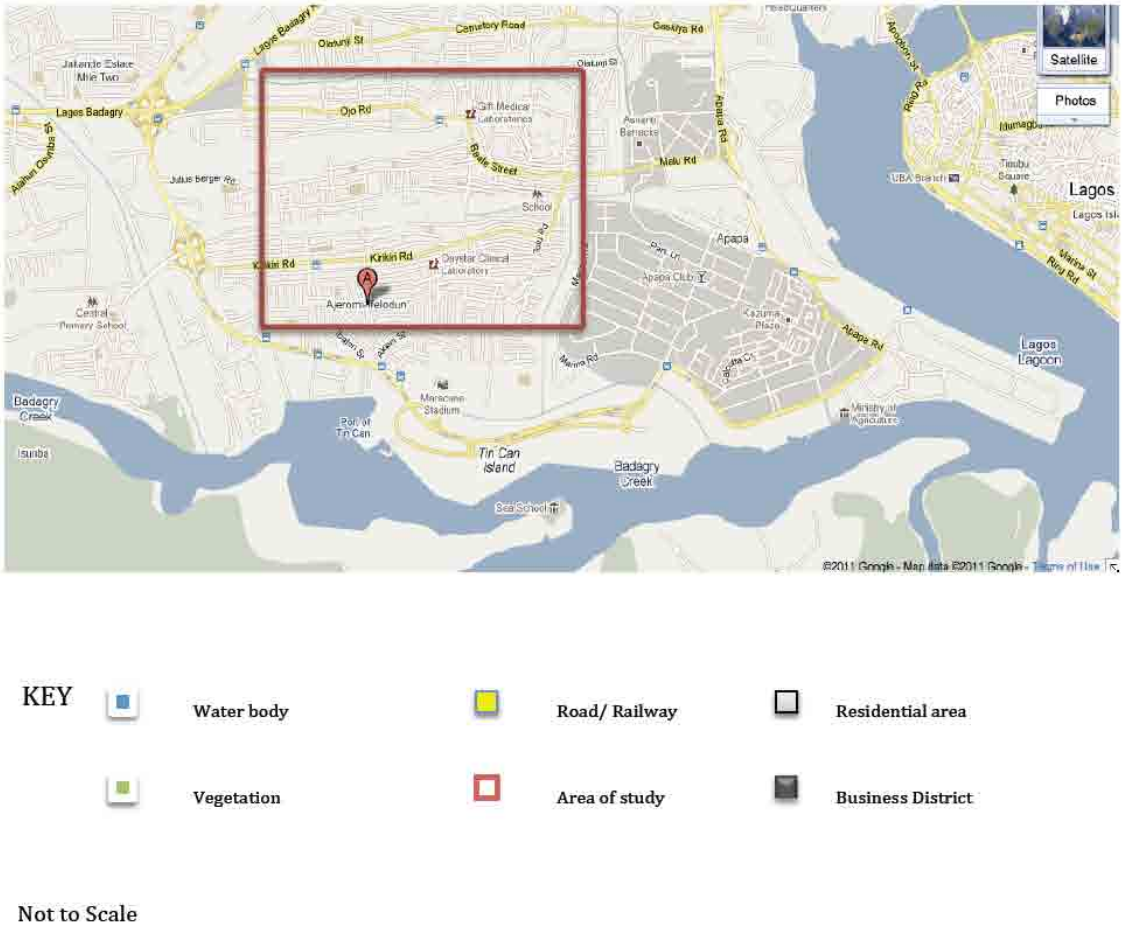

Figure 7.2: MAP OF LAGOS, SHOWING AJEROMI-IFELODUN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA. Source: Google Map (http://maps.google.co.uk/). Assessed July 2011.

Informal Interviews

Informal interview were appropriate because of the complexities surrounding doing case study in Ajegunle. The challenges include making appropriate contact on the part of the government and the Ajegunle residents. Email and telephone contacts were not applicable because there is no established email or electronic portal where adequate information regarding the government officials can be gathered. As a result, copies of letters regarding the study (see appendix 4) were sent out earlier to different departments of the State and Local government. This includes: office of the Governor, Lagos state; Speaker of the house of representative, Lagos state and office of the Chairman, Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local government, before the field work commenced in July 2009. These enabled the offices to allocate appropriate personnel that links to the scope of the research. Making contact with the Ajegunle residents was complex, because there are no established platforms from which the community can be accessed. Though, I made contacts from my earlier exploration of the community in February 2006, the challenges within the communities implies that the people have moved to other places, as a result of their housing development being subjected to government threats of clearance or environmental elements, for example flooding. Furthermore, other bodies that were contacted for example Ajegunle Initiative, a non-governmental organisation, appear to perceive Ajegunle as a slum, which is not in consonance with the arguments in this study and their perception may affect the empirical process. Thus, there was no continuity in the earlier contacts made. Also, part of the complexity within gathering information in the community is the perception of the Ajegunle residents of the research. This might impair the study, if viewed as an agent of the Government, because of the existing government actions that has been destroying their housing as opposed to understanding their housing and general liveability choice. Therefore, new contacts were made on ground through series of communication which further gave

more details on the right contacts for the case study and access was negotiated by the representative of the community at the local government level. Intense explanation was given about the research aim, background and objectives as part of the informal element of the interview, thus allowing the residents to be more receptive to the questions that were asked, contributing to the pure form of the empirical material, which links to the phenomenological position of the study (see p. 190).

The informal element of the interview was useful to grasp the core issues as it relates to the Government and Ajegunle residents. Moreover, because of the perception of the Ajegunle residents of the Government's actions (see p. 284), the informal element of the interview, part of which precipitates interaction with the resident allows them to reveal the core of the socio-cultural element of their lived experience. Though the informal interview is followed with broad questions connecting to the different components of the research question, a detailed introduction is given before the interview. This highlights the details of the interview questions, research questions and background and the researcher's personal experiences within the built environment in south-western Nigeria that informed doing a research on the housing issue. This approach fits the Ajegunle context, because it allows the people that are interviewed to have a positive perception of the interview process. Furthermore, the questions were answered without being interjected because the Government and Ajegunle residents as discovered are keen to talk about their different position on the existing housing issue. The Government and the Ajegunle residents consented to the interviews (see appendix 4 for a received stamped copy of the letter sent to the Government).

The informal interviews were with: the Local Government, State Government and Ajegunle representative (Community Development Association) and residents. The interview with the State and Local Government representative were at the Secretariat of the Local Government,

while the interview with the Ajegunle residents was within the Idi-Oro community in Ajegunle. The interview with the Ajegunle residents was in the Co-ordinator's house, which is a meeting place for the Community Development Association. Other members of the community were interested in the interview and were watching the interview process, from the window sill of the meeting room. A total of nine interviews were held at different times with nine individuals. Two of which are government representatives and seven were Ajegunle residents. Five of the Ajegunle residents were members of Community Development Association serving in different capacity including welfare and construction, while the remaining two are residents of the community. Informal interview in the context of this study relates to what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) refer to as an "informal conversation" suggesting that the longer the interview lasts the more revealing it tends to be. Due to the nature of the interview and its informal element the sessions were long. For example, the interview with the Local government representative lasted up to two hours and 25 minutes, while one held with the co-ordinator of the Community Development Association took an hour and 50 minutes. Thus, informal interview technique contributed to gathering empirical information, because its flexibility makes it explore the informal socio-cultural elements of Ajegunle resident and navigates the difficulties within gathering information in Lagos. Another characteristics of the informal element of the interview is the melting and fading of the possibility to make a distinction by the Ajegunle residents, due to my introduction as a 'researcher from the UK', which might impact the answers to the questions asked. However, the informal interaction with the residents of the community faded any informed perception, thereby reducing the likelihood of what Silverman (1985) referred to as "idealised accounts" of the interviewee's experience. There were encounters with children and other members of Ajegunle community (men, women and youths), which are not in-depth interviews but conversations that contributed to the understanding of the

lived experience of the community and useful for opening up new insights, which were applied to subsequent interview schedules.

The interviews were conducted with interview guides with a scope of questions that covers the elements drawn from the research question and towards understanding the lived experience of Ajegunle residents. Thus, questions developed are a narrowing of the central questions in the study. Though the questions are open, it captures the experiences of the Ajegunle residents, avoids pre-structuring the issues in any particular way and facilitates communication with the Ajegunle residents. The elements drawn and central questions in the study are pinned as additional information, to serve as a reminder for the interview process. During the informal interviews, there were other sub-questions that were generated based on different threads of conversation and in other instances, to further explain an answer to a main question. The two interview guides were in two folds, which include the government and the Ajegunle resident interview guides. The government interview guide was used for the Local Government and the State Government representative, though it was adjusted to suite the context of each government type and how it relates to their function in the provision of housing. The questions in the government interview guide included:

- What is role of the Government in housing?
- Why the Government adopted the existing role in housing?
- How does the Government achieve its responsibility of housing provision?
- What is the perception of the Government on the existing urban housing situation?
- What are the suggestions that can be used to address the existing urban housing issue?

Interview guide for the Ajegunle residents responded to the African element within African phenomenology by asking questions that intends to understand meanings at the socio-cultural layer of the community and its connections to housing and the lived experience. The interview guide for the Ajegunle residents includes:

- What is the perception of the existing urban housing situation?
- Does the name of the community have any connection to the social or physical activities in the community?
- How are the people achieving a general liveability within the existing situation?
- Are there special groups or methods developed to cope with the existing housing crisis?
- What does housing mean and what is its socio-cultural significance to the people?
- What are the suggestions that can be used to address the existing housing issue?

The interview guides were documented with an audio-tape device, notes were also taken during interview and encounters with the members of the community. The following table (7.1) shows more details regarding the position of the people interviewed, location and dates of interviews (see appendix 5 for the names of the people interviewed).

Interview	Position	Location of Interview	Date Interviewed
Local government staff 1	Secretary and adviser on housing to the Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local Government	Local government secretariat, Ajegunle, Lagos	28th July 2009
State government staff 2	State liaison on Local government matters	Local government secretariat, Ajegunle, Lagos	29th July 2009
Ajegunle resident 1	Co-ordinator of the Community development association	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 2	Security personnel for the Community development association	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 3	Welfare personnel for the Community development association	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 4	Construction personnel for the Community development association	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 5	Land owner representative (liaison officer between Ajegunle residents and original land owners), part of the Community development association	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 6	N/A	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009
Ajegunle resident 7	N/A	Idi-Oro, community, Ajegunle, Lagos	5th August 2009

Table 7.1: Showing details of the positions of people interviewed, locations and dates.

Observations, Field Notes and Photographs

Observations are an important tool to gather information in a way that face-to-face interviews would not have captured. More so, the challenges within gathering information in Lagos, makes non-participant observation useful for this study. The socio-cultural lived experience of the Ajegunle residents also contributes to the use of observation, because it allows the observer to perceive the socio-cultural processes within the community, which might be difficult to express through informal interviews. The observation was in two phases, including observation of the general physical composition and the internal processes within the community. The observation of the physical composition entails different "walkthrough" of the community, through the accesses and streets to understand the existing services and how it connects to the residential area. This was done during the day so that I can take quality pictures which will not be affected by night darkness. Furthermore, the incessant lack of electricity subjected the night to generator smokes and lanterns, which impairs the quality of photographs. The routes were repeated up to four times to further identify any significant feature that relates to the physical composition of the community. For example, the sign post 'room to let' (see p. 252) was discovered during one of the repeat walk, and further explored subsequently. The residents of the community were curious seeing someone with a camera taking photos of their community, while the children seemed amazed by the size of my camera. During the observations, resident asked questions regarding the photographs and I explained to them the purpose of the research. They also appeared to be friendly because during my repetition of the routes in the community, I was curtsied by different people. More so, by the same individuals irrespective of the times they have seen me. Photographs and field notes were taken within this observation.

The second phase of the observation entails exploring the socio-cultural processes within the community, including the economic activities, education and construction. This was

performed on different days in order not to mix the important details of each part of the community's socio-cultural processes. The relationship between the trade and their general liveability was observed. To grasp the different petty trade within the community, it was observed at different times of the day by being at different designated kiosk. There were also different kiosks of different varieties for a range of petty business. While at the kiosk, field notes were taken. The journey between the different kiosks was useful, because I could observe the complexities within the network of diverse business at different times of the day. In the morning, the Ajegunle residents appear to be in a rush and apart from the shared courtesy there was less time of being curious about what I was doing. However, about dinner time, they switched to their curious mode, which seems to me that their inquisitive nature is part of the lifestyle of the people. The community appears to run a cycle of different commercial activities that is related to different aspects of the people's life at diverse times of the day ranging from commercial mobile phone shops, mobile chiropodist and different food sellers providing breakfast, lunch and dinner. Though initially discovered through observing business activities, the informal education within the community was observed on a separate day.

There were different children who were between ages 10-13 that appeared to be "hawking". I followed one of them and observed the conversation between the girl and the different door steps that she took her merchandise to, which was red peppers, tomatoes laid in piles of twos and fours. As discovered this was an informal method to sustain the formal education being provided for the Ajegunle residents. There was also what appeared to be an after school lesson, which I discovered after the formal school hours while I was walking through the community. For example, within a family of four, the elder brother aged 15, were taken the other members of the family aged 6 and 8 basic arithmetic (see Fig 7.12). The informal

education through selling merchandise and after school lesson by elder member of the family are informal methods adopted towards education.

As part of the internal socio-cultural processes is the construction within the community. This observation involved exploring the materials used for construction, different processes involved and the construction phases. For example, the different phases of construction identified in the community were observed. This entails exploring three building typologies. These buildings were explored because of the difference in sizes and material composition. The observation entails identifying the function of different spaces, counting the number of rooms, establishing the relationship between private, semi private and public zone in the buildings. During the observation of the buildings, the owners appeared to have a sense of achievement, while showing me around each property. They were also eager to share the adaptations within the different spaces and its multi-purpose functions. For example, in one of the buildings I visited, the sitting room is converted into a bedroom in the night for the kids. Field notes and photographs were taken. During each observation, field notes were made and further notes at the end of each observation to facilitate the understanding of the complexity of the socio-cultural activities within the community. The daily routines, micro-activities (socio-cultural), social settings and network, lifestyles and cultural image were observed, to further understand the community. An observational guide was developed, which state:

- Who is observed?
- What is observed?
- When it was observed and for how long?

There were notes that were recorded, which contained experiences, patterns identified and new learning from their lived experience. Most of the photographs were taken during this period to supplement and record the case study process.

Photographs were also used to document the case study and further analysed to strengthen arguments within the study. The following table (7.2) shows more information regarding the observations, including: short description, location, date and action taken (either photographs or field notes) respectively:

Observation	Description	Location/date	Action taken
Overview of Ajegunle community	Entails exploring the general physical elements (access, building area, open area) within Idi-oro community, including the following streets: Canal road, Aruna crescent, Ifelodun road, Baale lane, Adigun lane and Ojora lane.	Ajegunle community/ 25th-27th July 2009	Photographs taken/ Ajegunle field note 1
Economic activities within Ajegunle community	Entails observing the different petty business and its relationship with the general liveability of the Ajegunle residents	Ajegunle community/ 30th – 2nd August 2009	Ajegunle field note 2
Education within Ajegunle community	Entails observing the informal processes that contributes to the education of the children within the community	Ajegunle community/ 3rd - 4th August 2009	Ajegunle field note 3
Construction within Ajegunle community	Entails observing the processes and materials used for building construction within Ajegunle	Ajegunle community/ 6th- 8th August 2009	Ajegunle field note 4

Table 7.2: Showing details of the observation with actions taken including field notes and photographs.

Photographic Evidence

The photographs were taken as part of the field work during my visit to Ajegunle community in May 2009. These photographs serve as a visual supplement to the case study process and not a single entity that subscribes to other forms of visual methodology. The other forms of critical visual methodology are originally developed to interpret images and written texts, which includes: discourse analysis, content analysis and psychoanalysis of images (Rose, 2006). However, this exhibition uses photographs as documentary evidence to be interpreted, to support the analytical process of the study. Rose (2006), referred to a similar method used to analyse the images of the exhibition as "photo-documentation" whereby, 'photos are made systematically by the researcher in order to provide data that the researcher analyses' (p. 243). The central part of this method is the interpretation of the images. This photographs exhibited, '…only become meaningful through the interpretive work of the researcher' (Rose 2006, p. 302). As a result, the interpretation is then used to support the arguments developed by the researcher. The interpretative process involves drawing of themes by grouping the audience's perception of the images. These themes are discussed to strengthen the arguments of this study, which relates to the notion of "slum" in Ajegunle (see pp. 307–310).

That said, the interpretations generated from the audience's perception of the lived experience of Ajegunle resident in the images exhibited (see pp. 248–261; pp. 307–310), is not the analysis of the African phenomenological understanding of their lived experience (cultural technology) proposed by this study (see pp. 289–297). The lived experience of the Ajegunle residents is analysed through the methodological understanding of African phenomenology, as it connects to the case study. During the exhibition, observers were

invited to fill in comment cards on their perceptions of each photograph.

Figure 7.3: AN EXAMPLE OF THE COMMENT CARD USED DURING THE EXHBITION.

The comment cards were tagged with 'Tell us what you think', in order not to lead or inform the observer (see Fig 7.3). These observers include: planners, architects, academics, administrators and students from Nottingham and the exhibition took place at Bonington Atrium in Nottingham Trent University. Rose (2006) suggested that the basis for the selection of images included in an exhibition is part of the systematic process involved in a photo-documentation. The photographs chosen were intended to depict: the existing physical condition both exterior and interior of the community, the general liveability of the people, methods adopted to survive in the existing condition and the agents of communication deployed in the social processes of Ajegunle community. The comments were then collated and analysed in accordance to the structure of the case study method

adopted. Even though, parts of the comments made were in conjunction with another project, which featured images from Republic of Ireland, this is not connected to this study and does not impair the analytical process. The comments regarding Ajegunle were separated from the comments concerning Ireland. The study draws only from the comments on Ajegunle. In addition, some of the comments were written in particular spelling that does not conform to generic grammar. These spellings have not been changed in order not to tamper with the original meanings intended by the audience. The following table (7.3) shows respectively: the description of the images used for the exhibition, location, result and number of comment cards received for each image:

Description	Location	Duration	Result
Picture showing street view of Idi-oro, Ajegunle community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	11 comment cards
Picture showing the inner part of the community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	11 comment cards
Picture showing part of the physical element of the Ajegunle community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	9 comment cards
Picture showing front area of a residential building	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	9 comment cards
Picture showing elevation of a phase in the residential development	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	10 comment cards
Picture showing landlordism in Ajegunle community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	14 comment cards
Picture showing front elevation of a residential building in the community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	14 comment cards
Picture showing the interior of a house in Ajegunle community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	15 comment cards
Picture showing after class lessons by the older member of a family, on the wall of their house	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	8 comment cards
Picture showing the informal educational system in the community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	12 comment cards
Picture showing a completed house in Idi-oro, Ajegunle community	Bonington gallery, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham	5th March- 18th March 2010	12 comment cards
			Total: 125 comment cards

Table 7.3: Showing details of the photographic exhibition.

Respectively, the images used for the photographic exhibition and the comments that were gathered, includes:

Figure 7.4: STREET VIEW OF IDI-ORO, AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- This looks like the after effect of an earthquake or tornado, are the drunken poles actually supplying electricity to the buildings or are they just washing lines?
- A2 (This image was given this numbering by the audience in order to relate to another image in the exhibition).This is vibrant, community "owned", not regulated, chaotic but yet there is a sense of living, existing community going about the process of living that is distinctly lacking in A1.
- Children living in such condition can not get a proper education and social care. It is the whole community's responsibility to help to improve their condition.
- What music is played here in the evenings? Power; Electric; Dj; Tradition.
- I like the wide open sky and the space, also like the images of an active down to earth lifestyle. Don't like the litter. What do they wear on their feet to protect themselves?
- We are creating rubbish and dumping them all around everywhere. Does a slum mean rubbish? Synonymous?
- I would be curious to know why the environment ends up so deteriorated. Were the shacks built on top of the *dumster* ? Or the *dumster* developed around the shanty town?
- A waste land with makeshift housing.
- Africa, Africa, Africa.
- A damned slum indeed.
- The rubbish all over the ground initially takes your eye and horrifies to western 'developed' world sensibilities. Then start pick out the way people are improvising better conditions for themselves (power lines above) and taking pride in maintaining good standard of cleanliness (washing, drying, mattress airing).

The audience comments from the image above concentrated on using the physical condition of the Ajegunle community, to perceive a deteriorating condition by suggesting that the community resembles an '…after effect of an earthquake or tornado'. Thus, the comments seem to focus on the negative internal and physical effects of the housing condition by asking questions that relate to: education, social care and the chaotic condition of the community (shacks; rubbish dumping). As such the Ajegunle community was described by the audience as 'a waste land with makeshift housing'. That said, part of the comments: 'This is vibrant, community "owned", not regulated, chaotic but yet there is a sense of living, existing community going about the process of living', suggests that within the general perception of chaos, is a sense of order perceived by the audience through exploring the Ajegunle resident's general liveability. The audience comment further reflects this position by suggesting:

> The rubbish all over the ground initially takes your eye and horrifies to western 'developed' world sensibilities. Then start to pick out the way people are improvising better conditions for themselves (power lines above) and taking pride in maintaining a good standard of cleanliness (washing, drying, mattress airing).

In relation to this perception, the general liveability that is informed by part of the comment, 'improvising better conditions for themselves', relates to cultural technology as the survival methods developed by the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 210–222).

Figure 7.5: THE INNER PART OF THE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- I imagine potential flooding. The two little boys are self sufficient, savvy and there is community and safety.
- A street scene.
- What must family life be like here? To live and wish all in the same area. Do children move away? Are there doctors and teachers. Where do you go if you are ill? What's the sanitation like? How many women die in childbirth?
- I have been there and it felt good.
- The built environment frames existence, regardless of the socio-economic conditions you were born in. The kids will grow up in that context and will find a reflection of their self in the makeshift shacks. Fair or unfair?
- Well I have seen better slums. But this is a slum no sanitation, no regard for safety, no care about the environment.
- An attempt to live "on-top" of rubbish. Cover it up, nobody can tell!
- The young children makes this image, demonstrates them living through their underprivileged conditions but making do. Really does emphasise the help these people require from other countries.
- Precarious walk along temporary paved thorough-fare. Children leaving or returning home.
- Community effort to put in boardwalk that is useful to all inhabitants, path amongst the confusion of many individual dwellings. People standing talking in public which reinforces sense of community at work here.
- (A3). The proximity of the dwellings to the thoroughfare makes this more "intimate" than A1.A1 exhibits a sense of sterility and the cars give an allusion of existence, but no sense of this. A2 + A3 are tactile and also exhibit in A3 a sense of order albeit of a different kind.

The comments on the image that depicts the inner part of the community, ask questions on the relationship between the physical condition of the community and the psychological effect on the children who grows within an urban housing crisis. This comment asks, 'the built environment frames existence, regardless of the socio-economic conditions you were born in. The kids will grow up in that context and will find a reflection of their self in the makeshift shacks. Fair or unfair?' This relationship and the existing literatures that have explored this position are further discussed within the analysis of the lived experience of the community, through the African phenomenological approach (see pp. 310–313). That said, another comment, 'community effort to put in boardwalk that is useful to all inhabitants, path among the confusion of many individual dwellings. People standing talking in public, which reinforces sense of community at work here' reflects a positive effect of the social-cultural cohesion within the Ajegunle community. This is further discussed in the body of the chapter (see pp. 289–297).

Figure 7.6: PART OF THE PHYSICAL ELEMENT OF THE AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- Is this a regular event or just a "one off"? Are the streets devoted alphabetically or is it a word ending in "C"? Paul Weller might be impressed.
- Way finding/street sign or advertising.
- Order among the chaos, seems to be an ad hoc street sign, trying to provide some pointer to direction around the maze of street.
- It reminds me of graffiti displayed near train stations in my country. Could be used to give information.
- Everything you need to know. The name of the road and what is happening. How basic, how immediate. So young and new.
- A wall of silence and expression. Boundaries between the self and the other. Where am I?
- I love this picture because I really do not know where this is … Ireland or Nigeria.
- The street is talking with its materials, conditions and words.
- This could be a contemporary poster, but of course the vision of such an application is a million miles away from the basic intension to communicate a location (?) and an event. Quick in the spelling of carnival (CANIVAL), the kind of visual "oddity" that would be used by 'high end' "graphic designers". But here is merely what it is!

As part of the physical element, this image depicts an agent of communication, within the Ajegunle community. The comments relate to the function of the image, as a tool for a direction by suggesting that it is 'way finding/street sign or advertising [system]'. It also

appears that part of the comment links to the materiality of the agent of communication used in the existing housing condition. By suggesting that: 'the Street is talking with its materials, conditions and words'. This seems to relate to the negative perception of the community, as such the negativity, has been related to all the components of the Ajegunle community including the agents of communication deployed.

Figure 7.7: FRONT AREA OF A RESIDENTIAL BUILDING (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- Shanty structure
- C2 (This numbering has been by the audience). Where as C1 speaks of order, lack of interest, regulation, sterile and "unlived in". Personally, I have more resonance with C2 – I would not like or choose to live like this, but none would I want to live in the way I perceive C1 to be.
- A though provoking collage of images. Thank you
- Cleanliness, tidiness and organisation. If you mix these three with all things in this photo, this place will not be a slum anymore.
- I am sure it is Africa, but could be Mexico or Manile. It is POVERTY, although with a pinch of colour.
- A symphony of materials! Everything and anything can be used to create a shelter and to fulfil the basic needs of human existence. It raises the question about the nature of home – what is it? How do you build it?
- The uses that can be made of what other throw away.
- It's almost as though we've seen this type of image so much that we don't make sense of it, we just skin over it. What can I think? Its OTHER, it's hard to relate to apart from our media or tourist perceptions.
- Just confused and random. First glance looks as if just a pile of abandoned junk – second look reveals pile of clothing which looks clean, could be someone's washing wear, so order and maintenance of daily life among the ramshackle scene?

The generic perception of the front area of a residential building in Ajegunle community suggests an impoverished, illegal informal housing, as commented by the audience, '[a] shanty structure'. Furthermore, it is related to poverty, as such a part of the comment

appears to be definitive about the location (in order not lead the observers, the images were exhibited, without information suggesting location or other elements that might impair their suggestion), 'I am sure it is Africa, but could be Mexico or Manile. It is POVERTY, although with a pinch of colour'. However, beyond this physical perception is the underlying position in the comment on the complexity of the nature of housing, 'a symphony of materials! Everything and anything can be used to create a shelter and to fulfil the basic needs of human existence. It raises the question about the nature of home – what is it? How do you build it?' In line with the complexity of the nature of housing, is the comment strengthening a sense of order in the community, 'Just confused and random. First glance looks as if just a pile of abandoned junk – second look reveals pile of clothing which looks clean, could be someone's washing wear, so order and maintenance of daily life among the ramshackle scene?' These positions on the complexity of the nature of housing and a sense of order in the internal elements of the Ajegunle residents, is further developed (see pp. 289–297).

Figure 7.8: ELEVATION OF A PHASE IN THE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- Is this two houses or one with an extension? An interesting mix of materials which draws the eye in its complexity and organic nature but has no legible means of access.
- The rubbish strew ground appals. First glance at shafts feels they are a mess and dangerous. Eye is drawn to the bright splashes of turquoise colour on the wall and then realise that there is some colour co-ordination between the other patterned fabrics next to it.
- Interesting to see so much cultural information in one image, particularly in the shot with calendar as wallpaper and the green post box. Also interesting to see how 'human' some of these settlements seem in comparison to the uniform bricks**.**
- Anywhere really.
- Wandering what is in the pile of rubbish outside, how deep does it go down? Does it smell?
- Is this safe? What is the life expectancy? What are their jobs?
- It is so sorry for people to live in such condition. How can it be changed?
- The people of these slums are using anything they can to give themselves shelter and protection. Their own efforts are what's making them live in this way. Others need to help them and build these people out of slums and into 'proper' places.
- My home. I was born here, does it seem penile? There could have been so much happiness in this shack.
- Contradictions in the evident and obvious poverty versus the power cable. There is also a sense of real humble human endeavour to build a shelter at its most fundamental level. The 'house' is standing almost against all the odds – does this make it triumphant perhaps? It is rising out of the ground quite literally.

The comments on the elevation of a phase in the residential development, surrounds the existing physical condition of the Ajegunle community, as such it asks questions on the effects of this physical condition on the environment. This comment includes: 'Wandering what is in the pile of rubbish outside, how deep does it go down? Does it smell? Furthermore, the comments illuminate the cultural composition of the community by identifying the 'bright splashes of turquoise colour on the wall and then realise that there is some colour co-ordination between the other patterned fabrics next to it'. In line with the cultural information, part of the comment, appears to suggest that the urban composition of the Ajegunle community, through exploring the form of the elevation of a phase of the building is organic:

> Contradictions in the evident and obvious poverty versus the power cable. There is also a sense of real humble human endeavour to build a shelter at its most fundamental level. The 'house' is standing almost against all the odds – does this make it triumphant perhaps? It is rising out of the ground quite literally.

As such it seems to connect houses in Ajegunle community to a "living entity" that grows from one phase to the other. The composition of Ajegunle community is further explored (see pp. 289–297).

Figure 7.9: LANDLORDISM IN AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- A detached in the suburbs.
- Interesting "architecture" to this dwelling – clear path through the centre. The surrounding "greenery" makes this look somehow cleaner and more pleasant living environment – is the man the owner – seems unlikely that the 'path' would be used by a "non owner" or official inhabitant. The gap between/through the building makes you wonders what lies beyond.
- Good job! I think that there is more to the African society depicted and represented. However, they may have elements of slums but there is a present underlying modernity, organisation and co-existence that needs to be further investigated.
- The washing hanging outside makes me think its someone's home, but the building looks like some kind of farm building. Does the plank walkway mean its floods? Is it farmland, are there crops growing behind the home?
- This picture is so amazing! I love that it hangs next to the house in Ireland. They look like they are in the same street.
- Neatness, cleanliness, house lifted above ground, great care to look after it well, built with love, though materials are possibly scavenged wherever they could be found. Occupant(?) leaving is well dressed and does not look like the inhabitant of a slum shanty
- Is this man going to work or lost job? Why he can not secure a better living condition.
- Election power.
- This is the typical image of Africa in my mind. I really like it. The harmony of colour is just ace. I really want to know what the purpose of the tire hanged on external wall is.
- One strong puff of wind would blow the roof off! No front door.
- "rich textural, coloured, decorative" gives a value to a low quality cotton fabrics …
- People still have hopes, although they live at terrible houses. They still enjoy moment of life whatever the situations are.
- Home. Organised. Settled.

- A similar house to the "room to let" but with ramped access rather than a boardwalk; seems to be in the midst of an allotment.

The image on landlordism in Ajegunle connects the human element to the existing housing processes in the community and also shows part of the housing organisation. This is reflected in the comment:

> Interesting "architecture" to this dwelling – clear path through the centre. The surrounding "greenery" makes this look somehow cleaner and more pleasant living environment – is the man the owner – seems unlikely that the 'path' would be used by a "non owner" or official inhabitant. The gap between/through the building makes you wonders what lies beyond.

Other comment 'neatness, cleanliness, house lifted above ground, great care to look after it well, built with love, though materials are possibly scavenged wherever they could be found. Occupant (?) leaving is well dressed and does not look like the inhabitant of a slum shanty', concentrates on a part of the general liveability (cleaning, drying and washing) to suggest a sense of homeness (see p. 11) within the existing condition. To strengthen this point, another comment submits that: 'good job! I think that there is more to the African society depicted and represented. However, they may have elements of slum, but there is a present underlying modernity, organisation and co-existence that need to be further investigated'. These investigations regarding the internal mechanism of Ajegunle community suggested in this comment are further explained (see pp. 289–297).

Figure 7.10: FRONT ELEVATION OF A RESIDENTAIL BUILDING IN THE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- A starless hotel. Somewhere to rest your head.
- This is reminiscent of an American homestead it looks impermanent.
- It sucks; no one should have to live like this.
- The reality is that some people really strive to get shelter in a place like this in Lagos. However, I hope you would also show us some good side of Lagos soon in your next exhibition.
- Order and pride holding back the tide of rubbish. Beautiful turquoise paint colour enlivens the weathered timber. Washing and cleaning cloths, drying reinforce the love with which someone looks after this – it feels like a loved home not just a shank.
- How ingenious humans are? There is an attempt at a veranda/balcony! No one will be sitting there, what the view will be? I wonder.
- Home. Haven. Saved by a room to let tradition. Poverty – but not lost.
- Could be any slum in the world.
- Initial impression is resourcefulness. Familiar things happening (washing and drying of clothes) but looking closely, you see the slum plus a world far from ours.
- There is a definite and deliberate intention evident here: veranda, railing, doors, windows; pride evident in the 'presentation'; desire to be neat, clean and tidy; an elevation above the ground as *metaphore*.
- This reminds me of a photo I saw many years ago – a beautiful stunning sight as is a Sao Paulo slum, was it beautiful and could it not be because of the poverty and suffering also present in the photo? This house is poor, squalid, especially the rubbish strewn around outside and yet - there is also colour, *visuality* and something else too… "Room to let"… what does that convey? Hope, homeliness, sharing? Ability to make the very best possible use of limited resources and add a touch of humour even? It reminds me of a photo of a blitzed shop in Birmingham in the war, still trading, with a sign saying "more open than usual". I must admit to a certain curiosity – what does "the room" look like? The fact that there are no people in the photo also heightens curiosity? What do the people or person who live(s) here look like, and what is their story? Thank you - a great interesting exhibition

- Image highlights the poverty these people are living in but managing through. They are finding way to live and survive in these harsh conditions. Drying clothes is very reminiscent of what people all over the world do - almost a connection between them and us.
- When my wife saw the shanty town on the outskirts of Cape Town last year she said 'it makes our concern about the leaking roof of our timber shed seem absolutely trivial'. Someone's home.
- A classic *verandah* and boardwalk arrangement to lift the living accommodation above the surface of rubbish. Does the 'Room to let' have the benefit of the window or is it behind the blue door?

This image of the front elevation of a house in Ajegunle community appears to be perceived as a symbolic register for poverty and other associated elements of an impoverished community. As such, part of the comments states, 'image highlights the poverty these people are living in but managing through. They are finding way to live and survive in these harsh conditions. Drying clothes is very reminiscent of what people all over the world do - almost a connection between them and us'. In addition, it connects to the survival strategy and implies that there is an internal mechanism developed by the Ajegunle residents. By further strengthening this position in another comment, 'order and pride holding back the tide of rubbish. Beautiful turquoise paint colour enlivens the weathered timber. Washing and cleaning cloths, drying reinforce the love with which someone looks after this – it feels like a loved home not just a shank', connects to the general liveability of the people. Additionally, it relates to the psychological satisfaction experienced in a house, which is referred to as home (see pp. 10–11). The relationship between house and home is explored within the body of the study (see pp. 10–11), their particular understanding in south-western Nigeria (see pp. 52–57) and further discussed in chapter eight.

Figure 7.11: INTERIOR OF A HOUSE IN AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- High technology from the 80'! The walls are lined with *aspirational* imagery. Eagles' gold.
- Used calendars on the walls are to protect, decorate, and a sustainable way of using the leftover, …coloured and after …
- Making the best of what you can get – reuse and recycle. Attractive images used as wallpaper from old calendars and magazines. TV/stereo given pride of place.
- One could write a book about this image – it at once talks about the occupants and the TV the "pride of place". This seems to say – great contrast too in a "perception" of value systems – there is also an aspect of sustainability here – reusing materials, wonderful vibrancy of colours. Strong contradiction between this and the Irish doorways/entrance doors – this image is "open". Those are closed – is this about culture or about some other thing.
- This looks like a young mans room wanting to put his youth identity into the space by using what is available to decorate.
- Either the inside of a very poorly stocked television shop or someone's domestic worldly goods – in which case, "they can't be poor – they've got television"… ("Poverty, the forgotten Englishmen" P. 72 Coates and Silbisn, 1970)
- Electricity everyone. The new god – the spectacle, sound, reproduction, copy, pirate.
- Look at the inner decoration! It's fashionable with vivid colours and artistically graphic design; it uses the locally – available material. Hum …… sustainability and environmentally friendly building ……. Is it?
- *Horror vacui* (ty). Is there actually a wall behind the decoration? What a collage!
- Such technology in such basic accommodation.
- The owner of this place may say: I have nothing but I can imagine that I have everything via media.
- Making use of little to create a home. Prized possessions.
- Resourceful! Division of choice between essential (appliances) and wallpaper which is just superficial.
- A telly in a baroque slug. Old equipment so could be an old slug or an "artistic" display.

- A brilliant concept. Shows that in some part of the world, calendars can be used as wall papers as decent wall paper or wall paint is beyond what the people can afford.

The interior of a house in Ajegunle community as perceived by the audience moves beyond the physical condition of the community. It connects with the function of the materials (pages from calendar) used for the interior decoration, as a sustainable application. The imagery on the pages from calendar seems to reflect and illuminate aspiration of the Ajegunle residents. The comment on the function of the material, 'used calendars on the walls are to protect, decorate, and a sustainable way of using the leftover … coloured and after …' reinforces the cultural technology of the Ajegunle residents in the existing urban housing condition. The comment that illuminated aspiration of the Ajegunle residents, 'high technology from the 80'! The walls are lined with *aspirational* imagery. Eagles' gold.' connects with "intentionality" as phenomenologically understood by this study (see pp. 163–164). In addition, the comment connects with the resilience of the Ajegunle residents, as explored through the African phenomenological position of the study (see pp. 118–122).

Figure 7.12: AFTER CLASS LESSONS BY THE OLDER MEMBER OF A FAMILY, ON THE WALL OF THEIR HOUSE (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- Family plus friends.
- The slum is their home. Are they *prove* of its physicality? Are they repulsed by it? What are their hopes and dreams? Have they been destroyed by reality?
- Teaching (Suspicion of the visible of being visible, the camera- a mechanism of power).
- Oversized clothing…, maybe passed over.
- What are you doing there? Is that home? Is that research?
- The children all look cared for and healthy. They have a wariness of the camera/outside behind the camera. They appear to be a cohesive group. Family or close neighbours used to each others company. Live has been taken to clothe them well.
- Fascinating photograph. People are clean, well dressed and cheerful despite the 'squalor' all around, especially the rubbish beneath their knee level. How can a people and a society that are so inventive in recycling materials e.g. in building houses of such colour and character be unable to manage their carrier bagful of rubbish more creatively? The people in your pictures are full of life, whereas the Irish buildings hide all trace of life even though am sure the '*craic*' will not have been far away! Very though provoking - thanks!
- Side on image of words/writing makes me think of Holbein's painting. "The ambassadors' with its side or image of a skull. Perhaps the most significant part – learning to read is the 'hidden' meaning of the whole image.

The image on the after class lessons by the older member of the family, on the wall of their house, reflects on the informal supportive education system developed by the community, to ensure adequate education for the children (see pp. 296–297). Part of the comments

connects with the effect of the physical element of the existing housing crisis by asking that: 'the slum is their home. Are they *prove* of its physicality? Are they repulsed by it? What are their hopes and dreams? Have they been destroyed by reality? That said, another comment, 'People are clean, well dressed and cheerful despite the 'squalor' all around, especially the rubbish beneath their knee level' identified the care for the children, which implies on the need to further understand the general liveability of the Ajegunle community (further discussed see pp. 289–297). The comment 'side on image of words/writing makes me think of Holbein's painting; "The Ambassadors" with its side or image of a skull. Perhaps the most significant part – learning to read is the 'hidden' meaning of the whole image' seems to reflect on the "hidden" nature of the crucial aspects of the study, which needs to be excavated, to come in contact with the core of the Ajegunle community. By deploying African phenomenology (see pp. 183–190) as the methodological framework, the study has excavated these "hidden" meanings, which contributes to the analysis of Ajegunle community and its residents (see pp. 289–297).

Figure 7.13: THE INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE COMMUNITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- She looks very happy. The fruit looks ready to eat, polythene wall finish turn, floor raised above ground level, vermin below.
- Poor, colourful, alive, run down, fresh.
- Superb image, wonderful colours, but again the depth of the "story" in this image is immense. The pair of shoes tells a story "outside" of the image. Do the shoes belong to the jeans, why would they be there? How do they link to the child or is it just chance?
- A "typical" look of Africa: tender; colourful; poor.
- Ascot race goer visit African slum! (and adds splash of natural colour to the place same old dreary *grays* and browns)
- Makes me think of a children's reading book/scheme used in UK primary schools. The book includes a CD; the book helps UK children to learn about different fruits, country, and animals. It's a very positive image for me as I have read it lots of times with my grandsons.
- Refreshment, local, natural.
- Hilarious!
- A child working.
- The colours in this pictures are great … puts a smile in my face!
- It is heart breaking, would you send your child to do this? May be this is acceptable in this context.
- Poise and grace! The child seems happy and comfortable with her task. She seems to have sweets so it's not without some luxuries- and looks well cared for and lovingly dressed. Love the colours in this photo.

This image on the educational system connects with the informal system of education (see pp. 296–297). Though the comment connects the physical condition of the community to suggest 'a child working; It is heart breaking, would you send your child to do this? May be this is acceptable in this context', the image shows the processes involved in the informal form of education (see pp. 296–297). That said, part of the comment appears to perceive the image positively by stating 'Poise and grace! The child seems happy and comfortable with her task. She seems to have sweets so it's not without some luxuries- and looks well cared for and lovingly dressed. Love the colours in this photo'. This position reflects on the cultural technology developed by the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 210–222).

Figure 7.14: A COMPLETED HOUSE IN IDI-ORO, AJEGUNLE COMMUNIITY (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

- *Aspirational* with no connection to the culture
- Aspiration: A little rough around the edges.
- Having such this building in the same area, compared with the rest, gives a sense of contrast. It has been apparently built by stone or brick which does not match with the context.
- B1. These two images (B1 + B2) are a total contrast but at the same time – very much the same. The obvious – two haves/houses – pitch roof, windows, doors etc. Contrast one isolated in splendid decayed dereliction; the other appearing "inserted" in an environment out of step. However, both speak of dreams and aspirations. (see B2)
- Is this house finished? Is this in a street that is being developed or improved or is it going downhill. The litter is horrible, I would not like to walk on it, never mind live amongst it.
- Colonials have gone. Why have there people been left in such condition.
- Security/Grids: The rubbish on the ground is what? Is it of no value? If so, why has it arrived there?
- To be honest, I think you have photograph *La Mabama*. Isn't it?
- It's a unique and artistic design, if it has to be so-called as a slum.
    - It is a vivid contrast between this building and the "slum" around it.
    - Is it a church or some ritual place for people living in the area?
    - Why could not the "litters" around the house be cleaned up? It will be more beautiful if doing so ……. will it?
- Shelter + rubbish. Is that living? Is that liveable?
- This building will never be what it was intended to be!
- Aspirations amongst the squalor – classical pillars and arches, wrought iron doors, ornate roof shape – great effort to use above circumstances of life, improve living conditions to what occupant would aspire to achieve.

The image of a completed house in Ajegunle community and its contrast in terms of materials and the composition used, though still related to part of the comments by the audience on the preceding images (see pp. 240–259), stimulated a curiosity, as such they commented that:

> It's a unique and artistic design, if it has to be so-called as a slum.
> It is a vivid contrast between this building and the "slum" around it.
> Is it a church or some ritual place for people living in the area?
> Why could not the "litters" around the house be cleaned up? It will be more beautiful if doing so ……. will it?

That said, this curiosity is also linked to a sense of aspiration from the Ajegunle residents. By so doing, the comment 'aspirations among the squalor – classical pillars and arches, wrought iron doors, ornate roof shape – great effort to use above circumstances of life, improve living conditions to what occupant would aspire to achieve', appears to reflect on the cultural technology developed by the people, to survive in the existing housing condition. This is further elaborated (see pp. 210–222). Furthermore, the comment 'Colonials have gone. Why have there people been left in such condition', appears to suggest a political perspective which is explored in this chapter (see p. 308).

ANALYSIS: THE FULL COMPLEXITY OF HOUSING IN AJEGUNLE COMMUNITY

The full complexity of housing in Ajegunle community is analysed by describing and organizing the empirical material collected from the intrinsic case study. This empirical material collected, was through: field notes, observation, informal interviews and photographs (see pp. 195–198). The physical and social settings are described. The physical, internal composition of the Ajegunle community and different elements of the community, that contributes to the general liveability of the people in urban housing phenomena are explored. The organization of the empirical information is achieved by sifting into different

components and identifying significant themes and patterns within the social processes in the general liveability of the Ajegunle people. As a result, the essence of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents is illuminated.

The analysis is approached by describing and organizing the empirical material collected, in order to reveal and concentrate on nuances and the integral core of the lived experience of the Ajegunle community. Stake (1995) aligns with this position by suggesting that:

> Case study is a not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied… We could study it analytically or holistically, entirely by repeated measures…, organically or culturally and mixed methods- but we concentrate, at least, for the time being, on the case. (Stake 1995, p. 435)

The context of the Ajegunle case is examined by holistically exploring the different components of the community. Based on the purposeful sampling (see pp. 193–195) adopted by this study, the Ajegunle community is explored to understand the particularity and the complexity of the case. The study collected empirical material, which is organized and then analysed, as such it represents the analytical process. By so doing, comprehensive information is gathered, which is systematically organized, as a result revealing in-depth information about the complexity of Ajegunle community. This analytical process and the constructed information derived from the process, results into the "case study", which in this study, is guided by a phenomenological frame. The phenomenological frame and the African attention ensure that the lived experience and the colloquial meanings connected to the notion of housing are maintained in the analytical process. The empirical material used for the case study includes: interview information, observations and documentary information on housing policy and programmes and field notes from the field trip. This analytical process is inductive, as against the deductive process where empirical information is analysed according to an existing frame-work (Patton, 1990). Thus, the inductive approach adopted, discovers patterns and themes by interacting with the empirical information that was

collected. The "case study" then presents a descriptive analysis of the various settings in the Ajegunle community, as a result, demonstrating the intrinsic elements of the case. The chapter narrates the: Ajegunle case thematically and the perceptions of the residents. Other discussions surrounding housing policy and implementation (see chapter three) are drawn from to strengthen the arguments in the study. As a result portraying the context that is needed to understand holistically the urban housing phenomenon within the Ajegunle case.

The processes within the inductive analysis used for the empirical material are explained. As stated earlier (see pp. 28–30), the processes within the case study are described as part of the methodological understanding in an African phenomenological approach. This contributes to the analytical process by setting this description of the case study process as the background for the themes that were generated from the case study. The theme discusses different aspects of urban housing issue in Ajegunle with detailed evidences from the case study. By so doing, emphasizing the lived experience of Ajegunle resident and fulfilling a phenomenological description of essences and the intentionality of their different socio-cultural activities (see pp. 163–164). The process within the inductive analysis of the case study, which includes: the empirical collection; coding through generating codes and organization of data, advancing through development of categories from the coding process and formulation and organization of themes. This is presented to set the platform for the development of a culturally informed framework by drawing from the set of themes generated.

The central component from the African phenomenology as the methodology is the understanding of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents while recognizing the African element within the socio-cultural layer of the community (see pp. 183–184). This set at the core of the empirical process the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents and their cultural

technology (see. pp. 221–222) as an important part of the analytical process of the study. Furthermore, the research questions asked (see pp. 7–8) and the aim and objectives (see pp. 31–33) informed the manner in which the empirical material was collected. Through the collection of empirical material and the analysis, the study fulfils the objectives (which entails to describe, evaluate, analyse different aspects of housing issue and developing a cultural framework to arrive at the aim of the study). The key elements drawn from the research question include:

- Factors underlying and the issues associated with the housing crisis (Research Question: Why the factor that are underlying this housing problem persists and what are the issues associated with the housing crisis?)

- Socio-cultural issues and cultural position associated with housing in Ajegunle community, which separates it from the existing government position on housing (Research Question: How do these factors relate to the cultural position of the residents and differ from the existing governmental structures?)

- The government perception and the Ajegunle resident's socio-cultural strategies as it relates to housing that can be used to influence housing policy (Research Question: What can be learnt from attempts by individuals and governments to resolve the urban housing problem?; Can a culturally-informed framework aid in developing housing policy?)

Based on the key elements that emerged from the research question and the importance of the lived experience of Ajegunle residents, purposeful sampling strategy (see pp. 194–195) is deployed to provide information that will bring insight into the urban housing crisis. The strategy employs physical settings, persons and activities that will illuminate the core of the

urban housing issue and allow empirical material to be generated in an original setting, which links to the understanding of the lived experience of Ajegunle residents. This includes:

- *Physical setting*: Ajegunle community and its environs (residential houses, multi-purpose building for religious and social activities, streets, walkways, pedestrian bridges and shops) existing amenities (Schools, markets).

- *Persons*: Ajegunle residents (Ajegunle representatives, children, men, women and youths), Local Government representative and State Government representatives.

- *Activities:* Existing socio-cultural activities in the community.

This selected setting deliberately captures empirical information that will provide insight into the lived experience of Ajegunle residents and information regarding the housing issue from the government's perspective. The information was gathered through, informal interviews, observations, photographs and field notes.

After the empirical material collection, emphasis was laid on drawing from the various materials from the interviews, observations and field note. Bracketing out empirical material from multiple sources through diverse methods ensures "trustworthiness" of findings and conclusions from this study. Bowen (2005) expands on this form of qualitative analysis as a 'triangulation [that] is a means of corroboration, which allows the researcher to be more confident of the study conclusions' (p. 215). The interviews from the government and the Ajegunle residents were transcribed. The interview tapes were listened to prior to transcription, as part of the process of transcribing interview and to aid better understanding of the empirical material. Rough observation notes were re-organized and rewritten as part of the analysis of the study. Along with field notes from the observation guides, the transcribed documents formed documents that was then analysed, to generate themes that are supported

with detailed examples from the empirical material. The documents were read and studied repeatedly and "margin notes" were made simultaneously, which helped to develop tentative ideas of coding, categories and relationship within the empirical material. Quotes that can be added to support the themes developed were highlighted with reference to its associated code. Coding in the context of this study neither suggests quantitative counting nor refers to '…pre-established set of categories to the data…to generate frequency counts of the item in the category' (Maxwell 2005, p. 99). Rather, coding is used to "fracture" and perform a "text reduction" of the empirical material into categories that facilitate comparison between different parts of the document, which aids in organizing into broader themes that capture the essence of the study. As a result, the following codes which include words or short phrases were generated and assigned to capture the essence of different portions within the transcribed document:

- Outside family network
- Cultural images
- Social communication
- Daily routine
- Environmental condition (Government)
- Housing Factor (Government)
- Housing suggestion (Government)
- Within family network
- Socio-cultural meanings
- Social values
- Education
- Environmental condition (Ajegunle)
- Housing factor (Ajegunle)
- Housing Suggestion (Ajegunle)
- Physical meaning
- Cultural technology
- Lifestyle
- Government standards
- Housing View (Ajegunle resident)

- Micro-economic activities
- Community standards
- Housing view (Government)
- Security
- Land ownership
- Land decree
- Private developer

Based on the codes generated, broader classifications were made to develop relationships within codes. The categories that were developed and the codes within this classification with a brief explanation include:

- *Organisation/ social network* includes codes that relate to structure in the community at both family and community level. The codes which relate to this include : Outside family network and within family network.

- *Perceptions on housing* relates to the perceptions of housing and associated issues from the governments and the residence perspective. This enables the study to explore the perspectives of the existing urban housing situation. Codes includes: Housing view (Ajegunle resident) and Housing view (Government).

- *Factors underlying housing* crisis relates to information that links to the existing urban housing crisis. This allows the study to draw the issues surrounding the housing crisis from the government and Ajegunle. Codes includes: Housing factor (Ajegunle) and housing factor (Government).

- *Lessons relating to housing* links to suggestions made by the Government and the residents on how to address the existing housing crisis. This information sets the background for the conclusions drawn by this study. Codes includes: Housing suggestion (Government) and Housing suggestion (Ajegunle).

- *Socio-cultural activity systems* connect with the expression of socio-cultural nuances within the community. This relates to the strategies developed within the community and other socio-cultural activities that contribute to the general liveability of the community. Codes under this category includes: Social communication, social values, cultural technology, micro (socio-cultural activities).

- *Socio-cultural meanings* connect with the African element within African phenomenology (see pp. 179–180). This category explores the meaning of Ajegunle and other cultural images, in order to contribute to the understanding of the lived experience of Ajegunle community. It also illuminates the latent meanings within the socio-cultural layer of the community. Codes includes: cultural images, socio-cultural meaning and physical meaning.

- *Lifestyles and Sub-culture* connects with defining different groups of human interaction and understanding the specifics within the groups and how it relates to housing. Codes include: Daily routine, education and lifestyle.

- *Physical Composition of housing* entails the profiling of housing by providing information for the physical definition of Ajegunle. Moreover, associated issues that relates to the existing housing situation are illuminated. The information relates to the government position on housing and the description of Ajegunle by its residence. Codes within this category includes: Environmental condition (Ajegunle), and environmental condition (Government).

- *Internal composition of housing* relates to the internal description of Ajegunle community by the residents and the government, to provide information and highlight issues that

relates to the housing situation. Codes includes: Government standards, Community standards, security, land ownership, land decree and private developers.

Some of the categories could have been subcategories. For example, internal composition and physical composition arranged under general composition of housing. However, the study separates the different aspects of the composition to generate themes that captures the different important elements of Ajegunle and also detailed enough to express the nuances within the empirical material. This categories developed brings into focus the different elements of the empirical material, as such sets the platform to derive set of themes for the study. The "margin notes" generated, coding process through development of codes and categories influenced the themes developed. The categories based on the codes fulfil the objectives of the study by:

- *describing and evaluating the housing situation in Lagos* (Categories connected: Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing Perceptions on housing; Physical Composition of housing)

- *developing an understanding of the issues related to urban housing* (Categories connected: Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing; Lifestyles and Sub-culture; Organisation/ social network; Perceptions on housing; Physical Composition of housing; Socio-cultural activity systems and Socio-cultural meanings)

- *analysing the social, economic and political factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis* (Categories connected: Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing; Lifestyles and Sub-culture; Organisation/ social

network; Perceptions on housing; Physical Composition of housing; Socio-cultural activity systems and Socio-cultural meanings).

- *investigating the role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis* (Categories connected: Factors underlying housing crisis; Perceptions on housing; Internal Composition of housing).

- *developing a culturally-informed framework for the development of housing policy* (Categories connected: Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing; Lifestyles and Sub-culture; Organisation/ social network; Perceptions on housing; Physical Composition of housing; Socio-cultural activity systems and Socio-cultural meanings).

The set of themes are generated through an overlap of the categories developed from the codes. Based on these major categories (the Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing; Perceptions on housing and Physical Composition of housing), though overlapping with other parts of the categories (Lifestyles and Sub-culture; Organisation/ social network; Socio-cultural activity systems and Socio-cultural meanings), the following themes were generated:

- Structure of the Government
- Description of Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local government
- Position of the government on urban housing crisis
- Local government's perception of the urban housing crisis
- Private developers
- Land ownership
- Physical composition
- Security

This major categories (Lifestyles and Sub-culture; Organisation/ social network; Socio-cultural activity systems and Socio-cultural meanings), overlapping with this minor categories (the Factors underlying housing crisis; Internal Composition of housing; Lessons relating to housing Perceptions on housing and Physical Composition of housing), informed the following themes:

- Internal composition of Ajegunle
- Education in Ajegunle
- Micro-economy in Ajegunle
- Construction processes in Ajegunle
- Resilience of the residents of Ajegunle

The following themes generated are patterns that demonstrate the full complexity of urban housing in Ajegunle community and they are strengthened by detailed examples from the empirical evidence and organised to derive a narrative of the different aspects of Ajegunle's lived experience. Furthermore, the themes are connected with other analysis, to formulate a culturally-informed framework that can be used for housing policies. The following diagram shows the different components of the analysis and the bracketing process from raw empirical material to generated theme:

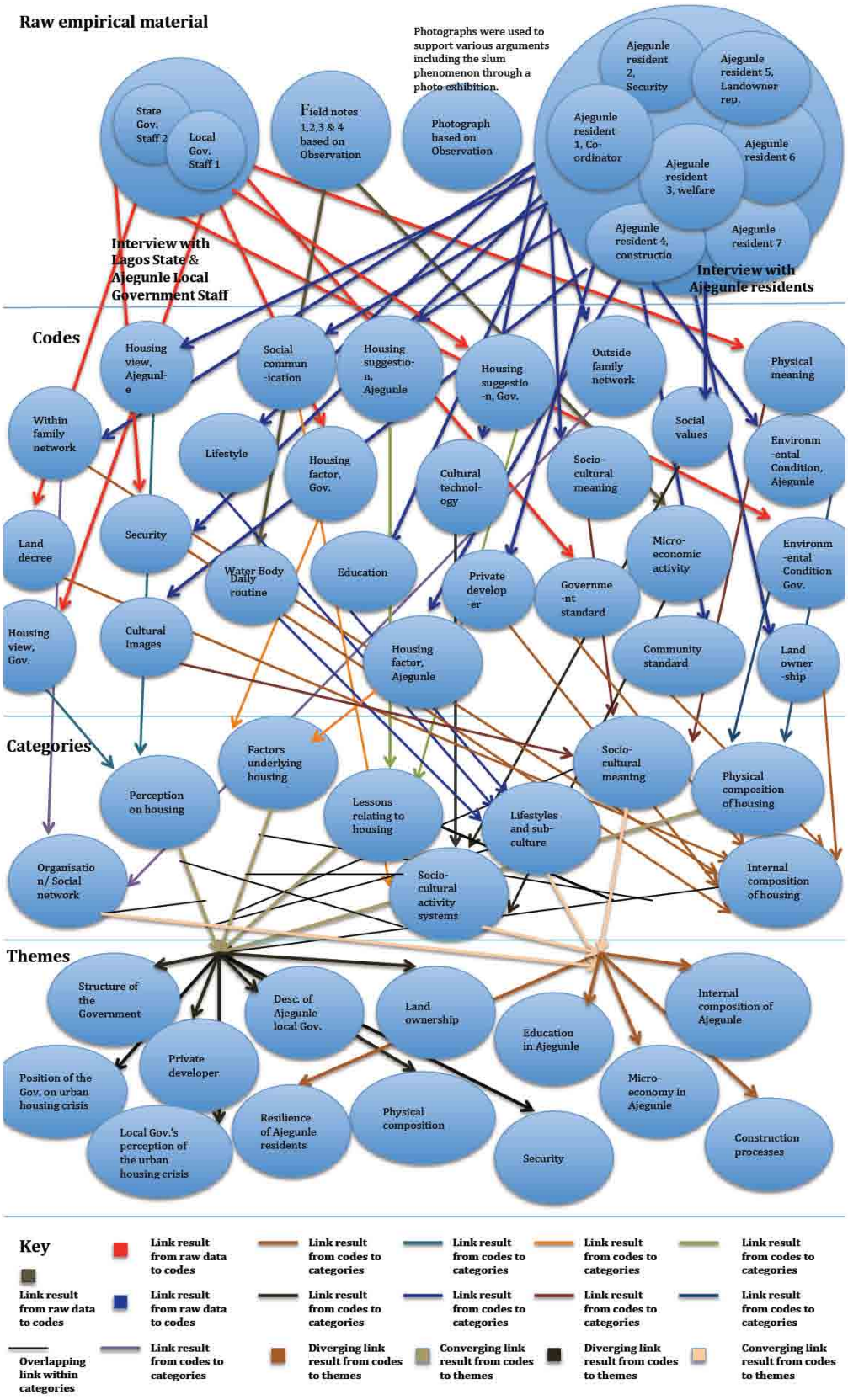

Figure 7.15: OVERVIEW OF THE BREAKDOWN OF RAW EMPIRICAL MATERIAL INTO CODES, CATEGORIES AND THEMES.

Structure of the Government

The case study area; Ajegunle community, is under the Ajeromi-Ifelodun local government which is commonly referred to among the people as Ajegunle. The representative of the Local government explained the function, the dissemination of polices and the relationship of the local government to the wider governmental structure in Nigeria:

> Ajeromi-Ifelodun local government is part of the Local Government areas inside the Lagos state. The Local Government controls the Governmental activities at the Local level within the state. There are different levels of government in Nigeria. These government levels inform the way policies are made and disseminated in the communities. Respectively, the Government levels include: federal, state and the Local Government. The Federal Government is the central and the highest level of governance that manages the natural resources of Nigeria, from which the nation generates its wealth. State government controls the Local Governments located within the state and also disburses financial allocation to the Local Governments for the developmental projects in the communities. Local Government ensures that the policies made by the Federal and State Government are achieved in different communities. Allocation of financial resources and policy formulation are based on population and other factors as determined by the Federal Government. The Local Government's financial allocation is transferred to the State Government by the Federal Government. This financial allocation is disbursed to the Local Government, which is used for social development and other projects depending on the need of each community. Policies are made by the Federal Government, either through a democratic decision or as part of the manifesto of the ruling party. This is translated into the communities through the State Government by the Local Government which is connected to the people at the community level of the state (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

That said, the State Government representative identified that the State also contributes to decision making and stated that:

> …not all policies are made by the Federal Government. The State Government can formulate policies based on the need of that particular state, as such resulting into a regional development. The State Government decision sometimes is not in accordance with the Local Government. Policies appear to be aimed towards achieving corporate outlook for the state which affects negatively the existing communities and their urban setting (Interview State Government Staff 2).

An example of this is the Lagos mega city project. The projections made by the United Nations, that 30 million people are expected in Lagos by 2020 (UN-Habitat, 2006), have prompted projects which affect the existing communities and their urban setting. Towards achieving this project, the State Government representative commented that:

> They have embarked on the eradication of existing communities labelled as "slums". This eradication is a response to the need for a corporate identity as pursued by the Lagos state. Also, the existing development in the communities is for the general development of the state and also due to the exposure of the local and state government leaders. These entail the beautification of the main areas and construction of railways to neighbouring countries in order to enhance international trade (Interview State Government Staff 2).

At the Local Government level, the Government's representative stated that:

> The government is comprised of democratically "elected" members. This fosters development, they entail: chairperson and the councillors from the different communities within the Local Government. The chairperson selects other members of the cabinet which are responsible for different aspects of the community which includes: education, health, housing, social infrastructural development. Also, the exposure of the Local Government leaders by travelling to developed countries and adopting the ideas from these countries has contributed to the development in the local government (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

As a result, the ideas seem to be imposed on the communities they govern without any empirical enquiry about their existing social systems. The existing forms and methods achieved to survive in the urban setting have been neglected as the basis of understanding the intricacies within the communities. This is based on the intention of the Government, as expressed by the Local Government representative, '… to copy the developed countries infrastructural development. Thus, change the communities' outlook to conform to the physical images of developed cities, for example, London and New York' (Interview Local Government Staff 2). (**Source**: The claims and position expressed in understanding the structure of the Government in Nigeria and how it relates to Ajegunle community is gathered through interviews with the state and local government representatives during the field trip to Ajegunle community (see pp. 195–198). This also contributes in part to the phenomenological description of the Ajegunle community, as it relates to the existing governmental structure (see pp. 195–196).

Description of Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local government

Ajeromi-Ifelodun local government as described by the Local Government representative:

> Is a "mini West Africa" because there is a conglomeration of 250 languages in the Local Government. The residents comprise of people from the neighbouring countries, which includes: Ghana, Republic of Benin and Togo. These imply that there are 250 ethnic groups represented in the communities. As a result, it replicates the different groups in Nigeria as a country and other neighbouring nations (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

This contributes to Lagos state as the economic hub of West Africa and strengthens the choice of Ajegunle as the case study area for this study. Since Ajegunle captures a large percentage of the existing ethnic groups, the study of Ajegunle community illuminates the issues relating to the core meaning of housing and its wider implication in the community.

The Local Government representative suggests that Ajegunle community has one of the largest populations in the state. He commented on this position by suggesting that:

> The result of a recent census by the Government is being contested in judicial court, because of the acclaimed political magnification of the population results. The 1991 census estimated the community to be 680,000 people. Based on this result and also putting into consideration an annual 10 percent increase as calculated by the Local Government for budgetary purposes, the recent population of Ajegunle community is estimated at over 1 million residents (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

As a result, 'the Local Government has over 50 primary schools to cater for the state policy on education, which makes primary school education compulsory for all children' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). To achieve this, the 'State Government has subsidised the cost of the primary school education, so that the children can achieve this primary level of education with minimum input from the parents and guardians' (Interview State Government Staff 2). (**Source**: The information on the description of Ajegunle community is based on the interviews with the Local and State Government representatives. This also connects with the phenomenological description of the community see pp. 195–196).

Position of the Government on urban housing crisis

The Government identified that there is an urban housing crisis. As a result, the Government developed a programme called "low cost housing" in 1979 (see pp. 101–102).

As observed from the housing programme, during the implementation, the Government appears not to consider the existing socio-cultural factors. They seemed to view the housing problem as a crisis of homogenous people without any form of socio-cultural specificity. Part of this specifics, was the existing notion of family. This notion of family comprises of a deepened meaning, pertaining to the structure of an extended family which forms a network of buildings resulting into a community. Based on this understanding of the community, the proposed government plan appears not to be suitable for the people. The location and the architectural features of this low cost housing scheme were not aligned to the deepened notion of family of the people. As a result, the low cost housing scheme was not used by the people, partly because it was not strategically located and was not a response to the people's housing need. Even though the urban housing problem was identified, it was neither minimised nor solved by that particular regime. The state government representative highlighted the issues surrounding the government's implementation of housing programme:

> Part of problems that seems to affect the success of this low cost housing programme was the "Land Use Decree Act of 1978" and the politics between the ruling parties. The policy that informed the low cost housing programme was at the Federal Government level. The Land Use Decree Act of 1978 , 'vests all land in the state through the office of the military governor of each state. The land is held in trust and administered through the Government's authority to the use and benefit of all Nigerians'. This suggests that all the land belongs to the Government; as such the Government holds the power for the distribution and use. As a result, there is a governmental bureaucracy to land tenure processes, which compounded the urban housing programme developed by the Government. The political differences towards housing, as expressed by the political parties affected the success of the housing programmes initiated by the housing policies. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) was at the Federal level and at the regional level in the south west was Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). This informed a conflict in ideas which inhibited the progress of the urban housing programme. Based on this, the effect of the Land Use Decree Act of 1978 on the housing programme appears to be the absence of the human element in the formulation of policies (Interview State Government Staff 2).

Thus, it seems there was no success in the housing programmes. This discussion implies that the approach towards the urban housing crisis does not respond to the needs of the people. Therefore, it does not cater for, and is not a reaction to the urban housing needs of the people who are involved in the social processes of the community experiencing the urban

housing crisis. (**Source**: To understand the position of the Government on the existing housing crisis, information was gathered through interviews with the State Government representative. The Ajegunle residents were also interviewed, to understand their perspective, as it relates to the decisions of the Government. This also relates to the phenomenological understanding of the study see pp. 162–165).

Local government's perception of the urban housing crisis

The Local Government attributed the urban housing crisis to the population increase, which overcrowded the existing housing facilities. The representative of the Local government claims that:

> The population increase is connected to the urban housing crisis, as a result people are trying to minimize the effects of the overcrowding without putting into consideration the regulations associated with building planning in the community. The characteristics of the urban housing crisis include: overcrowding of the existing houses, non-availability of infrastructural amenities, and development of "defective" or "non-modern" houses (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

A non-modern house in the context of Ajegunle, as explained by the representative suggests:

> Houses built, without toilet and bath facilities connected or attached to the houses, with the absence of proper ventilation and plumbing facilities for the houses. Part of the characteristics of the community is the stinking odour in the environment. The location of the canal, which is full of the collected sewage from the community, contributes to the stinking odour of the communities. Based on the sewage from the canal and other odour from the open toilet facility, the living condition in the communities is affected (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

The Government also suggested that 'there is a lack of interest from the people to change or respond to developments towards the Lagos mega city project' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). Part of the problems of the urban housing crisis is the use of deficient building materials, which causes the collapse of houses. The private developers who want to make a profit from the over population, construct houses with sub-standard products. As a result, there is housing collapse, which results into human casualties and loss of personal

belongings. Moreover, because of the condition of the environment, the Government's representative claims that:

> There have been health issues, which relate to an increase in the number of people who have malaria. This is associated with the poor condition of the environment, which seems to serve as the breeding ground for mosquitoes that cause the malaria fever in the communities. Also, the residents are living below the accepted or an ideal housing condition (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

This prompted the Government's decision as stated by the representative 'to construct "modern" houses for the people of Ajegunle community. This construction of modern houses will involve the eradication of the existing informal settlements' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). The people of the community challenged the Government's proposal, and they appear to interpret the Government's intention, as a means for the Government to forcefully take their land and destroy their properties. This attempt by the Government to minimise the urban housing crisis was not successful. The Government complains about lack of the co-operation from the people and reiterates the poor living conditions of the people and its effect on the health of the residents. It suggests that there is a connection between minimising the housing crisis condition by eradication of the existing settlements and improving the socio-economic activities of the people. The Government argues this position, as expressed by its representative:

> Part of the advantages of the eradication of the existing informal settlements, is the creations of jobs. Part of the job opportunities as suggested by the Government involves building construction related jobs. These artisans in the construction industry include: carpenters, bricklayers and painters are part of the job opportunities that will be available for the residents of the informal settlement. In addition to the job creation opportunities, there will also be an improved health of the environment (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

The Government claims that the cycle of job creation through the construction of new houses informs a healthier environment compared to the existing situation. On the other hand, an Ajegunle resident claims that:

> Fear of affordability of the new houses and the issue of ownership are the major reasons why the residents of the community refused the proposals of the Government pertaining to the existing urban housing crisis. The proposed housing development of the Government will increase the value of the properties. For example, a two bedroom flat as proposed by the Government will cost 3.5 million Naira. The affordability of the cost and the issue of land ownership, where the Government will "retrieve" people's land before development, make this plans controversial (Interview Ajegunle Resident 6).

This appears to strengthen the reasons why the people rejected the Government position on the existing urban housing situation. As a response to the present situation, the Local Government appears to be destroying houses within the community, to provide accessible roads (see Figure 7.16).

Figure 7.16: A ROAD CONSTRUCTION THROUGH AN EXISTING BUILT-UP AREA (Photograph by Olusegun Oluwole).

This intention for development is claimed by the Government 'as part of the projects to improve the communities' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). However, part of the main reasons seems to be, to reduce the effect of motor traffic, whereby accessible roads are

created. This serves as link road created within the community for a wider motor traffic issue and not primarily as a response to the urban housing crisis. The economic migration and other factors appears to be responsible for the over population in Lagos. The connection between the population increase and the existing urban housing situation was explained by the Government's representative:

> Part of the specific reasons for the population increase in Ajegunle community is because of the affordable standard of living as compared to the other parts of Lagos state. Ajegunle community serves as an entry for the economic migrants who cannot afford the cost of living in the macro-economy of the urban setting. The population is not homogenous, it comprises of petty traders, professionals and a wide range of government employees. Ajegunle community also accommodates other people on the low level of the economy, thereby providing a micro-economy used to sustain the livelihood of the people. Ajegunle serves as a basis for integrating into the economic advantages of Lagos state. For example, a room to let in Ajegunle will cost between 1000–1500 Naira while in other parts of Lagos it ranges from 5000–6000 Naira. This 400 percent increase and difference in price of an accommodation for an economic migrant will cater for other aspects of general living (Interview State Government Staff 2).

As a result, Ajegunle community is an economic strategic location to integrate into the urban economy of Lagos. The Local Government plans to develop low cost housing for the people. These plans are still proposed because there seems to be a lack of understanding of the intricacies, which would be involved in minimising the existing urban housing situation. As expressed by the Local Government representative, who claims that:

> These developments should be done in conjunction with the Federal Government that has the financial resources to support the programme. The existing structure of the Federal Government does not encourage development at the Local Government level. The resources are concentrated at the Federal level of the government. Thus, this limits the development and direct impact on the issues relating to the communities, which affects the improvement at the Local Government level. Also, the Federal Government has based financial resource sharing on the land mass and not the demography of a particular region. This has led to resources allocated to states with a larger land mass and not the size of the population (Interview State Government Staff 2).

To strengthen this misunderstanding on the part of the Government, presently the housing programme intended by the Government appears to focus on generic production of houses. This housing plan result to 500 houses per each senatorial district (see pp. 112–113), which suggests that the Government's decision was neither based on the density of the urban

housing crisis in different parts of the country, nor other specific factors that are associated with the urban housing issue. This creates a discrepancy in the sharing formula that has affected the development of the areas which are experiencing pressure of over population. Part of areas that has been affected directly by over population is urban housing. The sharing of financial resources based on the population will provide a fair basis for the distribution of funds that can be used to execute projects that directly relate to the effects of the over population. The Local Government representative further commented that 'the centre for the creation of local government or the Governmental administration should be the people and their needs and not based on the size of the land mass' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). There appears to be a convolution regarding the creation of the Local Government, hitherto it has been created based on land mass and not the size of the population. This purpose of creation suggests that they cannot function properly as a means by which the issues relating to human needs can be solved. They function as an administrative arm of the Government that is directly connected to the communities. This understanding of the functions of the Local Government as defined by the Federal Government, has also affected the development of the communities. (**Source**: The information on local government's perception of the existing housing crisis is explored through interviews of the Local Government representative, review of literature gathered and interview with the Ajegunle residents. As a result, this contributes to the phenomenological understanding of the Ajegunle community see pp. 162–165)

Private Developers

The urban housing condition appears to be prevalent, due to the inability of the Government to regulate the urban housing situation. An Ajegunle resident commented on the effect of the private developers on the existing housing situation:

> It seems that there is an unwritten housing policy by the private developers who have dominated the housing situation that guides housing delivery in Nigeria. The private developers have capitalized on the existing situation, as a result commercialised the housing sector. This commercialization brought about inflation in construction and building materials (Interview Ajegunle Resident 7).

Additionally, there are other related problems of sub-standard buildings developed due to the inflation caused by the commercialization of the housing sector. An additional role for the Government as a regulator, in the urban housing sector should be considered. This will ensure that the sub-standard materials are controlled, which will result to a reduction in the construction of defective buildings. Moreover, enabling the Government to regulate private development and ensure that the developments are standardised. (**Source**: This information was arrived at by combining the existing literatures on the housing crisis and interview with a resident of the community)

Land Ownership

The issue of land ownership is at the core of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. There are two main groups regarding the ownership of land in Nigeria. There is the private family that claims ownership to the land and also the Government. Under the Land Use Decree Act (1978), all the land seems to be held in trust by the Government and based on this decree, the Government has responsibilities on land tenement. The private families that own the land, based on use for farming or other forms of use, possess the right to sell the land to other people. The Government with the consent of the private land owners consents to a lease of use for 99 years depending on the terms on the tenancy agreement. The government representative suggested that 'based on the strategic location of Ajegunle, the average price of land is expensive as compared to other parts of Lagos. A plot of land sells for an average of 6 million Naira compared to 2 million Naira in some other regions' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). As a result, the Ajegunle residents have developed a renewal system that is in accordance with the regulations of the Government to

cope with the financial demand of land ownership in Lagos state. A member of the Ajegunle resident that belongs to the Community Development Association explains the system adopted:

> The land we presently occupy is owned by the Ojora family. The residents of the community pay the Ojora family (the original land owners) in instalments, until the residents pay the total amount of the landed property. This contract is called "renewal of receipt", whereby an instalment fee is paid by the residents of the community to the original land owners. This fee is fixed, without any form of interest, within the agreed duration of a payment period. In order to authenticate the purchase of a land, the land receipt from the private family that owns the land is important. This document is part of the land documents that must be presented before the Government issues "a seal of ownership". [A seal of ownership from the Government validates the ownership of land. This seal of ownership consents the lease of the land for 99 years. It suggests that, the land has been leased to the intended private owner by the Government on behalf of the original land owner for 99 years after which it can be renewed]. With our "renewal of receipt" we are landlords and that is the most important thing to us. After this, we can always achieve any type of accommodation we want (Interview Ajegunle Resident 5).

The main element of this consent by the Government is the original receipt from the original family land owners. This contract that is referred to as "renewal of receipt" responds to the limited financial resources of the residents of Ajegunle. As documented during the interview with the residents the system enables them to remain within the confines of law relating to land ownership:

> During this period, the owner of the land can develop a property. At the initial level of the contract, the ownership has been transferred from the original land owner to the individual. However, because full payment has not been made, the "receipt" for payment is renewed at an agreed instalment (Interview Ajegunle Resident 5).

To fulfil the Government regulations of land ownership, the individuals pay what is referred to as "tenement rate". To be eligible to pay a tenement rate, the Government states that, 'an individual must show proof of ownership of the land' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). Thus, to demonstrate this ownership, the residents present the current copy of their "renewal of receipt". By so doing, this tenement rate legalises the ownership of the land. Based on this process, the residents of Ajegunle fulfil the criteria as a land owner, as such possess the rights to develop their landed property within an agreed period. Based on this

right of land ownership and due to the concentric system of "renewal of receipt", they refer to themselves as "landlord". Landlordism as suggested by Davis (2006), '…is in fact a fundamental and divisive social relation in slum life world-wide. It is the principal way in which urban poor people can monetize their equity (formal or informal)…' (p. 42). This position appears to strengthen the notion of ownership in informal settlements. The ownership renewal system that acknowledges the original land owner and also fulfils the criteria for land ownership by the Government secures the Ajegunle residents as landlords. This status of landlords furnishes the people with the right to develop their land and furthermore demand for electrification projects, supply of water and social amenities, which are part of the responsibilities of the Government to the communities in Lagos state. (**Source**: This information on land ownership is based on the interview with the member of the Community Development Association (CDA) team that liaises between the Ajegunle residents and the original land owners. The existing literature that relates to land ownership in Nigeria also contributed to this information. This connects with the phenomenological position of understanding the issues at the core of housing in Ajegunle community see pp. 162–165).

Internal Composition of Ajegunle community

Ajegunle community comprises of different areas that are used for commercial and residential purposes. This study concentrates on "*Idi-Ori*" community, which is a community within Ajegunle's residential area. As observed, the resident's perception of the government's role connects with the internal system developed in the community. An Ajegunle resident commented on this:

> As regards the role of federal government, they are not concerned with having contact or governing people at the community level. Apart from the payments made to the Local Government and their meetings during the political election, there is a minimum input from the Government regarding urban housing and the development of the community. Based on this, we tucked in the security, administration and development of our

> community under a committee that is referred to as "task force". This "task force" is a community development association (CDA) organised by the residents of the community and registered with the Government. The committee entails a web of responsibilities to ensure the organisation and the administration of the community (Interview Ajegunle Resident 6).

This registration with the Government appears to eliminate the illegality clause associated with informal settlement in urban housing crisis. Based on the tenement rate paid by the community and the registration of its development association, the community cannot be referred to as an illegal settlement. Part of the generalised characteristic of community labelled as "slums" is the illegality associated with the land tenement. This community has adopted a system whereby it fulfils the land regulations as set out by the Government and formal processes involved in the transfer of landed property in the state. A member of the (CDA) further explains its function and structure:

> The Community Development Association (CDA) liaises directly with the Local Government on issues that relates to services that are provided by the Government to the community. These services include: education, health and housing. The CDA reviews issues that relate to health and education in the community and also feedback to the Local Government. This ensures that adequate health and education is delivered to community. It also contributes to the way the community reduces the effect of environmental related disease in the existing urban housing crisis condition. The association is regarded to as a "task force" of whom members are residents, responsible for different aspects of the community. This aspect of the community ranges from education, health to social workforce. The roles and the functions of the "task force" team include:
>
> - Construction personnel, which are responsible for the construction of buildings and sewage system projects in the community.
> - Welfare personnel ensure that the children engage in education and there is feedback from schools into the welfare social system of the community.
> - Security personnel are involved in the maintenance of general safety of the community and adequate transition of a new member into the society.
> - Land owner representative is the liaison officer between the original land owner and the residents of the communities. This person administrates the processes involved in the "renewal of receipt".
> - The overall co-ordinator ensures the effective functioning of the other designated responsibilities (Interview Ajegunle Resident 1).

This supportive mechanism of the society is a web of responsibilities and not a hierarchy of political position that controls the different elements of the society. They ensure communication between the residents of the community and the social processes involved in their lived experience. An Ajegunle resident (part of the CDA team) claims that:

> Our resilience in the challenges of our built environment is informed by the internal [mechanism] in the community. The central part of which is regarded to as "family" where the residents share the "happiness and sorrow" of each member of the community. The characteristics of this idea of family include: collective responsibilities towards individual and community's challenges and co-operation towards developing their community (Interview Ajegunle Resident 2).

In order to show this notion of family, they refer to each other as "brothers" and "sisters". This was demonstrated by the welfare personnel of the CDA:

> This [charter] of the community is expressed in their motto, which is referred to as "one family". This [notion] is strengthened by series of slogans. These slogans involve the repetition of the name of the community three times. At each repetition, they respond to the name of the community as "action". The response to the third repetition of the name of the community is "one love" (Interview Ajegunle Resident 3).

Part of the resident of Ajegunle community that was interviewed, purports that 'the present urban housing situation has its negative effects on the society. However, we are not going to move out of the community, because of a common aim; of owning a land' (Interview Ajegunle Resident 6). This intention has defined their approach towards general liveability and has a wider implication on the social processes and urban form of their community. Based on this tenet of sharing responsibilities in the community, they have provided for themselves social amenities, electrification projects and financial loans. Thus, achieved a "society" acknowledged by the Government. Their developments and the notion of family, brings a sense of self-satisfaction to the community which alleviates and prohibits theft, burglary and other associated crime. This aligns with part of the methodological framework of this study, as it relates to ethics in African philosophy, which underpins the importance of the inter-personal social relationship embedded in the African community (see pp. 205–209). Among other functions of this social bond, is the security structure, whereby each member of the community is responsible for the security of the other members. This conditional theory has been effective for their security and the community was regarded by the local government representative 'as the safest as compared to the urban core of Lagos state'

(Interview Local Government Staff 1). The security personnel explained part of the general cleanliness and how security issues are discussed:

> In accordance to the laws of Lagos state, there is an environmental sanitation day that must be adhered to by the community, which serves an additional function in Ajegunle community. This involves the general cleanliness of the community. Sewage is directed towards the canal, which in a few places have been lined with cement. The canals when clogged are cleared out by the residents of community with spades and other gardening equipments. In order to discuss issues that relate to the community and the introduction of new members to the community, the day is set aside and the movement of persons by motor vehicles is prohibited. This enables members of the community to attend and engage in discussion that contributes to the development and security of the community (Interview Ajegunle Resident 2).

Apart from this sanitation day, cleanliness is an important aspect of the community. The existing urban housing situation of the community makes it vulnerable to environmental associated diseases. To reduce the effect of this, the cleanliness of the inner part and the locations of toilets and baths are cleaned daily. (**Source**: The information on internal composition of Ajegunle community is based on interviews with the residents of the community. The observations and field notes made during the field trip also contributed to the understanding of the internal composition of the community. Through the African aspect of African phenomenology, the study also identified the connection between the notion of family and the community (see pp. 179–181). This contributes to the phenomenological description of Ajegunle community, which explores its essence by bracketing into the internal aspect of the community see pp. 164–166).

Physical composition of Ajegunle community

The "Idi Ori" residential area within Ajegunle community is furnished with different type of services. As observed:

> Ajegunle comprises of religious structures that are converted into a space for community meetings and other social activities, which includes: birthdays, festivals and naming ceremonies and other events that are designed for the social relaxation for different age groups in the community. There are other social services, which include: restaurants, mobile chiropodists, carpenters, hairdressers and barbers who strengthen the social aspect and generate a micro-economy for the community (Observation Ajegunle Field note 2).

The co-ordinator of the CDA elaborated on the physical composition and part of the social processes:

> Ajegunle is made up of approximately 5000 housing units. Based on the arrangement of the buildings, there is a defined building line and a main street [see fig 7.4; pp. 193]. Parts of the services in front of the buildings are kitchens and washing services [see fig 7.4; pp. 193]. These services are carried out when needed and does not have permanent features. Plastic buckets and open fire are used for cooking and cleaning. There is also a defined distance for electric poles that supplies the community with electricity. Further away from the street, is the linear arrangement of bathrooms and toilets for each block of buildings. A block of buildings can contain up to 3 housing units. Apart from the toilet, which is used when needed, there is an arrangement for the use of the baths, whereby timing or shift informs the use of the bathroom. For example, children that go to school early in the morning tend to use the bath first where mothers use the bath after taking care of the children. The biological waste from the toilet and water from the bath is used to grow annual crops and vegetables that provide part of stable food for the families. These main streets are linked to each other by pedestrian walkways, which are wooden bridges that respond to the contours of the environment. The streets within "Idi Ori" community include: Canal road, "Aruna" crescent, "Ifelodun" road, "Baale" lane, "Adigun" lane and "Ojora" lane (Interview Ajegunle Resident 1).

As observed:

> The streets collectively form a network of building blocks, comprising of housing units linked with wooden bridges, which outline the urban form of the community. The existing projects in the community appear to have been through community efforts, without an external stimulus from the Government (Observation Ajegunle Field note 1).

The construction personnel commented on this, 'the electrification project has been by financial distribution from the members of the community. This involves digging of trenches, installing electric poles and fixing electric cables by experts' (Interview Ajegunle Resident 4). Another project based on the community effort as observed includes 'construction of the sewage system for the community' (Observation Ajegunle Field note 1). (**Source**: This information was gathered through the observation of the Ajegunle community, during the field trip. Furthermore, the members of the Community Development Association were interviewed, to gather statistics on the community. During this field trip, the information was documented through field notes. The physical composition also contributes to the phenomenological description of the community. By so

doing, understanding the essence of, and bracketing to the core elements of housing in Ajegunle community see pp. 162–165).

Construction processes in Ajegunle community

There is a rationale to all the physical composition and the materials that are used in Ajegunle community for construction purposes. The nature of land and other present man-made features; which is referred to as "water canal", makes the community susceptible to flooding. In order to achieve a street level that is higher than the ground level which is affected by flooding the people adopted purposeful dumping of waste material on the street (see fig 7.14; p. 260). The construction personnel explained the processes involved in the purposeful dumping of waste:

> Dumping of waste as an aspect of construction even creates employment whereby people are paid to dump waste at an agreed site or portion of land. This method is used for flooring of the street. It involves gathering waste materials from the community. This waste is spread depending on the area that is lower to the ground level. Based on the materials used, which include "saw dust", this forms a layer that is not permeable by water. In addition to this layer, there is the top layer of sand, which is then applied, in order to prepare the surface for a hard or soft landscape depending on the function of the surface area (Interview Ajegunle Resident 4).

The general perception of these streets suggests that it is dirty and there are no proper ways of collecting waste. However, it is a purposeful construction process for the retention of their building area against flooding.

The community adopted a gradual phase of construction for their buildings, which enables them to develop their buildings in phases, based on the available resources at a particular time or planned period. The construction personnel explained the phases and the processes involved in building:

> The building phases include construction of temporal structures, which are based on the immediate function of a family or an individual to the final completion in bricks and mortar with all facilities within the building. At the inception stage, the toilet and bath services are shared within buildings, because it is not an affordable service at the initial phase of the temporary construction. This temporal structure includes: bedroom spaces,

> living room spaces and kitchen area. Depending on the size of the family and financial resources, the number of spaces is different. The existing spatial distribution in the houses depends on the size of the family. This includes: husband and wife sharing a bedroom, where female children and male children have separate rooms; the family comprising of 4 or 5 members including the parents sharing a bedroom, living and kitchen area and a whole family in one room. In other situations, where the whole family shares the bedroom, living and kitchen area, the living area is converted into a bedroom in the night for the children. The building layouts depends on the size of family, comprises of two wings, with a lobby partitioning the wings [see fig 7.9; p. 250]. A wing usually contains the public area which includes: living and kitchen area, while the other wing is the private area which comprises of bedrooms depending on the size of the family. It is a common practice for this layout to have a room to let, because of its economic advantages (Interview Ajegunle Resident 4).

The room to let seems to serve as an additional income for the family which contributes to the re-developing of the building into the next stage. As observed and documented during the field trip:

> The internal compositions of the house are made of simple materials. Calendar pages are used as wall paper for aesthetic and functional purposes. The calendars beautify the rooms with images of mansions, which reflect the aspirations of the owner. There are window spaces of (700mm by 700mm) that are protected by plastic sheets or glass window blades depending on the financial capability of the owner. Wood is the main building material used in this community. This is due to: short span for construction, easy construction methods, flexible for re-adaptation of a space to incorporate extra or reduce functions, affordability and re-usability for other purposes (Observation Ajegunle Field note 4).

In addition to these building construction advantages, as observed:

> There are wood factories available in the surrounding community, for the conversion of the log of wood to wooden planks for construction purposes. This makes wood readily available in the community as a construction material and also informs the use of "saw dust" which is a by-product of the wood processing for filling in the construction processes. The availability of wood has generated a business, which has contributed to the micro economy of the community. Based on the amount of the construction that is done in these communities, there has been a high demand for this building material. This informed another business enterprise that supplies the wood and recycles the saw dust as part of the materials used for filling in the construction processes. This wood trade also employs members of the communities, as such contributing to the micro-economy of the community (Observation Ajegunle Field note 2).

The construction personnel further commented on the foundation and other phases of building:

> The buildings are also made of wooden floor, which is raised from the street level at about (900mm) high, in order to reduce the risk of flooding. At this phase of construction, the roofing is a simple "lean to roof", that spans the length of the building

> on a single pitch that leans between two walls. Depending on the phase of development, the materials used for the roofing, ranges from recycled sheet of different grades of plastic or corrugated iron sheet. Also, other layouts have more rooms with the central lobby and a "gable roof" that spans across the shorter part of the building; which is the front elevation (Interview Ajegunle Resident 4).

This gives an impression of a raised height, which seems to contribute to the psychological satisfaction or a sense of achievement for the "landlord" (see fig 7.9; p. 250). After this phase of development that appears to be the longest period, the landlord moves to the final completion, which was explained by the construction personnel:

> This final completion entails the removal of the wood and being replaced by brick walls. The wooden beams that are used for the foundation are also stripped and replaced with a raised foundation, made with concrete and specified reinforcement. The levels of the foundation, which includes: foundation concrete, hard core filling and the ground floor concrete are constructed at standard measurements. The building could be used for a while, before the plastering and other finishing touches is applied. Apart from the financial reason for the phase-type of construction, the terrain of the community informs the construction system. Based on the flooding associated with their environment, it would be more expensive to sand fill the environment before construction (Interview Ajegunle Resident 4).

Furthermore, the buildings, construction system and other landscape constructions, response to the topography, contour and character of the environment. This discussion appears to suggest that the Ajegunle community is not deteriorating, rather, it is at the initial phase of its physical development. (**Source**: The information on the construction is based on the observation of construction processes and interview with the construction personnel. This fulfils the phenomenological understanding of Ajegunle community (see pp. 162–165). The information collected links to cultural technology developed by the residents of Ajegunle community, as survival methods in their existing housing condition see pp. 210–222).

Resilience of the residents of Ajegunle community

The Local Government representative claims that despite the economic struggle of the people of Ajegunle, there have been a higher number of successes recorded in the Local Government compared to others by commenting that:

> Among the people living in the community are the doctors, accountants, bankers who have fully integrated into the macro-economic sector of the society. There are also talents who have been discovered, which have represented the nation in different social activities. Ajegunle has provided the Nigerian nation with successful artists and footballers (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

This seems to be attributed to the resilience that has been informed by the circumstances in their built environment and has translated into an appetite for success. As a result, there is a zeal displayed by the residents of Ajegunle, which is transferred and used to tackle challenges in different areas of life. These areas of life comprise of educational, professional, business or talent related volition. As a connection to African philosophy, this sustains the importance of a name and the effect on the attitude of the bearer (see pp. 177–179). The co-ordinator of Ajegunle made a connection between the community's name and its residence:

> The traditional name of Ajegunle community is "*Alaya bi Agba*". This is interpreted as someone who possesses a heart of an elder, which suggest ability to take on challenges. Generally, "Ajegunle" suggests where riches are situated. Connecting this interpretation with the meaning of the traditional name of the community implies an opposite condition to riches, which is the urban housing condition of the community. However, beyond the urban housing condition position, which is temporal and not the final outlook of the community, it is understood that if you have a heart that can tackle challenges, then riches will be situated in the community. The people's resilience connects to an ability to take on challenges and their existing survival methods demonstrate their capability to survive in the conditions set by their built environment. This reflects on the potential for "riches" to be situated in the community (Interview Ajegunle Resident 1).

There seems to be a reflection of the meaning of "Ajegunle" as where riches are situated and "*Alaya bi Agba*" as the ability to tackle challenges in the social, cultural and economic activities of the community. The multi-ethnic composition of the community also contributes to resilience of the people in a challenging urban situation. As observed:

> There is a complex relationship of competition and unity, to achieve a set of aims for the community, which appears to generate harmony among the people based on the communal intention of developing their community. As a result, the residents of the community perceive themselves as a unit (Observation Ajegunle Field note 4).

This unit, according to the welfare personnel of Ajegunle is regarded to as "family". He further explains the concept of family and its effect on the community:

> Family is used in a complex manner in Ajegunle community. A whole community is referred to as family. This family comprises of over 5,000 residents. A family unit can contain over 50 different ethnic backgrounds, but the community and the collective responsibility to tackle the urban housing crisis, seems to serve as a melting point for any ethnic differences (Interview Ajegunle Resident 3).

The different ethnic backgrounds and differences are bonded together by the philosophy and tenets of the Ajegunle community. The people adopt and express the socio cultural core meanings of the community by challenging the conditions of their built environment. As a result, there is a potential to generate wealth in the community. This complex arrangement referred to as "family" ensures that they maximise the profit from their micro-economy and ensures feedback on education of their children and other aspects of life (see pp. 294–297). "Family" maintains the internal security of the Ajegunle community. For example, as observed, 'it is understood among the people that families do not steal from each other, they protect each other and ensure trust in business' (Observation Ajegunle Field note 2). This understanding is part of the underlying principle that has enabled a secured society and also facilitated methods developed in business and other parts of the general liveability of the people. (**Source**: This information was gathered through observation and the interview with the Ajegunle residents and the local Government staff. This aspect of the analysis, contributes to the phenomenological "intentionality" of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 163–164). Furthermore, the African aspect of African phenomenology brought the attention to this aspect of Ajegunle community by connecting the resilience displayed in their general liveability to internal elements of the community. By so doing, highlights part of their lived experience)

Security in Ajegunle community

As regard security in Ajegunle community, before a proposed residence is accepted into the community, the security personnel (see p. 302) of the community will perform a residential check history. As explained by the security personnel, this process entails:

> Comparing the information given by the prospective resident with information collected from the previous landlord. Part of the questions asked during the residential interview includes: Where was your recent residence? Why did you leave your recent residence? What is your job? Why do you want to live in the community? These questions are confirmed by investigating the giving information, before this proposed resident is admitted by the general community. After this, there is an introductory meeting where the person is shown to all members of the community and given a responsibility in the community. Also, any landlord who admits a tenant without following this process attracts heavy fine. This transparency and strict regulations in the community, ensures that a new member of the community does not weaken the existing security and its strategy. This introduction situates the new member as part of the agents of security for the community (Interview Ajegunle Resident 2).

Beyond the "streets"; serving as a physical urban partition, there appears to be an internal system that makes the community a combination of "neighbourhoods" with a sense of unity. This collective responsibility informs a community bond that has affected the other aspects of the general liveability of the community. As suggested by the Local Government and the communities, it was acknowledged that the communities that have this strong notion of "family", which is labelled as "slum", are more secure than the inner part of the urban setting (see pp. 286–287). (**Source**: This information was gathered through interviews with the members of the Community Development Association. The information deepens understanding of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, by so doing, phenomenologically understanding the community (see pp. 162–165). It also links to the cultural technology developed by the Ajegunle resident see pp. 210–222)

Micro-economy of Ajegunle community

The micro-economy of Ajegunle community reflects a concentric mechanism that ensures optimum profit for the community. As observed during different times of the day and corroborated by the welfare personnel of the community, the micro-economy of the community is optimized by different systems of business arranged in a concentric manner, in which:

> The residents know that in order for a particular family to sustain themselves, they would need to buy breakfast from the family that prepares breakfasts for business. This entails a particular family providing the breakfast for the community. This is repeated for lunch

> and dinner. The business in the community, involves a system of networks of different people selling different things at different times of the day. In the mornings, there is a linear arrangement of different people selling varieties of different types of breakfast. In addition, during lunch and dinner, there are other linear arrangements, which cater for choice and simultaneously ensure maximum profit for the sellers, because they are not selling the same item. This network involves, different families, providing breakfast, lunch, dinner, snacks and homoeopathy at different times of the day. Each unit of business comprises up to 5 people and there can be 40 units of business on each shift. This system ensures that 200 people are on shift daily, providing different types of business. There is up to 5 shifts in a day. For the early morning, shift that will provide food for the school students is between 5am to 10am. The late morning shift that will provide services for the residents going to work and snacks for students during noon time, is between 10am to 3pm. For dinner, after school tutorials for children, after school services for the community and construction in the community, the time is between 3pm-8pm. The early evening services of the community, which entails homoeopathy and feedback on the different parts of the communities among the representatives, ranges from 8pm to 1am. The late night services, which entail preparation for the early morning services, cutting of wood for meal preparation, cleaning of toilets and baths, and alcohol clubs are between 1am–5am. These services overlaps and some services like construction is carried out based on other factors, which include, weather and availability of building materials (Observation Field note 2).

Each shift plays an important role in the social processes of the communities. Apart from this network of business that is directly linked to the community, there are professionals and government employees who are referred to as "working class". This micro-business connected to the general liveability of the people ensures that over 1000 people are at work everyday. The profit in this micro-economy is generated to the optimum by ensuring a concentric business pattern, which ensures that different business serve people at different periods and business of the same character are not repeated at the same period. This provides an environment for positive competition and also ensures maximum profit in the business. (**Source**: The information was gathered through observation of the Ajegunle community and corroborated with the welfare personnel. Thus, it deepens the understanding of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, which contributes to the phenomenological description and essentiality of their general liveability (see pp. 162–165). It also relates to cultural technology, as explored by this study, which is a result of the ethnomethodological understanding arranged under the phenomenological approach see pp. 159–161).

Education in Ajegunle community

As regard education, in Ajegunle community there seems to be a willingness on behalf of the children to engage in education. Education for the children is delivered through the formal education processes which involve attending schools and the informal education is provided by the community. The welfare personnel of the community commented on the importance of education:

> Based on the Local Government initiative on primary school education as a prerequisite formal education for children, the community is surrounded with over 200 primary schools. The perception of education as a symbol of wealth and status encourages the community to send their children to school (Interview Ajegunle Resident 3).

To reflect on the importance of education, the welfare personnel further commented that:

> All the 5000 units of houses have a graduate from a higher institution. There is also a feedback system from primary level of education to the community, through the representative of the community. The formal education is in the form of schools that are provided by the Government and part of the social activities in the community is attending the schools. Education in this community is not an option, it is mandatory for all children to attend school (Interview Ajegunle Resident 3).

It is also understood by the people that engaging the children with school activities, prepares the children for the challenges of the macro-economy and also serves as a deterrent against exploring the negative aspects of an urban community. It discourages them from engaging in youthful exuberance that will affect their positive aims towards achieving a successful life. Education also seems to serve as an escape, from negative effects of their present condition and positions their children for better opportunities.

To support the formal education, there is another system of informal education that complements the formal education and ensures that the children are progressing based on the education in their schools. Part of this informal method developed is explored in the general perception of the image (see pp. 256–258), which is a community that appears to be

in poverty with a child hawking in Africa without any hope of integration into the ideal urban world. As observed and supported by the welfare personnel:

> Beyond this view, is a girl involved in a social mechanism developed by the people to ensure that their children achieve an adequate education. She moves from one doorstep to another within the community with her lunch pack in a black plastic bag. The colourful vegetables are the tools to test her quantitative aptitude. They converse in English in order to assess her verbal reasoning. During this process, the other families within the community are responsible to engage the children in an investigation. The outcome is then fed back into a community system in order to improve on the children's education (Observation Field note 3).

This reinforces the formal education with a feedback system, which highlights difficulties and encourages the positive effects of the formal education, to improve the level of formal education available for the children. (**Source**: The information was gathered from the observation of the Ajegunle residents and interview with the welfare personnel. By so doing, it explores their lived experience. This relates to ethnomethodology, as arranged under phenomenology. Thus, revealing a cultural technology developed by the Ajegunle residents, as part of survival methods, within their existing condition (see pp. 289–297). These discussions on cultural technology fulfil part of the contribution to knowledge by bringing to the academic sphere, the survival strategies developed by the Ajegunle residents see p. 34).

CONCLUSION

Chapter six and seven draws from the analysis of the Ajegunle community and existing housing policies and programmes. An understanding of the Ajegunle community is constructed by explaining the factors on the part of government that led to the formulation of this informal settlement. This separates the Ajegunle community from the generic interpretation by the Government as slums (see Gandy, 2006), which have led to its neglect and attempted eradication. This chapter proceed by connecting the different patterns formed from the analysis of Ajegunle community in relation to the African phenomenological understanding and the comments gathered from the photographic exhibition used to support

the analytical process. It illuminates the complexities within the social systems embedded in the internal composition of the Ajegunle community. Themes are also drawn from the comments of the photographic exhibition. These themes and the comments are used to strengthen the findings from the case study and the arguments that relates to the existing housing policies and programmes. The analysis of the case study which involves the photographic exhibition and the different patterns that evolved from the full complexity of housing in Ajegunle community are used to challenge the existing notions that label this informal settlement as slums. Furthermore, the themes generated from the analysis of Ajegunle based on the African phenomenological understanding sets the platform, and directly connects to the culturally informed-framework developed (further discussed in chapter eight).

The findings from the existing housing policy and programme by the Government demonstrates that there have been a misunderstanding of what housing means to the people and how housing can be delivered to the Nigerian population. The colonial regime was not interested in the responsibility of housing the Nigerian population that was not within the colonial "working class" (see p. 99; pp. 107–108). This reflects in the comment from the photographic exhibition of this study (see p. 260), 'Colonial have gone. Why have there people been left in such condition?' During the colonial regime, the policies formulated were to accommodate the immediate members of the colonial administration. In line with the colonial position on housing, in the First National Development plan (1962–1968), the Government officials occupied the houses that were left by the colonial administrators and their policies also imitated the colonial administration by providing houses for the elite of the community (see pp. 108–109). Thus, the housing policies were designed to favour the high income earners in the community. The Second National Development Plan (1970–1974) proliferated in the provision of houses without any form of empirical structure to support

their approach. The approach seems to be quantitative; lack any form of mathematical principle and they recorded minimal success based on methods deployed to achieve the housing implementation, which was also corrupt and deficient of transparency (see pp. 108–110). While the Third National Development Plan (1975–1980) was the foundation for the Government to accept the responsibility of housing provision for the Nigerian populace (see pp. 110–111), the Fourth National Development plan (1980–1985) formally created the Nigerian housing policy (see pp. 111–112). The quantitative approach towards housing implementation continued and these periods recorded minimal success (see pp. 112–113).

During 1986 to 1990 the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) affected the Government approach towards housing. The Government disengaged from the production of housing and did not control the private sector, which capitalized on the existing urban housing situation (see pp. 133–134). Furthermore, the National Housing Policy of the past governments did not incorporate the State Government to support the implementation process (see pp. 164–166). The new National Housing policy (1991) and its subsequent variations in 2002 and 2004, further developed existing local thrift, credit, and mutual finance associations as vehicles for financing housing. It claimed that all relevant strategies are formulated to implement the low income housing scheme (see pp. 111–113). The private sectors commoditize the housing sector, which resulted in the high rate of rent. This affected housing and provided a platform for people to initiate other ways of achieving housing at an affordable rate and within their income. Thus, it led to the development of sites in Ajegunle and other parts of Lagos. Where the informal settlements are not "deteriorated buildings" as expressed in the definition of slums (see pp. 66–71) and comments from the photographic images (see p. 240), 'I would be curious to know why the environment ends up so deteriorated'. However, the buildings are in the initial phase of its construction and not a deterioration of housing that was formally in an ideal condition (see pp. 289–291). This form

of construction which includes building construction from one phase to the other, within an affordable budget based on the income, is a response to the failures of the national housing policies and the programmes that resulted from the various housing plans.

The recent announcement by the Government of building 500 houses in each senatorial district reinforces the position that, the Government of Nigeria continues to misunderstand the nuances of housing and its specific application to the Nigerian urban setting (see pp. 112–113). As part of this misunderstanding of the Government, a mortgage finance model which seems not to conform to neither the micro-economy nor the social processes were imposed on the people. For example, the Government aimed during the National Development plans (see pp. 118–122) and the National Housing policy to enhance financial contribution to housing, for citizens through the support of cooperative societies. This finance mortgage system was re-designed into mortgage banks, loan, co-operative society and financial schemes (see pp. 112–113). Part of the direct intervention by the Government, is the policy of direct construction of houses. The Government planned this at a period when the Federal economy was unstable. As the financial resources of the state dwindled, the direct construction of houses by the state has declined, leaving housing provision for the market forces to dictate. Thus, the expenditure of billions of Naira has only resulted in the construction of expensive dwelling units, while targets have not been met due to corruption within the Government (see pp. 153–155). These financial schemes and direct approach by the Government, appears to have contributed to the un-affordability of housing because it added to its commoditization. As a result, it raised the financial implication of the implementation process for housing, whereby the low income earners and part of the middle income could not afford housing.

This convoluted situation of un-affordability due to the Government's housing scheme appears to have informed the form of housing and informal settlement developed by the people. An example of this type of informal settlement is Ajegunle community, which is the case of this study. This demonstrates that the residents of the community understand the intricacies of processes involved in the delivery of housing, in a way that it does not affect or burden their general liveability (see pp. 261–297). They have the ability to negotiate the complexities within the provision of housing. Due to this colloquial understanding, the people have developed a sustainable housing system, which relates the processes involved in housing delivery with the general liveability of the community. The methods deployed ensured the provision of housing, within an affordable budget by compartmentalizing the different parts of housing construction into manageable elements that is blended into their socio-cultural activities. This system of building is reflected in the discussion of construction processes in Ajegunle community, whereby the construction of buildings is done in phases, to respond to the financial capability and other factors within the community (see pp. 289–291). By so doing, housing is an expression of their culture, because the processes involved and the aspiration that motivates it reflects the deepened meanings embedded in their philosophy and specific cultural needs (see pp. 52–57). To explain the cultural element within the community, the movement or the migration of people towards an urban core appears to be a natural phenomenon (see p. 4). As a result of this migration the composition of informal settlements is a particular form of housing evolution that results from these movements. These informal settlements and the processes involved are dubbed by the Government as illegal. This illegality has been connected with the form and the composition of these communities. However, as explained by Rapoport, this informal settlement is "selectionist" in form (see pp. 169–172), which is a natural process of housing evolution that considers the cultural element of the resident. Because of the complexities associated with

the management of these informal settlements, the Government appears to have labelled it as slums. As a result, this will give a simple solution of "eradication" to complex urban system that needs an empirical understanding, to illuminate the internal socio-cultural systems within the community.

Part of the misunderstanding expressed by the Government is the solution deployed in Nigeria during the previous National Development plans (see pp. 107–112), National Housing policy and the recent housing schemes by the Government. This is referred to as "eradication of slums" by the Government. Informal settlement eradication has been in Lagos since the colonial regime (see p. 99), this continued because of the extent of the existing urban housing crisis. For instance, between 1956 and 1960, attempts were made by the Federal Government of Nigeria to develop present new areas in Lagos. The aftermath of this action resulted into *Maroko* informal settlement (Adejumobi, 2000). Adejumobi also commented that between 1983 and 1985 the *Ije* informal settlement was demolished to give way to new housing development. He further suggested that, again *Maroko* and Ajegunle re-developed after they were demolished in July 1990 after the Government ordered its demolition to develop a better environment. In addition to this, he suggested that despite this claim, the Government developed some of the eradicated "slums" and constructed houses that were not affordable by the low and middle income earners in the community. The invasion of informal settlement by the Government can be perceived as an attack on people's private property. Government overlooks and underestimates the desire demonstrated by the communities to own their "home". Government policies towards informal settlement attempt to eradicate the informal settlements and do not have concrete plans for the people to either re-house or help them to build their own homes. These attitudes are reflected in the policies adopted towards the informal settlements, where complete eradication was demanded and actioned in these communities (Adejumobi, 2000).

The evicted population usually starts another form of settlement or re-develop the communities that were eradicated as expressed in the case of *Maroko* and Ajegunle.

The Government appears to ignore these informal settlements, because it is a cheaper option for the Government to disregard the communities than to provide housing. As a result, the complexities associated with informal settlement are ignored, thereby contributing to the lack of understanding of the Government. This is justified by the Government based on illegality of the settlement and lack of connection to the macro-economy of the urban setting. Furthermore, the Government claims that the inner-city land is needed for office development, and outlying areas would be suitable to be developed as middle-class suburbs. These housing policies which encourage eradication, reflects the lack of understanding by the Government of the complexities associated with social processes of the informal communities. Eradication appears not to solve the problems associated with the existing housing crisis. This informal process is repeated by the residents of the informal settlements. Thus, another informal settlement will be created either on the site that was cleared or on another site that will be dubbed unsuitable by the Government. The promises associated with eradication, suggest the re-housing of the residents that were affected. Some of the sites that were re-developed were a minimal fraction of the houses needed (see p. 302). Thus, the completed buildings are occupied by those with high income, as they are beyond the low and middle income earners. By so doing, the government has forcefully displaced the informal form of evolution of the city with the formal system.

The "selectionism" (see pp. 169–172) form of city evolution which is the informal system of housing development has been replaced by the "instructionism", which is created and planned by professionals in the built environment, which includes: planners, architects and quantity surveyors. Thus the "housing" built tends to be expensive because architects and

planners insist on maintaining standards of construction and systems of building that were imported and imposed, which does not conform to the social processes within the community. Furthermore, because of the financial agencies, private developers and the Government seek a quick return on their investment, thereby commoditizing housing (see pp. 298–299). The exorbitant deposits and short-term repayment of mortgages were requested. This led to the un-affordability of housing for the low and part of the middle income earners. Part of the re-housing schemes that were developed by the Government in Nigeria (see p. 302) was abandoned by the people. As a result, the high level of mortgage repayment and lack of strategic positioning of the housing scheme by the Government contributed to the abandoning of the housing programmes by the people. It seems that the forced replacement of the informal system (selectionism) of city evolution with the formal system of the city (instructionism) as adopted by the Government, contributes to the core of existing urban housing crisis. The Ajegunle experience demonstrates that the residents of the informal settlements will continue, and have formed new informal settlements in other locations. As a result, the Government lacks understanding of the informal form of settlement, as a type of human settlement, which evolved through the response of the people to the existing urban housing crisis and the failure of the government in housing delivery. Thus, the Government interprets the imported ideas of the formal form of city evolution as the only form of housing development. This connects with the Government's representative comment, suggesting that, 'the exposure of the Local Government leaders by travelling to developed countries and adopting the ideas from these countries' (p. 274). Consequently, the imposed government's ideas, eradicates any other type of settlement that does not conform to the formal processes. By so doing, the Government housing policies and implemented programmes reflects the formal (instructionist) type of city evolution. On the other hand, because there is a difference between what housing means to the people and what the

Government perceived housing to be for the people, the residents developed housing processes that conform with their own social processes.

This lack of understanding and the opposite perception of what housing is by the Government, convolutes the existing urban housing condition and also makes its nature contiguous (see pp. 17–20). This chapter suggests that the Government housing policy should not be an importation or imposition of a housing model that does not conform or consider the cultural nuances of the people. It stresses that the perceptions of the Government as policy makers is important, to determine the success or failure of policy formulation and its implementation. The Government perceptions of the internal conditions of a community and the understanding of the external influences exerted by the Government inform the success of the policy.

In addition, there is the need for understanding policy as the construction of a system that is attentive and responds to the needs of the people and not a forcible instrument of government for the implementation of political or biased agendas. The Government should put the needs of the people at the core of processes involved in the formulation of policy. Even though housing is a fundamental human need, and the Government accepted the responsibility of its provision in Nigeria (see pp. 108–110), housing serves an additional cultural function, which is central to the residents, as discovered by this study. This cultural function is embedded in the social experiences of the people, as such it makes housing a symbolic register for their lived experience (see pp. 52–57). The added function of housing to its generic fundamental importance elevates its significance in south-western Nigeria. Ajegunle community appears not to be a slum as expressed by this study (see pp. 77–84). It is a response of the people to the existing housing condition, because there was a gap in understanding between the Government and the residents. The Government should not

view this informal settlement (Ajegunle community) as slums. However, the informal settlements should be treated as a "case", to understand: the methods (cultural technologies) deployed by people to achieve housing (see pp. 289–297); the foundation for understanding the intricacies and complexities involved in housing provision and delivery in the informal communities (see pp. 289–297) and the informal settlement as a subset, and an integral section of the urban setting, which contributes to the macro- economy and its other parts (see pp. 83–87; pp. 112–113).

The Nigerian government does not need to import housing policies. The Cabrini-Green case as discussed earlier (see pp. 129–130), demonstrates that the importation of housing policies without understanding its context, can affect and deepen the challenges associated with an urban housing crisis. The Government, instead of eradication of this new form of informal settlement should focus and consider them as the empirical grounds for formulating policies. The findings from Ajegunle community, shows that based on the similarities between the physicality of an urban housing in deterioration and the Ajegunle community, which is in upward progression, there have been a misunderstanding of the complexities of this informal settlement. The population explosion and other factors that contribute to teeming population of Lagos, have effected the development of an urban form with similar physical characteristics of urban housing crisis, but also containing a complex internal survival strategy. People living in these areas, which is labelled as "slums" are misunderstood by the Government formulating policies and the professionals who has the administrative knowledge to improve their environment.

Observers, has characterised the residents of informal settlements as marginally skilled people who do not adapt to the urban setting (Lewis, 1966). Slum dwellers were suggested to be a burden to the existing social structure and a potential threat to the social and political

relations of the urban dwellers (see pp. 92–95). This negative perception affected the understanding of the Government and the professionals in the African built environment. It has informed their negative attitude towards the society by providing minimal support and by the eradication of these communities labelled as "slums". The findings from the photographic exhibition of photographs, gathered from the case study, have challenged this generalised negative perception of the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. The major themes generated from the perceptions of the audience at the photographic exhibition include:

- *Perception based on the physical condition*. The comments that suggest this view include: 'Shelter and rubbish. Is that living? Is that liveable?'; 'Shanty structure'; 'I am sure it is Africa, but could be Mexico or Manile. It is poverty, although with a pinch of colour'. These comments suggest a perception of the Ajegunle community based on the general view of Africa and other countries as communities in poverty. As a result, the physical conditions as perceived by some of the audience are evidence to demonstrate the assumed chaotic and impoverished condition of the residents in the Ajegunle community. Furthermore, the comment, 'I would be curious to know why the environment ends up so deteriorated', suggest that the Ajegunle situation is perceived as an inner city slum. Based on the word "deterioration" used in the comment, which captures the definition of inner city slum and other similar slum situations, as an urban housing that deteriorated into an urban housing crisis condition (see p. 240).

- *Perception as a piece of art* includes: 'A thought provoking collage of images'; 'Look at the inner decoration! It's fashionable with vivid colours and artistically graphic design'. This artistic perception moves away from the general view of Africa as

connected to poverty and uses the elements within the photographs and its composition to suggest a form of art. That said, the "paper" from the pages of a calendar that seems to have an artistic alignment to the audience, and used in the interior of the buildings in Ajegunle community, has a functional and aesthetic purpose for the users (see pp. 254–255). The comment suggests that there is an underlying method used to achieve a level of comfort in interiors of the building, which collectively formed, and has been perceived as a piece of art. This is connected with the cultural position of the efforts of the Ajegunle residents in developing housing for themselves within an existing urban housing condition. It relates to the buildings and its elements as being a cultural expression. An example of this is the work of Miller, as discussed earlier in this study (see pp. 215–216).

- *Political perception of the Ajegunle community* included: 'Colonials have gone. Why have there people been left in such condition?' This position explores the effects of colonization on Africa. That said, it does not imply that the colonials intended or created the existing crisis situation. It suggests that there should have been an improved understanding of the existing urban housing crisis, because the people's government primary interest should be the welfare of its citizens.

- *Economic perception of the Ajegunle community* included: 'Is this safe? What is the life expectancy? What are their jobs? ; 'Contradictions in the evident and obvious poverty versus the power cable'. These are issues that relate to the economy and well-being of the residents of the community. It opens up the relationships between the micro-economy of Ajegunle community and the macro-economy of the wider urban setting. These questions are being asked based on the physical condition which suggests poverty. This also connects with the perception based on the physical condition.

- *Social perception*, where there are social activities that demonstrate the general liveability and social processes involved in a community includes: 'Order and pride holding back the tide of rubbish; Beautiful turquoise paint colour enlivens the weathered timber; Washing and cleaning cloths, drying reinforce the love with which someone looks after this – it feels like a loved home not just a shank'. This perception captures the social activities in the community as part of their general liveability. It perceives and understands the community through the social processes, which suggests a sense of home deeper than the generic perception based on the existing housing crisis within the community. Other comments, which asked questions about the effect of the existing urban condition on the residents include: 'The slum is their home. Are they prove of its physicality? Are they repulsed by it? What are their hopes and dreams? Have they been destroyed by reality?' This social perception relates to the integral meaning of housing and its embedded function in the Ajegunle community. It examines the essentiality of processes involved and the effects of the physicality of the built environment on their general liveability.

- 'Interesting to see so much cultural information in one image', as a comment, suggest a *cultural perception of the community***.** This cultural position suggests elements of the community that depicts a connection to the culture of a particular people. This view uses symbols, which relates to the patterns on the buildings within the community to suggest a specific material culture for the residents of the Ajegunle community. That said, this study concentrates on culture as the effort of the people and the methods used to achieve a general liveability. In part, this comment on culture is connected to the understanding of culture (see pp. 213–216), because the elements interpreted as cultural materials are a product of the social processes involved in the lived experience of the people.

- *Aspiration perception*, which views the Ajegunle residents beyond the physical condition of the community includes: 'Aspiration: A little rough around the edges'; 'Aspirations amongst the squalor – classical pillars and arches , wrought iron doors, ornate roof shape – great effort to use above circumstances of life, improve living conditions to what occupant would aspire to achieve'. This view moves beyond the physical condition of the community. It perceives the exterior and interior elements of the community which includes: the details in the front elevations of the buildings, the materials, methods and styles used for the construction of their buildings. These communicate to the audience of the photographic exhibition: aspiration, resilience and survival strategies used in the existing condition by the residents of the community.

These analyses establish that the perception of existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community is related to the physical elements of the housing conditions and deeper than the assumed characteristics of a community labelled as a "slum". Some of the perceptions of the Ajegunle community, which include the economic and physical perspectives, imply a negative position on communities with a similar physical condition of an urban housing crisis (see pp. 308–309). This position appears to have been informed by a wider negativity towards other similar physical housing situations in the world. The deterioration characteristic of the similar housing conditions appears to have been generalised, as such it is used to capture the upward progression within the complexities of the Ajegunle community. Due to this misunderstanding, the Ajegunle community has been dubbed as slum, to imply that it is in a deteriorating condition. However, beyond this position is the aspiration perspective of the Ajegunle community that identifies the upward progression of the community and challenges Oscar Lewis assertion on the generic implication of a slum without considering the context.

Lewis (1963; 1964; 1966) maintained the position that slum dwellers were a burden to the existing social structure and a potential threat to the social and political relations of the urban dwellers (see pp. 92–95). He argues that "culture of poverty" has been the characteristic of the slum communities. He also suggests that the physical condition of the slums is linked to the psychological status of the slum dwellers, which inhibits their economic progression (Lewis, 1966). This notion of "culture of poverty" as a condition that limits the upward progression of slum residents is also reflected in the comment from the photographic exhibition (see p. 242), which suggests that, 'the built environment frames existence, regardless of the socio-economic conditions you were born in. The kids will grow up in that context and will find a reflection of their self in the makeshift shacks. Fair or unfair?' This appears to relate to the wider negativity towards communities experiencing the urban housing crisis, as such this interpretation has been cast upon new forms of informal settlement. These informal settlements as discovered by this study, appears not to be a "slum", but an upwardly mobile informal settlement, that has been developed as a response to the existing housing crisis. In order to challenge Lewis' claim and to strengthen the aspiration perception from the photographic exhibition, the survival strategy designed by the people is integral to this study. This survival strategy, previously referred to as "cultural technology", is deployed in different aspects which include:

- The economic concept of construction of buildings in phases, which responds to the socio-cultural nuances and the income of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 289–291).

- The processes involved and the development of houses affordable for the Ajegunle residents through their construction system (see pp. 282–284).

- The internal strategy developed in relation to education whereby an informal social system supports the existing formal education to ensure adequate education for their children (see pp. 296–297).

- Land tenement system which is referred to as "renewal of receipt" ensures security of land ownership for the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 282–284).

- The internal system that checks the residential history of new tenants and presents them to the community to ensure the wider security of the community (see pp. 293–294).

- The internal network system that ensures maximum profit for the community demonstrates the aspiration and resilience of the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 112–113).

These methods were considered as part of the survival strategies by the residents and as an effort made to have an upward progression in their present condition. Based on this effort by the people, the Ajegunle community is not restricted in their present condition, rather they build in phases, to achieve a desired aspiration of home ownership. Although the present condition seems to be in crisis, which is furnished with challenges informed by their present circumstance, the Ajegunle community is in a phase of its developmental transition. This discussion highlights aspects of the resilience of the inhabitants of the urban community in an existing housing crisis condition (see pp. 118–122). It sustains the different aspects of the community as an integral part of the complex system, which separates Ajegunle community from the generic interpretation as a slum. Also, by discussing these survival strategies as cultural technologies used (see pp. 210–297), by so doing, bringing it to the academic sphere, has fulfilled part of the secondary contribution to knowledge (see pp.

33–35). Beyond the general perception of chaos in the community, are the aspiration and resilience exhibited by the community. The photographic exhibition demonstrated that the physical condition of the Ajegunle community, informs questions that relate to poverty and its effect on the community (see pp. 248–261). The perceptions based on the physical condition, economy and politics, suggest that poverty has been directly connected to the urban housing condition (see pp. 83–85). As a result, it has been assumed that the existing urban housing condition is an evidence to demonstrate poverty in Ajegunle and other African communities. However, the approach adopted by the people in the existing urban housing crisis and the notion of aspiration and the social perception (see pp. 308–312), as part of the information gathered for the study appears to separate Ajegunle community from generic understanding of slum.

This challenges the negative perception and the notion of "culture of poverty" within communities experiencing an urban housing crisis. As a result, illuminating the role of the resilience displayed and the survival strategies deployed by the people within an existing housing crisis condition (see pp. 261–297). The survival strategies in the social processes appear to have formed a colloquial framework guiding the micro-economy, education, urban and spatial form of the Ajegunle community. Establishing the role of the effort of the Ajegunle residents in their community, contributes to its sustainable development. As a result, it opens up the plausibility of the human elements, as an important part in deepening the understanding of, and reducing the effects of urban housing crisis in the built environment. These discussions drawn from the full complexity of urban housing, including the themes generated from the analysis of the Ajegunle case study (pp. 273–297), serves as the platform to develop a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies.

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CHAPTER EIGHT
Conclusion: Development of a culturally-informed framework

INTRODUCTION

The chapter fulfils the primary aim of this study by developing a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies, thus draws from:

- The introduction to the urban housing crisis (see pp. 1–20), which presents the research questions the study intends to tackle and serves as the background for the literature review, to have an understanding of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle.

- The context of the study, through the critical perspective on urban housing crisis by the contextualisation of the housing situation in Nigeria (see pp. 41–146). This serves as the literature review for the study, by understanding the core issues that relate to

housing and set the platform for the methodology of the study, to engage in the analysis of the Ajegunle community.

- The methodology that is expressed through the construction of a philosophical framework and a methodological approach, which involves the formulation of African phenomenology and an empirical development (see pp. 149–198). This serves as the instrument deployed by this study, to perform a systematic understanding of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. In addition, it serves as the link between the research questions developed and part of the secondary contribution to knowledge (see pp. 33–35).

- By so doing, the empirical analysis of the dynamics of housing arrives at the context of the issues that relate to the urban housing in the community (see pp. 210–297). These processes through which the study set the platform to accomplish its aim, fulfils the objectives of the study that entails, evaluating, understanding and analysing the existing factors and other issues that are related to the existing urban housing crisis (see pp. 31–33).

Additionally, the choice of Ajegunle as the case study, because of its complexity underpins the rich socio-cultural empirical material gathered (see pp. 26–30). The different elements of the analysis of Ajegunle community, including the empirical understanding within an African phenomenological setting (see pp. 273–297) contributes to the conclusion of this study by developing a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies in Nigeria. That said, the prospects for the future are explored by illuminating general lessons from the understanding of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community, as an advice for other built environments facing urban housing challenges. The chapter concludes by raising the need to re-explore the existing intellectual frames used to understand the form, evolution

and composition of the urban setting in developing countries. Thus, questioning the existing concepts of cities and suggesting the need for understanding the human element that contributes to the sustainability and composition of urban housing.

DEVELOPING A CULTURALLY-INFORMED FRAMEWORK

Findings are drawn from the understanding generated from the introduction, literature review, methodology and the analysis of the study, to construct a culturally-informed framework to inform future housing policies.

The statistics from the existing urban housing crisis in Africa and Lagos which this study focuses on, and as explored by chapter one, suggests that the region is in urban housing crisis. It appears that poor urban housing conditions are a global problem, but conditions are worst in developing countries. UN-Habitat (2003) reported that '1 billion people live in life and health threatening homes and two in every five residents of cities and towns live in shanty colonies' (p. 1). This represents about one third of the world's population, while the developing world has a substantial proportion of the urban population living in inadequate housing conditions (UN-Habitat, 2003). This housing condition has been suggested to be partly due to the urbanization and the over-population as a result of rural-urban migration in the region (see p. 4). In Lagos, rapid urbanisation which resulted into fast urban growth informed an increase in the number of people living in the urban areas (see p. 4). As such by 2010, more than 40 percent of the population was expected to live in the urban centres (UN-habitat, 2006). Thus, this urban condition seems to result into sub-standard form of housing, "non-modern" housing as described by the government representative, and poverty related living conditions (see p. 277), which was perceived as "slum", as such the communities were eradicated (see pp. 301–302). As a result, they received less attention from the Government,

which has the social responsibility of, or creating the platform to ease the housing of its entire citizen (see pp. 110–113). This government rejection of this informal community and the negative perception informed a challenging task for the residents to achieve a built environment. As such, a major part of their human resource seems to be contributed to develop their housing. In contrast to the negative perception of these informal communities and the attitude of the Government, is the human element (resilience; survival strategies; cultural technologies) of the built environment (see pp. 261–297), which challenges the existing negative perception of the community, labelled as slums.

Observers have claimed that the residents of the community have been psychologically programmed not to integrate into the macro urban setting, which is an effect informed by their physical urban housing condition (see pp. 92–95). This position informed a dilemma between the negative perception by the Government and observers of the physical condition of informal housing (Ajegunle community), and the same informal housing condition viewed differently by the residents. As such, the Ajegunle residents refuse to move out of their communities, despite threats from the Government (see pp. 301–302). This dilemma informed the need to ask the research questions of this study. As a result, the dilemma is captured in the use of Ajegunle community as a case, because of its particularity, uniqueness and complexity of its issues that relate to housing (see pp. 26–30; pp. 193–195). The research questions illuminated the prevalent nature, and the need to understand the underlying factors of the urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community (see pp. 8–9). Furthermore, the need to understand the dilemma between the cultural positions of the Ajegunle residents towards housing and the existing structures to support housing programme developed by the Government, contributes to the understanding within the study. By so doing, the research question informs the need to review literature that surrounds the contemporary, definition, historical and theoretical context of housing (discussed in chapter two). Thus the study

illuminated the human element of housing, role of the Government and the existing theories surrounding housing, as such these understanding contextualise the urban housing situation in Ajegunle community. The research question is expressed through a methodological corridor which does not only support the issues raised in the research question, but also sets the platform to express the core elements of housing, as these relate to Ajegunle community (discussed in chapter five). Thus, the research questions are linked to the analysis of the study, through the African phenomenological approach (see pp. 183–190), to arrive at a culturally-informed framework, which can be used to influence housing policies.

The discussions on housing which explored the definition and historical context of housing, as examined in chapter one, suggests that housing has been used to represent beyond a shelter or domestic connotation for residential purposes (see pp. 46–52). As such, housing has been related to the psychological, religious and social needs of human beings. This position appears to suggest that there is an organic human element to housing, which relates to the different aspects of human being's general liveability. As such, it is a living entity, which seems to be spontaneous and informal in its physical form and composition (see pp. 66–67). The phenomenon of spontaneous housing seems not to be a recent occurrence in Africa. It is a characteristic that evolved along with the cities' rapid growth as urban centres. That said, given the technical and financial means of the urban dwellers and the rural migrants in Africa, there seems to be limited resources available to them for the transition into the urban setting (see pp. 86–87). Thus, informing the contradiction that appears in the urban centres, where spontaneous informal housing has to share geographic and social space with formal elements of the urban landscape, which seems to reflect the interference of external influences on the natural evolution of cities in Africa. Moreover, the existing urbanisation of the south-western Nigerian towns (see pp. 139–140) before the impact of colonisation (see pp. 139–143) suggests that the composition of the cities is in consonance

with the general liveability of the people. Thus, the housing development seems to be in relation to the existing pattern of the communities' general liveability. This position suggests the argument that the natural process involved in the evolution of a city in a particular region cannot be eradicated, despite the growth, civilisation and industrialisation within the urban setting. This study is not suggesting that the formal process of an urban development, does not contribute positively to the development of a community. Nevertheless, the study suggests that spontaneous housing is the means by which part of the population adapts to the processes of city evolution within their general liveability. As a result, informal housing or spontaneous housing seems to be a way to adapt to the negative impact of urban growth. That said, there are types of these informal settlements which are associated with illegality, as such can be connected to a slum condition. The study described a typology of a slum situation in Nigeria (see pp. 72–77) and separated this understanding by categorising Ajegunle community not as slum (see pp. 77–84). The internal element of this particular type of informal housing that distinguishes it from the generic understanding of slum is also highlighted.

Spontaneous housing in the south-western Nigeria, have also adopted a market economy (see pp. 83–87). It is related to the overall structure of the Yoruba economy, which appears to reflect the differences between the formal, the informal sectors and their spatial structures as expressed in the landscape of the city (see pp. 83–87; pp. 169–172). These two sectors have different mechanisms to create their urban form. The formal sector seems to create an environment with a recognizable order with respect to form and structure. On the other hand, the informal sectors develop their distinctive form as a response, and in accordance to needs and abilities of the residents (see pp. 83–87; pp. 169–172). Thus the processes involved in spontaneous housing, serves as a foundation for understanding the informal settlement pattern in south-western Nigeria. These discussions relate to understanding the

existing housing condition in Ajegunle. The study also ventilated the notion of slum, its economy, the relationship between the slums and the city, urban housing shortage and urbanisation as a process of informal settlement (see pp. 66–71; pp. 139–140). It also examined existing theories that relate to the formation of human settlement, to establish the context of the Ajegunle situation (see pp. 169–172). Thus, sets the platform for the methodological approach to this study.

The study deployed a methodological approach that engages the internal elements of Ajegunle community, to further understand the human element of the existing housing crisis (see pp. 162–165). It combines the African philosophy and phenomenological approach, to arrive at African phenomenology, as the methodological approach to the study, which forms part of contribution to knowledge (see p. 34; pp. 179–181). Phenomenology, pinpoints at the lived experience that is related to the core of housing and does not make presumptions about the empirical information that will be gathered (see pp. 162–165). By so doing, phenomenology opens up the lived experience without biased interpretation, which allowed the study to examine the urban housing crisis, to arrive at a deepened insight. On the other hand, African philosophy maintained the "Africanness" within the empirical process, which allowed the study to do an analysis that puts into consideration the core meanings associated with the socio-cultural understanding of housing in Ajegunle community (see pp. 179–181). Part of the relationship between African philosophy and phenomenology is informed by two strands of phenomenology. These are reality construction as postulated by Schutz (1996) and the perception of knowledge from a phenomenological approach as explained by Berger and Luckmann (1966) (see pp. 158–160; pp. 185–186). These aspects of phenomenology, relates to African philosophy through the process by which African philosophy interprets society and knowledge. Arranged under the methodological framework is ethnomethodology, which is used to capture the cultural technology that refers to the survival methods, developed by

the Ajegunle residents in their urban housing condition (see pp. 159–161). Thus, by bringing the discussion to the academic sphere, forms part of the contribution to knowledge (see pp. 33–35). The study also positioned phenomenology as a method that operates within a theoretical orientation, which deducts from the empirical process (interview, observations and field notes) located within its frame (see pp. 191–196). The empirical development performed a systematic analysis of Ajegunle as a case study to clarify the variables that effected the lack of understanding of the existing situation. By so doing, establishing the patterns identified towards the re-understanding of the urban housing condition in Ajegunle community (see pp. 289–297).

The analysis of the complexity of the urban housing crisis focused on the role of the Government in the existing situation and the understanding of the human element by exploring the different aspects of the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle (see pp. 105–134; pp. 261–297). That said, these issues are interrelated and the chapter draws separately and concurrently from their analysis. The role of government in the existing urban housing crisis seems to comprise of deficient understanding of housing that has affected the housing programmes that was developed (see pp. 108–113). The past government in Nigeria appears to have been educated in a system that concentrates on the elites regarding urban housing, which affected the attitude towards provision of housing for other members of the society (see pp. 98–103; pp. 108–113). As a result, the approach of the Government by different regimes seems to lead to the provision of urban housing, whereby the solutions are inappropriate to the cultures for which they were proposed (see pp. 108–113). Thus, the different government regimes compounded the existing urban housing crisis by building layers of misunderstanding of the meaning and role of housing to the Nigerian people, whereby:

- The colonial legacy on housing policy was designed to favour the elite in the community (see pp. 98–99).

- There was minimal backing for housing programmes, even though housing was accepted as the social responsibility of the Government, there seems to be misappropriation of housing fund and the lack of understanding of housing delivery (see pp. 118–122).

- The perception of housing by the Government as a monolithic element, which does not have any specificity, as such the importation of ideas appears to be an imposition that did not respond to the needs of the people (see pp. 127–132).

- "Housing" provision and budgeting by the Government entailing other projects that seems to distract the Government from residential provision and other infrastructures to support it (see pp. 98–103).

- The development of housing programmes and policies, without any form of consultation or empirical procedure to gather information on housing and other elements that should be considered (see pp. 127–132).

- Lack of personnel that understand the dynamics of housing and its complexity, which can solidify and enhance the process of developing housing policies and programmes that will respond to the need of the people (see pp. 118–122).

These arguments reflect on the need of culture as a significant element in the process of housing decision. Thus, parts of the factors central to the existence of a community appear to be its governance and cultural realities. These entities contribute to different layers of activities that co-ordinate community's performance and its combination will support the

understanding of the urban housing crisis, its problematic form and also prevents the collapse of the community structure. Lagos has become pivotal to debates over the need to transform modes of urban governance as a prerequisite for social cohesion and economic development (Abiodun, 1997; Rakodi, 2002; Olukoju, 2003). The word "governance" seems to have been used loosely in African context, to encompass institutional context for economic liberalisation to a "grassroots' globalisation" agenda growing from explorations of the African society and community self -help organizations[20] (Gandy, 2006).

The concept of the Government as regards urban governance appears to have dominated the degree to which policies were formulated. As such, it seems to fail to recognise the variety of different social institutions and cultural networks within the communities, as the basis or contribution to the policy formulation process (see pp. 127–130). Much of the focus on good governance ignores the reason why the socio-cultural cohesion in the community, which results to social structure, exists in sub-Saharan Africa (Lockwood, 2005). In relation to the perception of the Government, the development of informal housing has been associated with the instability of the governance, where the social processes are related to the efforts and capacities of a community to provide basic services in the wake of various forms of "state failure" (Hyden and Bratton, 1992). Even though this study argues that the informal housing developed in Ajegunle is part of the reaction of the people to the action that did not respond to their needs, or lack of action by the Government (see pp. 77–84), beyond this position, is the additional cultural function that housing performs in the community.

It has been established that there is a need to consider the cultural element of the built environment (see pp. 5–6). This study explored housing theory and other cultural elements

[20] Compare for example, the World Bank's 1992 publication Governance and Development with more recent writings on grassroots globalisation (Appadurai, 2002). For critiques of the limitations to governance discourse (see Cleaver, 2001).

of the built environment as the basis for understanding the socio-cultural nuances of Ajegunle community (see pp. 52–57; pp. 169–172). In relation to the analysis of the form and composition of informal housing, selectionism as Rapoport described captures the informal settlement process in Ajegunle community. Spontaneity of housing also links to Rapoport's theory of selectionism (see pp. 169–172). Based on the historical trace of housing (see pp. 46–52) and Rapoport explanation of his theory on selectionism spontaneity seems to be a natural form of housing evolution (see pp. 66–67). As a result, the general liveability of the Ajegunle community is considered. Part of the reasons for this consideration is the link of general liveability to housing, which is reflected in the urbanisation of south-western Nigerian cities, where the form of housing is a consequence of the general liveability of the people (see pp. 139–140). Ajegunle community gradually developed by combining different social activities, which involved activity system that comprises of lifestyles and meanings. This lifestyle and meanings include the cultural technology developed within the community, as part of the survival strategy, which include the phase form of construction, informal strategy to enhance education and the "renewal of receipt" as a concentric form of renewing land ownership (see pp. 261–297). Thus, the socio-cultural processes generated a culture, which communicated a form of status and identity for the people. These elements are expressed through housing, which demonstrates the "human" architecture used to achieve a sense of "homeness". In addition, the vernacular environment in which this community is situated sets the background for this accomplishment. It is the subset of a larger system of settings that cultivates housing as an expression of culture. This environment facilitates the synthesis between meanings and images, as such transforming the image of housing into an expression of culture. The purpose and the utility of housing are dynamic. Even though it primarily functions as a form of shelter, beyond this view it appears to serve as a symbolic register for culture to the Ajegunle residents.

On the other hand, instructionism as explained by Rapoport has been influenced by the professionals and the Government (see pp. 169–172). This kind of development is formal and also responds to the formal urban setting for housing development, without considering the cultural element of the community. As such the professionals and the Government are replacing "selectionism" with "instructionism". In the existing urban setting in Nigeria, there is evidence of urban settlements, which evolved through "selectionism" (informal way of urban development) and "instructionism" (formal way of urban development). Though this shows an environment with different evolution systems, where instructionism represent the influence of civilisation (see pp. 169–172) and the existing form of instructionism (formal way of urban development) seems not to blend with selectionism (informal way of urban development). The existing urban housing situation, suggests a forceful imposition of instructionism by government on selectionism; which captures the existing form of informal housing in Ajegunle community. In Lagos, selectionism seems to be a form of housing evolution that has been misunderstood. The response of the Government and the professionals who demonstrates "instructionism" as a means to eradicate "selectionism", appears to link "instructionism" with the eradication of informal housing as embarked on by the Government (see pp. 302–303). In relation to the socio-cultural processes within the selectionism, as the foundation for the composition of urban form, it appears that eradication through slum clearance cannot stop its existence. It seems that instructionism is related to superficial spatial order in the community, while selectionism deepens urban composition by allowing the socio-cultural processes within a community to influence the spatial form of the community. Selectionism engages the "human" architectural element of Ajegunle community, which suggests that the Ajegunle residents developed their architecture through the cultural technology deployed. This position is different from the "Cabrini-green"

case, which was commonly referred to as the "projects", and was destroyed based on the negative effect of the "housing" on the community (see pp. 129–130).

Part of the assumptions made by the Government, seems to be a generic solution to a slum condition by engaging in clearance or eradication of informal housing type, which is deemed "non-modern" (see p. 277). However, the development of the "projects" are based on professional services, which includes architectural planning and other forms of planning that is similar to instructionism, while the "human" architecture is developed through the Ajegunle residents cultural technology (see pp. 289–291). Based on this position, it seems that the "Cabrini-green project" is a forced development and due to the negative effect it was destroyed, while the Ajegunle is a development that is mutual with the general liveability and the socio-cultural position of the community. Due to this, the existing government strategy seems to serve as the platform for the professionals to contribute towards housing in Nigeria and aims to eradicate informal housing (Ajegunle community), which shows a lack of understanding of housing (see pp. 111–113). This gap in understanding of what housing entails, the particular meanings of housing to the people and the additional cultural function it performs, appears to have informed the minimal success recorded by the housing programmes formulated by the Government (see pp. 105–135).

In relation to the cultural function that housing performs, in the context of south-western Nigeria, housing appears to possess a deeper meaning; it is the form through which the people express their culture (see pp. 52–57) (This discussion on the cultural dimension to housing, forms part of the contribution to knowledge see pp. 33–35). The case study of Ajegunle and the analysis illuminates the core of housing, its relationship to the urban form and human element in the community (see pp. 289–297). Ajegunle residents seem to perceive their community as "home", within which the "house" is located.

The study explains the distinction between the house and the home by suggesting home is a psychological satisfaction experienced in a house, which is a physical three-dimensional structure (see pp. 10–11). The psychological satisfaction of home is experienced within the Ajegunle community, whereby it is expressed as the notion of family (see pp. 284–287), as discovered during the case study. This expression of the notion of family in Ajegunle community is captured by residents referring to themselves as "brothers and sisters" (p. 302), whereby the whole community appears to be a unit, which has a strong social cohesion. This social cohesion is demonstrated in their collective attitude towards achieving a physical built environment by the deployment of socio-cultural strategies, to ensure land ownership and other internal elements of their community (see pp. 289–297). The notion of family, which informed the social cohesion, suggests that the Ajegunle community is a unit. This position is different from the perspective of the Government that the residents of informal settlements are referred to as a "mass". Thus, a general "low cost housing" scheme as developed by the Government, will minimise the existing housing situation (see pp. 101–102). The notion of family appears to be a social cohesion to achieve a common goal of ownership, which is related to socio-cultural importance of housing and not "low cost housing" that seems to turn the Ajegunle residents to tenant of government. As a result, the housing programme among other issues seems to bring an uncertainty regarding land ownership for the Ajegunle residents (see pp. 282–284). Consequently, the perception of the community as the home and the issues that surrounds the housing programme developed by the Government seems to contribute to the adamant position of informal housing residents. As such, they refuse to move, despite different efforts by the Government to relocate them (see Meek, 2009).

In addition to experiencing home within the community, there seems to be a relationship between the bodily comfort generated within a house and the psychological comfort of home in the community. The aspiration to build a house and own it, relates to the

phenomenological essence (see pp. 162–165) of housing in Ajegunle community. Apart from the affordability as part of the reasons for physical building construction in phases (see p. 86), building process of housing in phases seems to reflect on a house, as an organic; living entity that grows from one phase to another. Thus, the building process is part of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents, therefore, strengthening the cultural importance of housing in the community.

The psychological satisfaction of home within the community appears to displace the bodily comfort and psychological satisfaction of home within the house. Due to this position, it seems the Ajegunle residents withstood the challenges of their built environment, with minimal support from the Government (see pp. 289–297), because they have a sense of responsibility towards the community, which appears to have been perceived as "home". In addition, the aim to own and build a house (see pp. 118–122), within which aspiration is an intersection between the lived experience of the community as the home, and psychological achievement of owning a house contributes to the motivation of Ajegunle residents.

The psychological satisfaction of "home" is not only experienced within the perimeter of a house. Based on the analysis of the complexity of Ajegunle community, "home" seems to be experienced outside the house and within the community which is interchangeably regarded to as house or home (see pp. 46–52). This position connects with the African philosophical interpretation of *ile* (see pp. 175–178) within African phenomenology, as explored in the proverb *ile la wo ka to so mo loruko*, which suggests that *ile* is more than the house but also includes the community. As a result, Ajegunle community housing (three-dimensional houses supported with physical infrastructural services) is a subset of the community (non-three dimensional "houses" with a sense of socio-cultural cohesion bonded by the cultural technology (see pp. 210–222) within the resident's lived experience). As such the

psychological satisfaction of home within the perimeter of the house (physical three-dimensional structure), is arranged under, or the subset of, the psychological satisfaction of home in the community. In addition to this understanding, the importance of psychological satisfaction of "home" within the perimeter of the house and community, also relates to satisfaction derived from an activity, which involves human effort, as explained under technology in this study (see pp. 219–220). This human effort is related to the cultural technology developed, which contributes to the development of the community and its housing. The intersection of experiencing home within the community appears to serve as the foundation for the aspiration to build, which links to bodily comfort and psychological satisfaction within the house. This satisfaction and the understanding of the relationship between housing and the community underpin landownership, which seems to be at the core of the notion of housing in Ajegunle community. This position appears to suggest that the negative perception of informal housing, which includes Ajegunle community and results into the eradication of the communities labelled as "slum", not just eradicates the housing, but the communities. By so doing, the developed "non-three dimensional house" with a sense of socio-cultural cohesion bonded by the cultural technology is destroyed. As such, the human element on which the communities are created, as a case to understand the informal settlement is lost. This appears to relate to the perception of the Government, regarding the methods used in the community. For example, the Government views the phase construction method of the Ajegunle residents as a "non-modern" way of living (see p. 277).

This discussion contributes to the strong position expressed by the residents of informal communities regarding their urban development, thus informs the re-creation of this informal housing after eradication (see pp. 301–302). Therefore, even though the materials used for their urban development seems to be visually chaotic and the present urban condition appears to be in crisis, the study excavates from the wider cultural technology used

to survive in the challenges of the built environment. The understanding of the relationship between housing and the community serves as the platform for a cultural framework, on which housing policies can be based.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE: THE CULTURALLY-INFORMED FRAMEWORK

The discussion of the role of the Government and the human element of the Ajegunle community links with the cultural specificity of the end-users as the basis for formulating housing policies. The human element of Ajegunle community, the Government's role in housing and other classifications developed as identified within the codes generated and further categorised in themes (see pp. 266–272) forms the basis for the development of the proposed cultural framework. As earlier discussed (see pp. 323–324), there seems to be a gap in housing understanding by the government over a period of time, which has contributed to the existing housing crisis. Additionally, the description, perception, position, structure of the government, the internal and physical composition of Ajegunle community and the private developers (see pp. 270–272) as part of the themes generated from the analysis contributed to the holistic perception of the existing government approach and housing crisis in Ajegunle community. The government housing plans in theory through housing programmes and policies and in practice by eradication of slums, importation and imposition of housing policy, seems to lead to the existing housing crisis in Ajegunle community see fig. 8.1 (p. 334). As such, there is lack of information between the community and the housing plans of the government. This is strengthened in the empirical evidence (see Position and perception of the government on urban housing issue; structure of the Government pp. 273–282) through the suggestions made by the state government and the local government representatives respectively:

> The State Government decision sometimes is not in accordance with the Local Government. Policies appear to be aimed towards achieving corporate outlook for the state which affects negatively the existing communities and their urban setting.
>
> They have embarked on the eradication of existing communities labelled as "slums". This eradication is a response to the need for a corporate identity as pursued by the Lagos state (p. 274).

In line with the Government housing actions that contributed to the gap in understanding, other policies that informed the existing housing crisis as perceived by the government representative links to '…the effect of the Land Use Decree Act of 1978 on the housing programme which appears to be the absence of the human element in the formulation of policies' (p. 276). The human element mentioned by the government representative was corroborated by the Ajegunle resident by commenting that '… as regards the role of federal government, they are not concerned with having contact or governing people at the community level' (p, 284). Furthermore, the comment 'It seems that there is an unwritten housing policy by the private developers who have dominated the housing situation that guides housing delivery in Nigeria' (p. 282), establishes a lack of communication between the Ajegunle community and the Government housing plans. As such, this strengthens the need for a culturally-informed framework as the basis for making housing decisions. Figure 8.1, illustrates the existing housing crisis and the different housing plans that contributed to the existing situation.

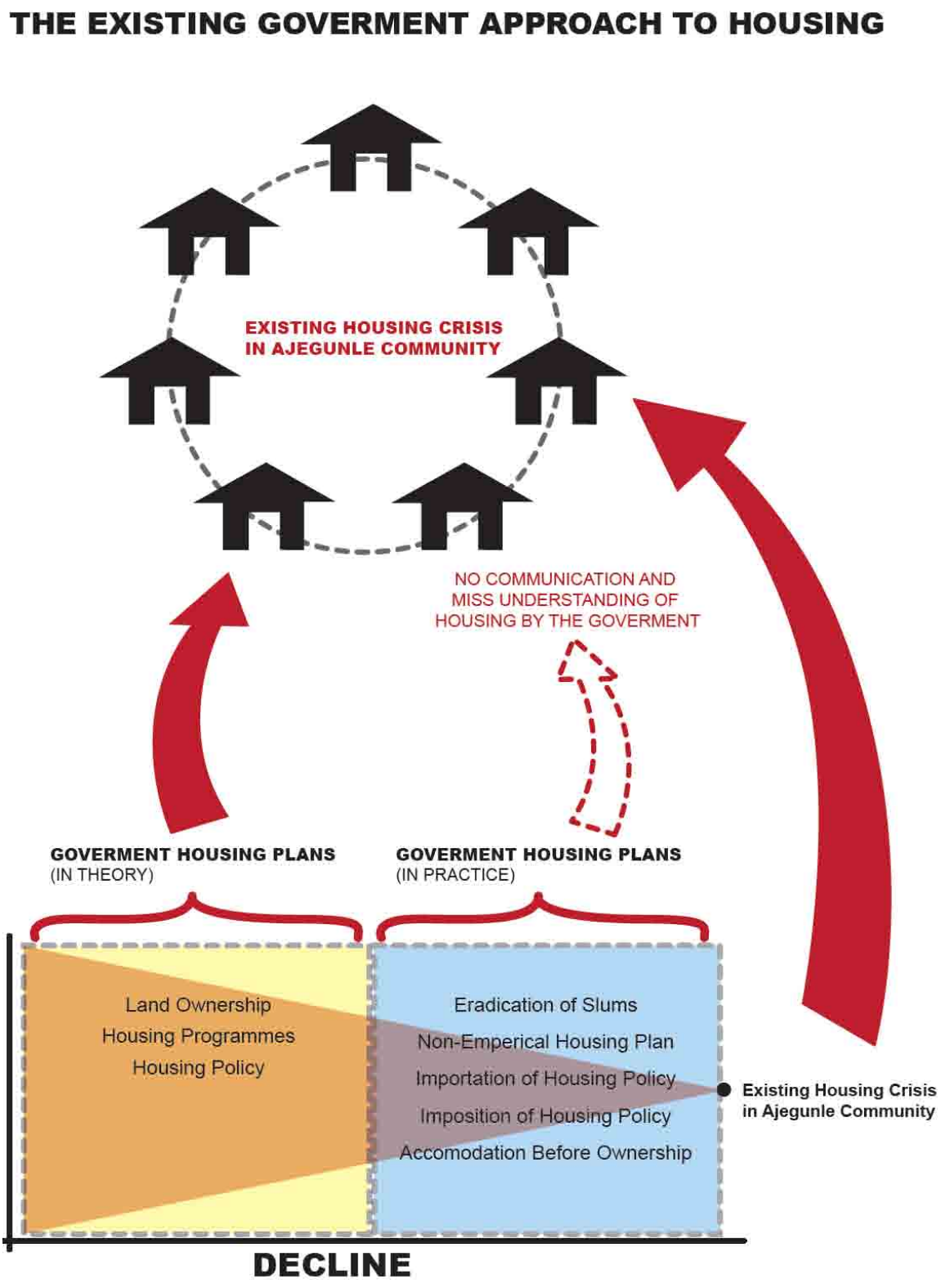

Figure 8.1: Showing the existing housing crisis in Ajegunle community.

African phenomenology through its attention to the African elements within the Ajegunle community and the understanding of the lived experience of Ajegunle residents serves as the foundation for drawing the components used for the development of the proposed culturally-informed framework. The empirical understanding of Ajegunle community through understanding the cultural specificity of Ajegunle residents illuminated the basis for a culturally-informed framework that can influence housing policies. Through the case study, there are internal and physical elements of the lived experience in Ajegunle which relates to landownership that appears to be the underpinning principle for the development of the community. The internal and physical elements of housing links with the themes generated from the analysis of the empirical material which forms part of the proposed cultural framework. The internal elements of the lived experience in Ajegunle which includes: education, internal composition, micro-economy, resilience and security in Ajegunle community (see pp. 270–272), are part of the socio-cultural activities developed by the residents to achieve a general liveability towards the goal of landownership (discussed in chapter seven). Within the internal elements of their lived experience the residents developed, 'a community development association (CDA) organised by the residents of the community and registered with the Government. The committee entails a web of responsibilities, to ensure the organisation and the administration of the community' (p. 284). As part of the organisation in relation to generating a micro-economy, 'the residents know that in order for a particular family to sustain themselves, they would need to buy breakfast from the family that prepares breakfasts for business' (p. 294). Additionally, the security system by 'the introduction of new members to the community… [which] enables members of the community to attend and engage in discussion that contributes to the development and security of the community' (p. 294), demonstrates the commitment of the Ajegunle residents to achieve a general liveability.

As part of the internal elements of the Ajegunle residents lived experience, the internal composition, the resilience and the informal approach to education strengthens the socio-cultural activities developed, which relates to actions taken towards achieving landownership in the community. The residents commented, 'our resilience in the challenges of our built environment is informed by the internal [mechanism] in the community. The central part of which is regarded to as "family" where the residents share the "happiness and sorrow" of each member of the community' (p. 302). The resilience also 'connects to an ability to take on challenges and their existing survival methods demonstrates their capability to survive in the conditions set by their built environment' (p. 292). Regarding survival method in Ajegunle, 'all the 5000 units of houses have a graduate from a higher institution. There is also a feedback system from primary level of education to the community, through the representative of the community' (p. 296). These discussions establish the internal elements of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents developed to achieve a general liveability towards attaining the goal of landownership.

The physical element of the lived experience that connects directly to the three- dimensional element of housing within the empirical evidence includes landownership and the construction method developed (discussed in chapter seven). The resident suggested, 'with our "renewal of receipt" we are landlords and that is the most important thing to us. After this, we can always achieve any type of accommodation we want' (p. 283). The physical construction of the accommodation was achieved by 'building [in] phases [that] include construction of temporal structures, which are based on the immediate function of a family or an individual to the final completion in bricks and mortar with all facilities within the building' (p. 289). By so doing, responding to the nuances of the community and achieving "housing" that connects to the psychological satisfaction of home within the community. The internal elements of the lived experience of the Ajegunle residents illuminate the socio-

cultural nuances of the community that underpins the physical elements of lived experience which are connected to landownership. As such, the cultural dimension to housing acknowledges the socio-cultural element of the community and also forms the basis for the development of a cultural framework, which recognizes:

- Housing in Ajegunle to be a cultural expression of the people (see pp. 52–57; pp. 118–122). As such the socio-cultural nuances of the communities must be considered through an empirical process, which will influence the decision process of housing policy formulation.

- The aspiration of ownership underpins the cultural technology developed in Ajegunle community (see pp. 327–332). Housing policy should be based on land ownership before provision of accommodation and not provision of accommodation before land ownership. Being that there is an uncertainty as regards land tenement, which appears to be the existing attitude of the Government towards housing policies and programmes (see pp. 105–135).

Within the cultural framework, the following positions are proposed:

Governmentality as an approach to policy formulation

The lack of consideration of the people's position seems to lead to the clearing of communities labelled as "slum" in Lagos and some other parts of developing countries, without aiming to understand the socio-cultural activities within the communities (see pp. 302–305). The perception that is associated with the "slum" appears to connote the informal housing negatively. As such the Government approach has neglected selectionism (informal urban development) in favour of instructionism (formal urban development) (see pp. 137–138; pp. 327–328). Although the government rejects selectionism, it will always evolve in

Nigeria because it serves additional functions as a cultural stimulant and a symbolic register of a particular community in context (see pp. 327–328). This natural phenomenon seems to develop despite slum clearance by the Government, professional bias for instructionism (formal) as against selectionism (informal) and other perspectives that favour eradication of the informal settlement.

The discussion of governance with respect to urban housing policy formulation should put into consideration "governmentality". Clifford (2001) and Dean (1999) offer a concept of governmentality that suggests the combination of an exploration of historical emergence of specific ideologies and techniques of governmental activity with recognition of cultural and historical specificity of the governable subject. As a result, governmentality as an approach by the Government explores and recognises the cultural specificity of a community as the basis for techniques developed for governmental activities, which include housing policy formulation. By so doing, governmentality enlarges the capacity of the Government to provide housing needs, and to support land tenure, community services, planning and environmental issues.

The policy formulation should also be based on empirical process. Part of the issues that relate to the Federal system of government, as practised in Nigeria, which affects the urban housing crisis, are the inter-governmental relations between federal states (see pp. 133–135). The federal state involves inter-relationship between the three levels of government, namely: central, state and local governments. The policy formulation process in Nigeria seems to be based on the perception that the Government defines problems in society through a non-empirical process. To support this process, Yar'adua's recent 7-point Agenda (Yar'adua, 2010), which is the presidential position on Nigerian issues, serves as the frame for the development of policies in Nigeria. Yar'adua suggests, regarding land tenure and home

ownership, that a 'review of the land use laws in order to facilitate proper use of the Nation's land assets for socio-economic development; and citizens' access to mortgage facilities' (p. 1). The agenda identifies a problem with the existing housing policy, which is the fundamental basis for understanding issues that relate to the urban housing crisis. However, the local government representative suggested that:

> The agenda lacks the input of the residents of the society as the centre of the policy formulation process. The people seem not to be involved as part of the process of gathering an empirical understanding of the problem identified in the society before the policies are formulated. As a result, the policies do not respond to the needs of the people, because there is a socio-cultural gap in understanding between policies formulated and the existing problem (Interview Local Government Staff 1).

In case of housing policies in Nigeria, it seems that at the different levels of government, the people in the society were not consulted before the policy formulation and the actualization of the housing programmes by building houses (see pp. 105–135). For example 'the military regime of 1997 developed a federal housing mortgage fund. This fund extracts money from civil servants with the aim of the Government to provide houses. As a result of this aim, the Government still owes people, because this programme was not actualized' (Interview Local Government Staff 1). Furthermore, the response to the urban housing crisis by the Government appears to be a quantitative provision of houses without empirical input from the people (see pp. 105–135), where the Government set quantitative targets for the housing provision. These contributed to the different housing policies, which resulted in the failure of housing programmes in Nigeria. As part of the process to make a plausible effect in the existing urban housing crisis, there is the need to engage the residents of the society through an empirical process. This will inform an understanding and generate an approach to the crisis based on consideration of the socio-cultural nuances of the people. The Government as a developer, alongside its roles as the regulator of the built environment is also considered.

Government as a developer

The role of government as a regulator as such possessing powers, whereby land tenement is controlled, appears not to be effective in reducing the urban housing crisis. This role appears to be the underlying factor for the decisions taken towards minimizing the existing crisis (see pp. 282–284). The Government appears not to understand what housing represents to the people (see pp. 327–328; pp. 323–325). In order to make a plausible solution to the existing crisis, the Government should take on an additional role. Government should take a role of a developer, acknowledging the ownership of the people. Hitherto, the Government has control on the ownership of the land in Nigeria. Based on the bureaucracies attached to the Land Use Decree Act of 1978 (see pp. 282–284), which delivers powers to the Government, the bureaucratic process seems to delay development in the urban housing sector. Also, it seems that the Government deploys this clause, when there are projects that it intends to forcefully achieve, irrespective of the people's perspective. The people of the community, on the other hand, challenge the effort of the Government through the judiciary.

To enhance the role of the Government, they should take the role of the partner or developer, whereby acknowledging the people's land ownership and also putting into consideration the tenets of the people regarding their built environment. This type of relationship between the residents and the Government will open up the environment to the administrative knowledge of the professionals for development purposes. It synthesizes the colloquial knowledge and the cultural position of the residents with the professional understanding, whereby encouraging urban socio-cultural development for the community. This process enables the Government to control the building process and regulates the materials used for the construction. By so doing, strengthens the role of the Government as a regulator, which limits commoditizing housing that has hitherto been the effect caused by unregulated private development of housing in Nigeria (see pp. 298–299).

An example of this arrangement could be the Government developing a piece of land, acknowledging the land ownership and their intended developments and maximising the land to achieve other spaces that could be used for rent. This allows an income to be generated for an agreed number of years. After this is fulfilled for a number of years, then the Government can be paid off and the owner of the property can control the use of the other spaces in their property. This also reduces the exploitation of the people and minimises the house collapse due to sub-standard building materials.

Re-understanding the Government's role in housing

The Government should realise that part of its responsibility is to ensure the effective housing for all their citizens. In view of this responsibility, there is a need for a vital execution of the National Housing Policy. Housing delivery should not be the responsibility of one tier of the Government. In order to plausibly execute policies, there should be co-operation between the Federal Government, the State and Local Government. Moreover, the Local Government tier, should not be perceived as an administrative section of the Government, but should engage in the decision making process, because they are the closest to the communities. The Government should engage in understanding housing needs, through analysing and re-evaluating the socio-cultural processes within housing and not by the importation of housing ideas that appears not to correlate with the socio-cultural nuances of the community. Hitherto, the strategies developed by the communities to cope in challenging built environment conditions seem to have been neglected in Nigeria. However, informal housing of the same character with Ajegunle community seems to reflect accumulated expertise on how to build appropriately in challenging conditions, within an affordable budget. As such, the process puts into consideration the cultural, economic, environmental and social conditions through using cultural technologies that are sustainable.

The specific and complex relationship between the community and housing, whereby the home is a psychological satisfaction that is not just experienced within the house, but also in the community, suggests a strong social cohesion (see pp. 329–331). This informs the cultural technologies developed, and as such the existing Ajegunle community should not be perceived as a slum and negatively connoted by government. Rather, it should be used as a case to understand the informal housing in Nigeria. Moreover, the architecture involved in the Ajegunle community, was developed by the residents, which demonstrates that the system adopted is sustainable. As compared to the "Cabrini-green projects" that were developed by professionals, without any consultation or cultural input from the users, which was eventually destroyed, because they appear to be a forced development that was affecting the community (see pp. 129–130). The Government should not depend on the "western" model of housing to understand the deepened African context of housing, which also relates to Ajegunle community. It should use the existing urban condition as a case to understand the informal housing in Nigeria.

Figure 8.2 (p. 343), further explains the culturally-informed framework by illustrating the different components of the empirical information and its relationship to the government roles proposed.

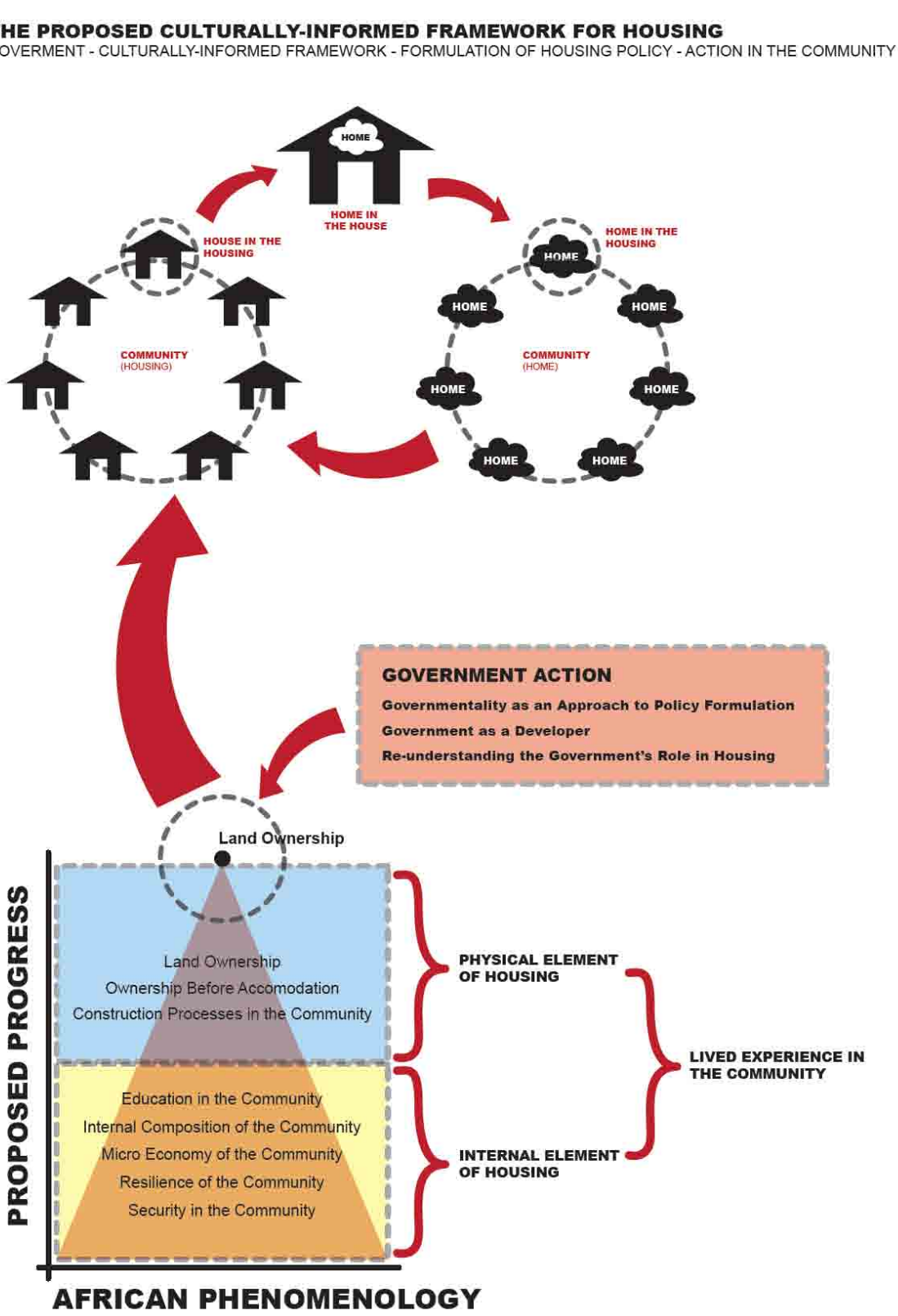

Figure 8.2: Showing the proposed culturally-informed framework for housing.

CONCLUSION

These aspects of the culturally-informed framework, which include: Governmentality as an approach to housing, policy formulation based on an empirical process, government as a developer and re-understanding the Government's role in housing, sets the platform to influence housing policy. By so doing, housing policy, through the cultural framework, will enable the Government to acknowledge land ownership, as an important entity on which housing provision is based. As a result, the Government communicates, through this understanding, as a supportive mechanism used to fulfil its social responsibility towards the people as a regulator, developer and provider of housing. Thus, the re-understanding of the government's role in housing provides the platform for wider settings that ensure affordable housing delivery. This development of a culturally-informed framework fulfils the aim of the study and also forms part of the contribution to knowledge (see pp. 33–35).

The prospects for the future and the general lessons learnt from understanding the development in this study challenge the existing intellectual framework guiding the understanding of cities and the Government's housing role in Africa. It appears that the idea of governance or the role of the Government in the society cannot be disentangled from issues of cultural structures, because it seems to persist, through the African philosophy and also permeates within the existing modern African city. Furthermore, the understanding of the cultural technologies used in coping with the challenges of the built environment serves as the basis for understanding the emergence of future forms of cities. As a result, the cultural component of African cities is crucial to a deeper understanding of housing. These findings appear to challenge the existing perception of urban resilience as the general understanding of cities in emergency situations to deepening understanding of cities in challenging existing living conditions.

The intention of this study is to seek the "social truth" regarding housing crisis in Ajegunle community as against a generalised scientific position on the existing situation. To achieve the social truth, an inter-disciplinary study is performed by drawing from social sciences (understanding the social element of Ajegunle community), anthropology (investigating the lived experience of Ajegunle residents), and architecture (exploring the physical and spatial composition of housing). Hence, situating the study at the junction of different disciplines, thus, informing a complication, because the different fields have partially constructed views on doing research. This appears to be a challenge and character of an inter-disciplinary study. That said, by understanding the lived experience of Ajegunle residents, the study processes adhered to clear parameters for quality research. As stated, research should process the complexity of reality within a context and in so doing expose and simplify its principles to enhance development, hence, revealing the interest that lies in the research question. Furthermore, within a Doctor of Philosophy, that is, the degree of research of which the study is examined, there should be a strong philosophical underpinning that guides the methodical processes and not a generic interpretation or understanding of philosophy which might be appropriate to a professional doctorate. This informed the methodology and the methodical processes deployed within the study, which interacts with the socio-cultural element of Ajegunle community. Thus, this connects to further philosophical position of the study by formulating African phenomenology.

The philosophy of African people defines their connection between humanity and their society. Thus, in order for this study to qualitatively determine the core issues of the housing crisis, African philosophy connects with phenomenology. African phenomenology consolidates the realities rooted in African issues, with a phenomenological standpoint, which pinpoints the human element without changing the meanings generated from the human actions and perceptions (see pp. 183–190). As such, research that requires deeper

understanding of contexts in Africa needs to deploy a methodology that responds to the socio-cultural layer within the community, to arrive at a plausible solution. More so, it highlights aspects of the resilience of the inhabitants of the urban community in challenging circumstances. Thus, this argument sustains the need to understand the different aspects of the community that has formed a colloquial framework guiding the micro-economy, education, urban and spatial form of the environment and other aspects of the community. This trend is of high importance with regard to the sustainability of African cities.

Human beings seem to live in yesterday's cities, where urban and rural classifications are based on social processes informed by a society over a thousand years old. The understanding of the resilience of the people in the community is used to develop a culturally-informed framework that can be used to influence housing policies. Thus, it provides a platform for understanding the emerging composition of cities that are yet to be defined but which are already labelled as slums. Furthermore, the physical characteristics of the community appear to hide the internal structure, the survival strategies (cultural technology) or resilience of the people, as a process to minimise the existing housing crisis also contributing to the sustainability of the future cities. Research that links to housing in Africa needs the understanding of this process, to illuminate the deepened socio-cultural layers that appear to be its core, which are embedded within the community.

This study is informed by the position that colloquial knowledge appears to have been underestimated or neglected as the basis for understanding socio-cultural issues within a community. As such, experts or stakeholders seem to impose their own ideas, which appear to be a form of "intellectual signature" on communities as against proper consideration of the existing tenets as the basis for addressing issues, generating solution or minimising crisis that relates to the human element in the community. Due to the colloquial nature of the

knowledge, there appears to be a general assumption that it lacks scholarly characteristics, as such it's being overlooked, not considered and undermined, possibly because of its location in the inner part of the socio-cultural level of the society. However, the colloquial knowledge underpins the composition of the community, which effects its urban form, defines the community, influences perception and approaches undertaken by stakeholders. This makes it important for professionals in the built environment to understand the colloquial knowledge. By so doing, enhancing the degree to which solutions suggested or frameworks developed in relation to issues connected to the socio-cultural layer of the community can be made plausible. For the administration and maintenance of the built environment, the professional knowledge within the field is important, but is incomplete without consideration of the socio-cultural aspects of the built environment. Therefore, in planning for, and coping with emergence of future cities, comprehension of the colloquial knowledge within a community is indispensable for the process of understanding their foundation whilst encouraging creativity and promoting responsible urban development. This position may inform wider thinking in future situations, and as an approach improve the sensitivity to socio-cultural and human related issues in the community as it links to the built environment.

The findings of this study are appropriate for the existing urban housing crisis and similar urban situations in developing countries because the future of Lagos (according to UN-Habitat, 2006) is a population growth to 35 million in 10 years' time. Therefore, the findings of this study should be taken into consideration now to avoid further problems in the immediate future.

As stated, whilst the study does not offer architectural solutions to the existing housing crisis, it opens up a new area for fundamental and important research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES

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Appendix 1: Poster presented for the East Midlands PhD Regional Poster Competition at Keele University, UK, July 2008, to capture the foundation of this study.

The urban housing crisis; a culturally informed framework for the development of housing policy, a case study of Lagos, Nigeria.

Oluwole Olusegun, olusegun.oluwole@ntu.ac.uk, ADBE Research Studies, Nottingham Trent University.

Introduction

This research is interested in sustainability of the built environment in developing countries. It intends to address the urban housing crisis question in developing countries using Lagos, Nigeria as a case study.

Aim

This research aims to offer a culturally informed framework for the development of future housing policy.

Objectives

- To describe the evidence for the housing situation.
- To evaluate the housing situation in Lagos, Nigeria.
- To develop an understanding of the issues related to urban housing crisis.
- To analyse the social, economic and political factors that contributed to the urban housing crisis.
- To investigate the role of the existing housing policy in the urban housing crisis.
- To develop a culturally informed framework for the development of future housing policy using a case study of Lagos, Nigeria.

Approach

This innovative project explores sustainability through cultural aspects of the built environment.

Phenomenology will be used as both the method (practice) and guiding philosophy driving this project.

This duality allows phemonological based research to arrive at and describe real solutions and applications which are grounded in the African way of life. This is because it has at it core, an appreciation and understanding of fundamental human experience (Pepin 2004).

This project uses an **instrumental case study** (Stake 1994) to provide an insight into the urban housing crisis. The case study includes the residents of Ajegunle community, an officially designated slum area in Lagos, Nigeria. The empirical data collection is highlighted below.

Empirical data collection

- Unstructured interviews
- Observations
- Field notes
- Photographs

Vernacular Architecture embedded in African cultural values by Oluwole Olusegun

Contribution to knowledge

This proposed cultural dimension towards urban housing crisis is a new perspective in resolving housing crisis. This will entail the use of some elements of culture in deriving meanings and concepts from the people of Ajegunle. Problematising, these theories to minimise the effect of the urban housing crisis will create a stunning effect.

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Pictures

Fig 1: Satellite image of Lagos, Nigeria.
Fig 2: Aerial view of case study area.
Fig 3: Street view case study area.

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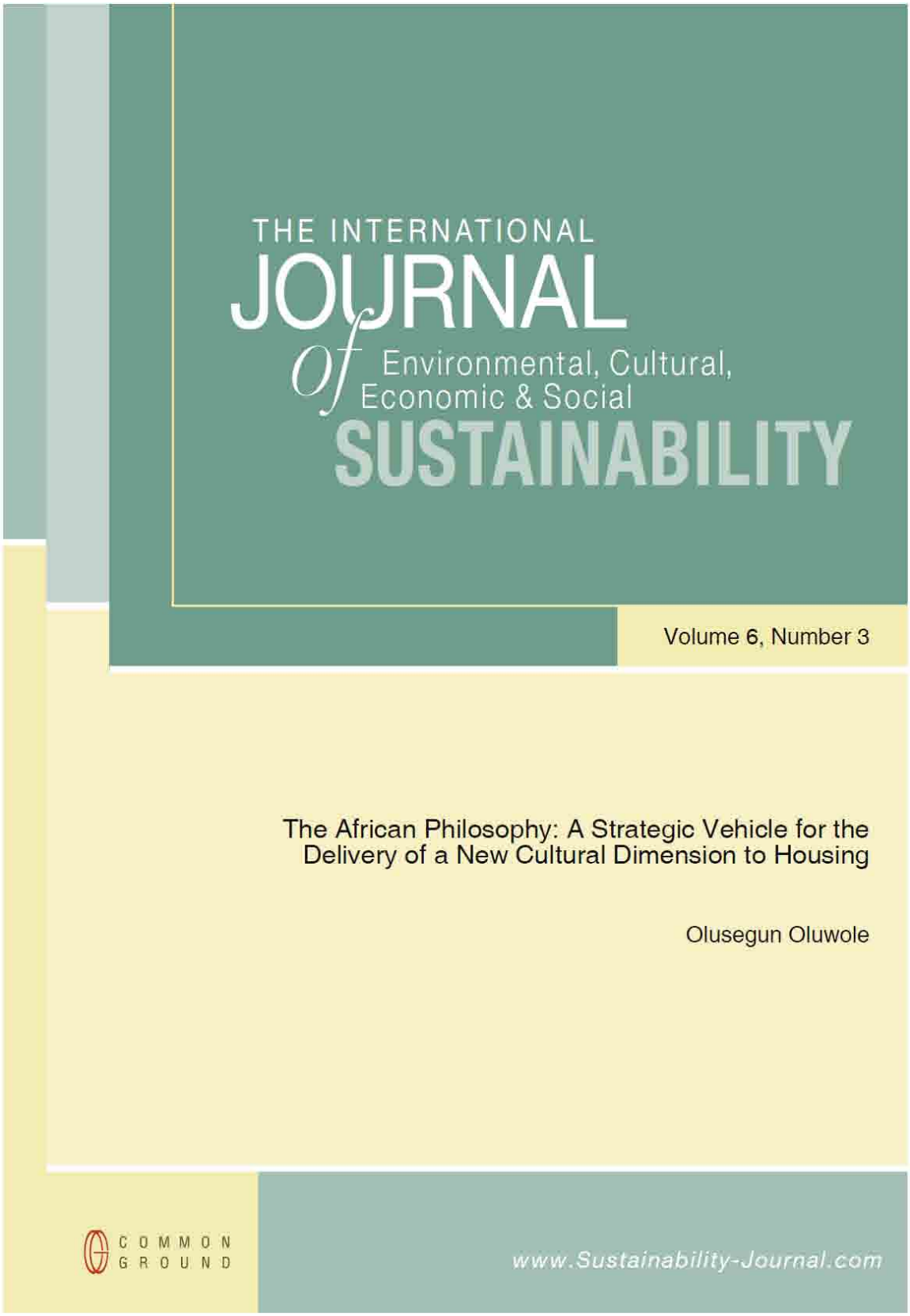
Appendix 2: Paper on the relationship between African philosophy and housing published by: The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability.



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The African Philosophy: A Strategic Vehicle for the Delivery of a New Cultural Dimension to Housing

Olusegun Oluwole, Nottingham Trent University, Nottinghamshire, UK

Abstract: In South Western Nigeria, housing is referred to as 'ile' which is the very core, a symbol of human existence and status in the community (Baker, 1959). The Yoruba proverb "ile la wo ka to somo loruko", which by translation suggests that, "after given birth to a child, you will look at your house before you give the baby a name". In contrast, the cultural meaning of this proverb is to appreciate your lived experience which has a symbolic representation of a house before you name a child. This shows a strong ontological preference and a pregnant meaning which needs a systematic inquiry to understand. This paper attempts to relocate African philosophy as an important element for the delivery of a new cultural dimension to housing.

Keywords: Culture, African Philosophy, Housing, Society

Introduction

THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS to relocate African philosophy as an important element for the delivery of a new cultural dimension to housing by investigating the social, economic and other related context of the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community. This investigation interacts with the formulation and implementation of concepts relating to urban housing and also seeks to redefine the role of stakeholders including the architects, planners, government and the end-users in the urban housing development.

It also presents the argument that if housing provision must be orientated towards long time goals and solutions, then housing policy and design must consider carefully the cultural requirements of the eventual users. Furthermore, the paper focuses on urban housing as strategic vehicle for investigating the evolution of ideas and different approaches to the informal processes involved in the issues relating to the general liveability of a community.

It builds on the on-going research, which explores sustainability through cultural aspects of the built environment. The research combines African philosophy and phenomenology as the methodology in order to connect with the lived experience of the Ajegunle community. It draws from the case study area and seeks to understand the cultural nuances of the community by studying the link between proverbs which is an aspect of African philosophy and the general liveability of the people.

The paper discusses housing as a fundamental human need. It establishes the deterioration of urban housing over the years, the basic difficulties that connect the urban housing crisis to our everyday life and also implies the significance of housing as a nexus to a fundamental human existence.

Debates continue over the extent and composition of the urban housing problem. The problems that are associated with the urban housing crisis in Nigeria and in developing countries are fundamentally interwoven. This paper presents the urban housing problem as

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a matrix which is a pattern formed by the contiguous nature of the urban housing crisis. This matrix constitutes a set of misunderstandings and lack of comprehension of the main themes connected to urban housing in relation to the context of the society.

This paper attempts to highlight discoveries made and also draw from the theoretical foundations formulated by this research.

Background and Context

> Adequate housing is essential for human survival with dignity. Without a right to housing, many other basic human rights will be compromised including the right to family life and privacy, the right to freedom of movement, the right to assembly and association, the right to health and the right to development. (Sidoti 1996, p.10)

In prosaic terms, adequate housing is a fundamental need for satisfactory levels of health and comfort, for a family unit, and to allow access and contribution to the social and economic life of any community. *Chaskalson*, in the *Constitutional Court of South Africa, judgment in 'Grootboom' case* (2000), suggested that the right of access to adequate housing is entrenched in the core philosophy of African society, because of the value Africans place on human beings and the importance of the affordability of this basic human need. He also stressed that the basic necessities of life including housing must be provided to all for a 'society' based on human dignity, equality and freedom. The discussion of housing as a fundamental human need is extensive (see Martin and Fontana, 1990; United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), 2005 and Wisner, Toulmin, and Chitiga, 2005). Essentially, housing can be described as a form of protection from the elements of denudation, a means through which to express individual and cultural values, and a way to produce, consume and accumulate capital. Nevertheless, in all parts of the world, but particularly in the third world - a group of nations frequently labelled 'underdeveloped' which contains almost two-thirds of the world's population McGee (1971) - millions of people are ill housed or not housed at all.

Presently, a new report by the *United Nations Human Settlements Programme* suggests that already 3 billion people, or 50 percent of the world's population live in urban areas and an estimated one-third of this population, that is 1 billion lives in slums. They also warned that the government face the possibility of a worsening urban housing crisis, if they cannot come up with the money to build 96,150 houses per day for an additional 2 billion city-dwellers by 2030 (UN-Habitat, 2008). These discussions show the deterioration of urban housing over the years, the basic difficulties that connect the housing crisis to our everyday life and also imply the significance of housing as a nexus to a fundamental human existence.

Africa has the largest threat of mass 'housing-lessness' and not homelessness. Nigeria, a part of the sub-Saharan region of West Africa dominates, as the largest country demographically and geographically (Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992). This paper sets out to explore the differences between, home, house, shelter and housing. It has been suggested that the home is more than mere shelter (Charlton 2004, p.4). This refers to social relations and other psychological concepts such as privacy, territoriality, safety and social relations within the physical structure that makes a home more than a house. The house has been defined as the three dimensional, top structure of a foundation layout (Charlton, 2004). There are further dimensions to the characteristics of housing than the physical structure. Housing includes

the infrastructure that serves that house, the nature of the water sanitation, energy and access (roads and footpaths) that supplies the house and the integrated nature of the neighbourhood around the house (Zach and Charlton 2003, pp.45–50).

Debates continue over the extent and composition of the urban housing problem. Also included is the ingredients of the crisis, the appropriate roles of the individuals, stakeholders and government in addressing the urban housing crisis. While there are numerous studies on complexities of slums, (see Awotona, 1987; Ogunshakin and Olayiwola, 1992; Agbola, 1987; Ogu and Ogbuozobe, 2001), there are few studies dealing specifically with the cultural aspect of the problem. Onibokun (1973) stressed that while much has been written about the complicated nature of the slums, insufficient emphasis has been given to the systematic analysis of the social and cultural factors responsible for creating the slums and for their continuing existence.

In an urban situation the availability and accessibility of facilities, amenities such as schools, police stations, play lots and sporting facilities are important to the context of housing in a residential environment. Shelter is generally taken to be synonymous with housing, home, dwelling and a physical structure. Where housing means more than a structure on the site and it reflects the relationship to culture and the larger environmental location, land tenure, related community services and the capacity of the government are issues that are connected with housing. This argument developed in this paper suggests that the urban housing crisis in Africa is a state of 'housing-lessness' and not homelessness, because the housing and the environment needed to experience a state of 'homeness' do not even exist. This discourse creates a background for this paper emphasising the existing crisis.

Fig 1: Aerial view of Ajegunle settlement in Lagos, Nigeria. Note the existing housing problem, potential health hazards and organic response to a specific site, potential open-endedness and possibility of relating morphology to cultural variables

Fig 2: Street view of Ajegunle settlement in Lagos, Nigeria. Note the informal but orderly placement of structures with planned drainage and building type. The small scale industries and the business outlets run by Daughters, Husbands, Sons and Wives, which is an indication of a survival strategy in such poor housing condition

Methodology

Pepin (2004) stressed that 'research methodology deals with the philosophical constructs which underpin the research process as well as the fluency and coherence of that process, guiding the manner in which the research is evaluated and expressed.' (p.110). This stimulates an argument raising the question of whether an African based research on core issues as regards urban housing crisis, can be based on a western philosophy.

In South Western Nigeria, housing is referred to as 'ile' which is the very core and a symbol of human existence and status in the community (Vlach, 1984). The Yoruba[1] proverb '*ile la wo ka to somo loruko*', which by translation suggests that, after given birth to a child, you will look at your house before you give the baby a name. In contrast to this generic meaning, the cultural meaning of this proverb is to appreciate your life experience which has a symbolic representation of a house before you name a child. This shows a strong ontological preference and a pregnant meaning which needs a systematic inquiry to understand. This is further discussed in this paper.

Adeeko (1998) stressed that 'Africa's contribution, towards civilization is enormous, in fact Africans colonized reality'. He further stressed that a deconstructive analysis of the Yoruba proverbs shows that the material text and its use is more complex than what is admitted in clear communication. This foregoing suggests that even though the African philosophy is not coherent, they are embodiment of virtual knowledge that is passed from one generation to the other Kamalu (1990). He further argued that the African philosophy possesses a strong internal system that makes it culturally independent. This makes African

[1] A member of a Black people of south western Nigeria and neighbouring parts (Oxford English Dictionary 2009).

philosophy worthy to be considered as regards fundamental issues that affects urban housing and also strengthens the guiding philosophical undertone of the research.

The complexities and composition of the urban housing situation, the nature of the case study area and the emerging issues from the problem, suggests that, Ajegunle is a 'phenomena'. The Oxford English Dictionary defines phenomena as 'a very notable or a particular kind of fact or occurrence; a highly exceptional or unaccountable fact… a thing, person, or animal remarkable for some unusual quality; a prodigy.' The OED further defined '-ology' as 'the study…of what is indicated by the first element.' In generic terms, this presents phenomenology to be an agglutination of 'phenomena' and '-ology', which attempts to study a phenomenon. This research proceeds from this generic understanding and interpretation of the use of phenomenology to a more scientific use as both method (practice) and methodology (philosophy). Phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences. Phenomenology asks for the very nature of a phenomenon, for that which makes a some-'thing' what it is – and without which it could not be what it is (Van Manen 1990). The research uses phenomenology as an approach to understand the meaning, structure and essence of the lived and living experiences of this phenomenon for the people of Ajegunle, Lagos Nigeria.

In order to explain and understand the concept and context of African philosophy as part of the methodological framework, an event that happened in the early Yoruba community is narrated:

> In the early 18th century, during the internecine wars of the Yoruba people, the men went to war on behalf of the communities. The communities were a network of villages that unites to fight threats from neighbouring societies. The absence of the men, made the women to manage the affairs of the community. This led to the women, taking control of the villages. Part of the problems facing the communities was the availability of drinkable water. Before the war, women were busy with the job of providing food for the family. The lack of the presence of the men contributed to the busy schedule facing the women. The women were involved in farming, environmental sanitation, home chores, taking care of children and added responsibility of the managing the social cohesion of the villages and also getting the latest news from the war front; regarding their husbands at war. During this period, there were missionaries that offered help in these communities. This help, also functions as leverage for the social entry of their religious messages. Part of the help that was rendered was the sinking of a well that is deep enough to collect drinkable water right in the middle of the village for accessibility purposes. After some few days the missionaries discovered that this well has been filled with sand. The missionaries assumed that this was a case of hatred thuggery and hooliganism by the people (Anon, Yoruba legend)[2].

In contrast to this position by the missionaries on hooliganism by the villagers, there was a lack of understanding of the immediate need of the people during this period. Based on their hectic lifestyle, the only opportunity the women had for dialogue with other members of the neighbouring villages was the 20 minutes walk from the village to the stream where they

[2] This legend and other Yoruba proverbs used has been passed from one generation to the other by mouth to mouth conversation. This research needs this narrative in order to explain an aspect of the African philosophy which contributes to the methodology.

fetch water. This location serves as a dual purpose; for fetching water and also for meetings to discuss the hope and the travails of their existing situation. However, bringing the well to the centre of the village counters this dual function and also restricts the flow of information which was vital to their survival and existence at that particular time. A further case study, on why this aspect of their general liveability is important could have re-directed the community responsibility that was taken up by the missionary. The wrong location of the well by the missionaries was based on a limited understanding of the social structure. As a consequence, this action caused the reaction from the villagers.

The purpose of this narrative in this research is to show and contribute to the position that the early researchers had limited understanding of the African society, as well as to reflect on how this narrative contributed to the establishment of proverbs which was generated from the phenomenal aspect of the African philosophy. Mbiti (1990) suggested that, the deficient view of African philosophy by the early anthropologists, missionaries and researchers that came to Africa has contributed to the misinterpretation of the tenets of the African people. He further suggested that, this has led to a gap of understanding of the nuances of the concepts that evolved from their society.

As a consequence of the narrative, which is based on a real life experience, the African people gained a phenomenal knowledge from their lived experience during this period. The phenomenal aspect of the African philosophy develops a proverb from reality that can be used for corrective purposes in future occurrences in the society. Based on this particular lived experience, African philosophy formulated a proverb: *Omo o n ile, a Te jeje, Ajeji ate basu basu* (see Owomoyela, 2005). This literarily means that, an indigene of a society treks with caution, while a stranger manoeuvres without putting into consideration the terrain of the society in context (see Crowther, 1968).

This interpretation has an embedded meaning from this particular experience. The formulation was carefully constructed with symbolic cover for the event. In this proverb, the indigene of the society is aware of the nuances of the community as such that there is an understanding of the social issues of the community. This suggests that the women of the community understand the existing situation in the society. On the other hand, the strangers (the missionaries) did not take time to analyse and examine the social processes. As a result the lived experience was underestimated as the basis of understanding the hierarchy of needs of the society. This led to the wrong location of a genuine need of a community facing crisis. As a consequence, this resulted into the actions of the people (filling the well with sand), which was interpreted as hatred or non-acceptance by the people.

Based on this understanding of African philosophy, the Yoruba proverb: *Ile la wo ka to so mo lo Oruko* is explained. This proverb is interpreted as; before you name a child you will look at your house (see Adeoye, 1982). This text is symbolic and not meant to be taken literally. This feature of African proverb as an aspect of African philosophy, simplifies the understanding of an idea by connecting it to the three-dimensional objects that has ontological meaning in the context of its use. The proverb stated above suggests that before you name a child you think deeply about your lived experience and other real factors that contributed to your being. This position is represented in an object (the house). In African philosophy, names reflect the world view of a people. It shows the significance of an experience, an event or phenomena (Fasiku, 2006).

Proverbs are universal phenomenon, portraying the genius of individual nations (Champion, 1950). Among the Yoruba of the south western Nigeria, where Ajegunle community is

situated, proverbs possess an added significance; they serve as charters of social and ethical norms in human interactions to extol what the society considers to be virtues (Olatunji, 1984). The Yoruba society, use of proverbs is extensive. In the Yoruba traditional socio-political system and the wider society, proverbs assume a functional role as a vehicle of thought, therefore, a vital aid to societal administration (Adeoye 1987).

Conclusion

Culture has moved from the anthropological position of collection of pots and pans, bit and pieces that we all have to a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society (Tylor, 1871).This transformation of culture from something you have to something you do, suggests that today culture is not an equivalent to identity and tradition.

The paper suggests that culture of the people is what they do in their lived and experienced day-to-day existence in a particular place and moment, within a given society. As a result, the process of achieving a significant actual life in the community through the combination of different social activities captures efforts of the people in the urban housing crisis

This research attempts to interpret culture as a resource which circulates globally, with ever increasing velocity (Yudice 2003). Furthermore, as a whole body of effort made by people in a sphere of thought to describe, justify the actions through which that people keeps itself in existence (Fanon 1968).

This cultural dimension towards urban housing crisis is a new perspective in minimising the negative effects of urban housing crisis in developing countries. Moreover, it has a practical function towards developing a framework, in order to inform housing policies. A lot of research has gone into the study of the complexities of the urban housing crisis. However, the experiences and culture of the people in the community have been neglected; as a possibility of the basis of understanding the crisis and also a route to a probable solution to minimise it.

In the context of Africa, African proverbs as part of their culture 'have a different function and level of theoretical meaning that make them key components, as well as expressions of a culture's viewpoints on a variety of important topics and problems' (Barry ,2000. p.140). This paper aligns with Barry's position that, defining a phenomenon requires identifying necessary and essential qualities. This process leads to the development of proverbs and understanding the complexity associated with the context. This paper maintains that proverb must be analysed in its' unique social context. In order to connect with the lived experience of the people, the paper views proverbs of a community, as 'the real sense of ethnography of the people which if systematized can give a penetrating picture of the people's way of life, their philosophy, their criticism of life, moral truths and social values' (Akporobaro and Emovon 1991.p.1).

This paper submits that, the function of African philosophy in the African built environment as a means to understand the evolution of the society is one of the most important elements to the existence of the community. Even though, it is evident that our communities are facing crisis that the existing intellectual claims struggles to tackle. The fusion or the installation of African philosophy as a relevant entity in the framework of knowledge guiding the built environment is the key to its sustainability. The African attention to phenomenology as the guiding philosophy of this research ensures that the particularity of meaning of housing in

context of Africa is maintained. It allows this research to retain the original meanings of the core issues and concepts that will be generated. It ensures that this research resonate the "Africanness", which grounds the cultural construct that will be developed. While phenomenology peels of any superficial layers of meaning and opens up the lived experience in order to come in contact with roots of the issues in the community. African philosophy ventilates this process by ensuring that the uniqueness of the cultural empirical evidence that is this gathered through case study is preserved. This influence of African philosophy will generate the immense possibilities and potentials that can be sourced in a whole body of effort made by people to survive in a general liveability crisis.

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About the Author

Olusegun Oluwole

My research explores sustainability through cultural aspects of the built environment while looking at the social, political,environmental and other factors influencing the urban housing crisis in developing countries. My background is in architecture and I am a member of Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). I lecture as a part-time lecturer at Nottingham Trent University. I am interested in teaching methods which blend academic fun with learning to enhance the students' learning process. I also intend to push my research as tool that can be used to minimise the effect of housing crisis in developing countries.

Appendix 3: Paper on African phenomenology and its applications published by: Journal of The World Universities Forum.

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African Phenomenology: A Methodology for Research in Developing Countries

Olusegun Oluwole, Nottingham Trent University, Nottinghamshire, UK

Abstract: This paper connects with understanding knowledge, as the basis for formulating a research methodology. It aims to understand the applicability of African phenomenology as an academic knowledge to real life experiences in developing countries. This paper would interpret that methodology should manifest the interest that lies in the research question and more importantly the goal it would like to fulfil. African phenomenology as a concept was discovered from the author's research on issues on urban housing crisis in Lagos, Nigeria. This Lagos case exemplifies an African urban housing crisis situation. Kamalu (1990) argued that African philosophy possesses a strong internal system that makes it culturally independent. This implies that African philosophy can be considered as regards fundamental issues that affects the lived experience in a community. Similarly, Moran (2002) stressed that Phenomenology examines the structure of consciousness from within as well as complex conception of the nature of the historical and cultural elements of the human experience. These suggest that phenomenology has the capacity to liberate the internal attributes of African philosophy. In context of author's work, African philosophy and phenomenology as a philosophy, possess the same characteristics as a framework underpinning a research process. As a result, this paper through a discussion of the PhD research into urban housing crisis establishes the fusion between African philosophy and phenomenology. This paper aims to express the similarities by identifying the characteristics they both possess. It proceeds to understand culture as a basic element which relates to African phenomenology. This paper also suggests that African phenomenology can be developed into a methodology that can be used to tackle research that relates specifically to the developing world issues. This is depicted in the author's investigation into the urban housing crisis in Lagos Nigeria and further elaborated in the paper.

Keywords: African Phenomenology, African Philosophy, Culture, Urban Housing, Phenomenology, Methodology

Introduction

THIS PAPER AIMS to understand the applicability of African phenomenology as an academic knowledge to real life experiences in developing countries, by investigating the social, economic and other related context of the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle community, Lagos, Nigeria. African phenomenology is a new methodological framework discovered through the on-going research, which explores sustainability through cultural aspects of the African built environment.

The paper builds on the on-going research, which interacts with the formulation and implementation of concepts relating to urban housing in Africa. This research combines African philosophy and phenomenology as the methodology in order to connect with the lived experience of the Ajegunle community situated in Lagos, Nigeria. The research draws

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from the case study area and seeks to understand the existing survival strategies of the community.

This paper also presents the argument that if the cultural requirements of the eventual users of a community submerged in urban housing crisis must be considered, then the research methodology should "express" and not only "support" the intent of the research . The distinction between "express" and "support" is substantiated in the body of the paper.

Debates continue over the extent and composition of the urban housing problem. The problems that are associated with the urban housing crisis in Nigeria and in developing countries are fundamentally interwoven. This paper focuses on urban housing as a strategic vehicle for understanding the cultural position of the ideas and different approaches to the informal and eccentric processes of the development of a society.

The paper through the discussion of the Ajegunle case study, demonstrates the effects of African phenomenology as a methodology used to understand the existing urban housing crisis in Ajegunle, Lagos Nigeria. It attempts to highlight discoveries made and also draw from the theoretical foundations formulated by this research.

Background and Context

UN-Habitat (2003) suggests that, within the developing regions, sub-Saharan Africa had the largest proportion of the urban population resident in slums with 71.9 percent of its entire population living in slum conditions. The urban housing crisis experienced in Nigeria is a representation of the African situation and not a case in isolation in the region. Nigeria shares with the other African countries the dilemma of housing an escalating population, which impose strict limits on housing and related urban services. These implies on the significance of housing as a nexus to a fundamental human existence. The population explosion and other factors that contribute to teeming population, has effected the development of an urban form with physical characteristics of an urban housing crisis but also containing stunning internal survival strategies. People living in these areas, which is labelled as "slums" are misunderstood by the government who formulate policies and the professionals that has the administrative knowledge to improve their environment. The works of Mabogunje (1969), Onibokun (1973) and Agbola (1997) approached the urban existing crisis with a quantitative measure that does not unravel the embedded socio-cultural layer that contributes to the existing urban housing crisis.

Methodology

Pepin (2004) stressed that 'research methodology deals with the philosophical constructs which underpin the research process as well as the fluency and coherence of that process, guiding the manner in which the research is evaluated and expressed.' (p.110). This stimulates an argument raising the question of whether an African based research on core issues as regards urban housing crisis, can be based on a western philosophy.

In order to offer a culturally informed framework for the development of future housing policy, which is an aspect of the research from which this paper is developed, the question that should research methodology express or support the research question, is considered. The earlier works of Mabogunje (1969), Onibokun (1973) and Agbola (1997) on social implications of urbanization in developing countries, housing enablement and affordable

housing for the urban poor has used different methodologies which were quantitative in nature to support the housing crisis in their research. Most of their study areas are still in continuing deterioration. As a result, the quantitative methods deployed were not sufficient to tackle and arrive at a plausible solution to the existing housing crisis. *Oxford English Dictionary* defined "support" as "provide", which may suggest that the methodologies used could have been for the sake of the fluency of the project. In contrast *OED* defined "express" as "manifest". This paper suggests that methodology should manifest the interest that lies in the research question and more importantly the goal it would like to fulfil. Based on this lack of deepened understanding of the core elements of the existing urban housing crisis, this paper explores the use of African phenomenology as a new methodology that attends to the socio-cultural nuances of an existing urban housing issue. As a result, this paper through a discourse will separate African philosophy from phenomenology and aim to express the similarities by stressing the characteristics they both possess. It also demonstrates how African phenomenology illuminates the core elements of urban housing in Ajegunle community. This serves as an example to show the importance of African phenomenology as a methodology that responds to and allows deepened understanding of issues that relates to the African society.

African Philosophy

The African philosophy is the foundation of African thought (Kamalu, 1990). This paper elaborates and generates an understanding from this African position by showing the relationship of African philosophy to phenomenology. It examines the foundation of African philosophy through the concept of proverbs in Africa.

Proverbs are universal phenomenon, portraying the genius of individual nations (Champion, 1950). Among the Yorubas of the South Western Nigeria, where Ajegunle community is situated, proverbs possesses an added significance; they serve as charters of social and ethical norms in human interactions to extol what the society considers to be virtues (Olatunji, 1984). The Yoruba society use of proverbs is extensive. In the Yoruba traditional sociopolitical system and the wider society, proverbs assume a functional role as a vehicle of thought, therefore, a vital aid to societal administration (Adeoye, 1987).

The paper proceeds further to investigate the use and the application of these aspects of African philosophy to the Ajegunle community. In South Western Nigeria where the Ajegunle community is situated, housing is referred to as "*ile*" which is the very core, a symbol of human existence and status in the community (Vlach, 1984). The Yoruba[1] proverb 'ile *la wo ka to somo loruko*' which by translation suggests that, after given birth to a child you will look at your house before you give the baby a name (Adeoye, 1982). In contrast to this generic meaning, the cultural meaning of this proverb is to appreciate your life experience which has a symbolic representation of a house before you name a child. This shows a strong ontological preference and a pregnant meaning which needs a systematic inquiry to understand. The proverb stated above suggests that before you name a child, you think deeply about your lived experience and other real factors that contributed to your being. This position is represented in an object (the house). In African philosophy, names reflect the world view of a people. It shows the significance of an experience, an event or phenomena (Fasiku,

[1] A member of a Black people of south western Nigeria and neighbouring parts (Oxford English Dictionary, 2009).

2006). This feature of African proverb as an aspect of African philosophy, simplifies the understanding of a phenomenon by connecting it to a three-dimensional object, which is a symbolic register for an ontological experience of the African people.

In the context of Africa, African proverbs as part of their culture 'have a different function and level of theoretical meaning that make them key components, as well as expressions of a culture's viewpoints on a variety of important topics and problems' (Barry 2000, p.140). This paper aligns with this Barry's position that, defining a phenomenon requires identifying necessary and essential qualities. Thus, the process of definition leads to the development of proverbs and understanding the complexity associated with the context. This paper maintains that proverb must be analysed in its unique social context. In line with this, in order to connect with the lived experience of the people, the paper views proverbs of a community, as 'the real sense of ethnography of the people which if systematized can give a penetrating picture of the people's way of life, their philosophy, their criticism of life, moral truths and social values' (Akporobaro and Emovon 1991, p.1).

Adeeko (1998) stressed that 'Africa's contribution, towards civilization is enormous, in fact Africans colonized reality' (p.x). He further stressed that a deconstructive analysis of the Yoruba proverbs shows that the material text and its use is more complex than what is admitted in a clear communication (ibid). This foregoing suggests that even though African philosophy is claimed not to be coherent, they are an embodiment of virtual knowledge that is passed from one generation to the other (Kamalu, 1990). He further argued that the African philosophy possesses a strong internal system that makes it culturally independent (ibid). This makes African philosophy worthy to be considered as regards fundamental issues that affects urban housing in Africa and also strengthens the guiding philosophical undertone of the research.

Phenomenology

The complexities and composition of the urban housing situation, the nature of the case study area and the emerging issues from the problem, suggests that, Ajegunle is a "phenomena". The Oxford English Dictionary (2008) defines phenomena as 'a very notable or a particular kind of fact or occurrence; a highly exceptional or unaccountable fact… a thing, person, or animal remarkable for some unusual quality; a prodigy.' The OED (2008) further defined "-ology" as 'the study…of what is indicated by the first element'. In generic terms, this presents phenomenology to be an agglutination of "phenomena" and "-ology", which attempts to study a phenomenon. This research proceeds from this generic understanding and interpretation of the use of phenomenology to a more scientific use as both method (practice) and methodology (philosophy). Phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences. Phenomenology asks for the very nature of a phenomenon, for that which makes a some-"thing" what it is and without which it could not be what it is (Van Manen, 1990). The research uses phenomenology as an approach to understand the meaning, structure and essence of the lived and living experiences of this existing urban housing phenomenon in Ajegunle, Lagos Nigeria.

Furthermore the research concentrates on the Husserlian school of thought of phenomenology. Moran (2002), stressed that 'phenomenology is not just an abstract, metaphysical philosophy but it is an attempt to come in contact with the matters themselves with concrete living experience' (p.xiii). He further stressed that 'phenomenological description of things

is just as they are, in manner in which they appear…' (p.xiii). 'Phenomenology examines the structure of consciousness from within…as well as…complex conception of the nature of the historical and cultural elements of human experience' (p.xiv). This characteristic of phenomenology liberates the ontological attribute of African philosophy. As a result, this phenomenological approach peels off layers of the existing urban housing crisis in other to come in contact with the core elements of the community that is related to the existing housing situation. This process explores the lived experience of the Ajegunle people in order to construct an understanding of the existing social processes in the community.

African Phenomenology

This research synthesises African philosophy and phenomenology to arrive at "African phenomenology". This term is particular to this research, because it underpins the philosophical construct of the research that guides the methodological approach. The African attention to phenomenology as the guiding philosophy of this research ensures that the particularity of meaning of housing in context of Africa is maintained. It allows this research to retain the original meanings of the core issues and concepts that will be generated as opposed to the generic quantitative approach adopted by other studies as discussed earlier in this paper. It ensures that this research resonate the "Africanness", which grounds the cultural construct that will be developed. While phenomenology peels of any superficial layers of meaning and opens up the lived experience in order to come in contact with roots of the issues in the community, African philosophy ventilates this process by ensuring that the uniqueness of the cultural empirical evidence that is gathered through case study is preserved.

African philosophy relates to phenomenology in terms of character and composition:

- In terms of character, African philosophy and phenomenology reacts to knowledge in the same manner. They both recognise consciousness as the foundation for reality in the world. This leads to a creation of an informal body of knowledge which is considered as the foundation of the society (Kamalu, 1990). This knowledge is used to logically interpret an emerging situation in the community. African philosophy uses proverbs to reconstruct actions and reality, in order to excavate knowledge from a lived experience. This knowledge is used as a model, to analyse other forthcoming activities and improve the social structure of the society. This technique adopted by African philosophy to analyse the society relates to the manner through which phenomenology expresses knowledge.
- In terms of composition, African philosophy re-construct perception of reality with the aim of understanding a situation and developing a framework that can be used as the basis for the social engagement in the society. In the same way, Phenomenology understands reality in order to come in contact with the cultural evidence without tampering with the natural meaning and integrity.

Findings from Ajegunle Case Study

Based on the methodological understanding, as a result of African phenomenology, these findings were made from Ajegunle, Lagos Nigeria. African phenomenology positioned the research, in order to understand the core meanings associated with housing, by coming in

contact with the integral elements without tampering with its original interpretation. Furthermore, African phenomenology ensured that the cultural and African element in the built environment is maintained through the case study process. As a result, African phenomenology as a methodological framework sets the background for a research that responds to the socio-cultural nuances of the African people. This paper used a qualitative approach to understand the existing urban housing crisis in the Ajegunle community, because it views the problem from a human stand point. It provides an insight into the issue by using an intrinsic case study, in order to have a deeper perspective on the existing crisis (Stake, 2005). The empirical material was collected by informal interviews, observations, photographs and taking of field notes with the residents of Ajegunle community; a society labelled as a slum in Lagos Nigeria.

Part of the aspects of the community, through which culture has been expressed as an effort and a survival strategy during the urban housing crisis situation, is the construction processes in Ajegunle community. There is a rationale to all the physical composition and the materials that are used in Ajegunle community for construction purposes. Based on the nature of land and other present man-made features; referred to as "water canal", makes the community susceptible to flooding. In order to achieve a street level that is higher than the ground level which is affected by flooding, the people adopted purposeful dumping of waste material on the street (see. Fig 1).

Fig 1: **Aerial View of Ajegunle Settlement in Lagos, Nigeria**. Note the Dumping of the Waste, as Part of Purposeful Construction in the Community

This aspect of the construction even creates employment whereby people are paid to dump waste at an agreed site or portion of land. The method is used for flooring of the street. It involves gathering waste materials from the community. This waste is spread depending on

the area that is lower to the ground level. Part of the materials used which include "saw dust", forms a layer that is not permeable by water. In addition to this, there is top layer of sand, which is then applied in order to prepare the surface for a hard or soft landscape depending on the function of the surface area. The general perception of these streets suggests that it is dirty and there are no proper ways of collecting waste. However, it is a purposeful construction process for the retention of their building area against flooding.

The process of building is in phases. This phase includes construction of temporal structures which are based on the immediate function of a family or an individual. The toilet and bath services are shared within buildings, because it is not an affordable service at the initial phase of the temporary construction. This temporal structure includes: bedroom spaces, living room spaces and kitchen area. Depending on the size of the family and financial resources, the number of spaces is different. The existing spatial distribution in the houses depends on the size of the building. This includes: husband and wife shares a bedroom, where female children and male children have separate rooms; the family comprising of 4 or 5 including the parents shares a bedroom, living and kitchen area or a whole family in one room. In other situations, where the whole family shares the bedroom, living and kitchen area, the living area is converted into a bedroom in the night for the children. The building layouts comprises of two wings, with a lobby partitioning the wings. A wing usually contains the public area which includes: living and kitchen area, while the other wing is the private area which comprises of bedrooms depending on the size of the family. It is a common practice for this layout to have a room to let, because of its economic advantages. This serves as an additional income for the family which usually goes into redeveloping the building into the next stage. The internal compositions of the house are made of simple materials. Calendar pages are used as wall paper for aesthetic and functional purposes. The pages from the calendars beautify the rooms with images of mansions, which reflect the aspirations of the owner. There are window spaces of (700mm by 700mm) that are protected by plastic sheets or glass window blades depending on the financial capability of the owner. Wood is the main building material used in this community. This is due to: short span for construction, easy construction methods, flexible for re-adaptation of a space to incorporate extra or reduce functions, affordability and re-usability for other purposes. In addition to this building construction advantages, wood is also available in the surrounding community.

Conclusion

The consciousness of the African philosophy in the African people defines their connection between humanity and the society. Thus, in order for this research to qualitatively determine the core issues of the housing crisis, African philosophy connects with phenomenology. African phenomenology therefore consolidates the realities rooted in African issues, with a phenomenological stand point, which pinpoints to the human element without changing the meanings from which the human actions and perceptions were generated.

This research uses "African phenomenology" as the methodology. Singularly, phenomenology as the method and the practice pinpoints, interprets and gathers the empirical information without interfering with the original meaning. However, the duality of African philosophy and phenomenology to form African phenomenology serves a principal purpose in the research. It ensures that the process of philosophication, interpretation and collection of cultural empirical material puts the African context into consideration. This position partic-

ularises the methodology for this research and ensures that the progression and the development of the emerging concepts from the research does not loose its sense of "Africanness". It proceeds to maintain the African tenets that guide the philosophical undertone of this research. This also contributes to the African philosophy as an aspect of the methodology of this study.

Based on the deployment of African phenomenology, this paper discovered that the present housing condition seems to be in crisis which is furnished with challenges informed by their present circumstance, but the Ajegunle community is in a phase of its developmental transition. African philosophy in the methodological frame of the research, gave the platform to identify the added importance of housing to the Ajegunle people. The proverbial deepened understanding of "*ile*" (housing) as an integral part of the Yoruba built environment, informed the need to examine the processes involved in the development of housing. Thus, it forms the basis for exploring the different layers of the existing socio-cultural structures in the community. In relation to this, phenomenology pinpointed the human element, ensured that the cultural evidence is not tampered with and also gathered the empirical information in its original form. As a result of the African phenomenological process, the research discovered that the developmental transition of the Ajegunle community is not deterioration as expressed in slum conditions, which is similar to the existing housing situation. However, it is an upward progression of the community, which is reflected in the approach to construction as discovered from the case study of Ajegunle community. Therefore, this paper submits that the use of African phenomenology as a methodology for African related research, maintains the element of culture and the socio-cultural nuances of the African built environment. It generates meanings which underpins the foundation of the African society. As a result, it is the means through which the evolution and the important elements of the African community can be understood. It is evident that our communities are facing crisis that the existing intellectual claims struggles to tackle. However, the use of African phenomenology will create a fresh understanding, as a result promote sustainability.

African phenomenology was deployed in the case of Ajegunle, Lagos Nigeria, in order to comprehend the core elements of housing, thus achieving a deepened understanding of the processes involved in the informal settlement. In line with this, the paper suggests that researches that emanate from issues in developing countries need a methodology that is closely connected to the root and the socio-cultural nuances of the research problem. This is because of the embedded meanings within the socio-cultural level of the society, which will contribute to the deepened understanding and prevent the generation of solutions from the superficial comprehension of an existing issue with a quantitative method. Based on this, the paper suggests that the use of African phenomenology, regards the cultural context of the situation that is studied. Thus, it arrives at a plausible position that can be developed or used to inform a solution to an existing crisis in the African society.

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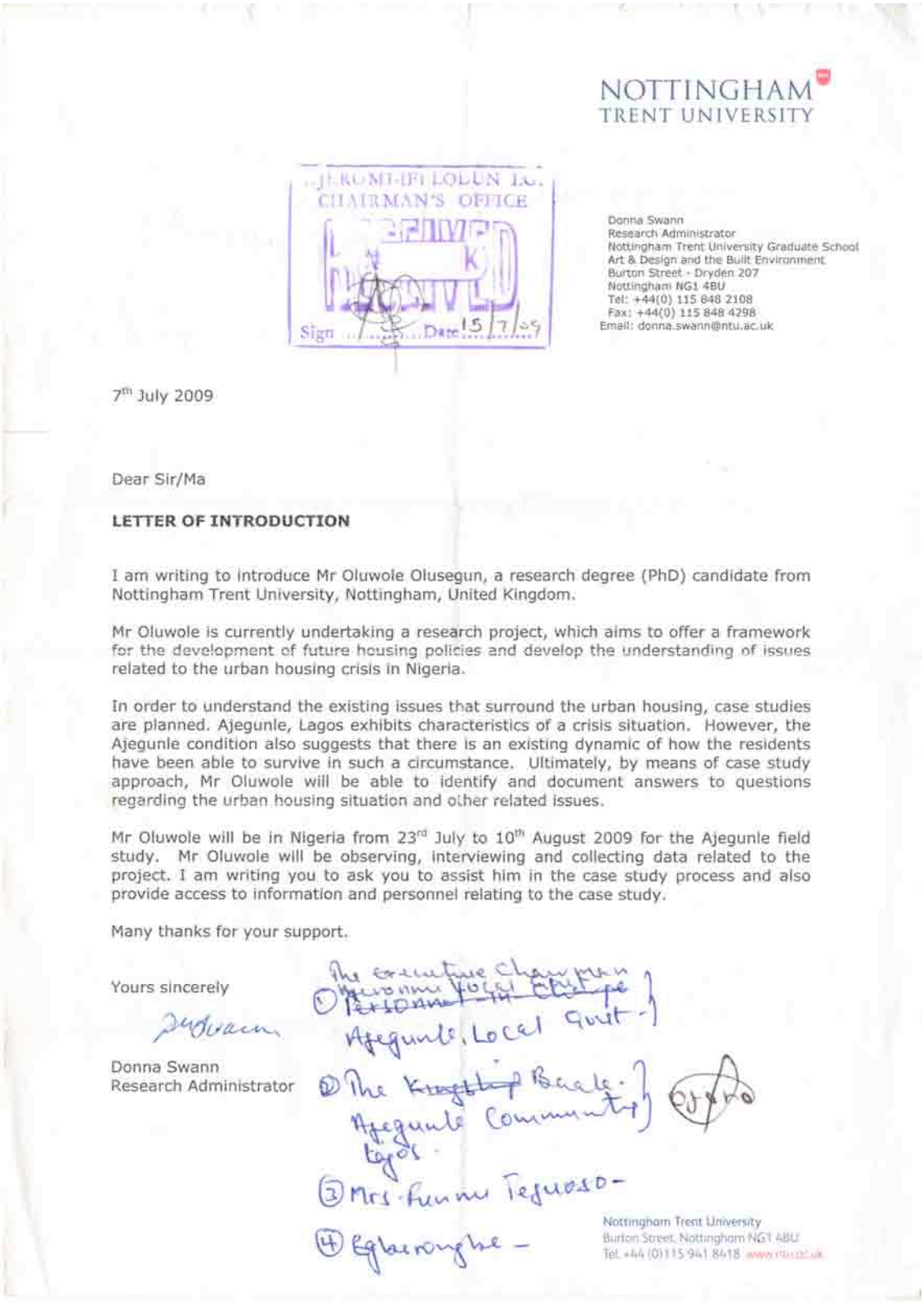
About the Author

Olusegun Oluwole
My research explores sustainability through cultural aspects of the built environment. It also looks at the social, political, environmental and other factors influencing the urban housing crisis in developing countries. My background is in architecture and I am a member of Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). I lecture as a part-time lecturer at Nottingham Trent University. I am interested in teaching methods which blend academic fun with learning to enhance the students' learning process. I also intend to push my research as tool that can be used to minimise the effect of housing crisis in developing countries.

Appendix 4: Case study letter received by Ajeromi-Ifelodun local government.



NOTTINGHAM
TRENT UNIVERSITY

AJEROMI-IFELODUN L.G.
CHAIRMAN'S OFFICE
RECEIVED
Sign ..... Date 15/7/09

Donna Swann
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7th July 2009

Dear Sir/Ma

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

I am writing to introduce Mr Oluwole Olusegun, a research degree (PhD) candidate from Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, United Kingdom.

Mr Oluwole is currently undertaking a research project, which aims to offer a framework for the development of future housing policies and develop the understanding of issues related to the urban housing crisis in Nigeria.

In order to understand the existing issues that surround the urban housing, case studies are planned. Ajegunle, Lagos exhibits characteristics of a crisis situation. However, the Ajegunle condition also suggests that there is an existing dynamic of how the residents have been able to survive in such a circumstance. Ultimately, by means of case study approach, Mr Oluwole will be able to identify and document answers to questions regarding the urban housing situation and other related issues.

Mr Oluwole will be in Nigeria from 23rd July to 10th August 2009 for the Ajegunle field study. Mr Oluwole will be observing, interviewing and collecting data related to the project. I am writing you to ask you to assist him in the case study process and also provide access to information and personnel relating to the case study.

Many thanks for your support.

Yours sincerely

Donna Swann
Research Administrator

① The Executive Chairman Ajeromi Local Govt ~~Personnel in Charge~~ Ajegunle, Local Govt.
② The ~~Kingship~~ Baale. Ajegunle Community Lagos.
③ Mrs. Funmi Tejuoso -
④ Egberonghe -

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Appendix 5: Table (8.1) showing names and positions of the people interviewed.

Interview	Position	Name
Local government staff 1	Secretary and adviser on housing to the Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local Government	Hon. Amosa Yinusa
State government staff 2	State liaison on Local government matters	Mr. Akin Ibrahim
Ajegunle resident 1	Co-ordinator of the Community development association	Mr. Oluwafemi Ileubare
Ajegunle resident 2	Security personnel for the Community development association	Mr. Jimoh Ibrahim
Ajegunle resident 3	Welfare personnel for the Community development association	Mr. Morufu Lawal
Ajegunle resident 4	Construction personnel for the Community development association	Mr. Alfred Irene
Ajegunle resident 5	Land owner representative (liaison officer between Ajegunle residents and original land owners), part of the Community development association	Mr. Sunday Okuwoaga
Ajegunle resident 6	N/A	Mr. Kazeem Owolabi
Ajegunle resident 7	N/A	Mr. Amuda Shehu