



Fig. 1 (below)  
Low rise housing, informal trade and traffic on Lekki-Epe Express way, photo by author



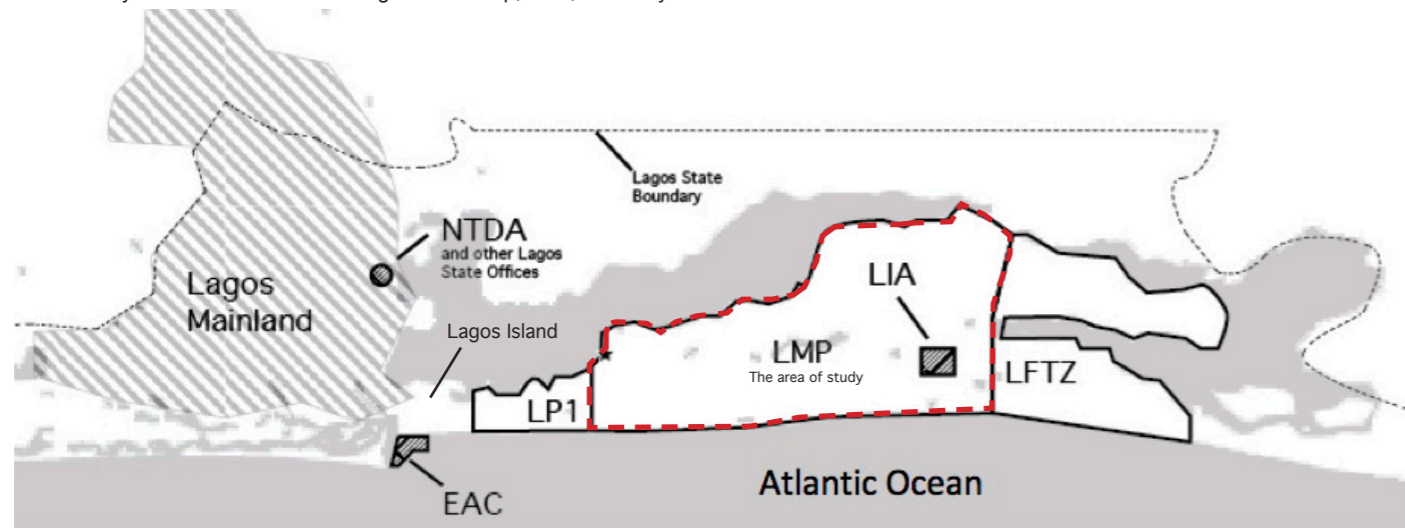
Fig.2 Location of Lekki and List of Acronyms

Abbreviation	Full Name
EAC	Eko Atlantic City
LFTZ	Lekki Free Trade Zone
LIA	Lekki Light Industrial Area
LM	Lagos Mainland
LMP	Lekki Sub-Region Masterplan. This covers the Lekki peninsula excluding Lekki Phase 1 and Lekki Free Trade Zone. This is the area discussed in this paper.
LP1	Lekki Phase 1
NTDA	[Lagos] New Town Development Authority



Right: site location on the map of Africa, NTS, drawn by author

Below: Key features shown on the Lagos State map, NTS, drawn by author



Mark Shtanov

## Border conditions: The urban morphologies of Lekki, Lagos State, Nigeria

### ABSTRACT

It is relatively new for elites to live on the urban peripheries of African cities. At first glance, Lekki is large, easily floodable and partially reclaimed area dominated by gated residential estates. The term *bypass urbanism* has been used by scholars to describe it and similar locations elsewhere in the world. Yet, if one reviews the peninsula's situation in greater detail, it is difficult to pick out a particular urban model that would describe the entire peninsula. This paper will review the area's development in the context of existing urban theories and analyse whether its main drivers might have current or future positive effects. Prior to that the text will identify the role of Lekki within Lagos State and describe the prevalent pattern of settlements' emergence on the peninsula.

### INTRODUCTION

Today's Lagos is a sprawling megacity crammed onto a series of disjointed and partly water-bound land forms never intended for such an intensive use. The city is commonly spoken of in terms of the more affluent and central Island, comprising of Ikoyi and Victoria Island and a more peripheral and poorer Mainland, which includes Ikeja, Yaba, Surulere and a number of other areas. Lekki Peninsula, a developing area to the city's East, is increasingly spoken of as part of the Island, mainly due to attractive residential and entertainment amenities for the new middle classes<sup>1</sup>.

In truth, Lekki Peninsula is both a part of Lagos and a separate entity. Having been mostly a swampy rainforest in 1980s<sup>2</sup>, the peninsula has been rapidly urbanising through the efforts of the

Lagos state government and a series of private actors. After a series of unsuccessful attempts to plan the peninsula's land uses during the 1980s and 1990s<sup>3</sup>, in 2008 Lagos State Government prepared a holistic masterplan which is being implemented ever since. In 2009, a government ran organisation in collaboration with international Dar Al-Handasah masterplanners drew a proposal for an economic Free Trade Zone at the far eastern extreme of the peninsula (figure 6) The latter is intended to be a 'model mega-industrial city' with a CBD, surrounded by a new seaport, airport and the country's largest future oil refinery<sup>4</sup>.

Today's Lagos is the richest state in the continent's most populated country<sup>5</sup> and Lekki is its only area where empty buildable space is still available close to the prestigious Island, the aforementioned LFTZ (a future CBD) and the Eko Atlantic City, a highly exclusive Dubai-inspired business and residential area, also a Free Trade Zone. Given such location, Lekki may be one of the continent's most desirable places to live and work in the twenty first century.

In today's Lagos, infrastructure is the key driver for urban change. When first built in the 1980s, the Lekki – Epe Expressway was a deserted two lane road used for driving lessons by the children of the Island-based elites<sup>6</sup>. Today, as shown on figure 1, the Expressway is a congested six-lane highway, with the parallel movement of cars, fumes-erupting old trucks, danfo buses and illegal okada-motorbikes, and unstoppable perpendicular movement of herdsmen with kattle, workers with heavy-loaded trolleys, women, head-carrying baskets of enormous size and the everyday hasslers of this new part of Lagos.

Fig. 3 (below)  
Emerging urban zone in the developing part of Lekki along the Coastal Road, photo by author



Whilst being the region's main (and only) transport artery and a linear centre for economic activity, the Expressway is the key factor regulating the local land values and creation of the new settlements. Despite the government plans for the Green Metro line<sup>7</sup> and some indication of the potential water transport along the Lagoon edge<sup>8</sup>, it is difficult to believe that any other infrastructure will have more impact on the growth of Lekki than the provision of motor transport routes.

#### THE PRODUCTION OF LEKKI

Fig. 3 illustrates the emergence of a new settlement in yet a relatively rural and remote area of Lekki Peninsula. The photograph is taken along the Atlantic Coastal road, ambitiously intended to connect 15 African countries<sup>9</sup>, yet currently linking Lekki-Epe Expressway to the new Lekki Free Trade Zone along an 11-kilometre coastal stretch. The urban area begins with the road which often features some forms of drainage provisions and power cables alongside it. As soon as there is traffic, a series of single storey structures, offering products and services from car repair to fried grasscutter meal<sup>10</sup>, begin to emerge. The configuration of these fragile sheds for economic activities evolves on the daily basis and is discussed later in this text under the phenomena of the African ephemera (Appendix C and Fig. 8-9). Overtime the road use stimulates the demand for products and services beyond the scope of the informal ephemeral clusters and more permanent structures appear, first for commercial and later for residential purposes. Finally, once a sufficient number and variety of structures have appeared along the road edge to make it place of destination, rather than pass through, developers begin to establish high profile amenities, typically for office and commercial use



Appendix A. Gated Estate  
Case Study: Lekki County Homes, Eti-Osa

The estate was built by a private developer named. Unlike the urban residents of the public domain outside the gates, the LCH residents benefit from a good drainage system, waste collection, security patrol, estate-based supermarket. Unlike in some other such estates, the residents of LCH do not have a centralised power and water supply.

The estate association formed by the residents and management team meet on last Saturday of every month to resolve issues including those outside of the LCH domain. For example, when the approach road, poorly maintained by the local authority was flooded, it was down to the residents to arrange a solution. On the approach to the gate from the Lekki-Epe Express commercial vehicles are required to illegally pay a fee to the local Omo Onile who claim to be the indigenous settlers of Eti-Osa.

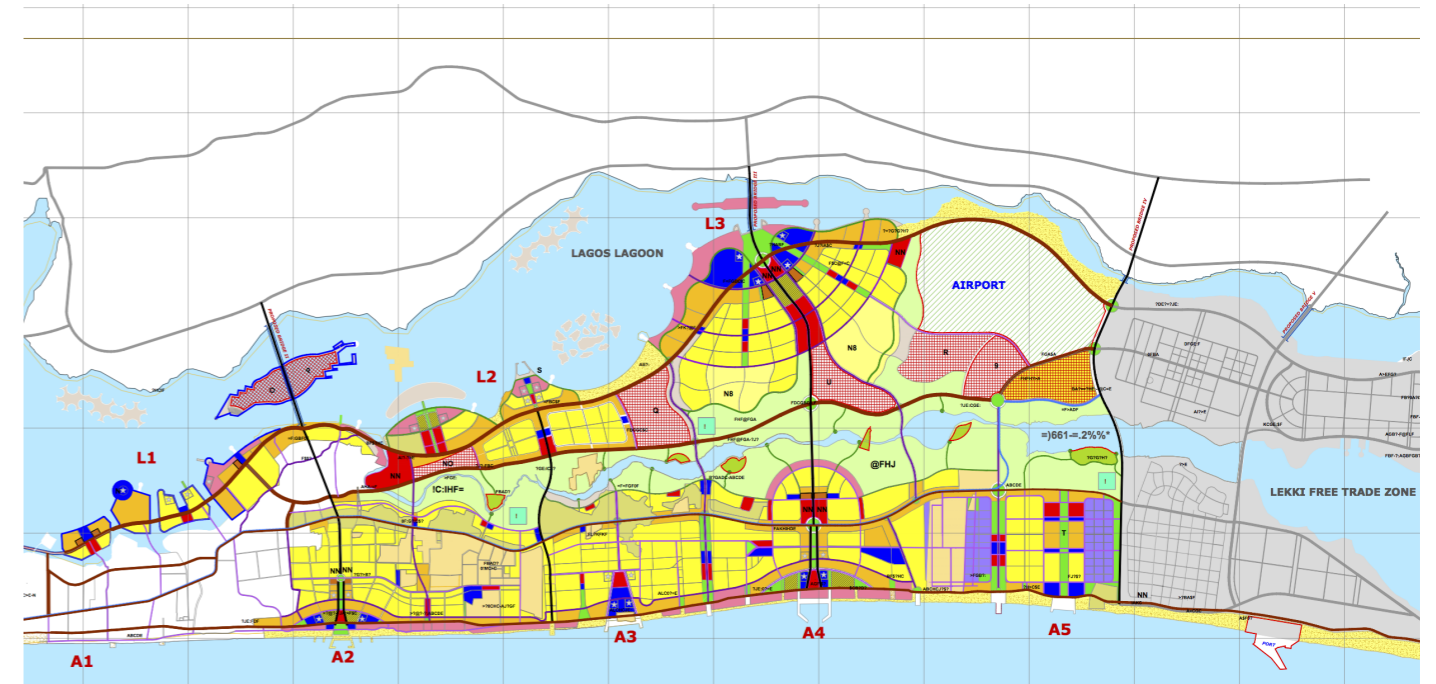


Fig. 4. Lekki Comprehensive Master Plan Lagos; courtesy: Lagos State Government, Planning Department



Appendix B. Indigenous Village  
Case Study: Ajah, Lekki

Ajah and Eputu Town are two of the larger indigenous settlements in Lekki Peninsula. There are a number of smaller villages that were excised by original settler families from the Lagos state, since all land became government owned in the 1970s.

Ajah was formed by 10 chief's families in the eighteenth century. There is no barriers around or within the village. Whilst most of the buildings look poorly looked after, there are some affluent local residents.

Despite the population of only a few thousand people, three religions are practiced here: Islam, Christianity and a pagan religion. As with most of South Western Nigeria, Yoruba tribe is the dominant ethnic group present in the village.



Appendix C. Service settlement  
Case Study: Ephemeral settlement in Eti-Osa

Service providers and tradesmen, who operate in the area yet cannot afford to live in Lekki, inhabit single storey poorly built structures. These normally form clusters and their configuration changes on daily basis, just as their inhabitant's occupation.

Structures intended for trade are positioned alongside major roads and are built in a market stall-like fashion. Those intended for living and workshops or light industries are located in more remote locations. Many of the structures are intended for the back of house functions of the gated estates and other developer-driven formal typologies. In these cases the structures are positioned alongside them. The sheds on the image above are photographed from the window of the Eti Osa Town Planning Office.

Fig. 5  
Unplanned mass change of building uses in Lekki Phase 1: modern Nigerian family home converted into an office.  
photo by author, taken with permission of W Hospitality Group Lagos



alongside the route and for gated residential purposes deeper in the adjacent areas.

Based on Lagos's recent and distant history, one can not expect the authorities' ambitious plans, such as the Coastal Road or the Lekki Masterplan to be implemented in their full envisaged configuration. Yet, the initial incentives of these large projects provide the seeds for the self development for a variety of privately and informally initiated activities and urban conditions, discussed in the later part of the text. The state built infrastructure is exploited, corrupted, diverted, parasitized and capitalised upon in the making of the future urbanised Lekki.

The described pattern of development begins with infrastructure, typically roads with services, and ends with high profile built-up areas, typically gated estates or mixed use commercial zones. Since 1980s this type of urban growth has been taking over the peninsula in the eastwards direction from Victoria Island along the Expressway. This spread has been influenced by the flood conditions of the existing typography<sup>11</sup>, and the local indigenous villages. Such communities, have lived in the area for centuries<sup>12</sup>, and have a distinct way of arranging their environment both on land and on water. One case of such village, ran by the community of Ajah, Appendix B, was studied by the author during the fieldwork in Nigeria.

This section of the text has identified three of the key urban morphologies present in today's Lekki. These include high profile developer-driven establishments, whether commercial or residential (Appendix A), the ephemeral and ever-changing clusters providing services (Appendix C) and the well established indigenous communities, culturally enriched with a

long history and cross-mix of ethnicities and religions.

It is important to note the great number of residential typologies that are hybrid of the three mentioned categories. These are typically public residential estates with poor infrastructure and security levels, populated with the better-off locals or the immigrant nouveau-riches not affording the gated estate life. The text will not explore each of these urban types, but rather focus on the main three categories that illustrate the extremes of the ways of how new space is generated and governed. The following section will review the academic theories relevant specifically to the development of Lekki and to the West African urban space more broadly.

#### THEORETICAL CONTEXT: LEKKI AS A PART OF LAGOS

A number of approaches to theorising about Lekki is possible, depending whether one considers it as a suburb of Lagos, or an independent agglomeration of towns. Sawyer<sup>13</sup> acknowledges Lekki's 'very different scale and character to the rest of Lagos', yet views the peninsula as the city's 'peripheral space' made protected and well-serviced for Lagos's growing 'middle classes'.

Sawyer and Schmid use the term 'bypass urbanism' to describe the new public-private, mostly residential areas in Lekki (Lagos), Rajarhat (Kolkata) and Santa Fe (Mexico City)<sup>14</sup>. These studies are in dialogue with Gavin Shatkin's analysis of negative impacts of privatisation of planning on the urban environment<sup>15</sup> in Southeast Asia and Martin Murray's more recent broader study of the 'urban enclaves', also featuring the term bypass urbanism. The latter author notes the augmentation



of urban discontinuity and inequality through the 'bubble-like' enclaves, physically and jurisdictionally divorced from the rest of the city in the 'hyper-globalised' age<sup>16</sup>.

Lekki's Bypass urbanism is evident on different levels. On one hand, the inhabitants of the peninsula are fortunate to escape the choking environment of overcrowding, disease, violence and infrastructural inadequacy of Lagos Mainland whilst accessing work and entertainment facilities in Ikoyi and Victoria Island<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, a series of personal relationships between developers, authorities and region's powerful families<sup>18</sup> permit a selected group of benefactors to bypass planning policies in achieving higher gains from projects that may go against the initial masterplan aims and introduce new territorial hierarchies. Such machinations resulted in mass market-driven residential-to-office conversions within Lekki Phase 1 (figure 5). Further to this, due to the poor transport links between Lagos proper and Lekki, the latter will benefit quite exclusively from the new airport and sea port near the Lekki Free Trade Zone<sup>19</sup>. The city's newest infrastructure for international transportation, travel and trade will bypass the older, poorer, more problematic and denser populated areas of Lagos.

Another term Piecemeal Urbanism was applied by Sawyer to issues in several areas on Lagos Mainland and later by Hoggmascal in relation to Lekki more specifically<sup>20</sup>. Both authors identify the lack of a single coherent land use strategy, absence of a single responsible planning authority and the resulting combination of governmental and non-governmental actors, including contractors, architects and developers making simultaneous and at times conflicting decisions regarding the

Fig. 6  
Lekki Free Trade Zone



envisaged urban environment.

#### LEKKI AS A SEPARATE CITY

This paper agrees with the applicability of the term Bypass urbanism in the context of privatisation of planning, creation of exclusive urban enclaves and augmentation of inequality and segregation that were observed in Lekki during my fieldwork. Yet, this text argues that such terms and their mostly negative implications fail to accurately describe the complexity and speed of the peninsula's ongoing urban transition. The theory about Bypass Urbanism focuses too extensively on formal urban forms at a specific point in time (at the moment when the research is being conducted), and concentrates on areas closest to Lagos Island, particularly Lekki Phase 1, therefore envisaging the peninsula as the city's urban periphery. Using this year's fieldwork research in the lesser known parts of the peninsula further East from Lagos, I will use this section to reveal issues with applying a single urban theory to the complexity and non-uniformity of Lekki's ongoing development processes.

When reviewed through the prism of Grahame Shane's classification of cities<sup>21</sup>, tomorrow's Lagos is likely to fall into the Megalopolis category. Today's disparity and physical distance between the Island and the Mainland is amplified by traffic problems on bridges and the presence of the state's political and tech entrepreneurial centres in Mainland's Ikeja and Yaba respectively. The construction of the Dubai-inspired highly segregated Eko Atlantic city alongside Victoria Island and plans for the Lekki Free Trade Zone to become 'a new modern industrial city'<sup>22</sup> (fig. 6) indicate the ongoing



Fig. 7  
Activities happening outside an  
estate gate, photos by author

transformation of the former fragmented and disjointed metropolis into a series of physically and jurisdictionally divided cities and towns of different character.

Following the initial completion of Lekki Masterplan in 2008 (fig. 4), scholars were quick to realise its potential to become an urban entity in itself, separate from both Lagos Mainland and the Lekki Free Trade Zone located to its sides. An extensive critic of the Masterplan and the LFTZ layout, Joost Meuwissen<sup>23</sup> accepts the Lekki model ‘as a city on its own which might be almost self sufficient, and thus might be a format for the city as a whole – or society as a whole...’. In a similar vein, Hulshof and Roggeveen imply the possibility of the Free Trade Zone serving as the city centre to the wider Lekki, which will be cleaner and better managed, yet less exciting and diverse than Lagos<sup>24</sup>: ‘Lekki SEZ is an idea that is both utopian as distopian; it considers the existing city as a failure, and creates a new one next to it.’

This text agrees with identifying Lekki as a separate urban entity. Yet, the peninsula is also seen here as a fragmented collection of settlements in the process of making, separate from both the Free Trade Zone to the East and from Lagos Island to the West. As illustrated in appendices A, B and C Lekki is not a homogeneous middle class gated community but rather a mix of the commercial and indistinct non-places, vibrant and culturally complex existing towns and the self-redefining ephemeral settlements in constant symbiotic or parasitical relationship with all other urban and natural forms.

To reveal such a relationship it is sufficient to spend a day observing activities in and around one of Lekki’s gated estates<sup>25</sup>

. The approach to an estate is typically a poorly maintained road with an overwhelming amount of informal economic activities. Whilst the road itself is full of okada-motorbike drivers and snack sellers, the road edges are colonised by vulcanisers<sup>26</sup>, bamboo scaffolding suppliers, food merchants, cement block factories, hairdressers, religious pastors and ‘confidence tricksters’<sup>27</sup>. Accompanied by children and freely wandering domestic animals, supplied by motorbike-driving cooking gas vendors, by lagoon fishermen and by the local market, women play an important role here by feeding the informal professional network operating within and outside the estate. This network normally comprises of the aforementioned road-based fortune-seekers, builders, maids and nannies servicing the estate families.<sup>28</sup> Apart from the traders and service providers, traditionally dressed and often fraudulent Omo Onile tax collectors would also sit alongside the road edge and collect a fee from commercial vehicles entering the estate, claiming to be the indigenous settlers of this particular area<sup>29</sup>.

The daily evolution of the fragile-looking single storey structures and the continuous redefinition of the their inhabitants’ professional roles falls under the theory of the African Ephemera<sup>30</sup>: a powerful urban process making an African city different to that in the Global North and impossible to control with frozen-in-time rigorous planning strategies.

An estate residents have occasional disputes with the surrounding service settlement, for example over a flood caused by drains blocked with the trade by-products. Yet, most of the time, the rich residents remain interested in the convenience of the nearby service settlement and their relationship with the traders is positive and mutually rewarding. Based on studies by

Ilesanmi<sup>31</sup>, gated estate associations, who often have a say in Lekki’s local politics, are known to contribute to supporting infrastructure in the estate’s surrounding areas.

The informal activities’ intensity peaks at an estate’s gate. As one enters the estate, one encounters a queue of motorbike taxis willing to take one to the nearest bus stop, and a queue of builders and maids being checked by the porters before entering. One also observes dirty and scruffy Naira notes in rapid circulation between the motorbike and taxi drivers, snack traders, fraudulent tax collectors, gate porters, duty policemen, bypassing builders and the estate residents poking out of their new German-made cars. Immersed in a concentration of transactions, the gate is a porous border, a threshold of two mutually dependant worlds (fig. 7).

Richard Sennett makes a distinction between the notions of a border and that of a boundary<sup>32</sup>. Based on the sociologist’s description, a boundary is a dead edge to a centralised activity, whether in biological or urban theories, whereas a border is an edge where very distinct environments and their representatives come into an intense contact and have symbiotic interaction. In an urban sense, this often means generation of inclusive economic activities and vibrant, participatory and safe street atmosphere.

Developed in a piecemeal urbanism manner and segmented into different developers’ domains based on complex public - private agreements, Lekki is covered with legally and illegally placed walls, gates, formal and informal (with non-uniformed staff) control posts. They are often implemented before any buildings are built. However, because of the special nature of

the West African city, its unstoppable and adaptive ephemera, and the typically Lagosian shameless thirst for hustling, the rigid edges become productive borders that accommodate the thriving urban life.

In 2000 the Harvard City Project, led by Rem Koolhaas, defined a wall in Lagos as ‘the host of economies and small-scale manufacturing’<sup>33</sup>. Unlike their areas of study, mostly on Mainland, today’s Lekki is dissected with steep income inequality disjunctions yet kept together through the culture of inter-class and inter-racial ‘merging and mingling’, historically associated with Lagos<sup>34</sup>. Lekki confirms Sennett’s theory about the intensity of a porous border’s activity being proportional to the starkness of differences between the microcosms on its either side. One may only begin to imagine the Lekki of tomorrow, as an unequal and dense high-rise city, impregnated with vertical and horizontal borders bursting with activity.

## CONCLUSION

In his book *The City in History* Lewis Mumford discusses two archetypes of the modern city: the walled citadel and the organic village<sup>35</sup>. Having been focusing on Lekki Peninsula in Lagos State, Nigeria, this paper has reviewed the presence of both of these opposing forms either as exclusive developer-generated residential and commercial enclaves or as metabolically growing indigenous towns. The text has also identified the important role of the ephemeral clusters accommodating service and product providers who fill the gaps between Lekki’s citadels and villages.



Having described the three urban forms, each existing within its own timeframe, this essay reviewed some urban theories that scholars have used in relation to Lekki. The text identified that ‘bypass urbanism’, a prevalent theoretical theme in the previous studies, gives an accurate yet partial picture of the peninsula’s changing urban scene. The exclusion of the wider and poorer populations from the life of the new developments is particularly evident when one studies Lekki’s areas closest to Lagos Island, whereas the bypassing of the city’s faulty infrastructure is clear if one thinks of the peninsula as a suburb of the city.

A different image comes to mind, however, if Lagos State is viewed as a future Megalopolis and Lekki as an independent series of towns. In this case, some of the latter, like Ajah, described in Appendix B, fall outside of the Bypass Urbanism theory. A negative perception of Lekki as purely an exclusive ‘bypass’ enclave is one from a distanced viewpoint. The efforts of Nigerian real estate agents result in the top Google Image search results for ‘Lekki, Lagos’ showing gated housing estates – a typology attractive to the emerging West African middle classes<sup>36</sup> and typically unattractive to the modern day Western-educated urban critics.

When one considers the situation on the ground and especially the boundaries between the different urban forms, one discovers that an informal open system can be unconsciously initiated using elements of prohibition and control. In this respect, this work found it useful to focus on qualities of paths and especially edges, rather than districts, landmarks or nodes, if we use Kevin Lynch’s terminological toolkit for describing cities<sup>37</sup>.

Vision and imminence, informality and rule enforcement, ephemera and permanence, global and local: individuals and organisations standing for all of these opposites symbiotically co-exist in Lekki, in a similar way to how the inter-class and inter-racial interaction was binding the Lagosians together in the early 20th century.



End notes:

This article investigates some theories about Lekki and West African urban space against my own fieldwork observations and interviews in Ghana and Nigeria, recorded in my fieldwork blog:

Shtanov, Mark, Mark’s Fieldwork, [www.mshtanov.wordpress.com](http://www.mshtanov.wordpress.com), Wordpress.com, Automattic Inc., 2017, accessed on 19 September 2017 and on other dates.

1. Charles Idem, ‘Middle-Class Life in Lekki’, *The Africa Report*, 2017, 53.
2. Idem.
3. Previous failures are described by the State’s authorities on pages 3-10 of the most recent masterplan report; Ministry of Physical Planning & Urban Development, Lagos State Government, *Lekki Comprehensive Master Plan Lagos* (Lagos, November 2011).
4. Dar Al-Handasah, ‘Lekki Free Zone. Land Use and Infrastructure Master Plan’ (Lagos, 2009).
5. Statistic Times, ‘List of African Countries by Population’, 2015 <<http://statisticstimes.com/population/african-countries-by-population.php>>.
6. Mark Shtanov, ‘Visit to FMA architects’, Mark’s Fieldwork, 2017 <[www.mshtanov.wordpress.com](http://www.mshtanov.wordpress.com)>.
7. Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority, ‘LAGOS RAIL MASS TRANSIT’ <<http://lamata-ng.com/rail/>>.
8. During one of potential site visits near Ajah in Lekki, I discovered a jetty under construction as a local attempt to facilitate a new local public transport. Documented in Prince Ojupon’s brother’s site, Ajah, Shtanov, 2017, <https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/07/02/prince-ojupons-brothers-site-ajah/>.
9. Itai Madamombe, ‘Highways Link 15 West African Countries’, *Africa*

Renewal, 2006.

10. Along with other cooked wild animals such as ‘bush dog’ or ‘bush rat’, a ‘grasscutter’ (all are local terminology) is one of Nigerian ‘bushmeat’ specialties, usually prepared and sold alongside roads in the rural areas.
11. Much of today’s buildable land in Lekki is achieved through sand dredging and land reclamation. Obie Jerry Obiefuna and Nnezi Uduma-Olugu, ‘Groins or Not: Some Environmental Challenges to Urban Development on a Lagos Coastal Barrier Island of Lekki Peninsula’, *Journal of Construction Business and Management*, 2017, 14–28.
12. Shtanov, ‘Mark’s Fieldwork Blog’.
13. Lindsay Sawyer, ‘Plotting the Prevalent but Undertheorised Residential Areas of Lagos’ (ETH Zurich, 2016), pp. 53-54.
14. Lindsay Sawyer and Christian Schmid, ‘Bypass Urbanism’, *ETH Zurich Soziologie - Jahrbuch*, 2015, 211–13.
15. Gavin Shatkin, ‘The City and the Bottom Line: Urban Megaprojects and the Privatization of Planning in Southeast Asia’, *Environment and Planning A*, 40.2 (2008), 383–401 <<https://doi.org/10.1068/a38439>>.
16. Martin J. Murray, *The Urbanism of Exception: The Dynamics of Global City Building in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 303-304.
17. Over the recent decade, Lekki Phase 1 has become a popular entertainment and work destination in itself, permitting Lekki’s residents to bypass both the Mainland and the Island in their everyday lifestyles.
18. Oniru Family was influential during 1980s in initiating some high profile development in Lekki Phase 1 by clearing Maroko settlement. More recently, the Elegushi Family has been notorious for large residential schemes further East of Lekki Phase 1.

Fig. 8-9 (left and below)  
Informal activities along the Lekki-  
Epe Express Road, photos by  
author

19. Sawyer (2016, p.59)
20. Rosie Hoggmascall, 'Dreaming of Lekki - Urban Fantasies and the New Middle Class; Identity, Infrastructure and the Politics of New Peripheral Expansion' (University of Cambridge, 2016).
21. David Grahame Shane, Urban Design since 1945 : A Global Perspective (Hoboken, N.J. : Chichester: Hoboken, N.J. : Wiley ; Chichester : John Wiley distributor, 2011).
22. Max Zherryll, Lekki Free Trade Zone, Lagos, 2013 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ByMT3BeVNac>>.
23. Joost Meuwissen, 'Lekki Peninsula, Lagos, Nigeria', Joostmeuwissen.nl, 2012 <<http://www.joostmeuwissen.nl/blog/lekki/>> [accessed 1 October 2017].
24. Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Africa: Architecture, Culture, Identity, ed. by Michael Juul Holm and Mette Marie Kallehauge (Humblebaek: Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 2015), part by Hulshof and Roggeveen, 'NON-LAGOS: THE CHINESE IMPACT ON URBANISATION IN AFRICA', pp. 244-248.
25. Most of the observations were recorded during my fieldwork period, blog post 'Observing the Gate: time spent with a gated estate's security team', Shtanov, 2017.
26. Volcaniser is a term used for a roadside mechanic in English speaking West Africa
27. Quayson refers to individuals offering shortcuts to obtaining visas to Western countries and other distant but attractive propositions Oxford Street, Accra 2014, p. 245). This industry currently appears to be leaving the West African Street environment for the virtual domains of instant messaging and social networks.
28. For a more elaborate description of an ephemeral service settlement please refer to my earlier essay: Mark Shtanov, 'Essay 4: Implementation, Mobilisation, Operation and Innovation at a Hotel Building Site in Lekki, Nigeria' (University of Cambridge, 2017).
29. This and other Omo Onile activity is described by Akinyele on p. 112; in Francesca Locatelli and Paul Nugent, African Cities : Competing Claims on Urban Spaces / Edited by Francesca Locatelli, Paul Nugent. (Leiden, Netherlands: Leiden, Netherlands : Brill, 2009., 2009).
30. Quayson (2014, pp. 242-250) gives an accurate description of the Ephimera's role in the physical city and in the urban collective psyche.
31. Adetokunbo Ilesanmi, 'The Roots and Fruits of Gated Communities in Lagos, Nigeria: Social Sustainability or Segregation?', Sustainable Futures: Architecture and Urbanism in the Global South, 2012, 105–11.
32. Richard Sennett, The Edge: Borders and Boundaries (Cambridge Law Faculty, 2015) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VM9wqovghE>>.
33. Rem Koolhaas, Mutations / Rem Koolhaas ... [et Al.]. (Barcelona: Barcelona : ACTAR, [2000], 2000), p. 663.
34. Kaye Whiteman, Lagos: A Cultural and Historical Imagination, 2013 <<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1507818>> [accessed 12 October 2016], p. 31.
35. Lewis Mumford, The City in History : Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects / Lewis Mumford. (Harmondsworth: Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1991., 1991), pp. 107-108.
36. Hoggmascall.
37. Kevin Lynch, The Image of the City (Cambridge [Mass.]: Cambridge Mass. : M.I.T. Press, 1964).