

NIGERIAN CITIES: THEIR REHABILITATION AND REDEVELOPMENT

G. Adepaju Onibokun

The hearts of many cities in Nigeria are like islands of poverty in seas of relative affluence. It does not require professional skill in environmental perception to note the difference between the residential, environmental, and the overall physical structure of the central parts of Lagos and Ibadan, for example, and their suburbs. Well-designed and relatively well-maintained neighbourhoods in the suburbs and in the newer sections of these cities are inhabited by the affluent, the middle-class, and the privileged. At the other polar end are the majority of urbanites--citizens massing themselves in the unkept and often squalid hearts of the cities, living under conditions that are at times sub-human and sharing sub-standard houses in areas which, by any standard, are slums. Unfortunately, concern over the slums, on the part of the privileged, the public authorities, and the citizens themselves, is insignificant. There has been much talking, much academic analysis, and much propaganda, but little or no action. Hence there has been little accomplishment and hardly any change in the plight of the low-income people who are directly bearing the brunt of the urban problems.

Many academicians, both nationals and expatriates, have drawn attention to the multi-dimensionality of the urban problems facing Nigeria (see Bascom 1955; Lloyd 1960; Mitchel 1962; Miner 1960; Herskivits 1930, 1962; Mabogunje 1961, 1962ab; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 1962). Most of their studies, however, have been confined to general description of the ugly urban phenomena, to historical emergence of slums, and to geographical and sociological analyses of the urban problems. Some of these studies have advanced new urban concepts on African cities, old theories of urban ecology have been confirmed, and the urban morphology has been characterised; but very few practical solutions have been offered regarding the environmental problems facing each of these cities.¹

Planners and policy-makers, on the other hand, have evolved little or no practicable, comprehensive planning policies with respect to these complex residential and environmental problems. Often hampered by their lack of grasp of the social, economic, physiological, and psychological implications of these problems, they seem to have accepted a defeatist

¹Some studies are, however, exceptionally good in this respect. Scholars such as Mabogunje (1968), Okediji and Aboyade (1967), Abrams (1964), and Koeinigsberger et al. (1964) have made significant contributions to the task of evolving practical solutions to the urban problems confronting emerging nations in general and Nigeria in particular.

attitude, thus regarding the existing slum conditions as beyond remedy. In practice their overall attitude to these problems can be well summarised by the apathetic preface to George Bernard Shaw's Major Barbara:

Let him be poor It means let him be weak.
 Let him be ignorant, let him become a nucleus of
 disease. Let him be a standing exhibition and
 example of ugliness and dirt. Let him have rickety
 children Let his habitations turn our cities
 into poisonous congeries of slums Let the
 undeserving become still less deserving (1947, pp.
 210-211).

By default the Nigerian urban policies seem to reiterate: Let the inhabitants of our great cities continue to inherit our great slums! In fact, town and country planning is hitherto accorded very low priority in national development considerations.

Where action has been taken concerning rehabilitation and redevelopment of the cities, the approach has often been ad hoc, and policies and actions, in the main, have not been orchestrated towards the desired goal. Moreover, the professional (both the nationals and their foreign counterparts who are often imported as "experts" and "advisers") have unknowingly allowed their middle-class values and mentality and the alien nature of their professional training to cloud their approaches to rehabilitation and urban developmental problems. The unsuccessful approach taken towards the slum problems in Lagos (see Marris 1962), the lack of compatibility between residential developments and location of job opportunities which is crippling mobility within Lagos, and the undue emphasis placed by housing corporations in Nigeria on developing residential estates that can be afforded by only the affluent and the privileged--these are examples of the types of ethnocentric and ill-conceived urban policies I am talking about.

It is my intention in this paper to analyse and consider, using a case study, possible guidelines for action on the housing and environmental problems plaguing Nigerian urban centers. The core area (i.e., the central area, or the older part) of Ibadan city, an epitome of Nigerian urban problems, shall be used for illustrative purposes. Specifically, with due consideration to the dimensions of the economic, social, cultural, and political constraints on rehabilitation policies, a number of pragmatic planning strategies which could be deployed to combat the difficult housing and environmental problems facing the Ibadan core area shall be suggested.

The rationale behind the exposition below falls into three categories:

- (1) Housing and environmental quality developments are complementary processes, and both are vital components of, and useful mechanisms for, regional and national development.

- (2) The apparently apathetic attitude of many--planners, academicians, politicians, and the citizens at large--to urban problems in Nigeria constitutes an unnecessarily shortsighted and unprogressive approach to viewing and planning for urban problems.
- (3) The magnitude of the postwar rehabilitation problems that faces Nigeria, the limited fiscal resources available to the country, and the non-dependability of foreign loans for urban renewal purposes² are all warnings that Nigeria must find practicable solutions to her urban problems. The thesis of this paper is that it is not impossible to find such practicable solutions.

PLANNING STRATEGIES FOR URBAN REHABILITATION

The planning strategies advanced in this paper may be grouped conveniently into two major classes: (1) strategies based on multi-faceted rehabilitation and conservation and (2) strategies based on technological adaptation and planned house-financing mechanisms. Each of these shall be discussed below.³

Strategies Based on Multi-faceted Rehabilitation and Conservation

The situation in the city of Ibadan illustrates the typical housing and environmental problems plaguing most of the large indigenous urban centers in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The core area of Ibadan city is dominated by a cluster of compactly built dwellings and except for the intervening floodable land, open spaces are almost non-existent in the entire built-up area. Apart from the main road which bifurcates the core area and the few roads which have been cut through the original compounds, access within the core is, in most cases, by means of extremely narrow footpath systems which are very inadequate to cope with the modern-day rate of traffic.

Moreover, most of these roads are extremely bad, especially in the rainy season when, in some cases, "the difference between sewer and footpath is not always quite clear" (Steigenga 1965). Even on the few paved roads, evidences of neglect on the part of the city council are substantiated

²This difficulty of attracting foreign loans for housing and renewal was succinctly clarified by Grebler (1953).

³The strategies below stem from a comprehensive analysis by the author of the economic, social, cultural, and political situation in this area. For details, see Onibokun 1969, 1970.

by the cacophony of noise made by the vehicles bumping up and down over the myriads of pits and "pot-holes" lying over the roads.

As a result of old age, poor construction, and poor maintenance, an estimate of over 40 per cent of the houses are dilapidated, mostly derelict, shabby in appearance with parched walls, leaky roofs, and smoke-blackened ceilings. Besides the small percentage of houses which can be regarded as "modern," all other houses within the core area need repairs of one form or another. As a result of poor sanitation, environmental neglect, lack of adherence to basic hygiene codes, and abject poverty, the environment is entirely "unhealthy, filthy, crowded, and highly susceptible to any epidemics" (Okediji and Oboyade 1967, p. 10).

There is no doubt that the core of Ibadan is a chronic example of slum par excellence, whatever yardstick is used. And if the government authorities in Nigeria responsible this area of Ibadan (i.e., Old Ibadan) were to emulate the current urban-renewal devices of the affluent countries, the core of Ibadan warrants total clearance and the inhabitants demand relocation. However, the difficulties of slum clearance and relocation in this area do not appear to justify the strategy of wholesale slum clearance.⁴

Among the obstacles which make slum clearance and relocation unrealistic in the core area are the extensively large area involved, the social setting of the core,⁵ the non-availability of the enormous expenses which such an operation would incur, the social and political upheaval which the Ibadan slum clearance may evoke,⁶ the problem of procuring land in locations which would be socially and economically advantageous to the locatees (Bauer 1955), the traditional complicated family land ownership (Elias 1951), the fear of the politicians of loss of support from an immense urban population, the inflationary trend in the economy, the meagreness of technical personnel who could manage efficiently such large-scale clearance and relocation, the insufficiency of even the available slum for the teeming population who would have preferred it in the absence of no other residential abode--and a whole amalgam of other problems which would make slum clearance and

⁴Ghana, for example, accepted slum clearance in principle in 1954, and Nigeria followed suit in principle and practice in 1955. Several other countries have committed themselves to similar ventures. Except for rare cases, the ventures have been catastrophic failures (see Abrams 1964, pp. 120-125; Marris 1962, pp.82-143; Koenigsberger 1964, pp. 177-196; Geiger 1962, p. 13).

⁵In 1958 the idea of slum clearance in Ibadan was dropped because of strong opposition from the councillors, who were mostly indigenes of Ibadan.

⁶Lambo *et al.* concluded that psychological disorder is more prevalent in areas where social disruption has occurred.

relocation very horrendous.

There is yet another important factor which seems to complicate very greatly the evolvement of urban redevelopment policies for this part of Ibadan. The area is not economically attractive. Large commercial houses, firms, major offices, banks, regional government ministries, and other large-scale economic investments, which could raise the economic and the social value of the core area, are located in areas lying outside the core. Hence, the core of Ibadan today forms a sharp contrast to the core of cities in Western Europe or in North America. Ibadan's is neither an attractive area for private redevelopment, nor is it an appealing area for public renewal or public development programs. It is a core of marginal economic opportunity.

Even if we assume that a policy of wholesale slum clearance is economically feasible (a very optimistic assumption), a more systematic diagnosis of the type of problems confronting Ibadan city does not appear to commend this type of urban redevelopment strategy. In fact, an idea of wholesale slum clearance in Ibadan city seems too grandiose and premature, for it can be strongly argued that the problem of Ibadan's housing has little to do with actual houses as far as the most urgent public priorities are concerned. Instead, what appear to be the most pressing needs of most residential areas of the city are more and better designed roads, storm drainage facilities, more public water standpipes with better service, sanitary sewer systems in the newer areas and better refuse and night soil collection in the older ones, market facilities, developed motor parks, communal laundry facilities, neighbourhood parks, and so forth.

Considering these circumstances, it is only reasonable that some fresh thinking must be brought to bear on the shelter and environmental problems confronting this city. Some aspects of such fresh thinking which can be adopted for partially solving these problems are the strategies of rehabilitation and conservation.

Rehabilitation, as it is used here, is a process of environmental improvement at both micro and macro levels utilizing in a very effective way all the domestic resources and all the possible strategies hitherto undeployed or insufficiently deployed. At the micro level, rehabilitation is environmental upgrading, on an individual housing-unit basis. In this case, the defective houses are repaired, some are repainted, some are plastered, windows are added to some, and cleanliness and good sanitation are promoted among all households. Rehabilitation at the macro scale, on the other hand, is a process of neighbourhood revitalization through the removal of the worst houses, the repairing and construction of streets, and the addition of parks and other open spaces. Some facets of this rehabilitation concept which could be adopted in Ibadan core, and the machineries which could be used to carry them out, will be discussed below.

Involvement and Activation of Citizens

An active involvement of the inhabitants of the core is central to the success of any strategy that may be proposed for solving their housing problem. According to Kurt Back in his book Slums, Projects, and People (1962), the residents of an area cannot be regarded as a basically passive crowd of objects who cannot respond to public issues or exert political control on public agencies. "The families in substandard housing play an active part in the relocation process by their degree of co-operation, resistance, and ultimate decision" to change and accept changes (pp. 6-8).

The inhabitants of the core, as published materials have shown, are steeped in tradition, seemingly conservative, and unaware of the magnitude and dimensions of their housing and environmental problems. The immediate task, then, is the activation of these inhabitants. Activation in this sense embraces the emergence of citizens who will be aware of their environmental problems, who will believe that changes are not only possible but feasible, and who will have a keen desire to change and accept changes.

For example, there are many environmental and sanitary defects prevailing in the core area of Ibadan which are basically due to the negligence of, and lack of positive action by, the inhabitants of this area. The smoky ceilings and walls; the dirty, fly-infested cooking utensils; the bits of excreta strewn around the compounds; the stinking bathrooms and latrines abandoned to squalor and dirt; the squalid compounds and rubbish-invaded kitchens that are left unswept (all of which are characteristic of some of the dwellings within the core area)--these are disgraceful defects that the inhabitants themselves can conveniently eradicate at no expense other than the investment of their efforts.

The citizens will not shoulder these basic domestic responsibilities convincingly, however, unless they are aware of the social and health implications of the wide gap between their present environment and the "specified minimum standard" of environment which is desirable. This awareness and involvement can only come through upgrading of the values, the goals, and the hitherto accepted standards of decency of the inhabitants. What I am advocating is a social-planning process which stimulates the interests of the grass-roots and which elicits their support in achieving developmental goals.

Such a grass-roots involvement process can be secured through the imparting of basic civic comprehensive education.⁷ This civic education embraces direct persuasion by social workers, explanation of basic health

⁷Examples in South Africa and Thailand have proved that using educational campaigns can be a highly successful mechanism in initiative community development projects. See Cassel 1955.

issues to the community, discussions and meetings at neighbourhood levels, utilization of the opinion leaders in each ward (Abrams 1964, p. 162), and several other inducement techniques. Secondly, local conservatism, traditionalism, and apathy could be overcome through education and through a more intensive diffusion of information on basic civic concepts, on hygiene codes, and on the values and virtues of living in a healthy environment. In carrying out this type of task, exhibition projects and a more diversified use of communications media--documentary films, animated cartoons, radio broadcasts, closed-circuit television, newspaper articles and posters written in simple and straightforward local dialect--would be invaluable.⁸

In short, as a prerequisite to solving the housing and environmental problem of Ibadan core or of any other city in Nigeria, there is need for effective public education mounted by dedicated staff members with full support from the government and civic agencies, aimed at teaching people to help themselves. This is the essence of "community development" in a social sense, and conditions in our cities are ripe for this approach.

Rehabilitation Through Educational Institution Manpower

One of the hitherto untapped resources for community development is the pool of students in primary schools, high schools, and colleges in Ibadan. The community maintains these institutions through their taxes; there is nothing wrong if these institutions can help their community through their voluntary but well-organized efforts.

Primary schools, high schools, a technical college, teacher training colleges and a university are a part of the educational institutions in Ibadan city. All these institutions are located in different sectors of the city. In cooperation with the Ministries of Education, Social Welfare, Works and Transport, principals of schools, and student leaders, each institution could declare, at convenient periods of the year, one or two days in each year as "community improvement days." During the community improvement days, students in each institution could be organized to invest their labour on neighborhood improvements in cooperation with the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. The city, for convenience, could be divided into zones among the institutions, while the entire efforts could be coordinated by a central body appointed by the institutions themselves. That such a proposal would work out successfully is substantiated by the recent achievement of Ife Divisional Council. The council orchestrated the efforts of the citizens, the elders, the school children, and the government officials in Ile-Ife to carry out a keep-the-city-clean drive in Ile-Ife (Nigerian Daily Sketch 1968).

⁸ Examples and studies in other parts of Nigeria and West Africa have established how quickly the local inhabitants can respond to social change induced and organized through such media (Abell 1965, Hursh et al. 1968, Klongan 1967).

Moreover, during summer vacations, the hundreds of unemployed undergraduates and students from advanced teachers' colleges and technical schools could be a sure source of cheap, yet intelligent and responsible labour which the government could employ for solving some of the pressing problems in the core of Ibadan. Few of the vitally important projects that these students could be employed to do during their long vacations (especially since there is usually no employment for most of them) include: the imparting of civic education to the inhabitants in groups; the stimulation and reorganization of cooperative movements among the citizens; the encouragement and revitalization of neighbourhood savings schemes; the supervision and active involvement in self-help rehabilitation programmes; the creation of recreation grounds in the neighbourhoods; the undertaking of small-scale research, social and economic surveys relevant to anticipated community planning projects; and the supervision of unskilled labour forces working under government-sponsored or civic organizations-sponsored projects and construction works.

These schemes, if properly organized, would have multi-purpose advantages to the nation as a whole. For instance, such participation in community improvements by future leaders would engender a spirit of patriotism and nationalism; there would be constant awareness by the students of their ability to help their neighbours; and the dignity of labour, which is at present lacking among educated Nigerians, could be induced. The inhabitants, on the other hand, would become conscious of their environmental sanitation; the already prevalent apathy could be obliterated; better understanding would be fostered between the community and its educational institutions; the beliefs of the citizens that the government has to do everything for them would be altered; the benefits from the government's scarce resources could be maximized to the advantages of many; and better citizens, conscious of their civic and social responsibilities, would evolve.

The shining examples of the students from Andes University in Bogota, the similar successful movements in Caldas near Medellín, and the enormous achievements in community development of the Institute of Doctor Carlos Acedo Mendoza of Caracas in Venezuela are enviable examples of the great roles which students, in cooperation with the community and aided by government and civic bodies, could play in rehabilitation and revitalization of their communities (Koth *et al.* 1965, pp. 146-148; Puerto Rico 1955). The Nigerian students could equally be the "peace corps" of their country in their own country.

Rehabilitation Through Variants of Aided Self-Help

In view of the limited fiscal resources and of the social, cultural, and political constraints (Onibokun 1970), gradual approaches, deploying variants of "aided self-help," are practical possibilities. In the form of definition, "self-help" as a technique in community improvement ventures is a strategy by which the inhabitants of an area cooperatively undertake the building and/or the rehabilitation of their own housing,

their own neighbourhood, or their own community, using their own efforts and their own resources. When such self-help projects are promoted, in one form or the other, either by government bodies, public agencies, or any other philanthropic bodies, the strategy becomes what is referred to as "aided self-help." The aid in this sense, may be in any form: technical assistance and technical advice, offering of loans or equipment, writing off of overhead costs, supplementing of projects with community services and facilities, or the creation of a suitable atmosphere under which the self-help program could efficiently function.

Examples from other countries have shown that aided self-help--organized through loan associations, village associations, peer groups, neighbourhood committees, tenant associations, and landlords' councils--could stimulate thousands of "unsophisticated people" to cope with their housing problems effectively. The Social Programme Administration of the Puerto Rican Department of Agriculture had adopted this strategy to re-settle squatters in decent communities. Aided self-help programmes have secured better urban communities in the Caribbean islands, while the same approach has been taken to clear the slum, or the tugurios, in Medellín where 90 per cent of the tugurios have been cleared and "a city beautiful" has been achieved through the combination of efforts from private, public, and various other bodies (Caribbean Commission 1951, pp. 83-109; Puerto Rico 1954; Abrams 1964, pp. 164-194). Nigeria's neighbouring country, Ghana, and such countries as Chile, Guatemala, Trinidad, and Bolivia have successfully handled aided self-help programmes in housing (Caribbean Commission 1951, pp. 83-109; Puerto Rico 1954; Abrams 1964, pp. 164-194; Grebler 1953, pp. 29-33; Bauer 1955, p. 44). As evidenced by the following comments by the Chief Town Planning Officer in Ghana,

...the Roof Loan Scheme has intensified building activities in those villages where it is operated....The very fact that the scheme is operated through societies (and therefore the latter have had to be formed) has in itself had a beneficial effect in bringing people together for a practical purpose and has, I believe in any case, re-orientated their interests towards their villages,... (it) has led to a demand by the people for planning schemes and amenities of all kinds, including water and roads. Because the societies are operating a financial scheme it makes people aware that generally speaking you cannot get something for nothing. This is to my mind a tremendous step forward....The people do realise that improvements to their villages and to their living conditions rest very largely on themselves and their own efforts with

guidance from government.⁹

The by-products of aided-self-help strategy recommend it as a feasible and reasonable planning strategy for solving some of the problems in Ibadan core. Many of the environmental and housing defects in Ibadan core could be successfully rehabilitated by the inhabitants of the area, aided by the government, civic bodies, community leaders, and other agencies. Here are some of the possible alternatives for action:

(1) Most of the houses in the core area of Ibadan are family housing (owner-occupied). Most of these houses, as evident to any casual observer, need repairs in one form or another. On the other hand, empirical research has shown that below ₦100 is the amount that the majority of the inhabitants of the core could qualify to borrow from the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation Loan Scheme under its existing mortgage by-law 24. Under these circumstances a combination of self-help efforts and small loans could achieve much. In the first place, most of the dilapidated housing could be repaired if the families of the homeowners could cooperatively exert their efforts and if the public agencies could aid these efforts by granting small loans, ranging from ₦ 50 to ₦ 100, to family heads, repayable on an installment basis. These loans could be used to carry out replacements or rehabilitation in the form of provision of windows and air inlets, replacement of rotten windows and door frames, repair of leaking ceilings, plastering and painting of walls, provision or improvement of toilet and bathroom facilities, and removal of dangerous structures standing within the neighbourhoods.

(2) Families living in some of the obsolete houses could be induced to make a voluntary decision to rebuild their obsolete houses. Such inducement could be in the form of the government guaranteeing offer of small loans for purchasing roofing materials or offer of technical assistance or offer of both loans and technical assistance to any families within the core who would take the initiative to rebuild or to renovate their obsolete houses according to some standards set up by the government. I shall henceforth refer to this type of urban renewal strategy as "induced self-implementing housing redevelopment." If it is initiated by a few families, it may set up a chain of voluntary renewal within the core. When a family realizes that a neighbouring family has improved its housing condition through aided self-implementing redevelopment, it is inclined to emulate them. This constructively competitive mood could become part of the prevailing attitude within the core.

(3) The two alternatives above apply mainly to owner-occupied housing. It is necessary, however, to distinguish between family housing and investment housing (i.e., rental housing). While house improvement

⁹A memorandum by B.A.W. Trevallion, Chief Town Planning Officer, Ministry of Works and Housing, Ghana, as reproduced by Abrams (1964, p. 119).

loans might have a beneficial effect on the family housing sector, it may not be necessary in the case of investment housing. Since investment housing tends to be capitalized within about five years, once such housing is built and in need of repairs, financing through rental revenues is no problem if the incentive is there. If incentive is a problem, a phenomenon not unexpected in a city like Ibadan, it might be more efficient and beneficial to attack it directly through building and property maintenance by-laws. This brings us to the next section.

Conservation and Effective Implementation of Formulated Housing Standards

Evidences have been adduced in many studies to substantiate the fact that administrative inefficiencies, misconception of the goals of town planning, and government indifference contributed immensely to the dimensions of the problems facing Ibadan core. The housing problem of the core demands a change in the government's attitudes towards town and country planning. It calls for effective conservation policies.

The concept "conservation," as it is used here, embraces the protection of Ibadan core from threatening influences and the maintenance of standards throughout the city through adequate enforcement of health and building by-laws and through the adherence of the Ibadan Planning Authority to well-prepared zoning, building, and public health by-laws. The government of any country owes the governed an obligation to protect them. Protection is not restricted only to the military sense. It embraces protection against ill-health and health hazards, protection against the excesses of neighbours, protection against the neglect of environmental sanitation by some citizens, and protection against extraordinary liberty of citizens whose actions could lead to the suffering of other people.

The uncontrolled site planning within the core, the generally low standards of sanitation, and the various unhygienic and dangerous structures dotting the core (as pointed out earlier) are evidences that the government is neither effectively protecting the inhabitants of the core nor effectively implementing formulated housing and health standards. To ameliorate the housing problems in the core demands exertion of strict control over the use, the location, the organization, and the management of land and properties within the core. Moreover, it requires specification and adjudication of health and building by-laws in all the neighbourhoods, without any fear or favour. The success of these conservation measures depends on the quality of the personnel of Ibadan Town Planning Authority. The abilities of these personnel--their attitudes towards the local population; their ability to abstain from corrupt practices, favouritism, and nepotism; and their willingness to perform their duties justly--are invaluable requirements to the success of any planning strategy.

Strategies Based on Technological Adaptation and
Planning House-Financing Mechanisms

Another set of important handicaps in the way of providing good housing for Nigerians, especially those in the core area, is the insufficiency of available dwellings, and the wide gap between housing cost and the financial capabilities of those in need of houses. Three planning strategies could be examined for closing these gaps.

Lowering Cost of Houses. In an age when costs of materials are rising, when the workers in the building industry are demanding higher wages, when citizens are demanding higher quality houses, and when the custom duties on imported materials are soaring, there seems to be little possibility of lowering the housing cost. The only hope lies in the reorientation and readaptation of the existing building technology and building machinery. By reorientation and readaptation of technology and machinery, I am referring to the adoption of a combination of strategies which include the following:

(1) Improvement and modification of design to suit the need of the low-income group. It is very necessary to recognize, for example, the limited market for expensive houses; hence there is need to program industrial development to include electrical fixtures, piping, ceramic and tiles fixtures, vitrified clay sewerage pipe, and cheap household equipment at prices within the range of a large proportion of Nigeria's urban population. The basic issue here is the low priority many economic planners assign to production of consumer goods.

(2) Evolving of laws which will exonerate from taxes income earned from low-cost housing investment. This may lure investments into low-cost housing projects.

(3) Government offer of guarantee to both private and foreign investors who may wish to invest in mortgage schemes. This may stimulate long-term investment in housing, especially via foreign aid (Needleman 1965, pp. 174-175; Koeinigsberger 1964, p. 161).

(4) The intensive use of local contractors. Housing construction, per se, is not a problem in Ibadan, inasmuch as local contractors are generally capable of the necessary level of skills and techniques. (Undoubtedly some practices could be improved, especially among the traditional mud builders). The relative efficiency of local builders is attested to by Western State Housing Corporation's experience in finding it considerably cheaper to contract out construction to these small-scale builders than to use direct labour. If such reliance on local contractors, as opposed to foreign contractors, is encouraged, it could bring down the cost of housing while it would, at the same time, promote higher technological standards in the building industry within the country.

(5) A more intensive use of local materials in the building

industry. The use of imported materials in housing industry cannot but lead to increased housing cost. This is a very challenging issue in terms of high-income housing (often sponsored by government), government buildings, and large commercial firms, all of which place emphasis on imported materials. As long as Nigeria depends on imported materials, housing cost shall remain high and the housing problems shall remain aggravated.

Sweden, for example, found that she had a shortage of housing and unemployment labour force, a lack of certain building materials, but plenty of timber. What she did was to use the labour and the timber from her forests to solve part of her housing problem (Coughin 1936, pp. 6-27). In Nigeria the local materials from the forests and the land could equally be adopted for the building industry. What this requires is scientific research and wise statesmanship.

All these strategies for bringing down the cost of housing involve the participation of the federal, regional and local governments. Moreover, it is this type of approach that could receive international aid in the form of technical experts, facilities for training Nigerians, and grants for research purposes in Nigeria (International Development Bank 1961, pp. 7-10; Kain-Candle 1964).

Raising the Earning Power. Poverty is a general problem among the inhabitants of the slums and it is a barrier to good housing. A programme of urban rehabilitation of our cities cannot achieve much success without the concurrence of economic development programmes. In a subsistence urban center like Ibadan core, a successful urban redevelopment programme requires long-range planning strategies that would raise the earning power of the inhabitants and that would improve their overall living standards. The country needs an economic policy which increases the returns from the different occupational undertakings of the inhabitants.¹⁰

An economic development policy for Ibadan core, for example, must look beyond the four corners of Ibadan core. The area must be viewed as part of a larger region including the whole of Ibadan city and the 3,000 hamlets and villages within the vicinity of the city. Ibadan, by nature of her history and her economic activities, has a dual personality. A great percentage of the working inhabitants of Ibadan core carry out their economic activities (mainly farming) around the villages and hamlets surrounding Ibadan. Moreover, most of the inhabitants temporarily or semi-permanently residing in these villages and hamlets own houses or have claim to houses within the core. A great proportion of the villagers depend on, or support, a great proportion of the inhabitants of the core as well. Inevitably, the housing problem and other amalgam of problems in the core are manifest functions of the economic and the social problems

¹⁰The experiences in Lagos have shown that provision of housing for the lowest income groups who are either unemployed or underemployed cannot solve the problem but creates new and different ones. See Marris 1960, p. 123.

within the region of Ibadan as a whole.

The dual personality of the city, then, characterized by the close interdependence of town and country, make effective regional planning essential for the enduring improvement of the core. My thesis is that regional planning should be adopted as a strategy for maintaining a balanced development between the town and the countryside and for achieving higher productivity through regional resource planning. Moreover, regional economic development--through the development of land by methods which will secure convenience, efficiency, and higher returns from economic activities to all the inhabitants--deserves high priority in stemming rural-urban migration, in alleviating universal poverty, and in achieving success in any urban rehabilitation that may be proposed. It is in this field of regional approach to planning that our universities must play a leading role. Unfortunately, none of our five universities is equipped for this task; none of them has a programme in city and regional planning; hence there is no training ground for the high-calibre personnel needed for these and other tasks.

Increasing the Rate of Housing Production. Rehabilitation and conservation may alleviate the physical blight in the core, but the alleviation of overcrowding and congestion demands a rapid increase in the rate of housing production. Increased housing production necessitates the simultaneous encouragement of both the private and the public agencies involved in the building industry. Secondly, it necessitates effective and simultaneous deployment of many housing supply strategies. Here are some suggestions:

(1) There is need for changes in the operational policies of the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation. The working capital is relatively small compared with the magnitude of demand which the corporation is expected to satisfy. The low-income group is consequently left out of consideration. An increase in working capital is an inevitable factor in considering the provision of houses for the low-income groups. Greater working capital can open the way for grants of small loans to the inhabitants of the core for rehabilitation purposes, while it will equally lead to an increase in the housing stock.

(2) Consideration should be given to the provision of apartment houses which could be provided, at economic rent, to low-income families.

(3) The corporation must equally take interest in research, especially as it relates to housing construction patterns, lowering the cost of its houses through the use of local materials, and the dimension of present and future housing needs in terms of number and type of housing units and in relation to the socioeconomic characteristics of the people. The total absence of any research department or any research consultant in the entire operational set-up of the housing corporation is a regrettable limitation.

(4) The irregularities and the corrupt practices resulting in the

draining away of the corporations's limited financial resources must be stopped. As a result of malpractices, for example, the corporation incurred a default rate greater than 20 per cent during the civilian government.

(5) Apart from the housing corporation, commercial firms could be encouraged to take an interest in housing, especially for their workers.

(6) Finally, solicitation of foreign investors in the housing industry may be successful after it has been practically demonstrated that all the local initiatives and all the domestic strategies have been geared effectively towards solving the housing problem.

A Programme of Planned House-Financing Mechanisms. One of the major causes of the continuity of the blight in the core, as pointed out earlier, has been the wide gap between the cost of housing and the financial capability of the people and the government. Coupled with this is the absence of long-term loans for housing. Planned house-financing mechanisms can, however, ameliorate this stalemate.

Although the annual rate of housing construction in Ibadan is generally satisfactory, given the resources of its residents, the financing system is inefficient in that it is often necessary to accumulate the necessary capital before construction; and many would-be investors have tended to construct as they save, thereby idling capital until the structure is finished--often a process of several years. A greater emphasis on savings-and-loan schemes organized through voluntary organizations, social classes, age groups, informal groups, and private welfare associations might improve this process.

The rationale behind organizing savings schemes lies in the possible accumulation of funds from many sources which would not have been accessible to mortgagors. Moreover, in an indigenous area like Ibadan core, savings schemes may curb some of the traditional spending on ceremonials, ostentatious projects, accumulation of wives, and relatively unimportant material wealth. Finally, such savings-and-loan schemes encourage interaction through the internal and external systems, and such interactions lead to better understanding and cooperative movements. Cooperative movements, moreover, may engender the spirit of mutual trust which is at present lacking.

Fortunately, the idea of savings-and-loan schemes is not a new concept to Yoruba culture. From time immemorial the Yorubas have been organizing themselves into savings groups, esusu, at neighbourhood levels. In fact, many of these associations already perform financial services to members and with greater control over contributions and repayments than government agencies have been able to develop. This traditional practice could be revitalized and the contributors could be encouraged, through wise statesmanship, to channel the funds towards housing.

Secondly, the inhabitants of the core could be induced to become

actively involved in the Western State Housing Corporation Savings and Loan Schemes. Hitherto, the Housing Corporation Savings Scheme has not drawn large numbers of people and it has not been able to marshall much capital. Heavy withdrawals, often motivated by political instability and operational suspicions, leave very little as savings with the corporation. On the other hand, because of the unpredictability of the withdrawal trends, the housing corporation needs to exercise restraints in investing the deposited funds in housing. But the increasing number of depositors in recent years gives some hope. The savings scheme could be geared to a greater effectiveness and wider acceptance by widely disseminated propaganda, inducements, and restoration of confidence in the minds of the public about the stability and efficient management of the savings scheme.

Other housing financing mechanisms which could be explored include the feasibility of making part of the Nigerian Provident Fund available for housing. Moreover, the wealthy individuals and the private agencies in the city could be persuaded to be socially conscious and make part of their money available for mortgage operations, instead of hoarding it in the banks.¹¹ If the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation could afford to send representatives overseas to beg for foreign loans "to pursue a Low-Cost Scheme" (WNHC 1964, p. 11), it must be able to afford sending representatives to some of the economic elites and the private agencies in Nigeria to lure them to invest in the low-cost housing scheme. Evidences have shown that reliance on foreign investments in housing in developing countries is not often fruitful (see Grebler 1955, pp. 30-31; Millikan 1955, pp. 21-28). It is time that the authorities in Nigeria realized that "the burden of our (community) development will fall in the main on Nigerians" and on financial resources from Nigeria.¹²

CONCLUSION

Above all, the housing and environmental problems in the Ibadan core area demand more intensive analyses, further empirical studies, and

¹¹Socially-minded people in some towns in western Nigeria have formed unions for the purpose of social and economic development of their towns. The Ijesha Development Union in Ijesha, the Egba Descendant Union in Abeokuta, and similar unions in other towns of Nigeria have a record of achievements in community development programs, which substantiates the suggestion that efforts of wealthy individuals could jointly become remedies for the housing crisis in Ibadan core.

¹²The Supreme Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces, General Y. Gowon, stressed this concept of self-reliance in his 1968-1969 budget speech.

a comprehensive planning approach. The core, as we know, is not an isolated region: it is part of a wide area embracing the entire city of Ibadan and the entire areas within the sphere of influence of Ibadan City Region. Moreover, the housing problem, per se, cannot be isolated from the other problems facing the core of Ibadan. As a result, all the planning strategies that could be employed to solve the housing and environmental problems of the core could only be realistically effective, economically justified, socially acceptable, and physically possible if framed and implemented as part of a master plan for the whole of Ibadan City Region.

The discussion in this paper indicates that strategies aimed at the redevelopment and the rehabilitation of the core of Ibadan and the slums in our cities would achieve much success if implemented through an on-going institutional set-up that encompasses technical experts, social workers and neighbourhood leaders, all cooperatively working with a well-informed public. This is an organic planning approach--an approach that directly involves the grass roots in the decision-making and decision-implementing processes; an approach that structures, activates, and encourages the residents of each neighbourhood to plan for themselves--and the situation in Ibadan core and in other Nigerian cities justifies this.

Finally, the article has stressed solutions to Ibadan's problems which would require greater governmental activity. As pointed out earlier, the most pressing needs of most residential areas of Ibadan city are more and better designed roads, storm drainage facilities, more public water standpipes with better service, sanitary sewer systems in the newer areas, and better refuse and night soil collection in the older ones and communal laundry facilities--just to mention a few. The willingness of the government to undertake these activities appears to be the most basic issue. The large number of environmental facilities and services badly needed by the core and enumerated above are governmental responsibilities. Very little effort has been made to provide these facilities and services to the core of Ibadan and the vast majority of the city's population. While the needs increase, the state government has increasingly usurped revenues of the Ibadan City Council (ICC), and in 1967 was in arrears more than £ 200,000 to the city. ICC revenues amounted to less than £ 1 per capita in contrast to other African cities, such as Kampala or Nairobi, where per capita municipal revenues exceeded £ 4 per capita. Thus, the most basic policy toward Ibadan would be to give it the resources necessary for carrying out development of the city. Until then, community development, housing finance, and planning research are not likely to provide significant relief.

REFERENCES CITED

- Abell, Helen C. Farm Radio Forum Project, Ghana 1964-1965. Department of Geography, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, July 1965. Summary in UNESCO Report No. 51, 1968.

- Abrams, Charles. Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964.
- Back, Kurt. Slums, Projects, and People: Social Psychological Problems of Relocation in Puerto Rico. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1962.
- Bascom, William. "Urbanization Among the Yoruba." American Journal of Sociology, LX, 5 (March 1955), 446-454.
- Bauer, Catherine. "The Case for Regional Planning and Urban Dispersal." In Burnham Kelly, ed. Housing and Economic Development. Report of the Congress sponsored at Massachusetts Institute of Technology by the Albert Bemis Foundation in April-May 1953. Cambridge: MIT Press, January 1955. Pp. 39-51.
- Caribbean Commission, Central Secretariat. Aspects of Housing in the Caribbean. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: Kent House, 1961.
- Cassel, John. "A Comprehensive Health Program Among South African Zulus." In Paul D. Benjamin, ed. Health, Culture, and Community. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1955. Pp. 15-41.
- Coughin, J. C. Housing and Slum Clearance in Europe in North America. Toronto: 1936.
- Economic Commission for Africa, Workshop on Urbanization in Africa. Introduction to the Problem of Urbanization in Tropical Africa. Report prepared by the Secretariat of the ECA, Sem/Urb/Af/1, 7 March 1962.
- Elias, T. O. Nigerian Land Law and Custom. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.
- Geiger, T. "Modernization in Africa: Realities and Misconceptions." International Development Review, IV, 4 (December 1962), 13-18.
- Grebler, Leo. "The Possibilities of International Financing of Housing." In Burnham Kelly, ed. Housing and Economic Development. Report of the Congress sponsored at Massachusetts Institute of Technology by the Albert Bemis Foundation in April-May 1953. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1955. Pp. 29-33.
- Herskivits, M. J. "The Culture Area of Africa." Africa, III (1930), 59-77.
- Human Factors in Changing Africa. New York: Knopf, 1962.
- Hursh, Gerald D. et al. Communication in Eastern Nigeria: An Experiment in Introducing Change. Department of Communication, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1968.

- International Development Bank. Basic Consideration for the Evaluation and Selection of Projects Under the Social Progress Trust Fund. Washington: IDB, 1961.
- Kain-Candle, R. R. "A New Look at Housing Subsidies." Local Government Finance, LXVIII, 3 (March 1964), 87-91.
- Klongan, G. E. Radio Listening Groups in Malawi, Africa. Rural Sociology Report No. 70, Ames: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, October 1967.
- Koeinigsberger, Otto et al. Metropolitan Lagos. Report prepared for the Government of Nigeria under the United Nations Programme for Technical Assistance. New York: United Nations, April 1964.
- Koth, Marcia et al. Housing in Latin America. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1965.
- Lambo, T. A. et al. Psychiatric Disorder Among the Yoruba. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Lloyd, Peter. Yoruba Towns. Journal published at University College, Ibadan. No. 9 (June 1960), pp. 26ff.
- Mabogunje, A. L. The Market Women. Journal published at University College, Ibadan. No. 11 (February 1961).
- _____. "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan." Geographical Review, LII, 1 (1962a), 56-77.
- _____. Yoruba Towns. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1962b.
- _____. Urbanization in Nigeria. London: University of London Press, 1968.
- Marris, Peter. "Slum Clearance and Family Life in Lagos." Human Organization, XIX, 3 (Fall 1960), 123-128.
- _____. Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1962.
- Millikan, Max F. "The Economist's View of the Role of Housing." In Burnham Kelly, ed. Housing and Economic Development. Report of the Congress sponsored at Massachusetts Institute of Technology by the Albert Bemis Foundation in April-May 1953. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1955. Pp. 21-28.
- Miner, Horace. "Cultural Change Under Pressure." Human Organization, XIX, 3 (1960), 164-167.

- Mitchel, N. C. "Yoruba Towns." In K. M. Barbour and R. M. Prothero, eds. Essays on African Population. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Needleman, J. The Economics of Housing. London: Staples Press, 1965.
- Nigerian Daily Sketch. "IDC to Launch 'Keep Iife Clean Drive.'" (October 29, 1968), p. 3.
- Okediji, F. O. and O. Aboyade. Social and Economic Aspects of Environmental Sanitation in Nigeria: A Tentative Report. Reprint Series No. 47. Ibadan: Nigerian Institute of Social Economic Research, January 1967.
- Onibokun, G. Adepoju. The Core of Ibadan City, Nigeria: A Case Study in the Problem of Housing in the Emerging Nations. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, 1969.
- _____. "Some Socio-Cultural Constraints on Urban Renewal in the Emerging Nations: The Ibadan Case." Human Organization, forthcoming Summer 1970.
- Puerto Rico Housing Authority. Housing Problems and Policies of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. San Juan: 1955.
- Puerto Rico Planning Board. Faith in People. San Juan: 1954.
- Shaw, George Bernard. John Bull's Other Island with How He Lied to Her Husband and Major Barbara. London: Constable, 1947.
- Steigenga, W. "Ibadan, City in Transition." Tijdschrift Van Hiet Koninkijk Nederlanssch Aardrijk-Skundig Genootchap, LXXXII, 2 (1965), 181.
- Western Nigeria Housing Corporation. Annual Reports and Accounts. Ibadan: WNHC, 1964.

University of Waterloo
Waterloo, Ontario