Evolution of New Coastal Urban Lifestyles in West Africa: Implications for Planning Sustainable African Cities

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Abstract
UN Habitat reports that though Africa is still the least urbanised continent of the world, it however, has the fastest rate of urbanisation. Two third of this population reside in small and intermediate coastal centres with 60% in cities of less than 500,000 inhabitants. The major trend in Africa like other places in the world shows that a larger portion of these urban areas are located in the coastal zones. In West Africa the rate of this growth is higher than the continent’s average. Urbanisation in West Africa is poverty driven with very low socio-economic transformation; this has led to the evolution of different lifestyles among the people even in rich countries like Nigeria. This rapid urban growth has led to the drowning so to say of the original inhabitants of those areas. In the area, the current thematic coastal issues of climate change and sea level rise have captured researchers interest with little focus on lifestyles of the inhabitants of these cities. The study therefore aimed at examining the possible evolution of new lifestyles over time resulting from the urban expansion and the wider implications of these especially for the socially excluded - fisher folks, wetland farmers, indigenous people, women and the youth of West Africa in these urban centres. The study relied mostly on data from Nigeria where a case study was taken. Five coastal cities were sampled and studied. These were purposively selected based on their history of rapid urbanisation in recent years and the fact that they have some incredible, outstanding and natural beautiful beaches, and extensive coastal wetlands and mangrove forest. The study covered traditional coastal cities with population of 20,000 and above. On the whole one thousand four hundred thirty six respondents were studied. The result presented similar situations in all cities though some were more pronounced in cities of Calabar, Bonny, Illaje and tended to show poor or lack of physical planning as a major indices leading to the evolution of such lifestyles. The study made strong predictions as well as suggest planning framework to improve and integrate the lives of all population groups in West African cities.

Keywords: coastal zone, urbanisation, lifestyle, sustainable city, West Africa, physical planning

Introduction
Cities in West Africa are characterized by rapid urbanization and primacy. They are poverty-stricken, socially divided and present land use planning issues as those of insufficient and inadequate housing, lack of infrastructural facilities and unemployment on a scale hitherto unencountered by administrators in developed nations. In recent times, there are the problems of environmental degradation mostly from resources extraction for foreign market and climate change issues with drought and starvation in the North and sea level rise, flooding and coastal erosion in the South.

What makes West Africa cities or other Africa cities to be poverty stricken and socially divided has been noted by researchers like Mabogunje (1968), Santos, (1979); Lowder (1986) and Ekpenyong (1999) to be political and well as economics constraints within the cities evolve. These cities like their counterparts in other developing countries have substantial populations that are by any standard poor or do lack facilities, but their land use problems do not arise from population growth and ignorance. Rather and as Ekpenyong (1999) asserted are symptoms and process within their economies. The planning, development and organization of these cities are colored by historical, economic, political and socio-cultural structures.

Though generalization sometimes is difficult because of scarcity of data, there is abundant evidence that West African cities, infact African societies are heterogeneous in their socio-politico organization, but the common ground is the location of their economies at the periphery of international capitalism. Since these economies are structured to meet the needs of the capitalist system, they are made to assume a depending status (Mabogunje, 1968). The economies are export oriented; many cities owned their origin to administration and service functions rather than the scale of their productive activities. Since it is commerce and not industry that is the major characteristics of peripheral capitalism, it is therefore commerce and administration that have provided the impetus for urbanization in Africa. This according to Ekpenyong (1999) emphasizes the importance of transport nodes, ports and the capitals political and beauracratic roles and not even distribution of wealth and infrastructure. The effect of this is felt differently by different groups and sectors of the population. By wealth and lifestyle which seems to be the distinctive features in the cities among its dwellers, the principles of
organization of society have been transformed and social structures are realigned along economic interest than the communal (kinship ethnic) ties. Community interests are replaced by class interest but social class groups are most often heterogeneous.

Many land use planning researches in West Africa as in other parts of Africa are directed to the plight of the most impoverished residents living in derelict tenements or in makeshift shelter erected on any vacant plot or shanties that surrounds major cities. The lifestyle of these indigenous people are most often overlooked resulting in wasted effort while trying to incorporate them into the main stream of urban life. Land use planning had followed this pattern over the years where only few metres of areas are planned off the transport routes, modes, ports and few housing estates for the elites. Compounded with the current thematic coastal issues of climate change and sea level rise, desert encroachment and drought the land use planner seems helpless in the face of growing informalities.

This study is an attempt to draw out intersections between the two of the most important socio-ecology issues of the 21st century. That is the rise of the urban form as the dominant coastal geographical context for life in West Africa and the emergence of new lifestyles of the indigenous people drowned in the wave of this urbanization trends. This, the paper hope, will well equip the land use planner to better plan for this section of the cities.

The Study Area
West Africa is the western most region of the African continent with most of it in sub-Sahara continent. It comprises of 16 countries lying between Nigeria in the east and Mauritania in the west. The Atlantic ocean form the western as well as southern borders of the region and Sahara desert in the North (Fig.1) it is a very diverse region and the most densely populated in Africa. Most West Africa countries were colonized by Britain and French, after many years waves of independence swept across the region.

West Africa is home to some incredible, mind-blowing beautiful beaches (Wikitravel, 2011) such as Northumbria, (Senegal), bar beaches in Lagos and Ibeno (Nigeria). The feature had been the major attraction of large population and expansion of cities. Traditionally, before the advent of oil exploration in West Africa, the main occupation of the people in these coastal cities were fishing, trading and farming. Here, Haakensen (1990) observed that African Artisanal fishermen predominantly belong to a handful of ethnic groups. The principal ones include the Wolof, Bebai, Nyominka and Fantega (Senegal), Adan and Ewe (Ghana) and Ijaw and Ilaje (Nigeria). That basically the Adan Eve, Ijaw and ilaje came migrated from Senegal. Majority of these fishermen fish occasionally either on subsistence level or to supplement income from other sources of agric activities. Out of 1.9m people engaged in either full-, part-time, and seasonal fishermen/women about 98% belong to the artisanal sector (FAO, 1991). The sector is characterized with low technology, lack of modern equipment, low fund to expand and thus makes the bulk of their operation labour intensive with little or no opportunities to expand.

In all locations, fishing represents one of the main activities for women. In Senegal for instance, more than 90% of women are involve in fishing processing. The processing sector is controlled by women. This activity takes place along the Atlantic shorelines where fishing products are discharged.

However, with rapid urbanisation and increased oil exploitation there has been deteriorating environmental conditions which have affected fishing activities.
Urbanization in West Africa

The rate of urbanisation especially in the developing world is on the increase due mainly to natural increase (migration and birth rates). The UN (2007) estimated that by 2050, over 70% of the people will live in cities especially in Asia and Africa. That report noted that global urban population has quadrupled since 1950s. According to the report cities of the developing world account for over 90% of the world population. African urban centres for instance are growing in leaps and bounds, thus resulting in exploding cities (Oyesiku, 2009). This growth which is put at 5.50% is far above the general 3% rate for developing countries.

West Africa also has its own share in this urban explosion. Though there are indications of over exaggeration (Potts, 2013) and difficulty in the general overview within the region (Africa polis/SEDET, 2012) yet urban growth remain one of the fastest in the world.

Thus the fishertolks even in the remotest villages, form new social, economic and political. They now find themselves having to perform and survive in a modernizing and dynamic, although technologically low-level, socio-economic market system. In order to survive, they have assumed new way of living (lifestyle) – commercial and social attitudes – that are appropriate in such a system.

Cities and settlements are changing and need new insights to meet these challenges. These cities and governments which have not changed have generated added problems in terms of generation of non-inclusive cities and accelerated incubation of factors for the formation of slums and informal settlements (Aduwo 1999) Town and Country Planning or Urban Planning is a modern phenomenon, a 19th century term formally used by the British in 1906 as contained in Housing, Town planning, etc Act of 1909. Expectedly, the modern planning activity within Nigeria like other British colony are traceable to a few towns – Lagos, Calabar and Port Harcourt (Nigeria), Dakar (Senegal) and Freetown (Sierra Leone) being well known ports of early colonial adventure in the region. Therefore, the way planning is perceived on the modern sense was not widely operational in different parts of the countries before the colonial era.

A review of history of the urban regional and planning in West Africa must be well positioned not only planning legislations and politico – economic scene alone but also in context of the accentrate urbanization and which attract the attention of physical planning are those of transportation development particularly rail and road during and after colonial period, economic development strategy, which in turn led to the emergence of economic “island” that was favoured by rail sup road transport as well as port and marine transportation development.
Fig 2 and 3 shows the agglomerations of urban centres of more than 20,000 inhabitants and their environment for 1980 and 2010. Three unique characteristics can be seen. The 1st is the rapid increase of urban centres of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants from less than 23 in 1950 to 194 in 2000 giving an increase rate of 11.8% per annum. This shows that region is experiencing an unprecedented rate of urban growth, outpacing other regions.

The second characteristics derivable from the map is that a large percent of the population live in the coastal cities. Many researchers attest to the fact that majority of these growth is within 60km of coastline. For example, in Nigeria about 20 million people (22.6%) of the national population live along the coastal zone, about 4.5m Senegalese (66.6%) live in Dakar alone, while about 90% of the industries are located in these cities. In all the countries bordering the Atlantic ocean – Sierra Leone, Togo, Nigeria, Ghana, Benin, etc most of the economic activities that form the backbone of the national economy are located within this zone too. The coastal areas also form the food basket of the region off shore and onshore areas, as well as estuaries and lagoons, support artisanal and industrial fisheries accounting for more than 75% of fishery landings.
Coastal population pressures with expansion rate of 5.1% per annum (Africapolis, 2012) and increasing exploitation of crude oil has resulted in environmental degradation, coastal erosion, flooding, pollution (air, water and land), salt water intrusion, subsidence and deforestation of mangrove forests. Coastal erosion already has been reported to reach 23 -30m annually in some parts of the West African coast (Ibe and Quelennac, 1989). Reports of mangrove clearing for oil installation, infrastructure and housing has also been reported. For instance, in Nigeria, WRI (2010) reported that 40% of the mangrove had been lost by 1980 and about 60% in Senegal. The report also showed that most the clearing was for urban development, coastal erosion and increases in salinity of water and soil resulting from the recent climate change.

Africapolis/SEDET (2012) reported that between 1950 urban growth within region have been stimulated by crude oil exploration and tourism. This oil rich area is spotted with industries, associated installations that often pollute the water and air. These installations, whether extractive, service or accommodation stations are served by a fleet of high powered tugboats that speed over the waters, deltas, creeks and canals. And against the background of the cleared mangrove forest and the fisherfolks thatched dwellings and dugout canoes, they almost look like water-borne Unidentified Flying Objects (UFOs) (Potts, 2012). Some researchers have noted that the oil industries although geographically interlaced in the area, a part from its pollution has no visible effects on life, work or income of the indigenous people (Fisherfolks). Here, one sees two separate and parallel worlds, one which is opulent in technology and living conditions, the other which is wretchedly poor, and with each seemingly ignoring the other.

Traditionally these coastal towns were small fishing ports inhabited by fisher folks who used traditional methods for their fishing. More than 80% of the fishes consumed in the region and/or exported came from here. However, the growing commercial success and subsequent foreign inhabitants working mostly in oil industries brought about a substantial infiltration of the existing coastal lifestyle. This with the new social, economic and political realities affecting their attitudes and since fishing is no longer lucrative (Moses, 2000) they now have to seek other ways to survive in a modernizing and dynamic, although technologically low level world.

Conceptual explanation

The concept of LifeStyle (LS) or Style of Life has a wide range of meanings and uses depending on the interest of the users. It has gained importance in the relevant literature within the fields of public health, marketing, social psychology and sociology (Cathelat, 1993; Holt, 1997; Bell and Hollows, 2006; and Heij et al., 2009). In these fields, researchers use the concept to explore consumer’s diversity in relation to consumption (i.e. marketing); societal aspects (sociology) or individual group or culture which for example manifest in coping with physical, psychological, social and economic environment on a day-to-day basis. It is defined as the distinctive behavioural expression of a characteristics pattern of values and beliefs and that it is operational in terms of a recognizable set of personal construct rating of everyday characteristics (Horley, Carroll and Little, 1988). LS is expressed in both work and leisure behaviour pattern and on the individual basis in characteristics, attitudes, interest, opinion, values and allocation of income. It also reflects people’s self image or self concepts; the way they see themselves and believe they are seen by the others. In Wikipedia (2011) LS is seen as a composite of motivations, need and wants, and is influenced by factors such as culture, family, reference, groups, social class and location.

LS embodies the pattern that develop and emerges from the dynamics of living in a society. Thus, LS approach serve as an additional tool for traditional socio-demographic differentiation, because it includes aspects such as subjective patterns of values, intentions and preferences. Diverse societal changes like individualization and cultural emancipation are agents behind the current success of the LS concept (Bootsma, et al, 1993 and Kiprus, 2004).

A method of measuring LS patterns was based on their relationship to consumer behaviour. The most widely used approach of measurement was AIO (Activities, interest and opinion) rating statement (Williams and Tigert, 1971). Here LS pattern measures people’s activities in terms of:

1. How they spend their time
2. Their interest, what they place important on, their immediate environment
3. Their opinion in terms of their view themselves and the world around them.
4. Some basic characteristics such as their stage in life cycle (age), income, education and where they live.

The basic premise of lifestyle research is that the more you know and understand the people, the more effectively you can communicate and market to them (Plummer, 1974) and of course the more you can integrate them into physical planning.
Over the years, a number of constructs have been useful in better understanding of the people’s LS. The most popular is demographic, social class and psychological characteristics. Demographic have received broad acceptance and lend themselves easily to quantification and classification. However, demographics lack richness and often need to be supplemented with other data, social class adds more depth to demographics but it, too often need to be supplemented in order to obtain meaningful insight into evidence. Lastly psychological characteristics are often rich but may lack reliability when applied to mass audience that result may be difficult to implement. However, the new construct now combines the virtues of demographics with the richness of and dimensionality of psychological characterise and depth research (Plummer, 1974). Based on this approach LS deals with everyday, behavioural oriented facts of people as well as their feelings, attitudes and opinion.

In Land use planning, the concept of LS has been used to describe resident diversity in specific neighborhoods. In the past, planners especially those in housing had tried to characteristics or understand residential migrations in relation to residents demographic or socio-economics profile (families with children, young families, elderly, etc.) their knowledge had been used when designing specific houses for a particular target group (family houses, houses for the elderly, social houses or houses for starter).

Recently, however, planners have devoted attention to the concept of LS in different research contexts. Fredrichs, et al (2003) used the concept of LS to study the association between neighbourhoods characteristics and individuals out comes. Other (Pisman and Lambaerde 2011) used the concept to reveal new insights in the “driving factors” for the residential choices”. Residential self selection, the spatial division of LS groups in different neighborhoods as a result of the prior self-selection of residents into a built environment that is consistent with their per-disposition. This is considered to be one of the most important spatial impacts of LS. In this study, the AIO measurement approach was used.

Methodology
The methodology of the presented research is qualitative, since its aim to understand the underlying reasons for the existing situation and to provide insight into the setting and circumstances of existing problems and finally to generate possible ideas for planning solutions and recommendations. In order to examine life styles, qualitative methods were used. Since no data on life style aspects was available within the study area questionnaire was designed to provide information required. This was supplemented with interview about their socio-economic and demographic background. The questions include – Attitudes, Interests and Opinions as listed in Table 3. The aim was to get insight into their behaviour, values, and personality with regards to the environment, economic and cultural dimension.

The survey was conducted among residents from 18 years and above living in fishing neighbourhoods in selected coastal cities. Respondents were selected by the means of random walk method. This literally means walking through the neighborhood and interviewing/questioning residents or workers by the fishing ports. Since there are no official demographic data on the residents living within the neighbourhoods. The study was carried out between June 2013 and March 2014 to cover fishing period in wet and dry seasons. Other information was based on reviews of literature on land use planning and lifestyle.

On the whole about 1,436 persons were interviewed (Table 1), made up of fisherfolks, government officials, personnel in NATIP, planning officers and NGOs involved in various aspects of life in informal settlement and poverty reduction and some aspect of the coastal environment.

### Results and Discussion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>No. of Households 2013</th>
<th>Population 2013</th>
<th>No. of questionnaire</th>
<th>No. of response</th>
<th>% of response</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ikot Abasi</td>
<td>27,643</td>
<td>163,091</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>18.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabar South</td>
<td>39,922</td>
<td>235,539</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>19.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonny</td>
<td>44,772</td>
<td>264,160</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illaje</td>
<td>60,417</td>
<td>356,464</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>24.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okoroette</td>
<td>12,501</td>
<td>73,756</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>12.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>185,255</td>
<td><strong>1,093,010</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>1436</strong></td>
<td><strong>95.73</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents  
*Source: field survey (2014)*
Table 2: Socio-economic characteristics of Respondents

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Table 2 shows the occupational structure of the people. It reveals that majority of the people are artisans (26.11%), followed by other occupations such as trading (21.38), farming (14.90%) and fishing (13.72%), civil servants (12.12%) and others (11.77%).

Table 3: Activities among respondents

Source: Field survey (2014)

Table 3 present various activities engaged by the respondents. From the table activities as matmaking (1.95%), netmending (3.20), house keeping for women (1.31) and boat repairs (2.99) are becoming unpopular among the residents of these communities. It shows a decrease in the number of people engage in the traditional activities normally encountered in fishing communities. Rather occupations like lumbering (8.30%), entertainment (8.50),
and trading (9.61%) are now the major activities of the people, followed by fish processing (6.75%), firewood selling (5.91%). Other activities such as gambling (7.10%), smuggling (7.45%) and sand mining (3.34%) are new activities which are becoming quite popular now in fishing communities. There is upsurge of illegal lumbering and firewood selling in all the cities studied which has resulted in a massive deforestation. Deforestation have been noted to have a range of consequences for both the people and the environment. These activities are on the increase in the area since enforcement officers hardly entered this part of the city because of their peculiar (poor accessibility and lack of infrastructure) terrain which provide hide out for criminals. Politicians also use these communities to carry out nefarious (kidnapping, hiding of ballots during elections, etc) activities which intensifies crime rate.

The result shows three patterns emerging from the study. 

**Urban Life**: these group preferred the urban environment than their natural coastal/fishing communities. They are ready to spend all their income and even sacrifice to be on the other side of the city. One respondents interviewed was of the opinion that “since there was a total breakdown of their occupational activities and the world was evolving around them, there was no need waiting”. People in this group ended up taking menial jobs in the Government Reserved areas as cleaners, cooks even as prostitutes. These are the people engaged in gambling and smuggling and politics who still maintained homes here.

**Culture**: to elicit information on culture questions were raised on marriages, ceremonies, dressing, recreation, housing and so on Fig.6a & b. depicts the new and old housing styles.

![Fig. 2a Old housing design](image)

![Fig.2b New housing design](image)

**Occupation**: Traditionally in the communities, the men were always out in the sea fishing or as recreation activities sit on the shore mending their nets and taking sips of palmy – a local liquor tapped from the raffia or oil palm tree while their women were processing fish for sale in the market from the last catch or engaged in petty trading and as part time sit out and gossips. But now things have changed. The progress of tourism development oil exploitation has brought in its wake significant lifestyle change. Locals who originally were subsistence farmers – fishing for men and farming and trading for women - are now employed in tourism relating facilities and services. Fishing are no more lucrative or the water is not yielding, so some of them become tour guides. Also the once busy fishing ports have been taken over by timber salers and smugglers.
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bringing rice, household items and exporting petroleum products. The coastal areas are now littered with waste (fig.3 and 4)

Fig.3 polluted coastline filled with wastes
Plate 1 new lifestyle in beach beside the Marine club

Fig.4: Timber business now takes over the ports

Fig.5a Fishing port (2014)
Source: Field survey (2014)

Fig.5b same Fishing port in 2011
source:www.mundusmaris.org/images

Fig 6: Smugglers loading their boats in almost empty beach
Source: Field survey (2014)

**Recommendations**

1. There is need for a sustained education and awareness creation to be mounted in the rural communities on the nature, causes and effects of deforestation on the environment and human livelihoods. Such
awareness campaign is very necessary as it will act as a source of empowerment to the locals on ways of managing the forest resources in their areas in the face of the climate change. Communication with stakeholders opens up the opportunity to initiate societal dialogue to create common vision of sustainable society.

2. Urban policies should support city design that will reduce social difference and invariably sprawl and ensures safety of the inhabitants. Since Lifestyles are so profound, cooperation between various actors are needed where each will contributes in its own way to the common goal of sustainable cities.

3. Since the main constraint to effective urban land use planning is the adoption of improper planning tools[ see Mabogunje, (1968), Ujoh and Ifatimetion (2010) and Yahaya et al, 2013 for instance)]. The use of master plan in place of strategic plan should be reviewed. This is because master plan is static and assumed a slow growth of cities and tends to ignore the household preference and lifestyles. Government should adopt the structure plan which tends to provide a broad framework for citizens decisions and participation. This will help to reduce crime and environmental problems which is plaguing the region especially in the coastal areas in the face of the current climate change.

4. Intergrated coastal planning and management should be adopted as this will set priorities and enforce development setbacks to protect the coastal zone from the spread of urbanisation.

Conclusion
This paper was an attempt targeted at examining lifestyle among slum dwellers in coastal cities in West Africa. The study showed that urbanisation driven by poverty had led to exclusion of a large population of indigenous people living in fishing communities of cities. Since lifestyle components can be used be to develop urban plans which have the potentials of improving decision making, inform planning decision and incoroprare lifestyle of the people. There is therefore a call for a wider study of lifestyle and land use planning within the region, this is hope will build data and information to support interventions by nationals, governments, funding agencies and urban planners in the fight against insurgencies and poverty which as reveal in this study arises from poor planning and management of the urban environment.

References


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