Urban Slums as Spatial Manifestations of Urbanization in Sub-

Saharan Africa: A Case Study of Ajegunle Slum Settlement, Lagos, Nigeria

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Abstract

The emergence and existence of slums worldwide is a sign that the slums are crucial elements of contemporary urbanization, so the proliferation of slums is as a result of rapid development of urban areas in the developing countries (DCs). Slums are emerging as dominant informal settlements in many cities of the Sub- Saharan Africa, The need for housing is physiological, As it serves as an abode for almost all human activities in that even those who cannot afford still need them, hence, Slum is one of the great challenge of housing facing metropolitan Lagos which resulted basically as a result of large scale migration from rural – urban migration. Slums are fast becoming major spatial manifestations of urbanization and poverty as a result of the continuous influx of people, especially the poor into Lagos metropolis. About eight per cent of African populations had no homes and more than half of African urban dwellers lacked one of the five basic conditions required for a decent housing like water supply, adequate sanitation, durable housing, adequate living space and secure tenure. This study contextually discusses this urban phenomenon and vital causes of rapid urbanization, aftermath of these actions. It also shows the extent to which the poor are deprived access to decent and affordable housing. The methodology employed for this study is literature search and case study. It focuses on Ajegunle slums in Lagos, Finally the paper concludes by suggesting recommendations that will also help to provide adequate shelter for the urban poor and urban homeless people in Lagos.

Keywords: Urban Slum, Urbanization, Poverty, Urban poor, Ajegunle, Sub- Saharan Africa Lagos and Nigeria.

1 Introduction

Informal settlements are a common feature of developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is the world's most rapidly urbanizing region, and almost all of this growth has been in slums, where new city residents face overcrowding, inadequate housing, and a severe lack of water and sanitation. Despite the emphasis on improving the provision of housing by the government housing is still a controversial issue in Nigeria; the right to housing is a basic need while good quality and affordable housing is a reflection of a high quality of life. However, housing remains a major problem for most, especially for the bottom billions.

The inadequacy in shelter delivery system in Sub- Saharan Africa to cater for the urban population has led to an extensive development of squatter or unplanned settlements. Studies indicated that nationally about 70 percent of the urban population lived in unplanned settlements and that about 60 percent of the urban housing stock are to be found in these settlements. Informal Settlements (often called squatter settlements or shanty towns) may be defined as dense settlements comprising communities housed in self-constructed shelters under conditions of informal or traditional land tenure (Hindson and McCarthy, 1994). They are a common feature of developing countries and are typically the product of an urgent need for shelter by the urban poor. As such, they are characterized by a dense proliferation of small, makeshift shelters built from diverse materials (such as plastic, tin sheeting and wooden planks), by degradation of the local ecosystem (for example, erosion and poor water quality and sanitation) and by severe social problems.

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In the context of urban settlement typologies, informal settlements fall under the category of irregular settlements. Such settlements are referred to by some aid and development organizations as areas where development (spatial expansion) and occupancy are not in compliance with legal, urban and environmental standards set by public authorities (Durand-Lasserve, 1996). Improvement in the quality of life of residents in informal settlements is achieved through a process of regularization whereby at least a form of secure tenure is established, access to urban infrastructure and services is enabled, and housing and physical and social infrastructures are upgraded to comply with acceptable standards. We group all such improvement processes under the term "informal settlement management".

Slums are symptoms of immigration phenomenon. Immigration arised as a movement from rural to urban areas in the industrialization period. While this action realized long before in developed countries, it is still a continuing process in developing countries [Aydemir, 1999].Slums have been built in form of jerry buildings especially in sub-urban areas and on government owned lands. A range of problems have been raised in these slum areas. These slums have not basic technical and social infrastructures and led to visual and physical contamination. Bayram UZUN et al (2004) Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly lacking. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Some are more than fifty years old; some are land invasions just underway. Access to urban land for housing has been a major issue for the vast majority of poor families in most developing countries in the last decades. Most recently, the issues related to access to urban land are more acute, especially because serviced land or partially serviced land became a highly disputed commodity in the markets. The world population, according to UN Habitat (2007) is 6.6 billion. More than 50% of the global populations live in cities and an astounding 1.06 billion (32%) of urban dwellers live in slums. This number is set to double in the next 30 years, UN Global Report 2007.

Unlike most countries in the developed world that gradually moved from 10% to 52% urban over a two hundred year period (1750 - 1950) the developing world has been shifting to an urbanized existence at an exponential rate. Between 1985 - 2003 the urban population in developing countries increased from 1.2 billion to 2.1 billion. (G.Tannerfeldt & P. Ljung, 2007). In Africa the UN predicts that the current 400 million urban citizens will exceed 750 million by 2030 and will reach 1.2 billion by 2050. (Edgar Pieterse; August 2009).

2 The Study Methodological Approach

The methodology employed for this study is literature search and case study. It focuses on Ajegunle slums in Lagos. It involves the review of relevant archival materials (literatures) relating to the subject matter –other secondary data related to the case study, photographic representations of the study area.

3 Literature Review and Conceptual Issues

3.1 Basic concept of Slums:

The word "slum" is often used to describe informal settlements within cities that have inadequate housing and squalid, miserable living conditions. They are often overcrowded, with many people crammed into very small living spaces. These settlements lack basic municipal services such as water, sanitation, waste collection, storm drainage, street lighting, paved sidewalks and roads for emergency access. Most also do not have easy access to schools, hospitals or public places for the community to gather. Many slums have been unserviced and unrecognized for long periods, over 20 years in some cities. Like all informal settlements, housing in slums is built on land that the occupant does not have a legal claim to and without any urban planning or adherence to zoning regulations. In addition, slums are often areas where many social indicators are on a downward slide; for example, crime and unemployment are on the rise.

All slums are not the same, and some provide better living conditions than others. Likewise, slum dwellers are not a homogeneous population, but a diverse group of people with different interests, means and backgrounds. Slums are also a significant economic force. In many cities, as much as 60 percent of employment is in the informal sector of the urban population. Today, more than one billion people in the world live in slums. In the developing world, one out of every three people living in cities lives in a slum.

UN-HABITAT defines a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area who lack one or more of the following:

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- Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.
- Sufficient living space, which means not more than three people sharing the same room.
- Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.
- Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people.
- Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.

3.2 The Concept of Informal Housing

Cities in developing countries are known for their informal delivery of housing for low-income groups. Informal housing – slums, temporary settlements are very common features of all the urban landscapes in any developing country.

Housing is described as informal when it does not conform to the laws and regulatory frameworks set up in the environment in which it occurs. It can be informal at several levels. Housing can be provided through construction firms that are not licensed and whose work is not subject to guarantees. In turn, the housing is not likely to conform to the planning and building regulations in force or to be built in areas where there is no need to conform – for example, in 'semi-pucca' areas in Bangladesh or outside of city boundaries. Housing that does not conform to rules may do so in several ways, including:

- Being built on land intended for another use (even though the building itself may conform to the standards laid down in the regulations);
- Not conforming to all of the standards laid down for that part of the city;
- Not being subject to planning permission or building inspection (even though it may be eligible);
- Being built on land not owned by the occupier and without permission of the owner.

3.3 Reasons for moving to Informal Settlements

The challenge of informal settlement is obviously a complex one and there are thus a wide range of issues and contributing factors, many of which overlap or are mutually reinforcing. In seeking more effective solutions and responses to the challenge, the following factors are considered those which are the most important in undermining current responses by the state.

Reasons for moving from rural area to	Reasons for moving within urban area to
informal settlement in urban area	an informal settlement
Push factors: • Rural poverty and unemployment • Political/personal conflict	 Push factors: Unaffordability of rent Lack of privacy/ independence (in rented/shared accommodation) Loss of employer-provided accommodation Displacement by informal settlement redevelopment/ relocations Political/personal conflict
 Pull factors: Availability of jobs Relatives/friends in urban area who are able to provide temporary accommodation 	 Pull factors: Good location - close to jobs, shops, facilities and/or transport Cheaper living expenses Can get a place of one's own Lack of control of land access Possibility of getting RDP housing Availability of customer base (for informal business)

Source: Urban Landmark, 2008(Rural-Urban-Informal Settlement Movements)

4.0 Causes of Slums and Informal Settlement

Slums are not a new phenomenon. They have been part of the history of most cities, particularly in the early years of urbanization and industrialization as populations boomed. Slums are generally the only type of settlement affordable and accessible to the poor in cities, where competition for land and profits is intense. There are two main reasons why slums develop: population growth and governance.

4.1 Population growth

Rapid urban population growth, the urbanization of poverty and the proliferation of slums are being driven to a great extent by this dynamic form of globalization. At the same time, globalization also drives economic and cultural growth and urban culture in mega cities. Countries around the world are urbanizing rapidly as more people migrate from rural areas to the cities and natural population growth continues to occur. Today, more than half the world's population resides in urban areas. More than 90 percent of this urban growth is taking place in the developing world.

4.1.1 Urban migration happens for a number of reasons

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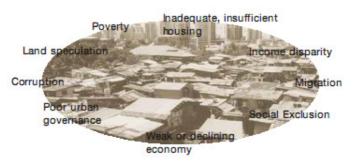
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- The pushing and pulling forces of migration. Some people migrate because they are pushed out of their place of origin by factors such as natural disasters or sustained ecological changes. Others are pulled to a new destination by better job prospects, education, health facilities, or freedom from restrictive social or cultural realities.
- Low incomes from agriculture. Most people in rural areas work in the agricultural sector, which is highly dependent on weather. Also, rural land is limited, its fertility sometimes low or declining, land holdings are small, farm debts are high, and many households have become landless. As a result, overall rural incomes are low.
- Better job prospects. In comparison with rural areas, urban areas offer dramatically increased job opportunities. In addition, because urban cultures are often less constrained than those in villages, cities can also offer greater prospects of upward social mobility.
- People know what cities can offer them. Most migrants make a deliberate choice to stay or leave in rural areas. Improved transport, communications and links with earlier migrants have all made rural populations much more aware of the advantages and disadvantages of urban life, especially regarding job opportunities and housing.
- Urban migration is often a survival strategy for rural households. Sometimes, rural households split into several groups located in different places—rural areas, small towns, and big cities—in order to diversify their sources of income and be less vulnerable to economic downturns.

4.2 Governance

Another reason slums develop is bad governance. Governments often fail to recognize the rights of the urban poor and incorporate them into urban planning, thereby contributing to the growth of slums. In addition, many countries simply cannot respond to rapid urbanization quickly enough. People are coming to cities far faster than the planning process can incorporate them. Often, they find their own land and build a shack before the government has a chance to learn of their existence.

The attitude of a government towards urbanization is also an important component. Some governments take a hostile approach to urbanization. They believe that if they provide urban services to the poor, it will attract urbanization and cause the slums to grow. The problem with this view is that very few people come to the city for water or services—they come looking for work. In other cases, governments take more of a passive approach to urbanization. They either do not have the planning tools to deal with the rapid urbanization that is happening, or the tools in place are not sufficiently responsive to the reality on the ground. *Other reasons for causes of slum formations are shown in the diagram below:*



Source: Cities Alliance, 2003, Cities Alliance website, available at <www.citiesalliance.org>.

4.3 Limiting future informal settlement growth /what can be done to prevent the development of new slums

There are basic things a government can do to prevent new slums from developing. One is to recognize that urbanization is going to happen. Sometimes governments believe that adopting alternative policies, such as focusing on rural development, will stop urbanization. This approach is rarely effective. Once governments accept the reality of urban growth, the next step is to plan for it and determine where the new residents will live. Authorities should identify land and plan for its settlement even if money is not available for urban services. Once people settle on that land and feel that they have a right to live there, they will begin investing in it. Over time, the area will upgrade incrementally

5.0 Prevalence of Slums in Lagos: Housing the Urban Poor in Lagos

In providing shelter for the poor, the governments in the region have been unable to meet the demand from the urban population for housing. The inadequacy in shelter delivery system in Lagos to cater for the urban Population has led to an extensive development of squatter or unplanned settlements. The gap between the supply and demand for housing has been widening with time.Urban housing provision has become one of the key development challenges for most developing countries. Scholars and researchers in housing development have shown that the percentage of people living in slums and squatter settlements continues to rise. In Nigeria, the percentage has grown from less than 50% a decade ago to over 60% currently. Lagos urban population growth rate has over the past two decades far out-stripped the development of public housing, which was the major source of housing especially for low-income urban residents. This has led to the growth of slums and squatter settlements, not only in Lagos, but also in all other major urban centres of the country.

According to Gandy (2006:372) there are as many as 200 different slums in Lagos, "ranging in size from clusters of shacks underneath highways to entire districts such as Ajegunle and Mushin". As Morka (2007:7) points out, over two-thirds of the population of Lagos lives in the "informal settlements or slums scattered around the city". Most of these slums are densely populated with some estimates indicating that "more than 75 per cent of urban slum dwellers live in one room households with a density of 4.6 persons per room" (Adelekan, 2009:6). One of the most enduring expressions of urban poverty in developing countries is the proliferation of slums and informal settlements. These settlements have the most deplorable living and environmental conditions within the city and are characterized by inadequate water supply, squalid conditions of environmental sanitation, overcrowded and dilapidated habitation, hazardous location, insecure tenure and vulnerability to serious health risks among many others.

For the millions of poor in developing areas of the world, urban areas have always been a means for improving their quality of living and environment, besides getting better jobs and incomes. This, in contrast to deteriorating conditions in the rural areas has generated a considerable flow of migrants to cities, particularly in the last three decades. Priorities of urban migrants change over time, depending on various conditions that they find themselves. But one of the first dilemmas that they face and which persist for a long period, is the question of an adequate house. Okoye (1990) notes "problems of housing the urban poor are mainly due rapid urbanization, high building standards (status symbols), high cost of building materials, high rents, changes in economy, new means of transportation, and concentration of social amenities in urban areas beginning in the colonial era." Between 1921 and 1931 many cities founded during the colonial era increased in population as a result of rural-urban migration, these increases in population led to a need for more housing, housing supply could not meet demand, thus leading to the proliferation of slums.

6.0 An Overview of Housing, Urbanization and Slums Situation in Lagos

Urbanization is also defined by the United Nations as movement of people from rural to urban areas with population growth equating to urban migration, As more and more people leave villages and farms to live in cities, urban growth results, of many cities such as Mexico City have grown because of the phenomenon of squatter settlements.

The urban poor are facing problems of lack of affordable shelter, unsafe building structures, insecurity of tenure, lack of basic services, limited access to credit and formal job opportunities. They do not have access to safe shelter, basic amenities, education and health facilities As the scale of urbanization increases, the task of providing appropriate and affordable housing to the urban poor has persisted as one of the most intractable problems facing developing countries. Teke Ngomba. Sub Saharan Africa is urbanizing at an unprecedented rate. Occurring concurrently with the accelerated urban growth is what is now commonly referred to as the "urbanization of poverty" – the fact that a rapidly increasing proportion of the world's poor are to be found in cities and towns. An ever-rising number of urban poor households are thus seeking low-cost housing within their means. This has

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resulted in a proliferation and expansion of densely populated and overcrowded informal settlements characterized by inadequate infrastructure (water, sanitation, drainage, waste management, and access roads and foot-paths), and poor building and housing conditions. In many cases, more than half of the population live and work in these unhygienic, hazardous environments where they face multiple threats to their health, well being and security E.C. Emordi & O. M. Osiki 2008 observed that The rapid urbanization has led to a multiplicity of problems involving mass transit, open space, housing inadequate infrastructure, slums and squatter settlements and other problems associated with human beings in the urban environment

Moreover, most cities in Sub Saharan Africa cannot provide sufficient employment opportunities for the rapidly growing number of new entrants to the urban labour market each year. A substantial proportion of women and men living and working in informal settlements are thus unemployed or underemployed in the informal sector, earning low incomes for long hours of work. And majorities are unable to afford the cost of adequate shelter. The resultant effects include the development of shanty towns, slums and other informal settlements which are ill-serviced to cater for the socio-economic and physical needs of the inhabitants. In a desperate need to cope, people engage in all forms of informal activities in order to earn a living, secure shelter and any available services. Femi Olokesusi (2011) Observed that Housing continues to be in short supply partly because land acquisition is expensive and complex and beyond the reach of the poor. Public utilities are insufficient and over stretched. Ninety eight percent of the urban population growth in sub-Saharan Africa over the past 15 years took place in slums. Slums also accounted for 60% of the urban population growth in Latin America and 76% in southern Asia. This pervasive growth in slum communities emphasizes the need to better understand the slum formation process and its effects on urban development, social inclusion and poverty.

Despite the relative urbanized nature of Lagos metropolis and its modernity, it exhibits all the characteristics of a villagised city accommodating a large number of slum areas, which are neither legally recognized nor serviced by city authorities. These slums and squatter settlements do not enjoy many benefits of urban life such as access to basic social services, like schools, clinics, electricity power supply, and good health and potable water. The public spaces are tangled in undulating heaps of refuse. The villages and slums lack hygienic toilet facilities. The poor slum dwellers do not have access to government social supports and loan schemes, which could enable them to improve their living conditions. In addition, the living condition in the slums was such that 8.7 persons lived in one substandard room apartment without kitchen. Yet life went on, based on the philosophy of 'life must go on, house or no house, accommodation or no accommodation, and man must survive, government or no government' (Nigerian Tribune 15 August, 1992, p. 5). As cities grow, managing them becomes increasingly complex. The speed and sheer scale of the urban transformation of the developing world presents formidable challenges. Of particular concern are the risks to the immediate and surrounding environment, to natural resources, to health conditions, to social cohesion, and to individual rights. For many observers, however, the greatest concern is surely the massive increase in the numbers of the urban poor. Available data suggest that in a large number of the world's poorest countries, the proportion of urban poor is increasing faster than the overall rate of urban population growth. An estimated 72 percent of the urban populations of Africa now live in slums

6.1 Identified Characteristics of Slums

This research found that approximately two-thirds of the populations of Lagos currently live in slums. These uncontrolled and squatter settlements are further characterized by the following characteristics:

- Their births are usually due to rapid urbanization, occasioning housing problem. Residents are mostly lowincome families who are adventurers, or either migrants from rural areas or are victims of urban renewal schemes
- Studies on the socio-economic situation of households living in irregular settlements indicate a strong correlation between urban poverty, tenure status, access to services and citizenship
- Lack of basic services
- Substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures
- Overcrowding and high density
- Unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations
- Insecure tenure, irregular or informal settlements

- Poverty and social exclusion
- Minimum settlement size

7.0 Explanatory Profile of the Case Study: (AJEGUNLE, LAGOS)

This study adopted a case study methodology to examine the most populated slum in Lagos, Ajegunle, The study is set in Ajegunle which is located in Ajeromi Ifelodun Local Government Area of Lagos state Nigeria. The site is a major informal settlement, often described as 'jungle city' with a multi-ethnic population. It is the most populated slum in Lagos State. Ajegunle has a population density of 750 the highest of all slums in Lagos state. The slum area of Ajegunle constitutes 12.8% of the total area of all 42 blighted areas as at 1995. According to Stove land Consult, WTP Study of 1997, majority of the multi-ethnic population of Ajegunle are of school age and highly, economically productive. Ajegunle is made up of five resident communities, and consist of people from all parts of the country with the dominant groups being the Ijaw, Ilaje, Hausa, Ibo, Urhobo and Yoruba ethnicity. Their main occupation is trading in the formal and informal sectors. The average household in Ajegunle spends about N6000 on food, N2000 of transport, N600 on housing and N885 on energy/fuel for cooking and lighting. Despite the slum nature, these figures of economic information are comparable to the Lagos average as found in 1995. Nevertheless, the present study is carried out to validate some of these figures. Oluwafemi Olajide(2010).



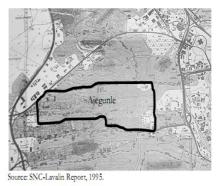


Fig 1: See legend below

Fig 2: See legend below



Fig 3Legend: See legend below

Fig 1 showing map of Lagos state Fig 2 showing location of Ajegunle slum settlement (highlighted portion) Fig 3 showing location of other informal settlements in Lagos

7.1 Photographic Illustrations of Present Situation of Ajegunle Slum settlements, Lagos, Nigeria

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<u>*Plate 1</u> showing unhealthy living conditions of the slum dwellers in one of the sub standard buildings constructed with Zinc Sheets.

<u>*Plate 2</u> showing precarious and deplorable living conditions of the urban poor

<u>*Plate 3</u> showing the slum dwellers (urban poor) performing business activities on the road, within the slum area thereby preventing proper usage of the road.

<u>*Plate 4</u> showing an obsolete building within the slum area been congested with slum dwellers of Ajegunle performing residential and commercial functions.

<u>*Plate 5</u> showing the poor road facilities within the slum environment as a result of lack of proper drainage, thereby causing water to stay on the road for a long period of time

<u>*Plate 6</u> showing the deteriorated condition of the Slum environment and children loitering on the street. Sources: Plate 1 – Plate 6(Author's Field Survey, 2012)

8 Key Recommendations

Considering the current conditions (circumstances) in the informal settlements of AJEGUNLE and in order to organize and improve the life conditions in informal housing, the following suggestions are offered:

- The national economy should be able to cater for the housing needs of the low income and most urban poor / urban homeless
- The housing sector should give due priority to general economic development.
- Housing and urban development policies that tend to favour production of formal housing for the urban poor
- Formal urban housing delivery system should be able to produce dwellings at the desired rate, and/or at price levels affordable to most urban poor
- There should be effective land policies that tend to allow manipulation in land tenure
- There should be urban governance that will foster effective and efficient development and delivery of urban services to all citizenry
- In facing the challenge of slums, urban development policies should more vigorously address the issue of livelihoods of slum dwellers and urban poverty, going beyond traditional approaches that concentrate on improvement of housing, infrastructure and physical environmental conditions.
- It is now recognized that security of tenure is more important for many of the urban poor than home ownership, as slum policies based on ownership and large scale granting of individual land titles have not always worked.
- To improve urban inclusiveness, urban policies ought to aim at creating safer cities. This could be achieved through, better housing policies for the urban low income population (including slum dwellers) founded on

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a. Effective urban employment generation policies; effective formal policing and public justice institutions

b. Strong community – based mechanisms for dealing with urban crime.

- To embrace the goal of "cities without slums", developing country cities should vigorously implement urban planning and management policies designed to prevent the emergence of slums, alongside slum upgrading and within the strategic context of poverty reduction
- Access to safe water sufficient amount of water for household use at an affordable price without being subject to extreme effort, especially for women and children
- Access to sanitation Available excreta disposal system, either in the form of a private toilet or a public toilet shared with a reasonable number of people
- Secure tenure the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against forced evictions evidence of documentation that can be used as proof of secure tenure status; de facto or perceived protection from forced evictions
- Durability of housing built on a non-hazardous location and has a structure permanent and adequate to
 protect its inhabitants from the extremes of climatic conditions such as rain, heat, cold, humidity
- Sufficient living area not more than two people share the same room

9 Policy Suggestions and Conclusion

Shelter in urban areas is more than just a place to live, it is also a working place for home-based enterprises and it involves a complex mixture of social, economic and cultural considerations. Housing is more than houses and adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head (The Habitat Agenda, paragraph 60). Urbanization is a key indicator of economic development and should be seen as a positive factor for overall development. Also, as an economy grows, its towns and cities expand in size and volume and the contribution of the urban sector to the national economy increases. in urban areas are an inevitable phenomena. As long as urban areas offer economies of scale and agglomeration economies, large cities will always continue to grow attracting migrants from rural and smaller urban areas, There is no universal "quick-fix" solution that can solve all the problems of squatting in all parts of the developing world. One such approach that has been receiving considerable attention from various government and public authorities has been the "enabling" approach, where instead of taking a confrontationist attitude, governments have strived to create an enabling environment, under which people, using and generating their own resources, could find unique local solutions for their housing and shelter problems.

Given the rapid increase in urban populations in Africa, the corresponding increasing demand for urban housing, the persistently dire financial situation of the urban poor, persistently significant levels of bad governance in Africa and the insufficient financial and material resources available to African states to tackle this issue, it is not possible or pragmatic, at least for now, to envisage a situation where every urban dweller in sub-Saharan Africa will live in a "decent house" in the near future. This paper explores the importance of housing for livelihood strategies of the urban poor. It stresses the relationships between places and people in the cities of developing countries. This paper has also presented fairly elaborate issues concerning Urban Slums as Spatial Manifestations of Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa with emphasis on Ajegunle slum. In conclusion, for the right to adequate housing to become a sustainable reality for the urban poor across Africa, a lot needs to be put in place as recommended above.

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