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Design Thesis

ANOTHER HOTEL IN AFRICA

A NEW PROTOTYPE FOR A COMMUNITY-INITIATED,
PHASED WEST AFRICAN HOTEL PROJECT WITH
ATTACHED HOSPITALITY SCHOOL, IN LEKKI, NIGERIA

A design thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration
except where specifically indicated in the text.

To my parents Nastasya and Vladimir, who support me with love, advice, money, knowledge, encouragement, contacts, the tireless Russian spirit and everything else needed for me to do what I enjoy without worrying about anything. None of this would have been possible without them.

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Introduction

This thesis accompanies an architectural design project with two major objectives. First, it questions the physical and social role of existing hotels in West Africa as locations that are underused and constrained as points of productive interaction between global flows of people, ideas and objects and the local milieus of knowledge, aspiration, and cultural embeddedness that indigenous populations create. The second objective concerns existing West African land development strategies for areas that are being rapidly urbanised due to being located close to the major cities, whether the North West Accra region in Ghana, Lekki in Nigeria or Diamniadio in Senegal. My work addresses the developers and authorities' insensitivity towards such areas' local populations, environmental peculiarities and previous issues with planning that do not appear to have been absorbed in the current policies. Combining these two objectives, my thesis tests whether a community-managed hotel can initiate a sensitive regeneration of a localised section of a new masterplan whilst establishing a place for a mutually beneficial relationship between the global and the local. This thesis is viewed as a step towards developing an architectural prototype that can be adapted to other locations where these issues deserve to be addressed.

The work will build on the knowledge I developed during fieldwork in West Africa. Having visited Nigeria and Ghana, I have used research and interviews to draw on similarities in urbanisation scenarios and hotel roles across these regions and other parts of West Africa, particularly in Cote D'Ivoire and Senegal. In some arguments I have included research on Cameroon, which although not formally a part of West Africa, has strong social ties to the countries I visited, reflecting issues central to my work¹. A degree of generalisation has been applied in the process of developing a prototype and principles, rather than a project on a single site.

Aiming to operate at both architectural and urban scales, the essay is subdivided into three parts. Part 1 reviews the project's geographical background, zooming from the broad and complex West African context to the specific Lekki region studied more closely during the fieldwork. This initial section draws a series of observations about the inadequacies of holistic grand design masterplans and identifies the opportunities of alternative planning methods equipped with responsiveness to the unpredictable grassroots factors, as well as the different time conditions that shape the region's built environment. Part 2 studies the evolution of hotels in West Africa, in order to explain their modern day configuration and relationship with the city. Their drawbacks are identified within the context of theories about discontinuity and inequality within West African cities.

Part 3 presents a series of design strategies that have emerged over the course of my design and research. First, it claims that hotel's world-binding entrepreneurial potential can be unlocked and spread onto a city's developing areas by making the intervention more open and its boundary less rigid². The hotel's resulting recursive relationship with the surroundings enables a new social and architectural landscape to support and promote mutually beneficial global local exchange. Secondly, it describes how the project pursues a participatory entrepreneurial approach in pursuing long term social and economic benefits for the local community, as an alternative to the short term aspirations of private-public organisations and capitalist modes of value extraction inherited from colonialism. Lastly, the third part identifies how the physical composition of

¹ 'Cameroon is also outstanding in the amount of scholarly enquiries that have been done into the economic, social and cultural resonances of its urban situations. I am referring to the work of AbdouMaliq Simone, Alfred Ndi and Achille Mbembe.

² In order to bring clarity to what is being discussed, my interpretations of 'openness' and 'rigidity' are explored in Section 3A of the essay

the intervention will correlate to the environmental and economic temporal trajectories observed in the region and described throughout the essay.

Combined, parts one, two and three will make up the main thesis of this essay, which is about the physical and the socio-entrepreneurial roles of the hotel prototype proposed by my design project. On the one hand, the thesis claims that making the hotel responsive to its context and its boundary fluid, whilst constructing it in locally grounded yet technologically advanced ways, can improve an urban area's access to the global flows of ideas, people and objects passing through the hotel. On the other hand, the thesis pursues an intervention compact enough to embrace small-scale entrepreneurial initiatives, yet sufficiently ambitious to facilitate organic urban growth and respond to the longer term developer interventions that will evolve in an area as prominent and desirable as Lekki. In this respect, the new hotel is seen both as a business and a masterplanning instrument.



1. SITE CONTEXT

Image: Typical condition in Ajah, Lekki. Photograph by author.

1A: Vision and reality in West African planning

'Не будем слишком регулировать, ведь мы стоим на почве новой.'

(Let's not over-regulate, since we stand on a new ground.)

Duke de Richelieu, governor of Odessa, the first free economic zone of the Russian Empire, early 19th century³

Two distinct urban forms, a walled citadel and an organic village, keep reappearing in Lewis Mumford's historic analysis of the city. These two archetypes, visually readable in the early centuries, yet increasingly obscure in the modern city with its legal frameworks and digital technologies, typically correspond to two opposite ways of development and operation⁴. In a more recent interpretation by Richard Sennett, the organic village appears in the guise of an 'open system': a Dionysian⁵ approach associated with imminence, informality and adaptability and anarchic reconstruction of an original initiating intervention. The citadel, on the other hand, is an Apollonian⁶ 'closed system', based on rigidity and permanence, and regulated by a set of ideas fixed in time.

There is a history of contest between the closed and open urban forms and processes in West African cities. As Bill Freund notes, the continent-wide urbanisation between the early nineteenth century and the mid twentieth century Second World War, went largely according to the plans of European colonisers⁷. In West African countries Freund notes both relatively subtle indirect interventions permitting better economic cohesiveness, and radical urban grand designs, typically destined to segregate groups of citizens. Examples of the former typically happened in cities established prior to colonisation, such as Ibadan, Nigeria and Lomé, Togo⁸. However, examples of the radical city reconstruction methods were more dominant and happened primarily to highlight the superiority of the ruling class, to keep out disease and to disintegrate productive relationships between indigenous ethnic groups, as with the *Medina Quartier* in Abidjan during the 1910s⁹. Freund uses the West African example of Freetown, Sierra Leone, as a particularly stark example of colonial officials 'dreaming of entirely reconstructing the landscape'. Construction of Hill Station, a new white-only

³ Leonid Parfyonov, *Documentaries on Russian Empire* (NTV Russia, 2003) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ZLuZNeBwQo>>.

⁴ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects* / (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991, pp. 106-108).

⁵ Richard Sennett uses Quinta Monroy Project by Elemental in Chile and a drug market in South Africa as two different adaptive, 'open' urban systems, also named Dyonisian in reference by Nietzsche to the Ancient Greek god Dionysius where events are best examined through a participatory approach without a critical distance (Nietzsche, 2003, pp. 23-26).

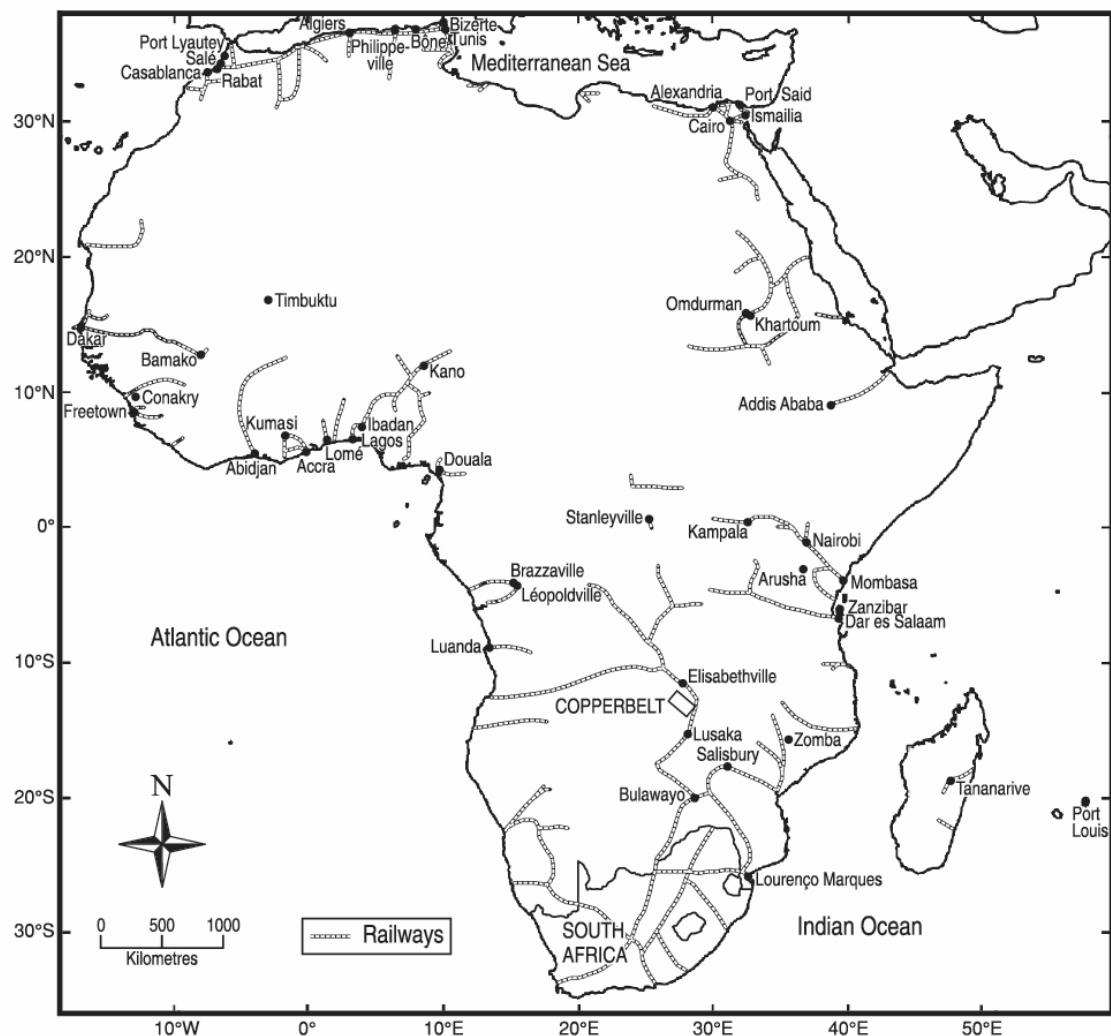
⁶ As examples of rigid, or closed, urban systems Richard Sennett uses two towns, Pundbury, UK and Masdar, UAE, designed accordingly to visions of Prince Charles and Norman Forster respectively, without much scope for adaptions and alterations later down the line. Such systems are also known as Apollonian through Nietzsche's interpretation of the Ancient Greek god Apollo as one who sees 'higher truth, the perfection ... in contrast to our daily reality. Non-participatory observation is therefore classified as Apollonian (Nietzsche, 2003, p. 9.)

⁷ Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, New Approaches to African History (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 70-89.

⁸ With their indirect rule in Nigeria, British authorities were radically intrusive in the organisation of pre-colonial town of Ibadan. Rather, their indirect rule 'pacified' the boundaries between opposing Hausa and Yoruba neighbourhoods and ensured 'peaceful marketplace dealings' between different ethnicities under a single colonial protector (Freund, 2007, pp. 70-76). Freund also notes Lomé's authorities' willingness to recognise urban property rights from before conquest' resulting in Togo's capital being a 'relatively integrated city' (Freund, 2007, p. 76).

⁹ Freund (2003, p. 76).

Appendix I. Colonialism in Africa and modern day demolition



1. Colonial Cities in Africa. Image from Freund, 2007, p. 67.



2. Site of a removed informal settlement to give place to a new development in Lekki Phase 1, Lagos State, Nigeria. Photograph taken by author in May 2017.

district with its own tram service was developed starting in 1902, in neglect of its site's previous use patterns and the Creole population's lifestyle.

In the newly independent West African nations, the city became the battlefield between planning authorities and the informal sector. Aspirational modernist masterplans, intended to promote nation-building and cosmopolitan lifestyles, failed to cater for the influential pre-colonial economic mechanisms and rocketing housing demands caused by rapid urbanisation¹⁰. As the African hinterland declined, cities absorbed migrants, who had nowhere to live but in self-made shacks, constantly under the threat of removal. In the cases of Lagos and Abidjan in the 1960s and 1970s, large slum areas were demolished. Failing to comply with the planning visions, they were seen as 'environmental nuisances' or 'affronts' to the dignity of the future capitals¹¹.

To address the influx of people whilst maintaining the image of the city, the authorities began to develop 'Sites and services' schemes, first introduced in Dakar in 1972¹². Under this method, which is still common in West Africa, shown on image 1 in Appendix II, the government purchases an area¹³, divides it into plots and provides basic infrastructure. The individual construction and alteration can then be done by tenants and landowners, to an extent they can afford. However, as Mabogunje points out, the authorities and the 'petty bourgeoisie' have little restriction to accumulating such land and renting it at high costs¹⁴. 'Sites and services' has therefore evolved into an expensive and scarce substitution for informal settlements. Moreover, as my fieldwork experience has shown, the level of security, infrastructure and transport access in the government-owned public domain can be little better than that in informally created slums¹⁵.

The modern West African city continues to be torn apart by imported grand design ideas and unstoppable grassroots initiatives. My Pilot Thesis¹⁶ reviewed Abidjan's authorities' futile plans of 'piecing the city together' on the verge of the 21st century¹⁷ and Lagos State's numerous failed attempts at securing a single CBD¹⁸, whilst new locations of entrepreneurship continued to spring up in unexpected parts of both cities. The improvised ways of exploiting the new rail systems the authorities of both commercial capitals are currently

¹⁰ Mabogunje (1990, pp. 130 - 144) analyses the reasons for the rapid African urban growth during the second half of the twentieth century, whilst Freund (2007, pp. 141 – 143), whilst d'Auria and De Meulder (2010, pp. 115 – 120) provide background information for the African nationalists' 'Modernist Dreams' of the 1960s.

¹¹ Marris (2003) provides a detailed overview of around 200,000 people being relocated from central Lagos to give way to creation of the new business district. Freund (2003, pp. 148-149) uses Abidjan as a typical 'round up' – slum expulsion typical for the time. Mabogunje (1990, p. 175) mentions a case of Nigerian authorities forcing 'small-scale artisans' to move to the city's periphery unless they create a view-blocking fence around their operational area.

¹² Rodney R. White, 'The Impact of Policy Conflict on the Implementation of a Government-Assisted Housing Project in Senegal', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, 19.3 (1985), 505–28 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.1985.10804129>>.

¹³ This is not necessary in countries like Nigeria, where all of the land has been nationalised, Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Land Use Act 1978, Chapter 202*, 1978 <<http://www.nigeria-law.org/Land%20Use%20Act.htm>>.

¹⁴ Mabogunje (1990, p. 142).

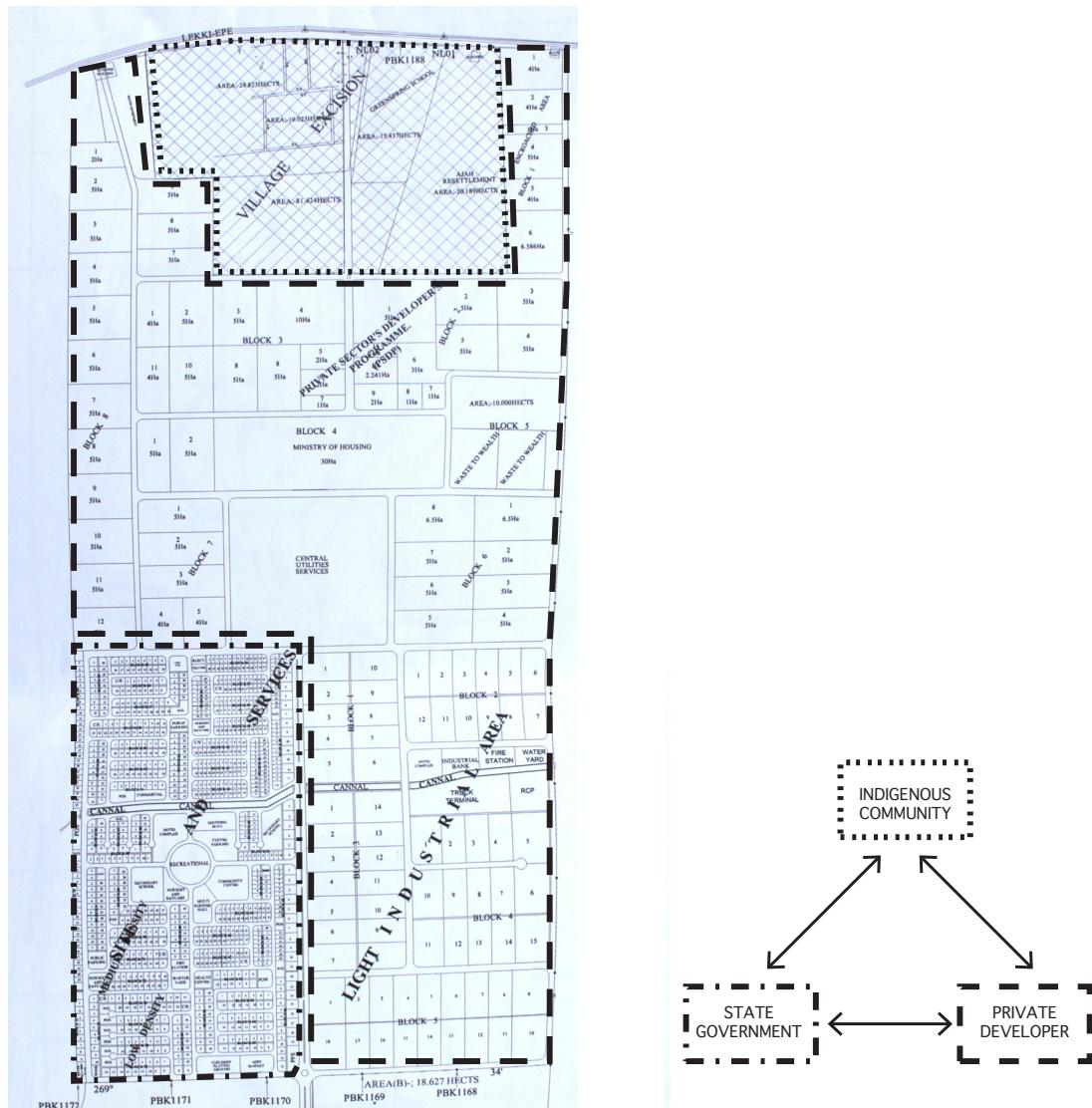
¹⁵ In my earlier 'Implementation essay' (Shtanov, 2017, section 5 on infrastructure) I note the poor condition of power and water infrastructure, transport, roads and security in much of Lekki's public domain. Having observed similar issues in Accra, I make comparisons in the following blog post: <https://goo.gl/RtVzU9>

¹⁶ "Pilot Thesis. Hotel as a Business Instrument", Shtanov, 2017, University of Cambridge, Section III on Architectural Realities

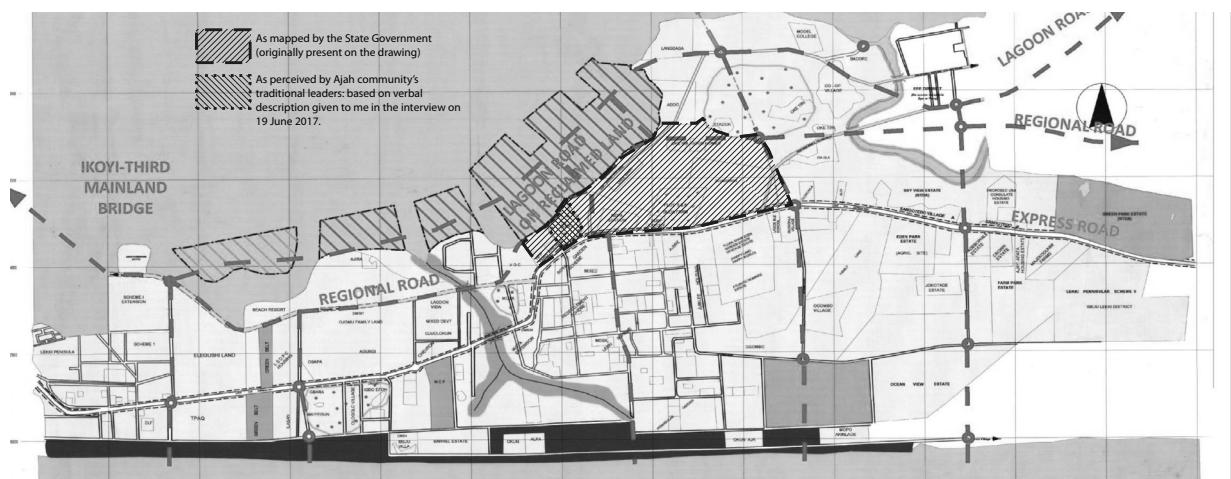
¹⁷ Freund (2003, p. 184)

¹⁸ To set the scene of Lagos's continuously shifting 'business gravity' I used Kaye Whiteman's chapter on contemporary Lagos in Whiteman, 2013, pp. 80-81.

Appendix II. Modern day stakeholders and disputes regarding indigenous land.



1. Typical land subdivision within LMP. Diagram on the right shows the parties associated with the development of the demarcated areas. Colour demarcation by author. Extract from layout drawing for Iberekodo Industrial Town, drawn by Lagos NTDA, 2017.



2. Two boundaries of Ajah superimposed onto the map of the western side of Lekki peninsula extracted from the 2011 Lekki Masterplan Report. Meeting summary: <https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/19/meeting-with-baale-of-ajah-and-his-council-of-princes/>

constructing¹⁹ are yet to be observed: urban activity often starts with the government-built infrastructure, but rarely goes on as planned²⁰.

Lagos is exemplary with regards to the state's formal planning policies being counteracted by communities, families and individuals – and vice versa. In 1990 Mabogunje emphasised the gap between the 'reality of African Urbanisation', 'our inadequate understanding' of the processes shaping it, and the 'virtual ineffectiveness' of policies influencing these processes²¹. Over the past three decades a number of scholars²² have enriched the theory behind the informal forces governing the city. Nevertheless, there remains a vast disparity between the 'messy' urban reality and the authoritarian strategies imposed upon it, whether in the form of masterplan drawings, building regulations or land-use policies.

Mabogunje's statement concerning Lagos's planners' ambivalence about urban informality²³ resonates with David Lamoureux's investigation of the 'human price of modernity' in the former Nigerian capital²⁴. Throughout his PhD dissertation, the historian comes across world-renowned architects, town planners, civil engineers and hygienists attempting vast scale urban experiments in striving to build a modern city in the names of colonial officials, nationalist leaders and military authorities. Researcher notes the continuous resistance to the imposed 'euro-centric understanding of modern urban life' expressed by groups and individuals always at risk of being suppressed or exiled²⁵. Lamoureux's historic narrative is picked up by Sawyer's recent assessment of disparity between authorities' planning decisions and the complex interpersonal and illegal mechanisms behind the uncontrolled sprawl in areas such as Alimosho, Ikotun or Surulere²⁶. My 'Implementation Essay'²⁷ for this project has identified some very recent²⁸ state authorities' 'make-believe' ambitions for Lekki, Appendix VI, accompanied by master plans remotely drawn by international, but not Lagos-based, Dar Al-Handasah²⁹, worth juxtaposing with the very different reality on the ground discovered during my fieldwork³⁰. In addition, since the year 2000, Lagos has been infused with a series of imported fantasies, including a Dubai-inspired skyscraper district, a Hong-Kong-designed free trade Zone³¹ and Lebanese-drawn masterplans, all striving to reinvent the

¹⁹ IVOIRTV NET, (A VOIR) *Présentation Du Projet de Trains Urbain À Abidjan. (Cote D'ivoire)* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=BpwOc_U2-e8> [accessed 2 April 2017].

²⁰ I discussed the key initiating role of infrastructure in my essay on 'Border conditions', Shtanov, CUHK, 2017

²¹ Akin L. Mabogunje, 'Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa: A Research Overview', *African Studies Review*, 33.2 (1990), p. 123 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/524471>>.

²² I refer in particular to Rem Koolhaas's and Harvard School's studies (Koolhaas, 2000, Enwezor 2002); to Lindsay Sawyer's PhD which comprehensively explains different parts of Lagos in their current form (Sawyer, 2016); to David Lamoureux's PhD, which goes in depth on the city's planning history in the 20th century (Lamoureux, 2016) and to Shelby Grossman's research on institutions behind Lagos's markets.

²³ Mabogunje, 1990, p. 143; '...urban planning responses to them [craftsmen near the town centers and along major roads] have been ambivalent'.

²⁴ David Lamoureux, 'Developing Lagos as a Modern Capital City, 1900-1976' (University of Cambridge, 2016), pp. 251 - 261.

²⁵ Lamoureux, 2016, examples include the protest by market women, chapter 1, or the criticism by Mabogunje, chapter 5.

²⁶ Sawyer, 2014, pp. 272 - 277, also Sawyer, 2016, pp. 105 - 119.

²⁷ 'Implementation Essay...', Shtanov, 2016, section 2 on the Planning context.

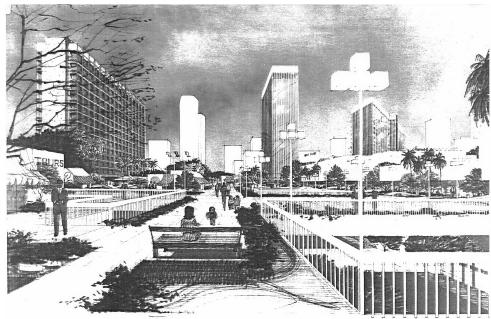
²⁸ First introduced in 2008, the current Lekki masterplan has been under discussion and implementation eversince.

²⁹ Dar Al-Handasah, *Dar Today* <<http://www.dar.com/about/history>> [accessed 30 September 2017].

³⁰ Divergences between the Lekki Masterplan and reality are first reviewed in my blog post <https://goo.gl/UBqVqP>. Later, I also became familiar with some localised pockets of informal governance also throwing shadow on the state's ambitions for the area: <https://goo.gl/hCxZXN> and 'Implementation Essay' (Shtanov, 2017, Section 4)

³¹ Urban Design proposals for the Lekki Free Trade Zone were drawn by a Hong Kong-based practice. Mr Teslim Ladeji, the Zone's lead architect later mentioned to me the practice name Layout Design Institute,

Appendix IV. Planning aspirations and reality in Lagos



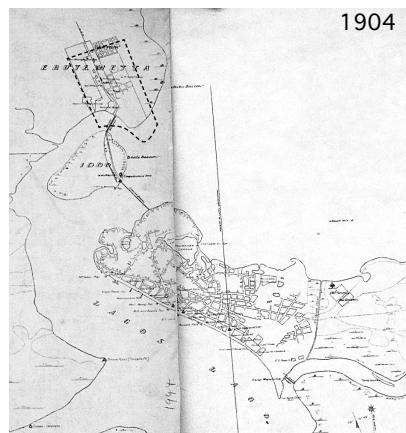
Banana Island: Commercial 'Lagoon City'
Shown, as planned in the 1980s; images: Adeleke, Adebayo (Chief). Lagoon City: Architectural Images. September 1981. Drawings. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banana_Island.



Banana Island today is mostly low rise elite residential area interspersed by office buildings
Photos by author; <https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/23/banana-island-2/>

Yaba and Ebute Metta: Lagos New Towns.

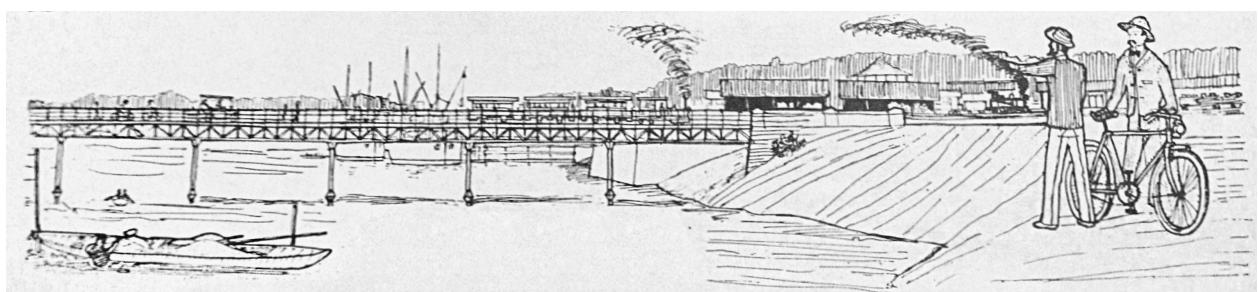
British-style Garden city for Europeans and well-off Africans with a short commute to Lagos Island



Images: Maps of 'Lagos and its Environs' from 1904 and 1955, British Library, London
Below: new Carter Bridge to connect Lagos Island to the commuters' New Town: image by Akinsemoyin, Vaughan-Richards, 1977

'Face me - I face you' buildings, informal economy and poor infrastructure in today's Ebute Metta

'Face me - I face you': Tenement housing with shared facilities for low income residents, Nigeria Real Estate Hub, 2018. Photo below by author.



city as an elitist property investment hub, whilst neglecting its history and the interests of the vast majority of its population³².

This section of the study has reviewed two dominant forces shaping today's West African cities, Lagos, Nigeria in particular. The first one is a top down Apollonian force, exerted by influential minorities, typically benefitting the urban elites and often disruptive to the lives of slum dwellers, migrant populations and traditional communities³³. When reviewed in the planning context, this force is powered by imported ideas and aimed at capitalist surplus extraction³⁴: a dominant economic vector introduced during the colonial era, negligent towards widely practiced traditional and interpersonal forms of urban management that have been in use long before the British annexed Lagos in 1861³⁵. Whilst the Apollonian force's aspirational projects are coming into being, they are being altered to the benefit of their initiators. For this reason, their formal representations rarely match the reality.

The second urban force is the multiplicity of grassroots initiatives by individuals and groups who constitute the urban majority. Exerted from below, the Dionysian force is more conscious of the realities in a city unable to formally house, educate or employ most of its population. In dealing with physical spaces, the atomised agents of the second force use tradition, personal relationships, fraud and locally produced knowledge to appropriate and reinvent urban fabric, space and infrastructure to provide themselves with the necessary conditions for existence. Whilst mainly preoccupied with their own affairs, the agents of informal urban operation can be indifferent or at times, 'inimical' towards formal planning control³⁶.

The two city-shaping forces, one from afar and above, and one from below and within, are integral to a key issue in my project, that of the symbiosis between the local and the global. This thesis does not reject or oppose either of the forces. Whilst acknowledging them as legitimate and necessary vectors of city growth, my study attempts to incorporate them in an experiment: whether an architectural intervention can be subtle and adaptive enough to cater for small-scale locally demanded urban uses, yet sufficiently complex and systematic to initiate a section of a proposed masterplan, i.e. without disconnecting global aspirations from local realities. Unlike the work of aforementioned scholars, this thesis focuses on a new part of Lagos with only thirty years of history and a distinct urban dynamic. The following section of Part 1 will introduce the modern day encounters between the citadel and the village in the context of Lekki.

however I could not find further information on them. My visit to the zone and the interviews are documented in this blog post: <https://goo.gl/oqexnf>

³² David Lamoureux sees negligence towards the history of troublesome non-inclusive planning decisions as a possible explanation for the Eko Atlantic project (Lamoureux, 2016, 258)., Sawyer notes how the urban poor, constituting the city's majority, are not considered in the vast schemes, such as EA and LFTZ.

³³ Contrary to intentions verbalised by authorities, Lagos's planning policies typically benefit a small minority of urban dwellers, as identified by Sawyer, 2016, pp. 114 - 116: 'Gap between policy and reality'.

³⁴ Mabogunje, 1990, p. 133.

³⁵ Mabogunje, 1990, p. 130, 145.

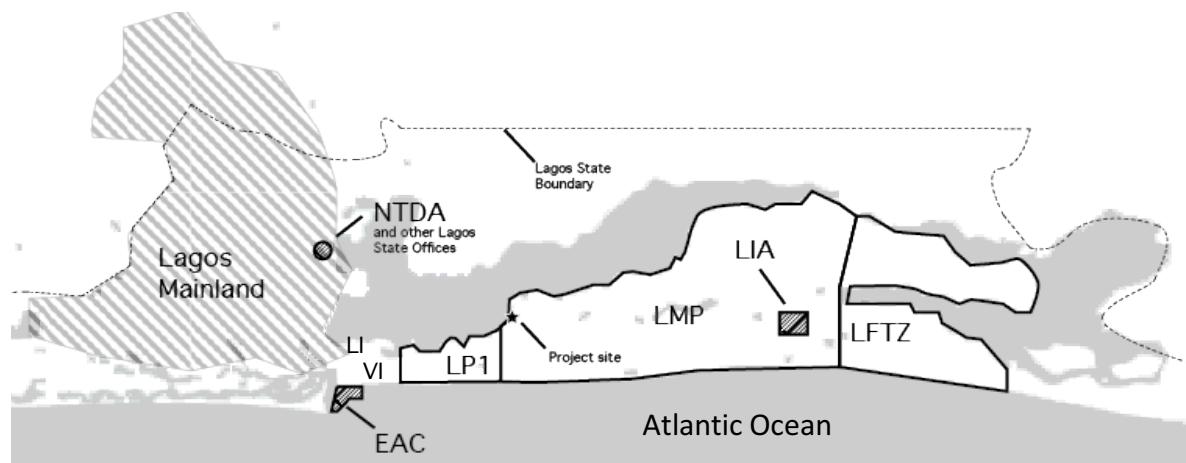
³⁶ Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 143 - 144.

Appendix V. Lekki Accronyms and location map

Diagrams by author, based on Google Maps, maps.google.com

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
LP1	Lekki Phase 1
NTDA	[Lagos] New Town Development Authority
VI	Victoria Island
LI	Lagos Island (Ikoyi)

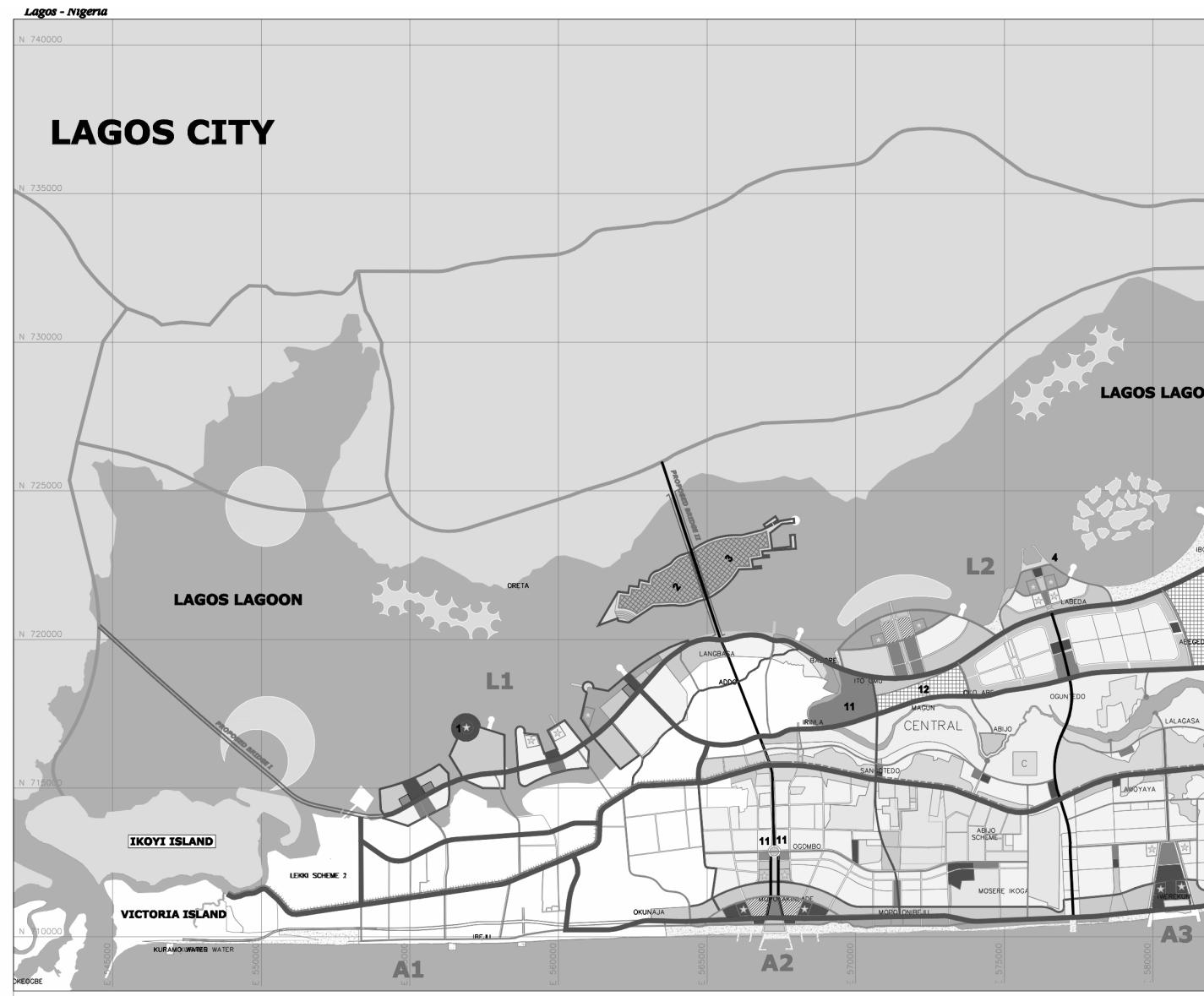
Key features shown on the Lagos State map, NTS.



Left: site location on the map of Africa, NTS

Appendix VI. Lekki Master Plan

First publicised in 2008. Extract from 2011 Lekki Masterplan report by Lagos State Government & Dar Al-Handasah (2011). Legend scaled by author to be legible in this format



LEGEND

COMMERCIAL / BUSINESS CBD / district centres / neighborhood centres / malls / markets/ commercial streets / etc..	 COMMITTED PLANNED LAYOUTS	 OPEN SPACE Community Parks/ Sports /Play areas / Gardens
MIXED USE / MIXED USE TOWERS Mixed Commercial, Offices, Business, and Residential	 EXISTING VILLAGES	 NATURAL PARK RESERVE Eco-developments / preservation areas / trekking paths / research centre / tourist centres
TOURIST USES Developments / compounds / hotels / holiday villages / natural shorelines / beaches where applicable / marinas / water sports	 EXISTING URBAN / VILLAGES DEVELOPED AREA	 RECLAMATION DEVELOPMENTS/ISLANDS Variety of land uses on reclaimed areas of lagoon and optional islands.
NEW RESIDENTIAL USES Very High density/High Density Medium Density/Low Density	 SITE FOR RELOCATION VILLAGES	 SPECIAL TOURIST SITES
NEW RESIDENTIAL USES Very Low Density	 MAIN COMMUNITY FACILITES Institution/Government/Municipal/Civic/ Health / Education / Cultural / comm. Halls/ police / fire / religious	 C Cemetery
	 MAJOR CENTERS A2 - A4 2 Town Centers on the Atlantic Coast L2 - L3 2 Towns Centres on lagoon	 MIXED USE TOWERS (70 FLOORS)
		 TOWN CENTERS
		BADORE

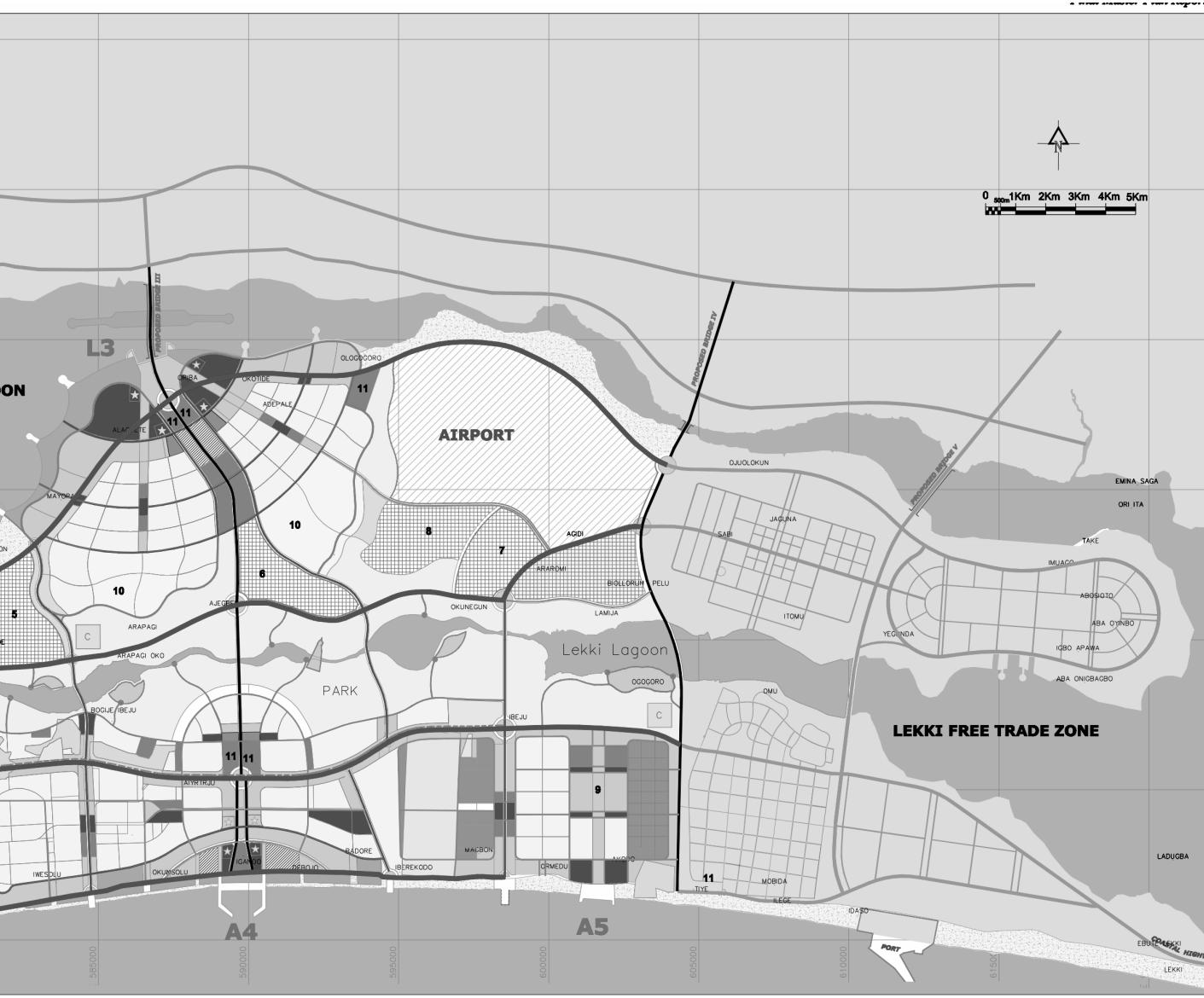
Submitting Consultant



dar al-handasah
shair and partners

LEKKI COMPREHENSIVE

FIGURE 2-9: LEKKI MASTER



MAJOR FEATURE DEVELOPMENTS

1. Gracefield City Island
2. Cultural City + Opera + Amphitheatre
3. Entertainment City
4. Marine Sports City
5. Higher Education / Medical City
6. International Sports City + Stadium
7. International Exhibition City
8. Techno-City / Office Parks
9. Industrial / Labor City
10. Golf / Equestrian City
11. Sites for Priority Government Bids.
12. Grand Commercial Mall

AREA NAMES

585000

595000

605000

615000

625000

635000

645000

INDUSTRIAL USES

-  LEKKI FREE TRADE ZONE + PORT.
-  COMMITTED INDUSTRIAL ESTATE
-  NEW MIXED LIGHT INDUSTRY
-  LABOR CITY
Mixed Industrial+Residential+Facilities

TRANSPORT

-  4 MAJOR REGIONAL HIGHWAYS (Main Exg. Upgraded city expressway with mass transit/ North Park highway/ Lagoon highway/ Atlantic coast trans-Africa highway)
-  4 PRIMARY LINK ROADS (North South Alignment)
-  MAIN COLLECTOR ROADS WITH PERMITTED COMMERCIAL CORRIDORS
-  CORNICHE / PARK ROADS
-  PROPOSED BRIDGES
-  MARINE TRANSPORT / TERMINALS / MARINAS
-  FUTURE AIRPORT
-  RAILWAY
PLANNED / FUTURE EXPANSION

SIVE MASTER PLAN

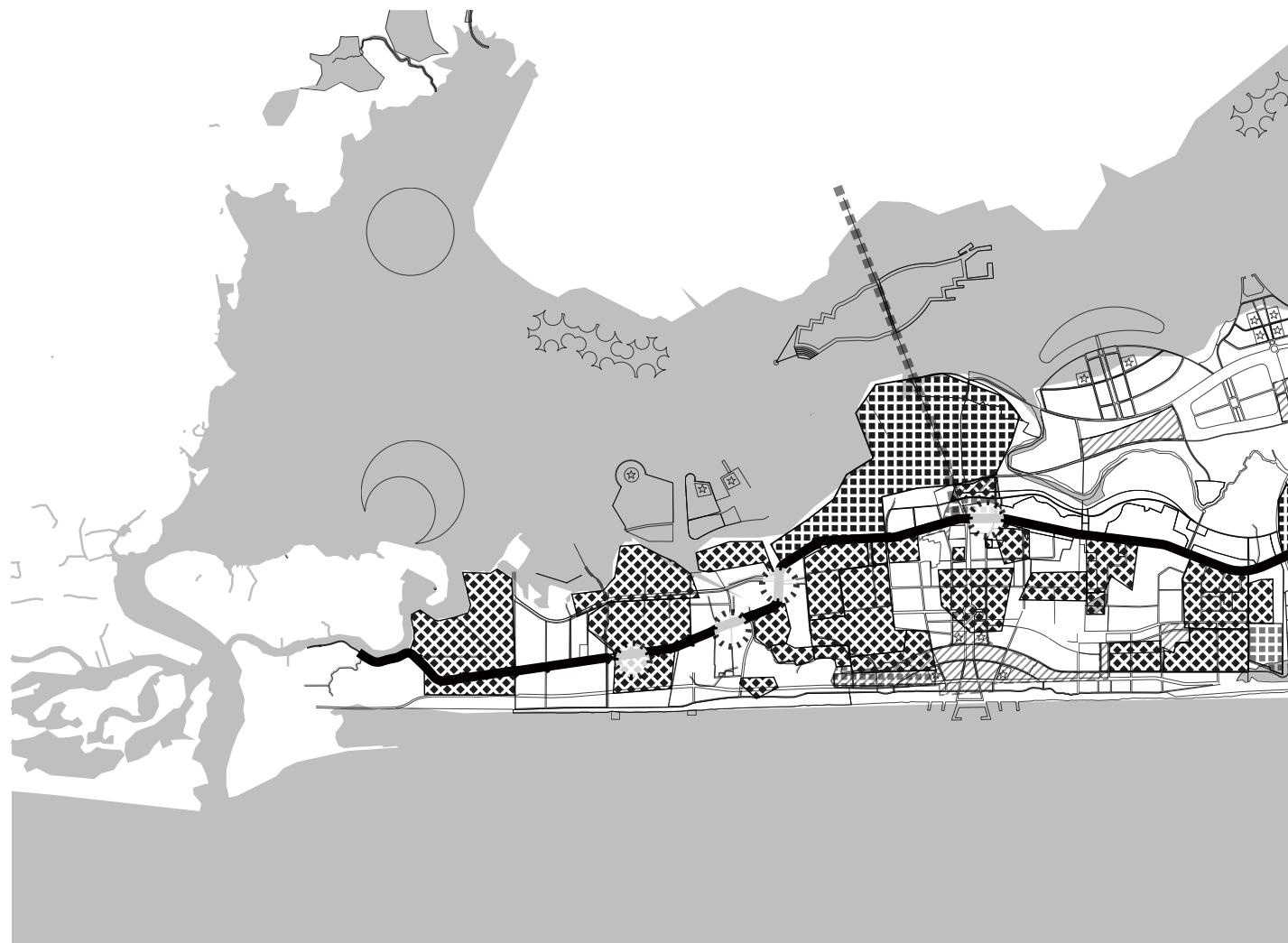
PLAN - LANDUSE PLAN



Lagos State Government
Ministry of Physical Planning
& Urban Development

Appendix VII. Lekki Land Use Plan and fieldwork observations

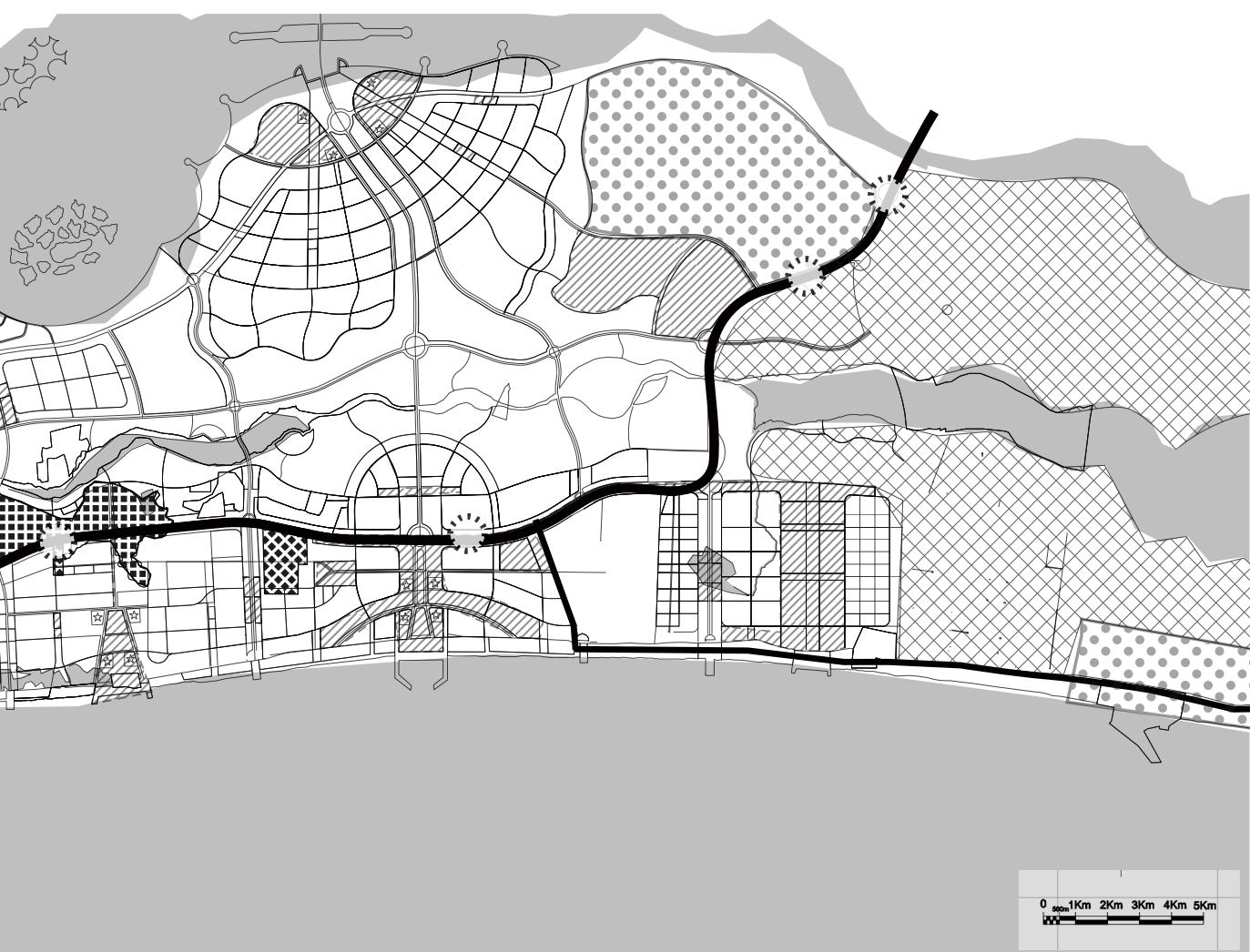
Proposed, yet not implemented elements of the masterplan, relevant to the study, superimposed onto the existing features of Lekki Peninsula: diagram by author.



EXISTING

- Existing Lekki-Epe Express road
- Existing Coastal Highway

- Existing Towns & existing excised villages belonging to indigenous families
- Residential Estates – existing, ongoing or under construction (including those converted to commercial zones)



PROPOSED



Proposed commercial, mixed use and office areas of the Lekki Masterplan



Proposed major infrastructure: sea port and airport



Proposed Free Trade Zone and new oil refinery



Proposed light rail station



Proposed fourth mainland bridge

1B. Borders and hybrids in Lekki Heteropolis

'The *heteropolis* may become a hyperspace – a multi-dimensional field, in the language of physics – of identity and power-relations.'

Charles Jencks³⁷

Whilst poorly planned and segmented, Lagos is commonly viewed as a single city. One would be equally right to consider it a collection of individual settlements crammed onto scarce landmasses, disconnected by water, marsh, faulty transport links and convoluted legislation³⁸. In my earlier paper³⁹ I referenced David Grahame Shane's work in describing Lagos as a modern West African megalopolis, 'a network of cities', spread over water, reclaimed land, as well as the existing disjointed topography of the Lagos state⁴⁰. The development of Lekki peninsula and the Free Trade Zone, shown in Appendix XV, is further decentralising the city-state and making it an agglomeration of distinct urban entities.

Deji Majekodunmi, a young Lagos-based architect, remembers learning to drive on a single lane rural road traversing virgin swamps on its way to Epe⁴¹. Whilst the westernmost section of the Express still reflects these memories, its Eastern side is now a congested eight-lane highway, used by anyone from cattle herders and their cattle to roller-skaters hooked onto the backs of danfo-minibuses⁴². Two distinct situations along Lekki's main routes are captured in Appendix VIII.

Roads, and other forms of infrastructure, have been key to Lekki's growth. At the start of the civilian rule in 1999, governor Bola Tinubu and his entrepreneurial successor Babatunde Fashola arranged deals with the Federal government and influential families⁴³ to rapidly develop residential areas on either side of the Express road, originally constructed in the 1980s⁴⁴. A series of estates in Lekki Phase 1, an area closest to Victoria Island, were built, followed by the introduction of the first⁴⁵ holistic masterplan for the entire peninsula, shown in Appendix VI. Since then, the introduction of residential, commercial and cultural developments has been spreading further East, whilst a new Free Trade Economic Zone, mainly accommodating factories⁴⁶, has been built at Lekki's easternmost extreme, as shown in Appendix XV. Having found itself alongside the most

³⁷ Charles Jencks, *Heteropolis : Los Angeles, the Riots and the Strange Beauty of Hetero-Architecture* (Academy Editions :: Berlin: Academy Editions :: London ; Berlin : Ernst & Sohn, 1993), p. 123.

³⁸ Ikeja is the administrative centre of Lagos (Sawyer, 2016, p. 45), however, as discovered during my fieldwork there are grey zones in planning policies, for which decisions can be made in one of several Ikeja departments or in the local council, such as Eti Osa in Lekki in the case of my project.

³⁹ Mark Shtanov, 'Border Conditions. The Urban Morphologies of Lekki, Nigeria' (The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2017) <<https://mshtanov.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/4-border-conditions-the-urban-morphologies-of-lekki-nigeria.pdf>> [accessed 17 January 2018]

⁴⁰ David Grahame Shane, *Urban Design since 1945 : A Global Perspective* (Hoboken, N.J. : Chichester: Hoboken, N.J. : Wiley ; Chichester : John Wiley distributor, 2011), pp. 139 - 141.

⁴¹ This was mentioned in my interview with Deji at FMA architects, documented in my blog: <https://goo.gl/2JE8ac>

⁴² Danfo-minibus is the most popular public transport in Lagos. Having been banned from the Lekki Expressway, the most popular Danfo, a yellow Volkswagen Transporter '81, is typically replaced here with a Toyota Hi Ace '02.

⁴³ Sawyer (2016, pp. 53-55) discussed the state government's arrangement with Oniru and other 'main landowning Families of Lagos' behind the public-private nature of Lekki's urban management

⁴⁴ Charles Idem, 'Middle-Class Life in Lekki', *The Africa Report*, 2017, 53.

⁴⁵ My 'Implementation Essay' (Shtanov, 2017, Part 2), in reference to 'Lekki Masterplan' (Lagos State Government, 2011) mentions a series of unsuccessful piecemeal planning attempts from the 1980s and early 2000s.

⁴⁶ My visit to the zone is documented in the following blog post: <https://goo.gl/oqexnf>.

Appendix VIII. Roads as key driver for development in Lekki



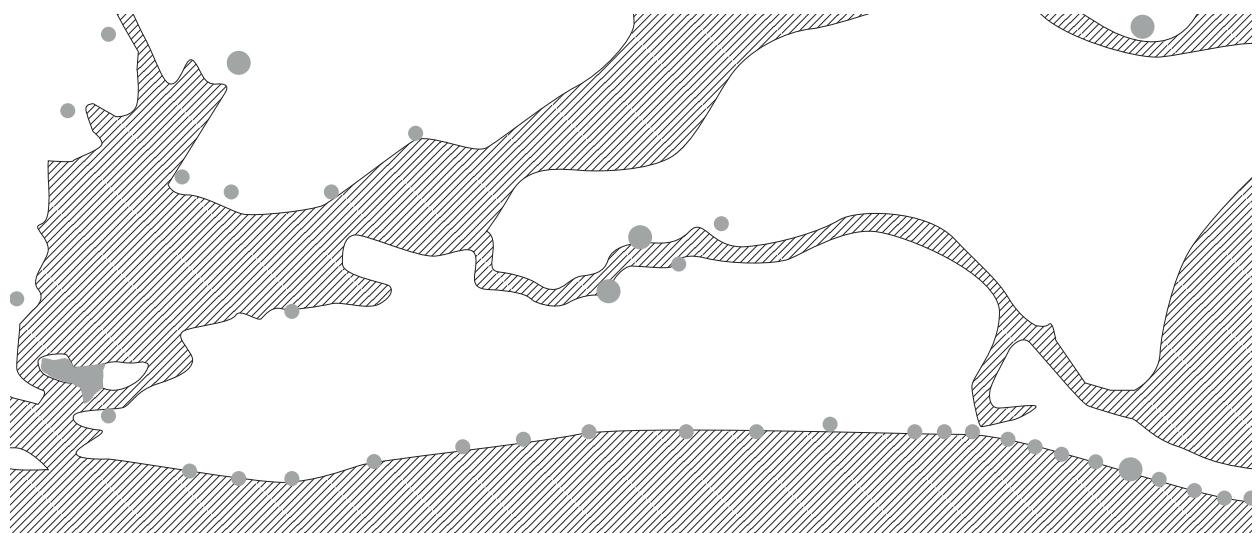
1. Westernmost side of Lekki-Epe Express road: near Victoria Island, photo by author

2. New urban zone in the developing Eastern part of Lekki along the Coastal Road, photo by author.
Sequence of conurbation emergence:

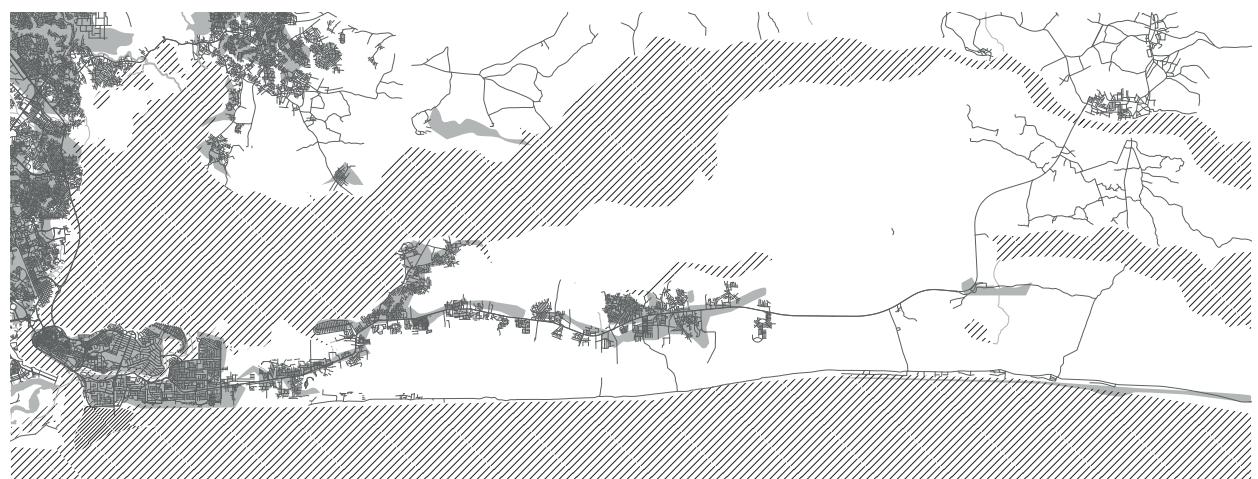
- i. Road
- ii. Roadsides informal economies
- iii. Electrics, water and drainage
- iv. Small scale construction
- v. Large scale construction



Appendix IX. Urban growth of Lekki Peninsula



1881: Lekki is occupied by small villages near the lagoon and ocean coast. Image based on 'Map of Lagos and adjacent native territories' by Lawson, British Library

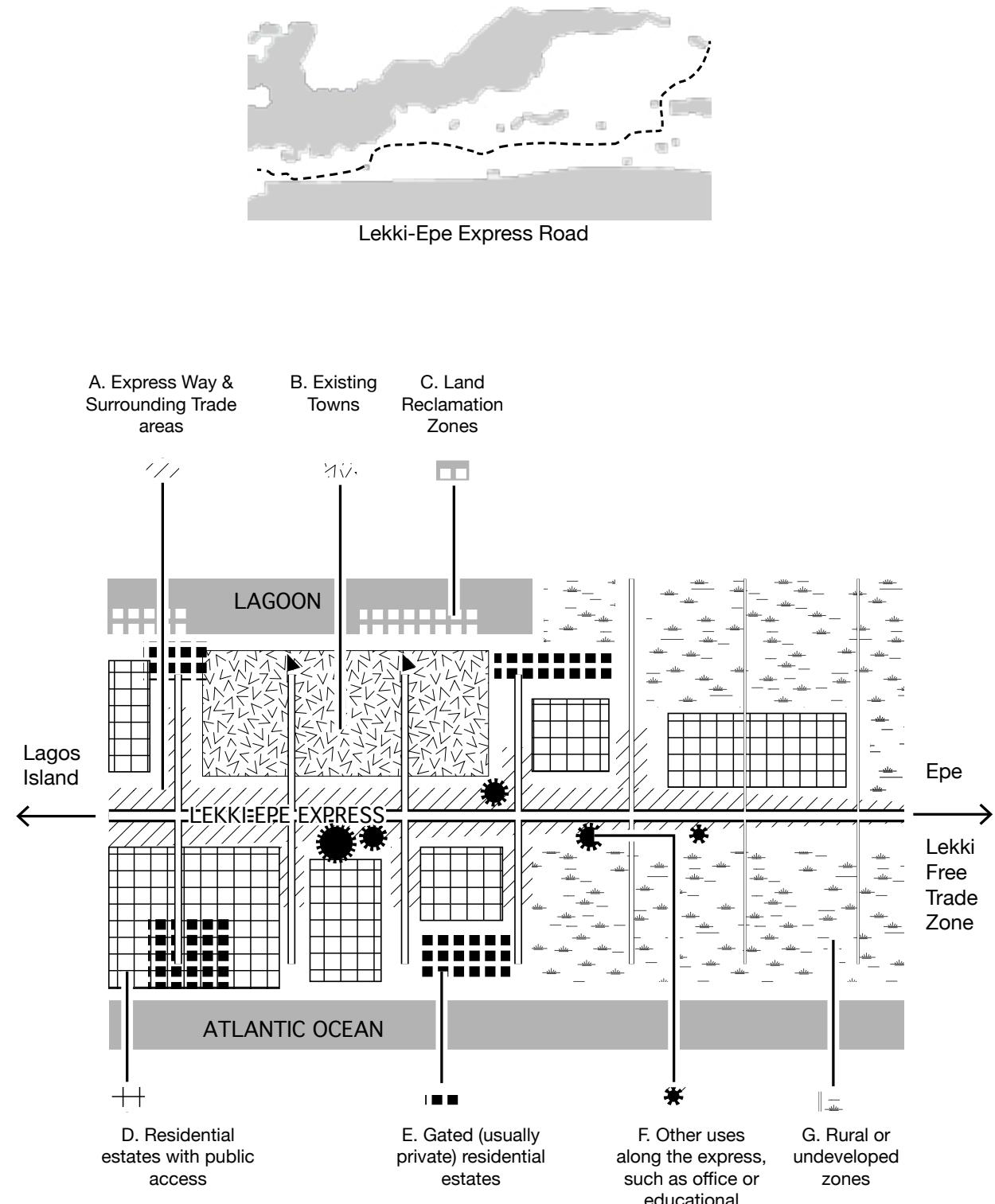


1998: Developments begin to emerge along the Lekki-Epe expressway built in the 1980s. Map based on satellite images found in Hoggmascal, 2016.



2015: Developments densify and spread further east. Map based on satellite images found in Hoggmascal, 2016.

Appendix X. Major features around Lekki-Epe Express road, recorded during fieldwork



Appendix XI. Dreaming of Lekki: American-styled estates, property advertisement and soap operas

Title 'Dreaming of Lekki' is coined in the dissertation by Hoggmascal, 2016



1. Lekki County Homes Estate, Eti-Osa, Lekki, photo by author



2. Billboard advertisement in Ikoyi, Lagos. Source: Hoggmascal, 2016, cover image



3. Promotional material for season 2 of *Lekki Wives*. Image originally from irokotv.com, found in dissertation by Hoggmascal, 2016, p. 35.

desirable areas in which to live and work in the continent's most populous country, Lekki has become 'Lagos's newest focus of construction'⁴⁷.

Prior to introducing my project's ambition within Lekki's development context, I would like to reflect on the existing research on the peninsula's physical and social conditions. Little urban theory from other places can be accurately applied to Lekki, which itself has been scarcely researched. The peninsula is commonly viewed as an elitist enclave of the new 'middle class'⁴⁸, composed of shopping malls⁴⁹ and American-styled garden suburbs⁵⁰, as shown in Appendix XI.

This is true of a part of Lekki. In a recent comprehensive study, Rosie Hogmascall reveals property marketing, soap operas and imported architectural typologies as instruments used by public-private developer enterprises to promote the peninsula as an exclusive 'abode[s] of the nouveau riche'⁵¹. These fantasies, sterilised of Nigerian accents and Lagosian outdoor filth, resonate with the aspirations of Lekki masterplan's main backer, the former state governor, Babatunde Fashola, who recalls how studies of Dubai and Disneyland inspired Lagos State's grand designs in his 2008 interview with Kaye Whiteman⁵². Joost Meuwissen, whose research concentrated on the peninsula's less developed easternmost extreme and the upcoming Lekki Free Trade Zone, Appendix XV, compares the popular typology of privatised gated parcels of contained 'happiness', intended for commercial and residential uses, to the 'self-conscious' skyscrapers of Raymond Hood's era New York⁵³. In a similar attempt to reference New York and Rem Koolhaas, Whiteman gives the name 'Delirious Lagos' to a section in his essay on the city-state's future⁵⁴. A driveway in a Lekki estate is a monofunctional dead end connecting a range of inter-dispersed unexpected programmes⁵⁵. This supports the analogies drawn by Whiteman and Meuwissen to the typologically and geographically distant early 20th century New York, described by Koolhaas. The key difference in building sideways, rather than upwards, in the case of Lekki, is commonly justified by Nigeria's technological backwardness and economic slow-down⁵⁶. Yet, as a recent BBC investigation points out, Lagos will soon have no choice but to grow vertically⁵⁷.

⁴⁷ According to Oxford Business Group's most recent report; Oxford Business Group, 'Efforts to Boost Middle-Income Home Ownership in Nigeria', *The Report. Nigeria.*, 2017 <<https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/changing-direction-profits-high-end-properties-are-slowing-and-middle-income-housing-getting-more>> [accessed 22 January 2018].

⁴⁸ Based on Sawyer's description, what is commonly known as Nigerian middle-class, or the 'noveau-riches' is actually 'moneyed, homeowning class ... a minority in most of urban Africa and more akin to the elites than the majority' (Sawyer, 2016, pp. 115-116),

⁴⁹ *Idem*.

⁵⁰ Lamoureux, 2016, p. 258.

⁵¹ Rosie Hogmascall, 'Dreaming of Lekki - Urban Fantasies and the New Middle Class; Identity, Infrastructure and the Politics of New Peripheral Expansion' (University of Cambridge, 2016), pp. 30 - 40.

⁵² Whiteman recalls Fashola being inspired by Disneyland in his 2013 book (p. 249), however in the interview notes published in the *New African*, only Dubai is mentioned as the governor's inspiration. Kaye Whiteman, 'At Last, Something Is Happening in Lagos', *New African, London*, 2008, 50-52.

⁵³ In 'Delirious New York...' Rem Koolhaas portrays the city's blocks as self-conscious entities, each with its own team of visionary figures and a congested cross-mix of architectural programmes (Koolhaas, 1994, pp. 81 - 110).

⁵⁴ Whiteman (2013, pp. 241 - 243).

⁵⁵ Appendix XVIII illustrates the unplanned change of uses in Lekki Phase 1, which resulted in family-house-to-office conversions.

⁵⁶ The issue of architect as a facilitator within the industry's constraints, was mentioned in a number of interviews and described in the conclusion of my 'Implementation essay', Shtanov, 2017.

⁵⁷ "Lagos has no choice but to go up," says Lateef Sholebo, head of Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency, in the interview to BBC News, Leithead, 2017.

This study is counter to considering Lekki as a uniform congested enclave catering for the elites' desires. Hoggmascal begins to unpack the heterogeneity of the peninsula's social and urban landscape, by identifying a stark juxtaposition of *Truman Show*⁵⁸ estates and the neighbouring low income informal settlements on the peninsula's satellite image⁵⁹. My 'Implementation Essay' reviewed such settlements as an integral functional component of the peninsula's living, working and building processes⁶⁰, as well as a fundamental cultural aspect of the continent-wide urban condition, noted by Quayson⁶¹. Fieldwork observations indicated some positive mutual relationships between Lekki's gated communities and the surrounding informal ephemera⁶² (Appendix XVII).

Because of its public-private nature, the peninsula is covered with legally and illegally built walls, gates and control posts. Each one is an economic threshold, a blessing for the local informal actors to economically exploit and inhabit⁶³. The estate gates are the climax points of inter-class and inter-cultural interaction; here one witnesses maids and builders bargaining with the gate porter, a petty trader selling chewing gum to an expatriate in a flashy car, a team of vulcanisers⁶⁴ fixing the duty policeman's bike, *okada*⁶⁵ motorcyclists waiting for customers and scruffy naira notes rapidly circulating between all of these parties⁶⁶ (Appendix XXX). Richard Sennett, who differentiates between productive and porous borders and 'dead' impenetrable boundaries⁶⁷, both in urban and biological terms, might be pleased to discover the unforeseen remedial role of certain barriers in modern day Lagosian society, historically exposed to the inter-racial and inter-class 'merging and mingling'⁶⁸.

In addition, the heterogeneity of Lekki comes from its development not being in accordance with colonial and post-colonial strategies of African urbanisation. Mabogunje notes, how since the 1750s, the global capitalist forces began to divide the city, physically and economically, into the core, semi-periphery and periphery, 'with unequal exchange between the three sectors'⁶⁹. Contrary to these past models of combined geographical and economic centres, Sawyer recognises Lekki's urbanism as a 'new model of spatial domination, where peripheral space is made privileged'⁷⁰. This thesis challenges the notion of the peninsula being a periphery to 'central Lagos'⁷¹ and views it as a longitudinal conurbation with peaks and drops of commercial, residential and professional activities along its East-West axis. My fieldwork interviews⁷² indicate future intensification of this

⁵⁸ The layout of some of Lekki's estates is similar to one which director Peter Weir uses as a backstage for the artificial programmed lifestyle shown in *The Truman Show* (Weir 1998).

⁵⁹ Hoggmascall, 2016, pp. 35 - 37.

⁶⁰ Shtanov, 'Implementation Essay...', 2017, Section 6 on 'Site Mobilisation'

⁶¹ Ato Quayson illustrates the vibrant and self-reinventing *African Ephemera*, in *Oxford Street, Accra*, 2014, p. 245.

⁶² Estate associations' responsibility for the surrounding infrastructure is also notes in Bagaeen and Uduku, *Beyond Gated Communities* (London : Routledge, 2015).

⁶³ Koolhaas et all, 2000.

⁶⁴ Informal roadside vehicle repair services.

⁶⁵ Okada is the local Nigerian name for privately and informally operated motorbike taxi.

⁶⁶ A more extensive summary of such threshold situation is described in my essay on 'Border conditions', Shtanov, 2017.

⁶⁷ Richard Sennett, *The Edge: Borders and Boundaries* (Cambridge Law Faculty, 2015) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VM9wqovghE>>.

⁶⁸ Historic Lagosian cross-mix of different nationalities and social strata is noted by Whiteman, 2013, p. 31 and Peil, 1991 pp. 128 -129.

⁶⁹ Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 132 - 133.

⁷⁰ Sawyer, 'Plotting the Prevalent but Undertheorised Residential Areas of Lagos', 2016, p. 53.

⁷¹ The concept of 'Central Lagos' is challenging to grasp, particularly due to its fluid, time-dependant location, as Whiteman explains in his essay on Nigerian ex-capital in the 20th century (Whiteman, pp. 79 – 81).

⁷² Prof. Igwe of Architecture at Lagos University and Mr Dipo Davis, the chief editor of Nigeria's leading real estate magazine, *Castles*, both agree with the prospect of future LMP elements falling in place, one way or

Appendix XII. Public transport in Lekki: Okada motorbikes, Keke-tricycles and Danfo-minibuses

Top image: Google Maps, maps.google.com. Other images by author



non-uniformity, as Lekki's proposed mixed use zones, Appendix VII, and public transport plans become implemented and Lagos state transforms into a West African Megalopolis.

Lekki's nouveau-riche extravaganza is regularly punctuated by existing towns, informal settlements, indigenous villages and educational institutions, illustrated in Appendices XIII, XVII, XVI and XIV. Having sprawled in the epoch of unsuccessful masterplans⁷³, Lekki's existing towns, such as Sangotedo, Eputu Town or Ajah proper⁷⁴, Appendix XIII, have little urban or infrastructural planning and scarcely any ground-condition-analysis supporting their configuration⁷⁵. With their affordable housing prices, the existing towns are becoming increasingly saturated with residences rented to the armies of Lekki's labour force: builders, domestic workers, market and roadside traders, *okada* and *danfo* drivers⁷⁶ (Appendix XII).

Young people from these towns do not need to travel far for education. Since the 1990s, religious organisations and NGOs began to open universities, schools and colleges on Lekki peninsula. *Opus Dei*⁷⁷ oversees the Lagoon School, including Lagoon Hospitality Institute, and the Pan-Atlantic university, which also incorporates Lagos Business School, located on a different site in Lekki. Positioned amongst American-inspired residential estates, South-African-managed shopping malls⁷⁸ and a Chinese-designed Free Economic Zone⁷⁹, these educational institutions, accommodating Nigerian students of different income levels, certainly add to the peninsula's eccentric internationalism, with their buildings (Appendix XIV) initially drawn up in Valencia and their spiritual agenda managed from Madrid⁸⁰.

These intercontinentally operating institutions are neighboured by the predominantly local Yoruba-speaking villages. These communities, established here long before any public-private forms of development took place, were faced with negotiating their rights to land after the 1978 nationalisation act. Those that were successful, like the Ajah village, discussed in later sections, continue living in self-supporting communes and practicing

another, causing intensification of activities and land values at points of proposed transport infrastructure and mixed use zones. Interviews were summarised in my blog posts under <https://goo.gl/UCu3bY> and <https://goo.gl/pGsHoa>

⁷³ My 'Implementation essay' (Shtanov, 2017, section 2 on planning policies) in reference to 'Lekki Master plan report' (2011) identifies a series of unsuccessful piecemeal masterplans proposals from the 1980s and early 2000s.

⁷⁴ Elsewhere in the essay I refer to the indigenous village of Ajah, and their ancestral land. These areas now lie in the wider vicinity of Ajah town.

⁷⁵ Trips to Ajah and Eputu towns are documented in the blog posts: <https://goo.gl/6ikUub> and <https://goo.gl/WL4Ucu>. As with my other visits to low income areas, people addressed me with 'Oyimbo, Otisumi!' (literally translated as 'White man, I'm tired of Nigeria, take me with you' in Yoruba language)

⁷⁶ Conclusions about vast numbers of the peninsula's labourers also being its temporary residents are drawn from numerous interviews with their employers, such as Mr Richard Sunday, one of Lekki's master builders: <https://goo.gl/rS5xFk>

⁷⁷ A multinational Christian Catholic Organisation, www.opusdei.org

⁷⁸ South-African-managed megachain *Shoprite* operates food supermarkets at Lekki-based shopping malls.

⁷⁹ Construction of the only operational (up to date) part of the Lekki Free Trade Zone was overseen by Chinese CCCC, en.ccccltd.cn. Theme of the Chinese involvement in Africa is picked up by Hulshof and Roggeveen in 'Lekki, the African Shenzhen?' (2014, pp. 86–91) and my own blog post: <https://goo.gl/q6if79>.

⁸⁰ Details regarding the design and management processes behind the institutions were shared with me by Labarda Associates, the Nigerian partner firm behind Lagoon Hospitality Institute and the Pan Atlantic University. Visits to the mentioned institutions are documented in my blog posts: <https://goo.gl/d68M2a>, <https://goo.gl/S5RkzM>, <https://goo.gl/f8UpWK>; mentioned Valencian firm is Mac Millet Arquitectos, <http://www.masmillet.com/>; Spanish department of *Opus Dei*, most influential to the mentioned institutions: <http://www.opusdei.es/>

Appendix XIII. Lekki's existing towns
Ajah, Eputu Town, Sangotedo

Images by author



Appendix XIV. Lekki's institutions



1. Lagoon Institute, Mas Millet Arquitectos, photo by author



2. Lagos Business School, architect unknown, photo by author



3. Pan Atlantic University, Laborda Architects, photo by author

Appendix XV. Lekki Free Trade Zone

All photos taken by author



Approach to the Zone. Numerous direction indicators to LFTZ



Surrounding villages and roadside businesses



Below and Above: landscapes of the Zone at various stages of development



Asia - Africa Enterprise Gate



Operational heavy duty truck factory

their pre-colonial trades and rituals (Appendix XVI), in their legally demised⁸¹, yet frequently disputed, areas. Nigeria's big players' grand designs can influence the indigenous communities both positively and negatively. For example, a number of villages were 'relocated' to make space for the Free Trade Zone⁸², however the adjacent ones that remained had an employment boost thanks to the Zone's Chinese Factories⁸³.

This section has characterised Lekki as an increasingly diverse location, rather than a uniform enclave for the new elites. Government-, Developer- and institution- led aspirations for the region contrast with highly traditional local practices, growing low income towns and instantaneously appearing informal settlements. American high-life dreams, European spiritual life visions and Asian efficient and productive life realities are loosely superimposed onto a Lebanese-drawn masterplan whilst being ruthlessly corrupted by desperate and unstoppable informal economies. In its raw and perverse natural context of parasite laden swamps, marshy floodplains and impenetrable rainforests, Lekki is growing more dense and active as an eclectic carnivalesque theme park, highly differentiated in its actors and desires. How does an architect intervene here?

This study is optimistic about Lekki's grand designs generating large scale resonances, in one form or another. Elsewhere in Lagos, ambitious urban projects have had long-lasting physical impact on the city, rarely resembling what was previewed, as illustrated in Appendix IV. In a similar fashion, the ambitions for Lekki will be corrupted, deformed, fused, exploited, vandalised, associated with stories of victory and pain – until the reality is a true Nigerian version of the original proposition. As its townscape is further densified and diversifies through immigration and foreign investment interests, the peninsula is finding itself increasingly subdivided by active bustling thresholds separating groups of its inhabitants. It is in these borders that this project sees an opportunity.

The global character of the perfect middle-class family house has been repeatedly catalogued, whilst the ideal informal dwelling or fishing hut, Appendix XVI, is best designed through ancestral knowledge by its future user, far more efficiently than by an architect, however licensed. Whilst the centres of Lekki's conurbations have found their ways of operation and may suffer from external interventions, the borders and peripheries, where slums, villages, estates, towns, institutions and shopping malls come in contact with each other, have barely been considered. This thesis views such borders as opportunities for economic and intercultural exchange. To test whether the scale of such activity can surpass a series of transactions at a gate, my design project will strive to condense a 'border' condition and bring diverse groups into a close contact. With its heterogeneity and proximity of differentiated actors, the peninsula offers a testing ground for this thesis to examine ways of closing gaps between realities and grand designs⁸⁴ and between globalisation and local knowledge of it⁸⁵.

⁸¹ 'Legally demised' because the community succeeded in 'excising' the land from the state government following the 1978 Land Nationalisation Act. Different positions on the extents of Ajah's land are shown in Appendix II.

⁸² A recent paper by Lawanson and Agunbiade (2017, pp. 1 - 18) reveals LFTZ's effects on the local communities as mostly negative. With its grand ambitions and Chinese-drawn plans, the project had very few ways of directly relating to the region's grassroots social dynamics.

⁸³ As noted in my visit to the zone, <https://goo.gl/oqexnf>, and the subsequent 'Implementation Essay, Shtanov, 2017

⁸⁴ Such as those revealed by Sawyer, 2016, pp. 115 - 116.

⁸⁵ Appadurai, 2013, p. 277.

Modern African literature picks up on the matter of active urban boundaries. The urban poor and the immigrants who haven't found a place in the formal capitalist order of the heteropolis, make their living from the thresholds between the affluent locals, the transient foreigners, and the deprived *subaltern other*⁸⁶. Cameroonian writer Francis Babey captures how three children, *les Trois Petits Cireurs*, offer shoe polishing services to foreigners, whilst 'invisibly' inhabiting the 'façade', and other in-between spaces of a hotel⁸⁷. On the other side of the spectrum, Atta Safi describes how Lagosian prostitutes skilfully manipulate the grey zone of interpersonal agreements to occupy the hotel's public spaces and extract the means of escaping to Europe from their spontaneous encounters. Hotels have the capability of facilitating the condensed and differentiated urban order in and around themselves, making the global flows of ideas, objects and people come into direct contact with local knowledge, tradition and aspiration across their borders⁸⁸ that operate 24/7.

⁸⁶ Alfred Ndi, 'Metropolitanism, Capital and Patrimony: Theorizing the Postcolonial West African City', *African Identities*, 5.2 (2007), 167–80 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840701403341>>, pp. 168 - 171.

⁸⁷ Francis Bebey, *Trois Petits Cireurs / Francis Bebey.*, 8me edition. (Yaounde: Yaounde : Editions CLE, 2008., 2008).

⁸⁸ Sefi Atta, *News from Home : Short Stories.*, 1st ed. (London: London : lubin & kleyner, 2009., 2009).

Appendix XVI. Ajah village, its surroundings and activities

Images by author



Addo road is the closest to Ajah community land



A street inside Ajah village



Typical residential activities deeper in the village



On the lagoon front, Ajah has an extensive fishing community in stilt houses.



Meat smoking barrel near one of the houses.



Traditional medicine practices using dead animals on sticks are an element of a local pagan religion. Mentioned in an interview with Prince Ojupon of Ajah.

1C. Temporalities of the Sandbox: *terra firma*, ephemera and metabolism

‘... it [Research on Africa] has underestimated the fact that one characteristic of African societies over the longue durée has been that they follow a great variety of temporal trajectories and a wide range of swings only reducible to an analysis in terms of convergent or divergent evolution at the cost of an extraordinary impoverishment of reality.’

Achille Mbembe⁸⁹

‘In order to globalize the African city, its ‘time’ had to conform to a linear, that is, a cumulative framework... ... [undecidability] actively produced a new cultural urbanism by rethinking space and time via narratives of movement, networks, simultaneity, juxtaposition, flows, dispersion, fluid mobilities, practices and clusterings.’

Alfred Ndi⁹⁰

Throughout the work of the two Cameroonian scholars, quoted above, one comes across conflicts in the notion of time with respect to the African urban order. On one hand, the colonial, authoritarian, western and business-led perspectives strive to make urban time linear, programmable and universally graspable. On the other hand, the great variety of actors outside the formally controlled domain revolt with un-binaries non-linear time branching into multiple trajectories. This dichotomy resonates with Koolhaas’s and Gandy’s interpretations of Lagos not as a physical location, but as an ‘urbanisation process archetype’, a city *en-route*⁹¹, or a ‘research action’ done collectively and simultaneously by the millions of urban dwellers⁹². In order not to be short-sighted about the project’s physical relations further down the line, this study will review Lekki’s morphologies on a micro-level and through a prism of time.

My essay on ‘Border Conditions’ attempted to classify the peninsula’s built environment into the three categories: ephemeral, temporary and permanent⁹³, correlating to the urban typologies discussed in the previous section. The ephemeral settlements are primarily associated with the informal economy, described by Keith Hart in 1973 as ‘the income-generating activities of the sub-proletariat’⁹⁴, which has come to incorporate the majority of African urban workers. The oil crisis of the 1970s, mass migration into cities and the incapability of the African economic systems to embrace capitalism are amongst the reasons for the growth of informal sector⁹⁵. Quayson notes ‘the existential condition of impermanence’ which unites a Lagosian *area boy*, a Dakarois *fakhman* and an Accra-based *kòbòlò*, and leads them to keep changing their economic roles in the permanent state of ‘longing’⁹⁶.

⁸⁹ Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 41 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p. 17.

⁹⁰ Ndi (2007, pp. 168 - 169).

⁹¹ Nigeria) Documenta (11th : 2002 : Lagos, *Under Siege : Four African Cities, Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos : Documenta 11, Platform 4*, Documenta 11, Platform 4 (Ostfildern-Ruit: Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002), part by Koolhaas, p. 177.

⁹² Matthew Gandy, ‘Learning from Lagos’, *New Left Review Volume NLR 33 Issue May-June 2005 Page 39*, 2005, also Koolhaas, 2000, pp. 653, 718-9.

⁹³ ‘Ground Conditions...’, Shtanov, 2017

⁹⁴ Keith Hart, ‘Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana’, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11.1 (1973), 61–89.

⁹⁵ Ndi, 2007, p 169 – 171, Quayson, 2014, pp. 199-203, Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 122 – 130.

⁹⁶ Quayson, 2014, pp. 199 - 203.

The organicity of Lekki's informal settlements corresponds to their inhabitants' transient roles. As opposed to the slums of Nairobi, or Lagos mainland⁹⁷, the shanty clusters of Lekki are typically grouped in small clusters around roads and residential estates, whilst their configuration and numbers change on a daily, if not hourly basis. Participants of the Lekki ephemera are on the move, attracted by better infrastructure and new opportunities in and around the developments springing-up, and repelled by floods, conflicts with estate associations⁹⁸, *Omo Onile*⁹⁹ and each other. When the nomadic fortune-makers construct their shelters, stalls and 'offices'¹⁰⁰, Appendix XVII, they skilfully exploit the gaps between estates and malls, regional masterplan's economic hold-ups and the continuous topographic modifications of developers.

Lekki's housing estates, shopping malls and offices provide the image of stability and Western comfort so needed by Nigeria to bolster investment. Yet many of these structures don't stand on firm ground socially and legally¹⁰¹, in terms of their occupancy, purpose and legal status; or physically: in terms of their flood and decay resistance in the *longue durée*. Lekki Phase 1, Appendix XVIII, initially built as a purely residential area, has a growing number of chaotically configured offices, many of them legally undeclared. *Castles*¹⁰² magazine's editor predicts further eastward spread of this pattern, as Lekki becomes denser and infrastructurally more efficient¹⁰³. Further interviews undertaken in the estate market field have revealed the lack of feasibility studies behind the Shoprite malls and the office buildings around them, leading to dangerously low occupancies¹⁰⁴, whilst enquiries into the peninsula's physical geography has indicated incompatibility of certain developments with the capricious marshy soil of Lekki barrier island.

In order to conform to the aspirations of its developers and master planners, Lekki has become a giant sandbox. Ground is being scraped of the peninsula's shores and pumped from dredging stations, to be dumped on top of the swamps or carried into the Lagoon to generate ornately shaped sand-filled islands, Appendices VI and XIX, some compatible with the *World Archipelago* in Dubai. Little calculation is done on these interventions' resulting relationship with the environment. Jerry Obiefuna's PhD thesis from 2015 predicts a number of likely scenarios where populated sites become submerged due to precarious nearby developments or artificial modifications to the shoreline¹⁰⁵, and a less probable catastrophic case whereby a 4-metre ocean surge washes away Lekki's ocean-facing estates and cuts off the peninsula's main access points.

⁹⁷ Slums such as Kibera, Nairobi or Makoko, Lagos are generational social mobility mechanisms, as identified in Saunders's book *Arrival city* (2011). Due to their vast scale and social significance, these settlements are permanent urban elements acknowledged by the authorities.

⁹⁸ When I was living in the Lekki County Homes Estate, its management had a dispute with the informal traders, based around the estate's access road over a flood that happened due to trade by-products being dumped into the road drains.

⁹⁹ *Omo Onile*, literally meaning 'Children of land' or 'Men of Land', are groups of people who claim financial benefits based on their apparent ancestral land ownership rights to an area. My own experience of coming across *Omo Onile* activities is described in the following blog post: <https://goo.gl/CCgZfJ>. Whilst the State government resources (Aruya, 2017; Ottah, 2014) confirm a strong intention to abolish the *Omo Onile* practice and carry out severe punishments for it, Akinleye (2009, pp. 113-121) quotes a number of historic reasons why the '*Omo Onile Syndrome*' is not simply a case of contemporary fraud, but a collective perspective on land ownership within the Yoruba society formed over several centuries: as mentioned in my 'Implementation Essay', Shtanov, 2017.

¹⁰⁰ However shabby, the informal huts erected for professional uses are commonly referred to as 'offices'.

¹⁰¹ A number of structures in Lekki Phase 1 have been built or converted from residential to commercial without permit. Identified in the interview with the editor of *Castles*, documented in the blog post: <https://goo.gl/UCu3bY>

¹⁰² *Castles* is Nigeria's leading real estate publication.

¹⁰³ Interview with Dipo Davies, the *Castles* chief editor, is documented in my blog post: <https://goo.gl/UCu3bY>

¹⁰⁴ Chinedum Uwaaegbulam, 'Retail Market Rents Drop as Vacancies Soar', *Guardian Nigeria*, 22 August 2016 <<https://guardian.ng/property/retail-market-rents-drop-as-vacancies-soar/>> [accessed 15 March 2018].

¹⁰⁵ Jerry Obiefuna, 'Environmental Challenges Facing Urban Development on Lekki Peninsula Barrier Island, Lagos, Nigeria' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Lagos, 2015), sections 5.8 - 6.2.

Appendix XVII. The 'Ephemera': multiplicity of informal economic activities in current urbanisation zones

Images taken by author in Lekki, Nigeria and North Ridge, Accra; also used in my 'Implementation Essay', Shtanov, 2017.



Roadside food trade near to an area under development



Volcaniser businesses (left) and a shopping settlement (right). When the waste generated by the latter caused drainage clogging problems, a solution was organised by the nearest gated estate association, rather than this public road's residents.



Sale of building products, including prefabricated concrete columns



Okada motorbikes waiting for customers



Automotive business



Service settlement with the new estates in the distance



Above: Woman delivering snacks to building site's security team's shed (from where the image is taken)

Below: typical cooking and washing activities and presence of domestic animals, present at building sites and around them.



Below: remains of a settlement displaced in order to create formal points of trade and services near the future estate (under construction in the background)



Apart from the spontaneous ephemera and the developer-generated potentially only temporary development, certain aspects of inhabited Lekki are adaptive yet very long lasting. During the fieldwork, a series of local village communities was discovered, some going back as far as 350 years (Appendix XXI). Throughout their history, scarcely documented on paper, yet elaborately told through oral narratives, festivals, attire and spiritual traditions, these communities have been adapting to the region's peculiar climate, topography and politics through hunting, farming, fishing, cultural practices and pre-colonial forms of diplomacy. After the nationalisation of Nigerian land in 1978¹⁰⁶, some such communities have been negotiating their ancestral land excisions with the state, whilst others have been exploiting the marshy 'grey zones' in between the State-owned land and Government-owned water masses. Many land plots were officially returned to villages, yet their perimeters, as shown on the cadastral map, Appendix II, remain in dispute. Moreover, due to the increasing economic pressures on the villages, it is common for their chiefs to sell their ancestral land to corporate developers or public-private enterprises.

Having become intrigued by the villages' communal management and lifestyle principles, their sustainable relationship with the landscape, and their rich cultural heritage, vivid against the generic and imported mall and estate typologies, I decided to collaborate on this project with the Ajah community, which is one of Lekki's oldest. With its presence on both land and water, Ajah borders with an adjacent town, grows and densifies compatibly with its surroundings, yet without losing its centuries-old communal working and living traditions (Appendix XVI) or its multi-religiosity: features that make it a potential regional cultural centre. Being a resilient content in an adaptive shell with long-term experience of the region, the indigenous community was identified as the group best prepared for Lekki's turbulent future of urban densification and climate change. In this respect I recognised the Ajah community as a suitable client for my idea of a village-led hotel. This idea had resonance amongst the chiefs of Ajah, who introduced me to their history and provided me with extensive support in finding a site within their ancestral land. Materials for the project site are presented in appendix XX.

This section has highlighted Lekki region as a set of dynamic temporal trajectories within the overall 'self-constructing narrative'¹⁰⁷, of an African city. The fluidity of the region's physical settings and their inhabitants manifests itself in a myriad of ways: in the ephemera's high-life ambitions expressed through continuous nomadism across social roles and pockets of unoccupied land; in the indigenous communities' adaptability to natural and political scenarios revolving around the traditionally grounded villages; or in the new public-private sector buildings and activities, susceptible to property market forces, developer and consumer appetite, the distribution of transport and amenities. The social and urban temporalities of Lekki correlate to the dynamics of its natural topography; whilst the latter are increasingly catalysed or interrupted by the man-made activities.

The notion of a fluid citizen and a fluid city has been previously picked up in urban theory and in the practice of architecture. Throughout *The City in History* Lewis Mumford refers back to the *Hellenic Polis*, where the 'city and citizen were one'¹⁰⁸. The polis and the man developed alongside each other. The city grew organically and shaped human personality, 'capable of facing life in all its dimensions'¹⁰⁹. Before the buildings started to

¹⁰⁶ Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1978.

¹⁰⁷ Fassil Demissie, *Postcolonial African Cities: Imperial Legacies and Postcolonial Predicaments* (London: Routledge, 2007), chapter on 'Colonial Categories'.

¹⁰⁸ Mumford, 1991, pp. 197, 215-17.

¹⁰⁹ This centuries-long evolution is noted by Mumford, 1991, p. 195.

Appendix XVIII. Unplanned mass change of building uses in Lekki Phase 1

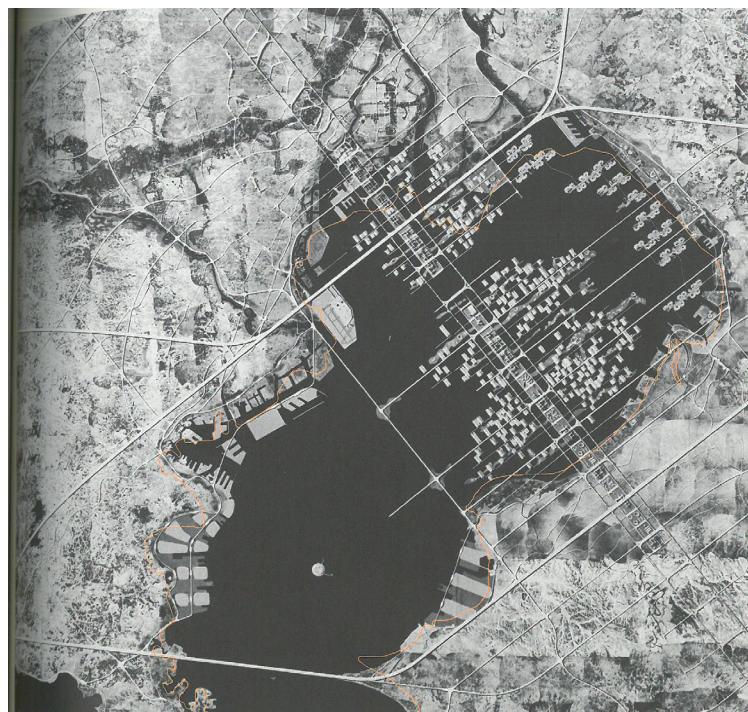


Modern Nigerian family home converted into an office.
photo by author, taken with permission of W Hospitality Group Lagos



dominate¹¹⁰, the city and the citizen were equal and symbiotically dependent species, susceptible to unpredictable mutations¹¹¹.

The fluidity of one's role and the temporal quality of one's space are once again central to the urban order of the world's rapidly urbanising underdeveloped regions, whose infrastructural, technological and economic means lag behind their human potential. In this respect, and also because of the particular topographic nature of the site, the work of Japanese Metabolists from the 1960s has been a useful precedent for the design thesis. Working in the same vein as Kenzo Tange and Co¹¹², here one is faced with seeking ways of incorporating and stretching the Nigerian architectural means - and potential - to achieve structures that grow and mutate overtime, responding to the unpredictability of their human content and the natural context.



Kenzo Tange: Plan for Tokyo 1960; Image from Koolhaas, 2011

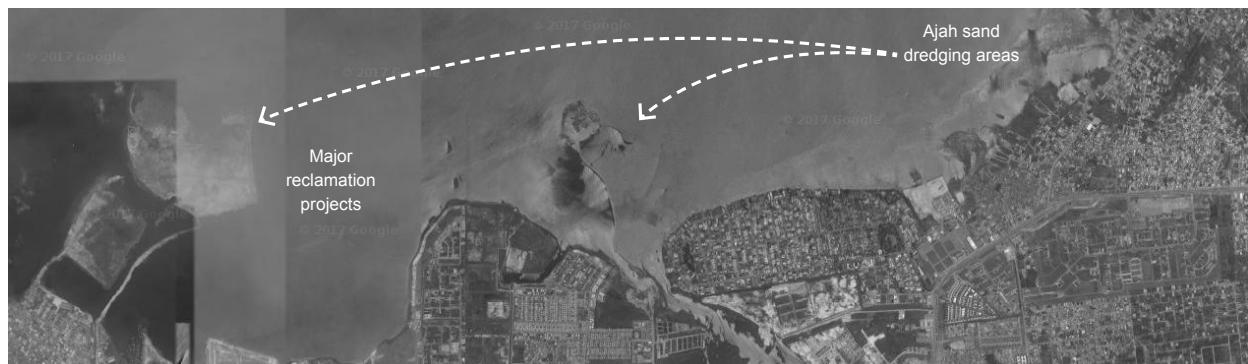
¹¹⁰ Approximately from the 4th century.

¹¹¹ Aristotle's success in distinguishing this is particularly merited by Mumford (1991, p. 215)

¹¹² Rem Koolhaas, *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks* (Köln ; London: Köln ; London : Taschen, 2011), pp. 18-19, 346-47, 284 - 85.

Appendix XIX. Land reclamation mechanisms

Map image: maps.google.com; photographs by author



Dredging site near Snake Island past Apapa Port. Sand is taken away by water transport.



Sand transportation to construction sites



Dredging site in Ajah, an area with lower land values compared to the reclamation sites 'surroundings'



Construction of new reclaimed islands.
In the distance: Imperial City island under construction



Appendix XX. Project site information

1. Site location on the map of Africa, NTS



2. Site location on the map of Lekki, NTS
source: market.trimbledata.com

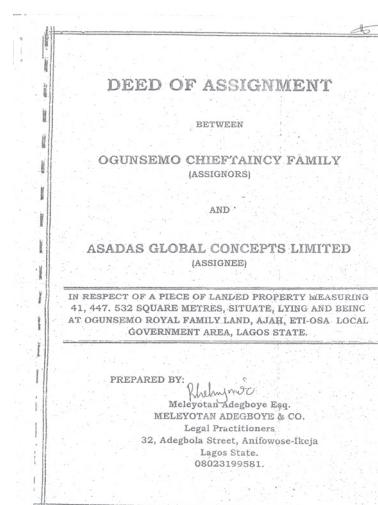
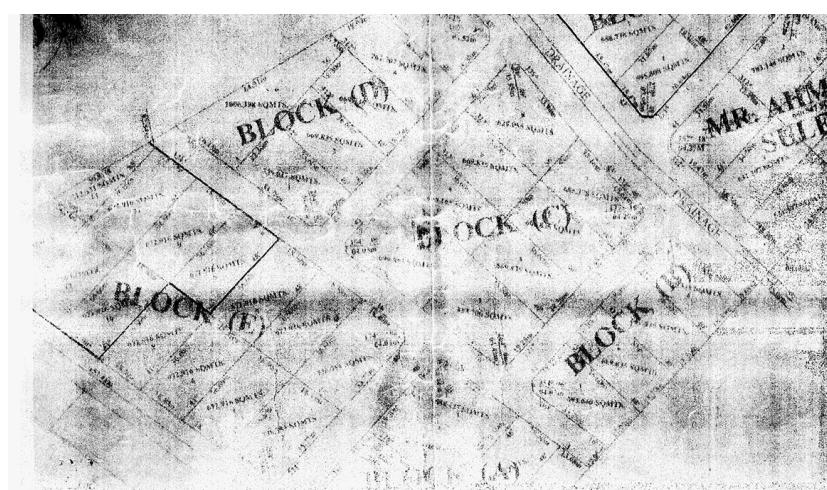


3. Site plan, NTS

Traced by author from Google Maps; <http://maps.google.com/>



4. Site ownership documentation, including preliminary subdivision of the site plots, NTS
from documents provided by chief Ojupon of Aja; Adegbeye, 2012





4. Site images from Lagos Lagoon; taken by author in July 2017



5. Site images from land; taken by author in July 2017

IFEDELE AGUNBIADE FAMILY AJAH

Our ref.....

AGUNBIADE COURT,
OKE-AWORI, AJAH
AJAH TOWN
ETI-OZA AREA, LAGOS.

Your ref.....

19.....

IFEDELE AGUNBIADE

HISTORY 1.

Chief Ifedele Agunbiade came from Ife to settle in Ajah, in the year 1775. Ifedele was a great hunter and a hero in his life time. He had two wives and a daughter, but had the problems of Abiku.

He consulted the Ifa Oracle and he was advised to travel our and cross the Lagoon to settle for his living, before this problem can stopped.

This is how he came hunting all his ways, before he settled down in Oko-Agunbiade.

Agunbiade went back to Ife, collected all his properties and family to settle finally in Agunbiade Village Ajah. He built his house and constructed two shrines for Egungun masquerades, one Igbale Oko and the other Igbale-Ile. He also set the shrines for Gods of Iron, Esu, where he worship as a farmer and hunter.

Agunbiade started farming and hunting for his living. His second wife later gave birth to a son called Awesu. Agunbiade shared boundary between Ogombo by Odo-olori. Ogudu the founder of Ogombo married Ifedele daughter, and she gave birth to Ologuro.

Awesu got married and had three children, Awusetu the eldest, followed by Gbadamosi and Kalitu.

Ifedele Agunbiade willed part of his farmland from Odo-olori towards Ogombo to the daughter who married Ogudu, and shared from Odo-olori towards Ajah to his son Awesu. Onikoyi had to travel to Ajah in search of Agunbiade because they were related martenally, this is how he also settled in Ajah.

Agunbiade was the first family to celebrate Egungun festival in Eti-osa, with some of his friends in Ajah like Alaagba, Ope, Onikoyi, and Baba sale other friends of Agunbiade were Akinyemi, Agbe Nla, Salami, Ajibowu and Kusoro.

This Egungun festival was performed yearly, but Agunbiade friends that belonged to these cults in Ajah like Alaagba, Ope, Onikoyi, and Baba sale advised Agunbiade and seeked him to come to Ajah so that they can live together and perform the Egungun rites together.



2. HOTELS IN WEST AFRICA

Image: No man's land around hotel in Ikoyi, displayed as part of hotel security advertisement, source: Hotels.ng, <<https://hotels.ng/hotels-in-lagos/ikoyi/5>> [accessed 16 March 2017]

Part 2: The citadel for business

How the West African Hotel became what it is today

My earlier Pilot Thesis investigated the West African Hotel's engagement in urban life. The study followed these important establishments through their transitions during colonial, post-independence and the democratic eras, from being small lodgings, integral to entrepreneurial and social aspects of cities, to highly self-conscious isolated modernist landmarks, reserved for high-level business¹¹³. This section of the thesis will review the typological drift of the West African hotel through the prism of its imperial, political and commercial uses, and conclude with remarks on the adequacy of the 21st century typology. I will discuss this in the context of today's international activities in West African cities and shifting paradigms in the hospitality industry.

In West Africa, the transformation of colonial outposts into metropolitan hotels happened in the early 20th century. The construction of hotels accompanied that of the railways connecting the oceanic ports to the towns of the continental hinterland, attractive to Europeans both for leisure and resource extraction¹¹⁴. Two of the early railways were built in today's Senegal, between Dakar and Saint-Louis in the 1880s, and in today's Nigeria, between Lagos and Ibadan in the 1900s. Whilst the former was still reliant on accommodation offered by *les postes fortifies*¹¹⁵, the latter had a purposefully built White House Hotel, located in Iddo, Lagos Mainland¹¹⁶. Throughout the first half of the 20th century the hospitality establishments across colonial towns took on both integrating and segregational social roles¹¹⁷, whilst growing in scale, yet generally remaining two to four storey classical structures¹¹⁸, entered directly off the street.

The landmarks of the independence period were intended to supersede colonial architecture. In the 1950s and 1960s Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Houphouët-Boigny and other West African leaders turned to the Modernist style to project the cosmopolitan images of the newly liberated nations and commemorate historic events. Hotels played a major political role, whether Federal Palace in Lagos, intentionally built for the signing of the Nigerian Independence treaty¹¹⁹, Hotel Independence in Dakar, constructed to celebrate the first decade of Senegalese self-governance¹²⁰, or Hotel Ivoire, used by the Ivory Coast's government to enter the global economic arena as an international conference and tourism destination¹²¹ (Appendix XXIII). The Independence hotels were designed by prominent architects, mostly non-Africans, emerging from London's Architectural Association or

¹¹³ Shtanov, 'Pilot Thesis...', 2017, section II on 'Industry Analysis'

¹¹⁴ Hotel historian Chief Alabi, interviewed by the author, partly relates the development of Nigerian rail transport and hotels to the Europeans' appetite for holidays in the temperate climate of Joss in the geographic centre of the country. The interview is recorded in my blog post: <https://goo.gl/en6kas>

¹¹⁵ Dione mentions forts and outposts, yet no hotels, in describing Senegalese industrial mobilisation of the 1880-1910s. No hotel features in materials on the port or the rail terminus. Maurice Culot and others, 1992, p. 221 - 223.

¹¹⁶ Kunle Akinsemoyin, *Building Lagos / by Kunle Akinsemoyin and Alan Vaughan-Richards.*, 2nd edn (Jersey: Pengrail Ltd, 1977), chapter on early 20 century.

¹¹⁷ My 'Pilot Essay...' notes relationships between Europeans and Africans in Guinean and Togolese cinema hotels and mentions the racist accident at the Bristol in Lagos. (Shtanov, 2017, section II on 'Industry Analysis').

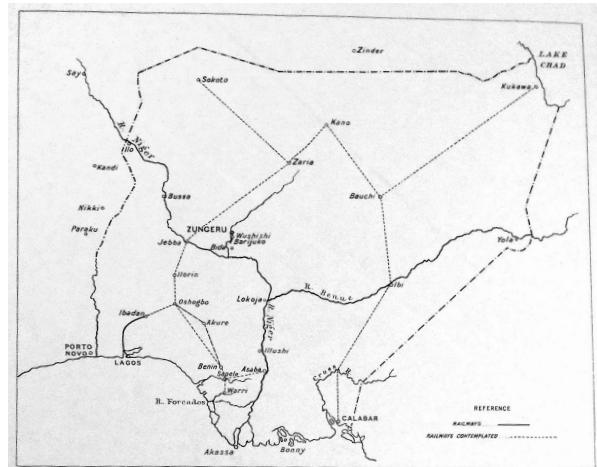
¹¹⁸ Lamoureux, 2016, p. 171.

¹¹⁹ Mentioned in my interview with Hotel historian Chief Alabi, recorded on a blog post: <https://goo.gl/en6kas>.

¹²⁰ Manuel Herz and others, *African Modernism : The Architecture of Independence : Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia / Edited by Manuel Herz ; with Ingrid Schröder, Hans Focketyn and Julia Jamrozik ; Photographs by Iwan Baan and Alexia Webster.* (Zurich, Switzerland : Park Books, 2015), p. 230.

¹²¹ Herz and others, 2015, pp. 387 – 388.

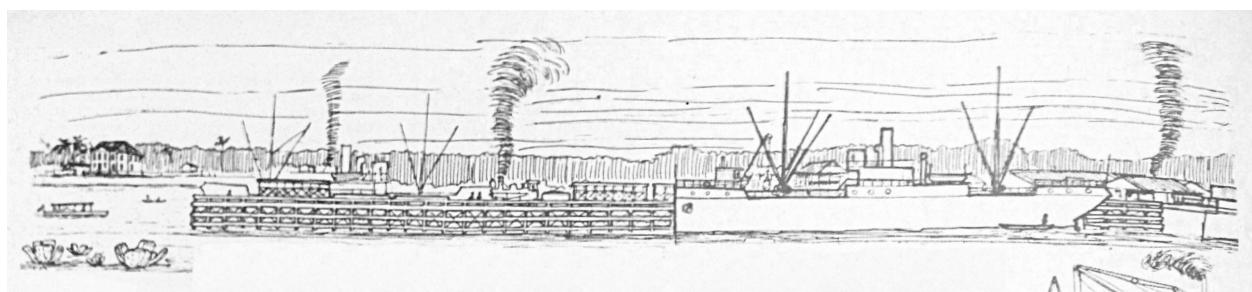
Appendix XXII. Colonial hotels in West Africa:
Late 19th and early 20th centuries.



British authorities' ambitious railway construction plans for Nigeria, 1905.
Map source: British Library



'The Grand Hotel was one of the focuses of Lagos Life.' Image and quote from Akinsemoyin, Vaughan-Richards, 1977



White House Hotel (far left of the image) at the new water- and rail- transport interchange in Iddo, Lagos Mainland.
1910. Image from Akinsemoyin, Vaughan-Richards, 1977



Le Grand Hôtel in Conakry, Guinea, early 20th century. Postcard image found in Goerg, 2011, p. 3.



Hôtel Gariglio in Lomé, Togo, early 20th century. Postcard image found in Goerg, 2011, p. 2.

Paris's École des Beaux-Arts¹²². Through careful consideration of local climates, expressed through *brise soleil*, their materiality or natural ventilation strategy¹²³, and fresh interpretations of West African decorative motifs¹²⁴, these monumental complexes contributed to the consolidation of Tropical Modernism as a distinct architectural movement, and bolstered the region's rights to 'alternative visions of urban modernity'¹²⁵, as illustrated in Appendix XXIII.

The decades following the Independence Era saw a new corporate scramble for the continent's resources alongside the violent politics of the Big Men and military regimes¹²⁶. Whilst the existing establishments, like Hotel Ivoire, found themselves 'in the middle of the fighting'¹²⁷, the new ones were intentionally built to isolate the high level commercial dealings from the scenes of mass violence and infrastructural disorder shaking the uncontrollably growing cities. Modernist citadels of business, these cities within cities were created through the efforts of a new generation of architects preoccupied with visitors' safety and the image of their corporate employers.

Eko Hotel in Lagos is representative of this category. Following years of hotel misuse by corrupt officials, resulting in the dilapidation of Ibadan's Premier, Calabar's Metropole, Port Hacourt's Presidential, Lagos's Federal Palace and other major establishments¹²⁸, the Nigerian post-civil-war¹²⁹ government implemented policies to allow private companies to construct and maintain 'projects of national importance or sectorial development'¹³⁰. Occidental Petroleum took this opportunity in 1975 to build the Eko Hotel under the supervision of Bechtel Incorporation¹³¹, whose American architects collaborated with Nigeria's Oluwole Olumuyiwa. The latter had previously studied in Manchester, worked with the Smithsons¹³², learnt from Kenzo Tange¹³³ and co-founded the Nigerian Institute of Architects¹³⁴. Chief Alabi, a hotel historian, has little doubt about the government's involvement in the project, given the hotel's purpose to cater for the FESTAC arts festival in Lagos in 1977¹³⁵.

Having been Lagos's most successful hotel in the 1980s, Eko Hotel set a typological precedent for other big hotels across urban West Africa. Over the decades, the two pre-FESTAC buildings on a fenced off and heavily

¹²² Examples of Europe-trained architects include British Alan Vaughan-Richards and Israeli Thomas Leitersdorf, trained at the AA, or French Henri Chomette, who finished training in École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

¹²³ Vaughan Richards (Lamoureux, 2016, pp. 171 – 172) and Chomette (Herz et al., 2015, pp. 271 – 2) were particularly outstanding in pioneering work with the African climates.

¹²⁴ Lamoureux (2016, p. 171) merits Vaughan-Richards' application of Yoruba-motifs in the Modernist reconstruction of the Bristol Hotel in Lagos.

¹²⁵ Lamoureux, 2016, p. 204.

¹²⁶ Big Men, usually violent and autocratic (yet not always) African leaders, predominately active between Independence and the late 1990s, are comprehensively introduced by Todd J. Moss, 2007, chapter on Big Men.

¹²⁷ Tom Sykes, 'The Fairground of Abidjan: A Nation Within a Hotel', *New African*, 19 December 2013.

¹²⁸ As listed by Hotel historian Chief Alabi, recorded in my blog post: <https://goo.gl/en6kas>.

¹²⁹ 3.5-year Nigerian Civil War, fought between the central government and Eastern Biafra states, ended in 1970 Atofarati, 1992.

¹³⁰ *Nigerian Oil & Gas: A Mixed Blessing?: A Chronicle of NNPC's Unfulfilled Mission*, ed. by M. A. Olorunfemi, Akin Adetunji, and Ade Olaiya (Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria: Kachifo Limited, 2014).

¹³¹ Justina Okpanku, 'Nigeria: Favourite People And Events for Tourism 2004/05', *All Africa*, 3 February 2005.

¹³² Liane Lefaivre, *Architecture of Regionalism in the Age of Globalization : Peaks and Valleys in the Flat World*, Peaks and Valleys in the Flat World (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2012), p. 170.

¹³³ Nnamdi Elleh, *Architecture and Politics in Nigeria : The Study of a Late Twentieth-Century Enlightenment-Inspired Modernism at Abuja, 1900–2016* (Routledge, 2016), pp. 82 - 83.

¹³⁴ Lamoureux, 2016, p. 165.

¹³⁵ Mentioned in the interview with Chief Alabi, recorded in my blog post: <https://goo.gl/en6kas>.

Appendix XXIII. Modernist hotels of the independence Era, 1960s - 1970s



1. Hotel du District in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Architect Henri Chommette. Image from Herz et Al, 2015, p. 311.



3. Hotel Président at Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire. Built in the 1970s. Image from Herz et al, 2015, p. 263



4. Hotel Ivoire in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Building for transient populations as a symbol of the nation's Independence, built 1963. Image from Yacobi, 2010.

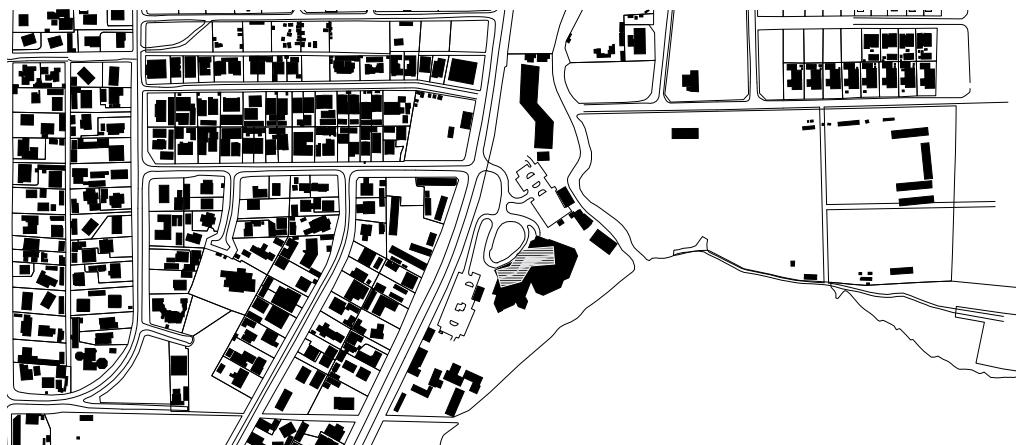


2. Hotel Indépendance, Dakar, Senegal. Architect Henri Chommette. Image from Herz et al, 2015.

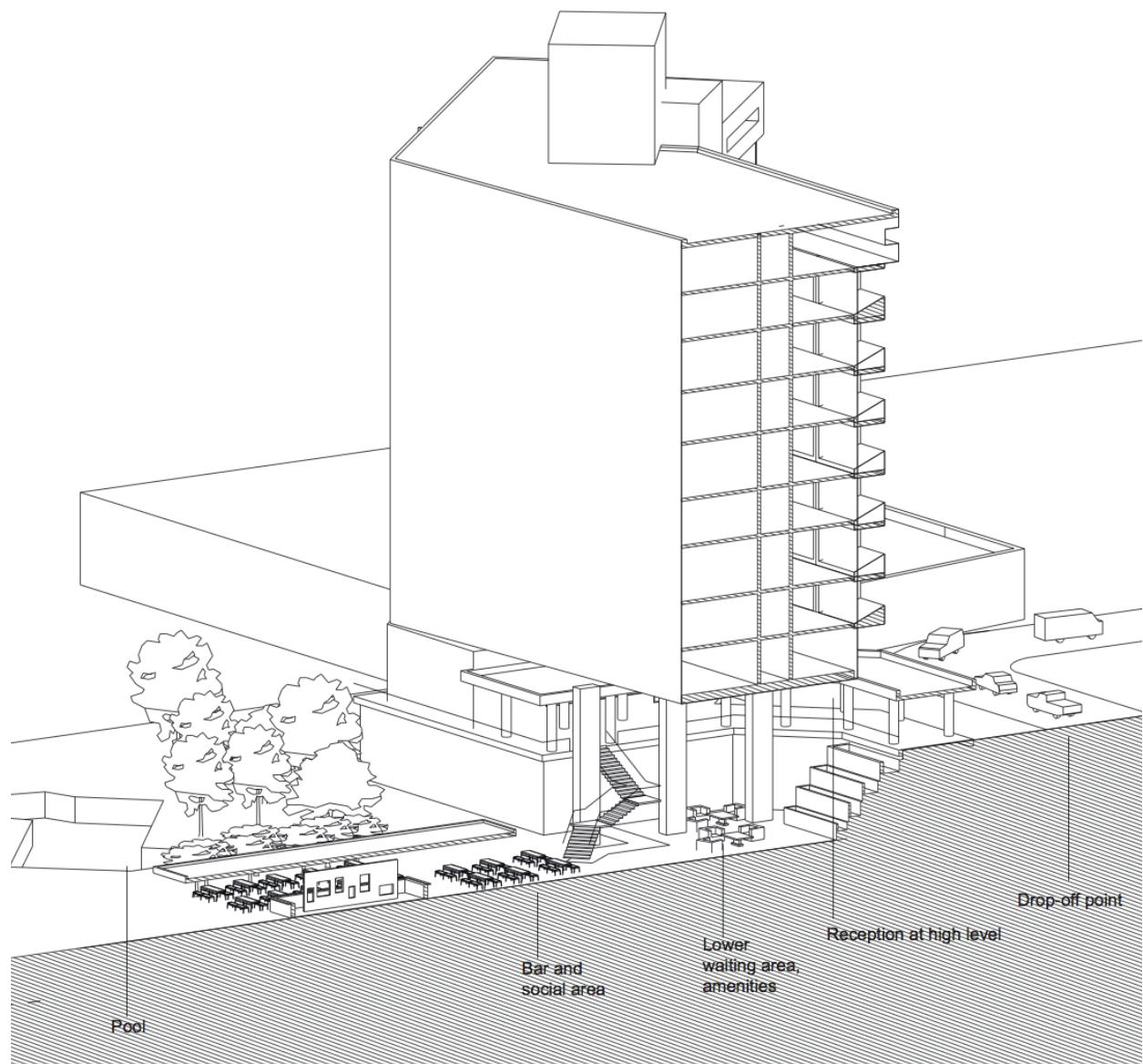


5. Federal Palace in Lagos, the site of signing of Nigerian Independence Treaty in 1960, currently used as a casino. Image from Nairaland, October 2010, 'Old Pictures of Lagos...'

Appendix XXIV. Original Eko Hotel: initial building
designed by Oluwole Olumuyiwa



1. Position on a figure ground drawing of Victoria Island, 1:10000, based on Lagos cadastral plan, Lagos state



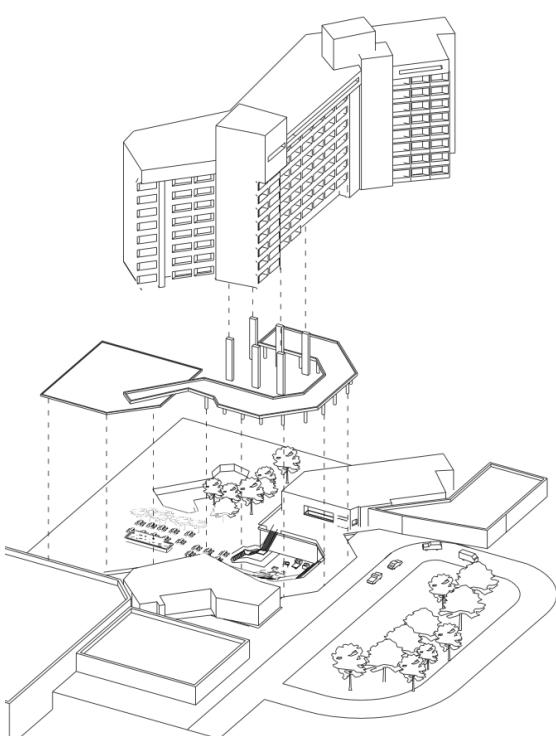
2. Sectional diagram. The vehicular circulation and the reception and are lifted above the spaces behind the building by around 6 metres, amounting to the height of some technical spaces below. Two staircases lead down into the pool side bar area, which is one of the most socially active parts of the entire hotel. Drawing based on hotel survey by author.



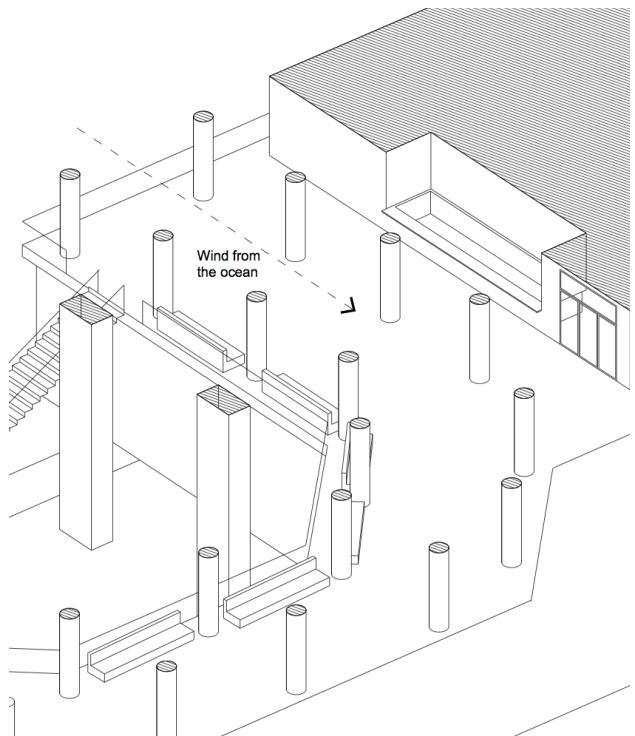
3 - 4. External lobby photographs, by author



5. View from opposite site of Adetokunbo Ademola street, photograph by author



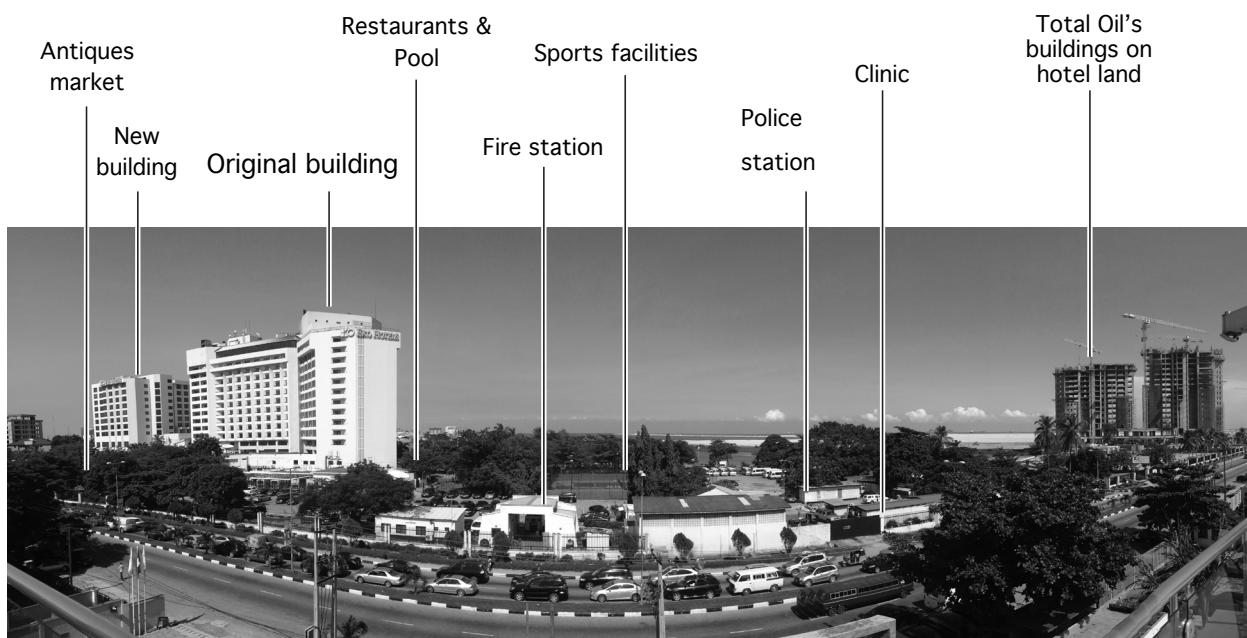
6. Lobby diagram. Reception is covered with a generous canopy on columns. The canopy has an opening for larger pilotti to support the bulk of the building above. Drawing based on hotel survey by author.



7. Lobby diagram. The open plan reception area is constantly traversed by cool breeze coming from the Atlantic. Drawing based on hotel survey by author.

Appendix XXV. Present day configuration of Eko Hotel

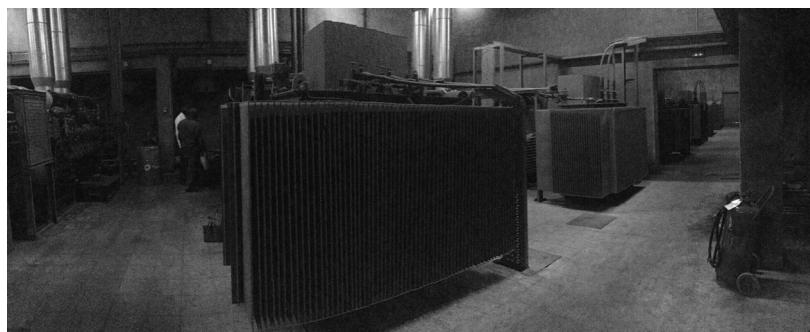
Photographs by author



Fire department with the police department's truck on the foreground



Clinic



Engine room



Conference centre

protected 15 hectare site¹³⁶ in Victoria Island, developed into an over 800-room complex with an art market, fire and police stations, private clinic and a diesel power plant, capable of generating a 1/700th of the country's total power output, as of 2017¹³⁷: The difference between Olumuyiwa's work and later additions accompanied the paradigm shift in the hospitality industry. The original building with its thorough climatic approach and modernist articulation, responsive to the work of Vaughan-Richards and Chomette was followed by transient *Non-place*¹³⁸ architecture, not only physically but culturally and environmentally disengaged from the West African urban context. The external reception area of the 1977 building, raised and oriented to capture the ocean breeze, Appendix XXIV, was replaced in later hotels by generically decorated air-conditioned lobbies with unobtrusive classical music and black SUVs parked outside. Layered security mechanisms in conjunction with extensive open spaces between its complex's entrance and its main social areas made Eko Hotel and the following projects significantly different to the likes of Chomette's earlier Hotel Independence in Dakar, which had been entered directly from the public square, Image 2 in Appendix XXIII.

If in the 1980s Eko Hotel was one of a kind and charged \$400 per night¹³⁹, today it faces tight competition. Over two thousand establishments of different size and rating¹⁴⁰ have sprung up, offering convivial settings to international business 'vagabonds'¹⁴¹ and Africans, privileged to afford resting here from the stress of their everyday hustle¹⁴². Hidden within a large gated territory, directly linked to the airport through pre-arranged transport and offering comfort through its artificially generated sound and air, a modern day West African hotel is viewed as an oasis in the midst of the violent affairs and unhealthy smells of an incomprehensibly laid out city. Its architecture, sometimes eccentrically hybridised and creolised, sometimes calm and neutral (Appendix XXVI), facilitates the visitor's choice between a distanced and non-participatory visual consumption of the locality or complete isolation from it.

This section has reviewed the West African hotel's transition from a colonial control outpost to a political commodity of personal use, and from the latter to an entrepreneurial instrument, divorced from its context. Having emerged alongside the rail infrastructure as small scale classical lodgings, hotels had once primarily catered for colonial officials and tourists, with cases of racist access restriction occurring well into the 1940s¹⁴³. The Independence era hotels revolted against their refined classical predecessors with exaggerated modernist forms, boosted by oil, cocoa and tourism steroids, and intended for celebrations of a continent-wide series of

¹³⁶ Measured of Google maps, www.google.com.hk/maps

¹³⁷ Comparison is made between figures from my interview with the Eko's Engine Room keeper (blog post: <https://goo.gl/3P1MdM>) and 2017 figures quoted by Olawoyin, 'Nigeria's Current Electricity Generating Capacity Is 6,803 MW — Fashola', *Premium Times* (Abuja, 16 August 2017).

¹³⁸ As noted in Section 4 of my essay on 'Hotel and the city', Shtanov, 2017.

¹³⁹ This figure would amount to today's \$800 – 1000, taking inflation into account. The \$400 estimate was remembered by the chairman of Eko, who took the post in 1987 and was interviewed by me in April 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Nigerian hotel booking engine, hotels.ng, lists over 2200 hotels in Lagos, <https://hotels.ng/hotels-in-lagos>, accessed on 15.03.2018.

¹⁴¹ Zygmunt Baumann notes a vagabonds' key difference from a tourist in being 'pushed from behind' rather than drawn by something (Baumann, 1997, pp. 89 – 94). Typically this is the case with business people taking trips to West Africa from developed countries: travelling to an unattractive place, helped by the prospect of a higher salary, is commonly explained by being unable to compete with more talented professionals at home. Writers Teju Cole and Sefi Atta note white Lagos visitor being 'not Europe's finest' (Cole, 2007, p. 10), 'posted to a godforsaken country like Nigeria' (Atta, 2009, pp. 279 – 81).

¹⁴² Conversations with Maison Fahrenheit's manager, Lagos, and Prof Asiedu from University of Ghana, revealed affluent Nigerians' appetite for escape holidays in gated estates and hotels within an hour's flight reach. Blog posts: <https://goo.gl/srcQRq> and <https://goo.gl/KyLdJh>.

¹⁴³ John Flint, 'Scandal at the Bristol Hotel: Some Thoughts on Racial Discrimination in Britain and West Africa and Its Relationship to the Planning of Decolonisation, 1939–47', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 12.1 (1983), 74–93 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086538308582651>>.

events. This period saw distinct contextual approaches to tropical architecture of unprecedented scale develop through the efforts of Chomette, Vaughan-Richards and Olumuyiwa, amongst others. Later in the century, hotels transitioned from tropical modernism to deterritorialising postmodernism. Whilst acting as key regional institutions of politics, business and culture¹⁴⁴ (Appendix XXVIII), these establishments became physically, socially, environmentally and architecturally disengaged from their surroundings, resulting in the proliferation of today's sense of rootlessness amongst travellers, and the confinement of global means and ideas to insular pockets within a city.

Tzonis opposes the notion of globalisation uniformly 'flattening the world' with digital and transport technologies: arguing that however advanced the means, the peak regions continue rising, whilst economically deprived valleys deepen. This image of non-uniformity of welfare could be projected onto a West African city where hotels, along with restricted mixed-use facilities¹⁴⁵ and gated areas, are the vessels of globalisation, locked into modernist and post-modern fortifications inherited from the times of political violence and scramble for resources. As a result, today's hotels belong to the 'networked geography of highly capacitated spaces', disconnected from their physical surroundings, as identified by AbdouMaliq Simone¹⁴⁶. At the same time, they remain archetypal stages for business and politics, far more than the crumbling state offices or purpose built workplace zones. The cultural flows that have made hotels opportunities for intercultural and professional exchange, have also imposed restrictions on their use¹⁴⁷, with the concerning progress of further exacerbation of their inaccessibility through technological advancements¹⁴⁸. Being a portal into the wider world¹⁴⁹, the West African hotel has also become an instrument of keeping the global and the local apart.

Such institutions have an effect on the collective local consciousness. Molly Berger notes how the idealised internal city and grandiose external image of the American Grand Hotel made an exotic spectacle of the filthy, frenetic and dangerous real city outside its walls¹⁵⁰. Murnau's film *The Last Laugh* highlights the issues of the city's subjectivisation and self-humiliation in striving to compete with the environment of a luxury hotel¹⁵¹ (Appendix XXVII). From a Francophone post-colonialist perspective, the modern day West African hotel can be seen as a corporate imposition of the 'other': in revealing itself as adhering to a set of imported values: separate, modern, clean, expensive and immaculately organised, a hotel projects images of dirtiness, disorder and exoticism onto the city it faces. Arguably, this artificial frame of reference manifests at an urban scale the struggle with subjectivisation that Frantz Fanon reveals on an interpersonal level: 'for not only black man must be black; he must be black in relation to the white men.'¹⁵²

¹⁴⁴ Bruce Potter, Issues with hotel construction and management in Ghana, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Here I refer to the free trade zones, springing up across the continent, as well as the 'Live – Work – Play' mini-cities with restricted access, such as the Landmark centre in Lagos, described in the blog post: <https://goo.gl/6j9ky1>.

¹⁴⁶ Part by Simone in Huyssein, 2008, p. 102.

¹⁴⁷ Appadurai (2013, p. 65) explains the paradox of the global cultural forms both creating and impeding the opportunities.

¹⁴⁸ *The Economist*'s recent report on modern warfare describes advancements in defence mechanisms that may exclude human decision making from the initiation of violence. Being developed by private enterprises such technologies have a potential of being deployed by African hotels, whose image is highly dependant on presence of armed men and vehicles, special report from 25 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹ A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, a hotel historian notes, how each hotel is a centre to 'a travel hinterland - an extended geographic area which it drew people in and put them in direct personal contact', phenomena that increasingly operates on a global scale (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007, pp. 235 - 262).

¹⁵⁰ Molly W. Berger, *Hotel Dreams : Luxury, Technology and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929 / Molly W. Berger*. (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, c2011., 2011), p. 252.

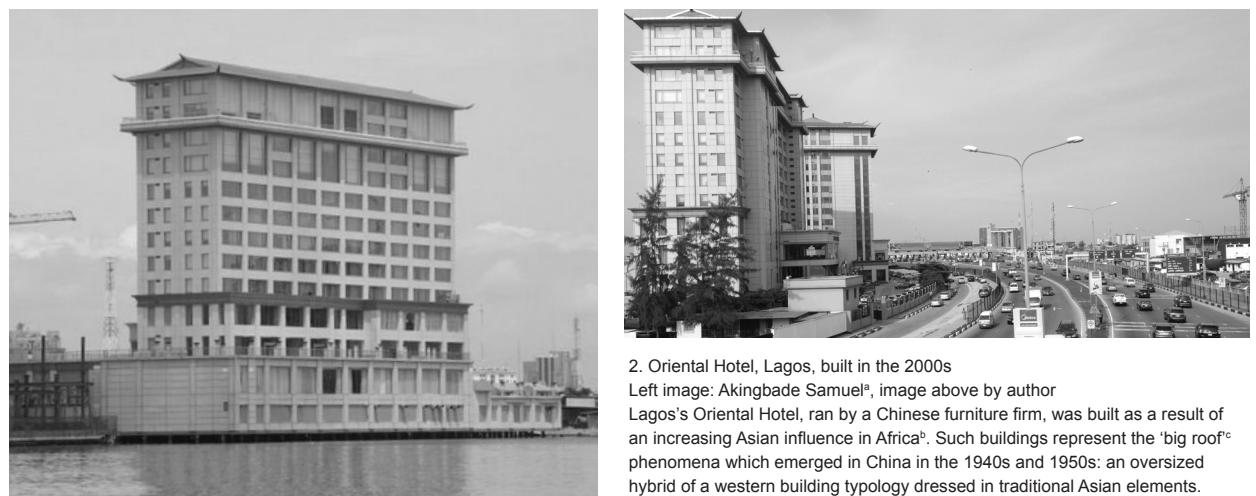
¹⁵¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, *The Last Laugh (German: Der letzte Mann)* (UFA, 1924).

¹⁵² Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Get Political, New ed (London: Pluto-Press, 2008), p. 83.

Appendix XXVI. Generic and thematic modern day West African hotels



1. Boutique hotel Maison Fahrenheit, Lagos, built in the 2010s
Photos by author



2. Oriental Hotel, Lagos, built in the 2000s
Left image: Akingbade Samuel^a, image above by author
Lagos's Oriental Hotel, ran by a Chinese furniture firm, was built as a result of an increasing Asian influence in Africa^b. Such buildings represent the 'big roof'^c phenomena which emerged in China in the 1940s and 1950s: an oversized hybrid of a western building typology dressed in traditional Asian elements.



Ibis, Accra Airport City, built in the 2010s
photo by author

^a Akingbade, Samuel. Victoria Island. May 14, 2012. <http://lagoslandscapes.blogspot.hk/2012/05/victoria-island.html>.

^b Hulshof, Michiel, and Daan Roggeveen

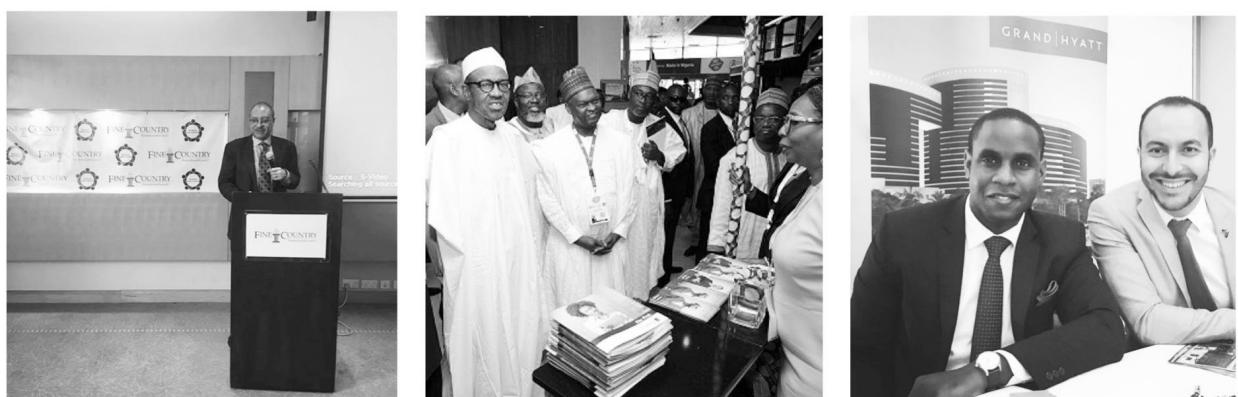
^c Term 'big roof' in relation to Chinese architecture is coined by Rowe and Seng Kuan in "Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China." Edited by Inc NetLibrary, 2002.

Appendix XXVII. Idealised hotel as a reference framework for the city in *Last Laugh*



Contrast between the *Atlantic* and the tenement housing worlds, stills from *The Last Laugh*, dir. Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau 1924.

Appendix XXVIII. Hotel as Business and political instrument

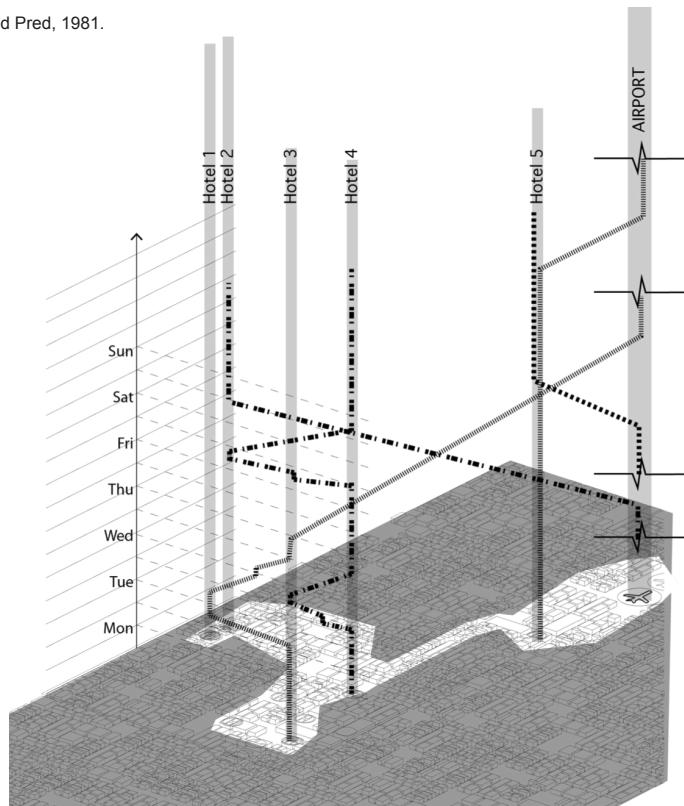


1 - 3. Business and politics at West African Hotels: Real Estate Conference at Radisson Blu, Lagos, President Buhari at Nigerian Economic Summit at Hilton Transcorp in Abuja, meeting with Grand Hyatt Dubai at Labadi Beach, Accra
Sources: Instagram/fineandcountrywa; Instagram/anthony_owelete; vanguardngr.com

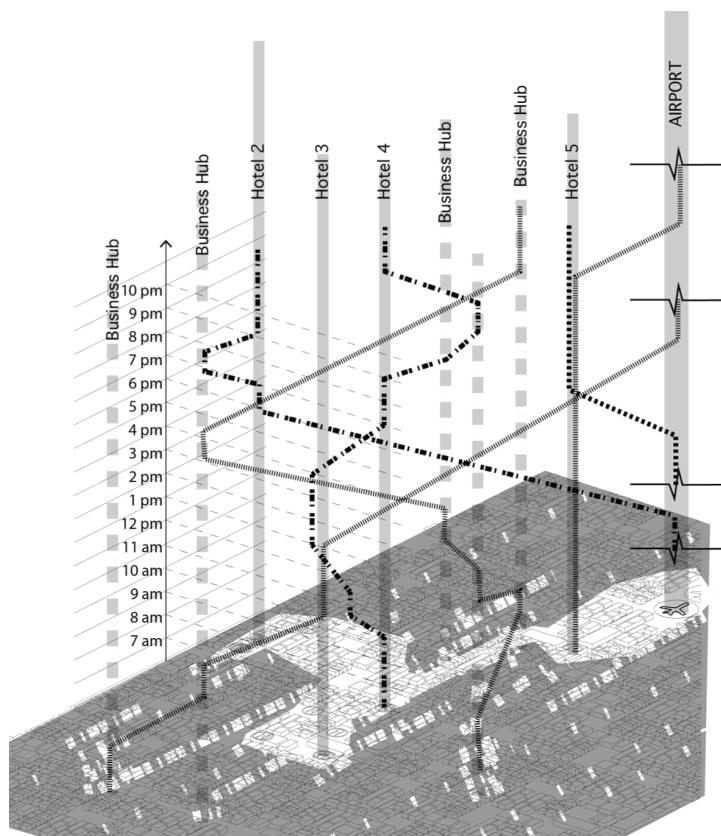
Appendix XXIX. The changing time geographies of business travellers in today's West African city.

Images from my Pilot Thesis, where I considered Thrift and Pred's Time-Geography theory, an interdisciplinary perspective that has evolved into a series of methods to 'predict, analyse and improve the efficiency and quality of an individual's movement in an urban condition'.

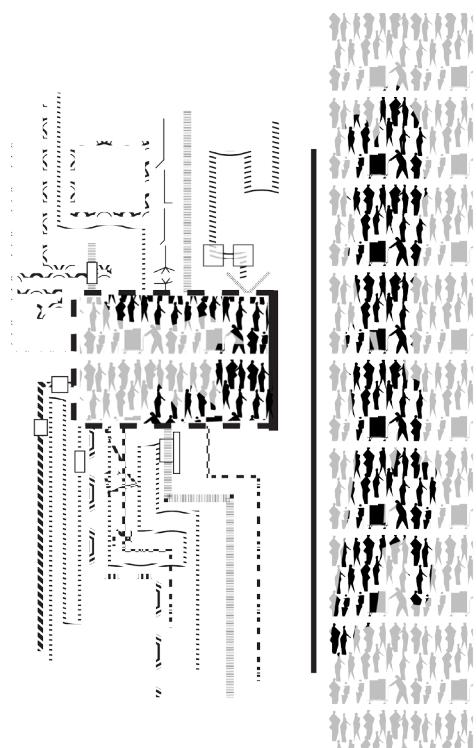
Shtanov, 2017; Thrift and Pred, 1981.

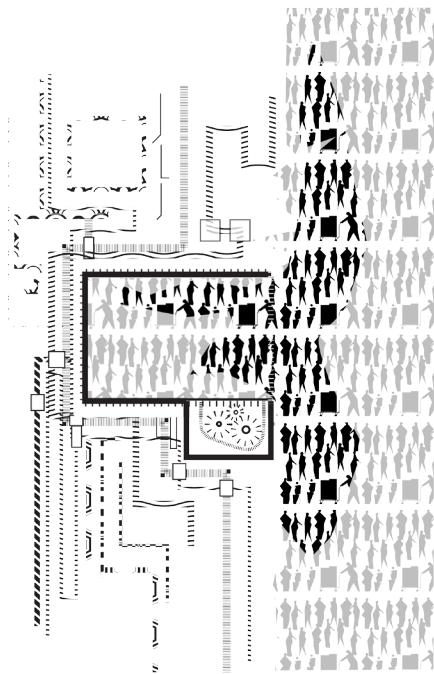


1. Foreign travellers time geographies during the 1990s - 2000s: entrepreneurs movements are confined to hotels and formal meeting facilities, where they spent extended periods of time.
Greyed out parts of land represent areas unknown to foreign visitors



2. Emerging current foreign travellers time geographies: entrepreneurs movements happen on finer timescale and related to a greater number of digitally connected sites.
Greyed out parts of land represent areas unknown to foreign visitors





3. DESIGN METHODS

3A. Conceptual design

Open urban systems, democratic spaces and Venetian *Fondacos*

The previous section presented the case study hotels as contained, complete and stable forms in the midst of an urban scene of continuous re-making. If Conrad Hilton's 'little Americas', were projections of the cold war superpower¹⁵³, the modern day West African hotels are projected images of the generic developed world, divorced from their context through physical walls, prescribed corporate agreements, employment policies and environmental barriers. This thesis questions the benefits of a closed hotel in a dynamic city, and proposes an alternative model, as a fusion product of an open urban system and a late 19th century American hotel whose relevance as a precedent is discussed further below.

The term 'open system' in relation to urban projects was coined by Richard Sennett in reference to the work of Jane Jacobs. In her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, the latter criticised Le Corbusier for conceiving a city as a predesigned 'mechanical toy'¹⁵⁴ rather than an unpredictable mutating organism. Picking up on Jacobs' doctrine, Sennett identified a series of urban design principles for open urban systems capable of easily adapting to unforeseen physical alterations and fostering social exchange between people from different cultures and social strata¹⁵⁵. These principles concern strengthening the liminality of urban borders and the porosity of physical barriers; proposing incomplete forms that are open to programmatic and physical re-adaption; and democratising space by facilitating open fora for debate and participation.

This design thesis investigates these principles' applicability to West African hotel architecture. Given its overall ambition to mediate between the local and the global, and unlock the hotel's potential to support intercultural interaction, as well as its specific aim of empowering Lekki's indigenous and informal actors to influence a contained section of the region's masterplan, the importance of conceiving the intervention as an open system deserves emphasis. In this respect, a series of observations, made on fieldwork in Ghana and Nigeria, confirm and exemplify the applicability of Sennett's principles within the scope of this study.

Section 1B has identified the important role played by the borders between the differentiated environments surrounding my site. Appendix XXX illustrates Koolhaas' observations on Lagos, and Quayson's on Accra, resonant with those that Simone makes on Douala, about the creative exploitation of imposed physical barriers by different local actors for economic activities, social entertainment or as physical instruments for communicating information and enforcing local legislation, otherwise absent or ambiguous in formal policy documents¹⁵⁶. To illustrate his porous walls, Sennett refers to flexible glass panels in public buildings by Louis Sullivan, echoing Jan Gehl's argument about soft edges in *Cities for People*: semi-private transition zones around buildings that enhance activities and interaction¹⁵⁷. Being largely preoccupied with issues of frequent

¹⁵³ Concluding chapter in Wharton, 2001.

¹⁵⁴ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. 21 - 23.

¹⁵⁵ Richard Sennett, 'The Open City', *LSE Cities*, 2006 <<https://lsecities.net/media/objects/articles/the-open-city/en-gb/>> [accessed 8 February 2018].

¹⁵⁶ A notable example of indigenous law enforcement is the overseeing of development by a traditional council, Image 1 in Appendix XXX, whilst a notable fraudulent misuse of such privilege is the activity of Lagosian *Omo Onile*, described by Akinleye in Locatelli and Nugent, 2009, pp. 113 - 130, also noted in my 'Implementation Essay', Shtanov, 2017, section 4 on Social integration.

¹⁵⁷ Jan Gehl, "Soft Edges" in Residential Streets', *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 3.2 (1986), 89-102 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02815738608730092>>.

Appendix XXX. Use of borders for economic activities and for law enforcement

All images by author, except for Image 7 (Rich Roesing, roesing.net)



1. Wall used to enforce planning rules: 'Stop work by Nungua Traditional Council', Nungua, Ghana



2 - 5. Estate gate as a porous threshold, Lekki, Nigeria.

'One 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.' ('Border Conditions', Shtanov, 2017)



6-7. Walls erected and marked to enforce property ownership in an area with fluid land rights. Selling land owned by others is a frequent form of crime practiced by Omo Onile, as noted by Akinleye in Locatelli and Nugent, 2009.

crime¹⁵⁸ and the absence of modern technologies¹⁵⁹ the regions explored in this thesis are predominately devoid of the means enjoyed by the Global North in Gehl's and Sennett's examples. However, the social order of the West African city, with its informal economic agreements, pre-colonial forms of management¹⁶⁰ and patron-client relationships¹⁶¹ - compensates for an elaborate use of materials and physical openness advocated by Sennett and Gehl.

The potential of Sennett's 'incomplete forms' is frequently underestimated by West African planning authorities. In the 1950s Doxiadis associates pioneered the Tema Newtown in Ghana, with a strategy of 'breaking up' traditional west African compound houses, to provide liberated communal spaces whilst allowing for unhindered penetration of drainage and vegetation¹⁶². The impossibility of policing these modernist rules resulted in the appearance of innumerable house extensions, which proliferate poor sanitation and cause disputes over communal areas, giving a hard time to the current authorities¹⁶³, Appendix XXXI. Whilst demonstrating poor planning strategy, this example also indicates the capability of individuals and communities to generate means of adding to urban forms over long time periods, a gradual process that should be anticipated in the design of original interventions that cater for the masses.

As his final principle, Sennett, envisages 'democratic space' where people from diverse backgrounds come in contact. Quayson offers a perspective on this by describing Accra's Oxford Street as a stage for continuous collision of transnational and local objects, people and ideas¹⁶⁴. Rowdy interaction between Ghanaian traders, drivers and idle wonderers, juxtaposed with the context of British Banks, American fast-food eateries, groups of cautious European tourists and cheap air transfer advertisements, governed by spontaneity and encompassed by a 4G network, produce a highly diversified socio-spatial environment preoccupied with everything from the immediate concerns about food and clothing through to aspirations about moving to the world's most distant corners. Unlike a public space reserved for citizens' everyday necessities, such as a computer market, a transport interchange or an electronics recycling entrepôt, Oxford Street Accra is a democratic forum with a fusion between highly local and blatantly foreign forms and narratives, open for participating, dreaming and learning (Appendix XXXII).

Does democratisation of space apply to hotels? My essay on the hotel's historic relationship with its context, identified two points when the ambition of openness was at its peak. The first example is 13th century Venice, the crossroads of world traders' and craftsmen's venture trajectories. Whilst benefitting from open civic participation, observed by the council and the *scuole*¹⁶⁵, groups of German, Armenian, Turkish and other businessmen stayed at inns, lodgings and more institutionalised *fondacos*, dispersed throughout the city. These were oriented and built for efficient goods delivery and business negotiations at specifically dedicated

¹⁵⁸ Part by Mbembe in Enwezor, 2002.

¹⁵⁹ 'Architect in Nigeria is a facilitator': technological difficulties with 'making projects happen' in Nigeria were revealed in interviews with industry professionals Tunji Laguda and Deji Majekdunmi, <https://goo.gl/2JE8ac>.

¹⁶⁰ Mabogunje, pp. 125 - 127.

¹⁶¹ Peil, 1990, pp. 60 - 65, 127 - 130.

¹⁶² d'Auria and De Meulder, 2010, pp. 121 - 123.

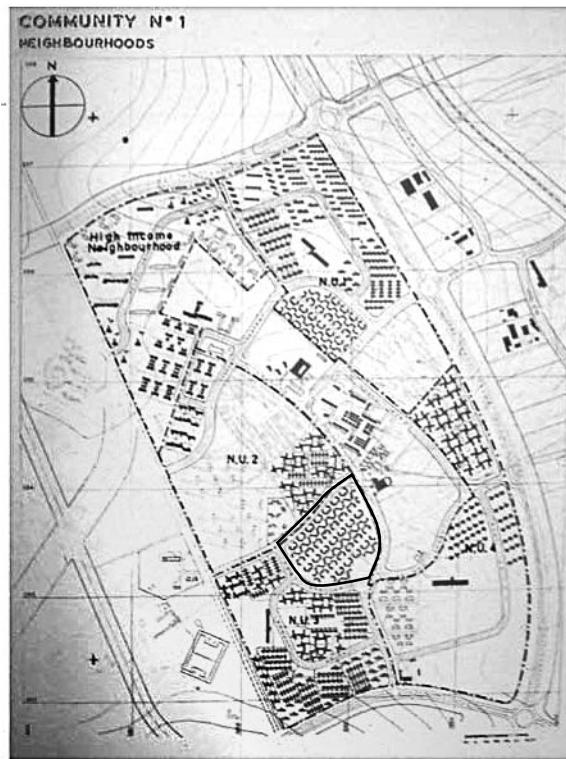
¹⁶³ Joe Abbey, 'Setting The New Urban Agenda For Newtowns: Seeking a New Identity through Urban Regeneration' (Tema, Ghana, 2016).

¹⁶⁴ Introduction in Quayson, 2014.

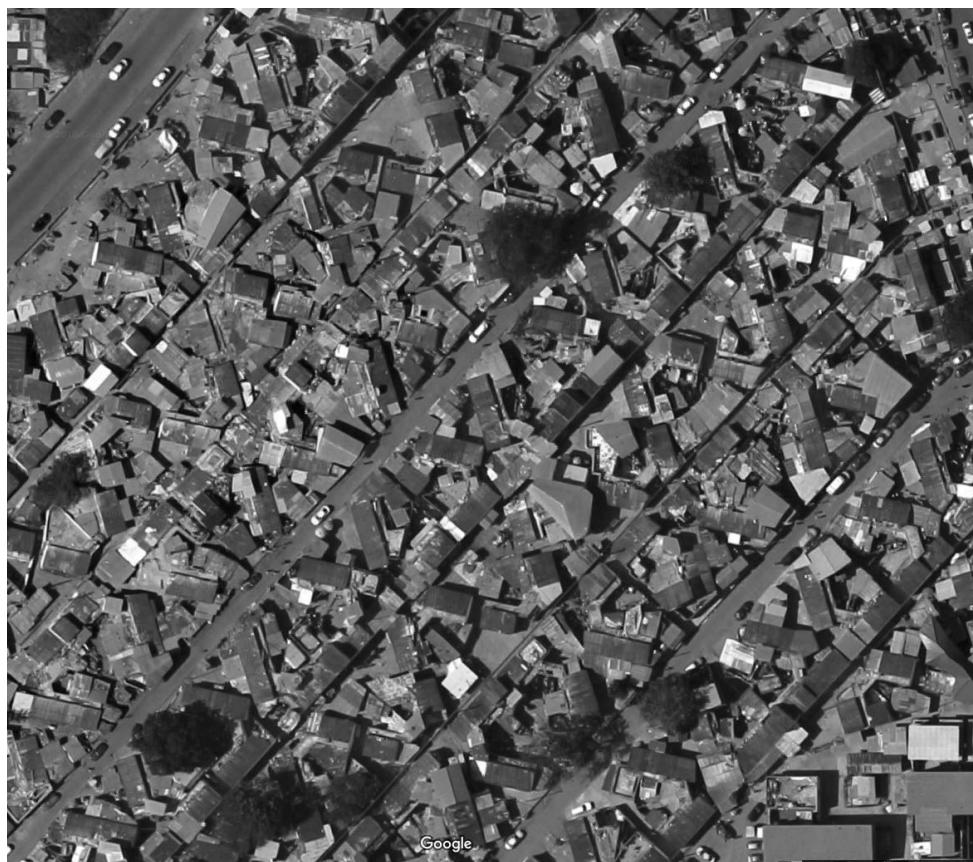
¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth Horodowich, *A Brief History of Venice: A New History of the City and Its People* (Philadelphia, PA: Running Press, 2009), chapter on the 14 century.

Appendix XXXI. Completing the form in Tema, Ghana.

Satelite image from Google Maps, maps.google.com



1. Plan for Tema Community 1 by Doxiadis Associates, found in d'Auria and De Meulder, 2010



2. Satelite image of a district in Community 1, from Google Maps, maps.google.com

Appendix XXXII. Oxford Street Accra

Photograph by author.





androne spaces at ground floor level. With its inclusive social order and trade-oriented planning, Venice functioned as a hotel on the city level (Appendix XXXIII).

Whereas contemporary democratic spaces are a poor match to those Sennett finds in the ancient polis¹⁶⁶, perhaps an early model of the American hotel, a 'prototype of the Roman forum', - did a better job¹⁶⁷. My earlier study explored, how unlike the elitist European Grand, the American hotel, irrespective of its size and location, was an inclusive social condenser with an extensive hinterland of knowledge and geographic representation¹⁶⁸. Each great city had its own 'palace', central to public life, capable of inviting in fleets of the city's carriages, accommodating libraries, banks and music rooms, and being a stage for the pivotal events of the Civil War.

Sandoval-Strausz remarks how the civic role of every large American Hotel was complimented by the 'dozens of middle and working class inns and lodgings', that conducted news, politics, goods, and the 'fully fleshed-out' human contact, intensified and liberated through hotels' transient and neutral roles, in comparison to politically charged urban institutions. The smaller hotels' success in mediating between metropolitan and vernacular was through their prominent position along travel routes, Appendix XXXIV, and lack of prejudiced entry considerations, common for the European perspective. English writers¹⁶⁹ note, how regardless of their occupation, identity¹⁷⁰ and financial circumstances, the public have used such hotels as an extension of the street, 'dropping in and out as the humour takes them'¹⁷¹.

These 19th century hotels were successful at conducting globalisation and representing the diversity of American society until their democratic function began to decline. In time the wealthier metropolitan establishments became socially hierarchised spaces of 'cultural production'¹⁷², their symbolism of entrepreneurial success transferred to the corporate skyscraper¹⁷³ and their base experienced an 'unlimited mutation', divorcing this important institution from its urban context¹⁷⁴. On the other side of the spectrum, the smaller lodgings turned into generic non-places driven by the nomadic culture of tourists and 'vagabonds'¹⁷⁵.

This section has presented typical contemporary West African hotels as insular vessels of globalisation. The ultimate aim of this thesis is to unlock the hotel's potential to stage more open exchange and integrate it into a developing urban area to enable a recursive relationship between the context and the intervention. From a theoretical perspective, this study benefits from Sennett's aspiration for democratic spaces defined by incomplete forms and porous borders. By quoting examples from my fieldwork, I have attempted to prove that

¹⁶⁶ Richard Sennett uses the Athenian semi-circular theatre as an example (Sennett, 2006).

¹⁶⁷ According to Lyons (1922), the closest classical analogy to the hotel lobby is the Roman Forum.

¹⁶⁸ Sandoval-Strausz.

¹⁶⁹ Gilbert Chesterton is surprised to see hotels used as 'public streets, or rather, public squares' (1922, pp. 23-24) whilst Anthony Trollope, his compatriot, also remarks that hotels were as open to the public 'as the street' (1951, pp. 482-83).

¹⁷⁰ J. Wharton, (2001, p.163) talks about the women's rights in hotels, whilst in Sandoval-Strausz's book (2007, pp. 284-311) hotels appear as an important backdrop to the African-American struggle for equality..

¹⁷¹ Charles Dickens, *American Notes : For General Circulation / Charles Dickens*, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Patricia Ingham. (London: London : Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 70-71.

¹⁷² Molly W. Berger, *Hotel Dreams : Luxury, Technology and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929 / Molly W. Berger*. (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, c2011., 2011), p. 244 - 245.

¹⁷³ To Berger (2011, p. 257) this change-over was signified by the Empire State building being built on purchased site of the 'venerable' but declined New York Astoria.

¹⁷⁴ Leonhard Clemens, 'Exit Parliament - The Hotel as a Political Institution' (unpublished Dissertation, Architectural Association School of Architecture, 2016); pp. 15 -16.

¹⁷⁵ Postmodern society where everyone and everything is 'on the move' is described by Baumann, chapters on 'Culture as Consumer Co-operative' and on 'Tourists and Vagabonds'.

such methods are applicable to this project's context, perhaps to a greater extent than its planners and developers realise. With my focus on hospitality, I have identified 13th century Venetian *fondacos* and 19 century American hotels as typological precedents for a more unconstrained urban involvement. This study's ambition is to translate the features of these examples into modern West African forms of openness, and the next sections are dedicated to the practical aspects of achieving this. Whether by becoming interspersed with the city, or by extending the city into its domain – through having a porous blurry boundary – the hotel needs to become an instrument of democratic relation.

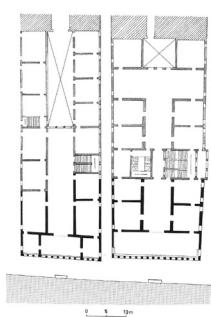
Appendix XXXIII. Medieval Venice: city as hotel



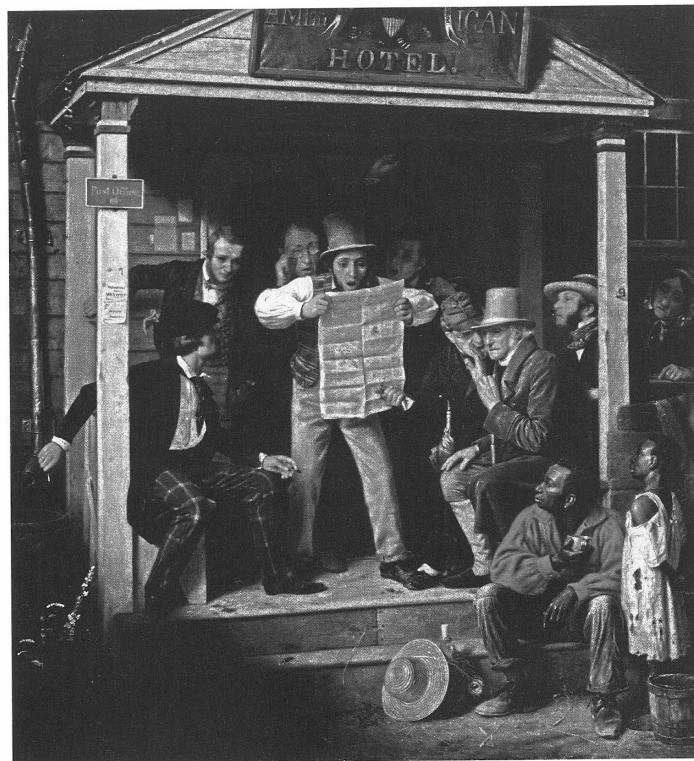
Venice at the time of Marco Polo, 15th century, Italy., Oxford. Bodleian library Oxford, Bodleian library



Venetian merchants' Palazzo, Early Byzantine period
Approximately thirteenth century
Images from Howard, 1980, pp. 38-41.



Appendix XXXIV. 19 century American hotel as a centre of public life



1. Nineteenth century American Hotel as a place for transferring information
Image: *War news from Mexico* by R. C. Woodville



American Grand hotel as the centre of metropolitan civilisation.

Image: Palace Hotel in San Francisco, 1879, found in Berger, 2011, p. 173.

3B: Socio-economic design:

Shared Value Capitalism, *Gemeinschaft* and Automation

This thesis is not on business and economics and its author is no expert in these fields. However, issues of grassroots entrepreneurship, real estate development, hospitality management and occidental capitalism have continuously sprung up during its research. This section describes this study's position with regard to these topics and how this translates into the proposal's operating principles.

During the colonial era, African economies were shaped around financial and social surplus extraction. Mabogunje and Cooper note that little of the generated surpluses was reinvested into the maintenance of the economic machine or into the well-being of the workers it relied upon. Having not adequately developed in most of the African nations¹⁷⁶, this capitalist method left behind an unresolved dichotomy between the capitalist and the pre-colonial management systems¹⁷⁷ which deteriorated African government's capacity to maintain sustainable formal employment during the military and economic eras in the late 20th century.

In support of this point Reid notes how due to the colonial interest in 'what Africans grew or dug up' but little in what they 'made', scarce post-independence opportunities for autonomous production catering for the vast populations have emerged¹⁷⁸. As Mabogunje notes, the unbalanced systems were inherited by the new African governments, who perpetuate the economic inequalities through surplus extraction¹⁷⁹. On the other hand, although no longer under colonial rule, the continent continues to be 'objectified by governments and other 'interested' bodies and agencies in the third world'¹⁸⁰. Described by Lawanson and Agunbiade¹⁸¹ and illustrated by last year's Exxon Mobil workers union strikes¹⁸², there is little interest on behalf of the international conglomerates in permitting local decision making or grassroots production economies¹⁸³. The current governments, increasingly in collaboration with international enterprises, continue benefitting from non-inclusive or exploitative economic systems, inherited from colonial capitalism, whilst ignoring incompatibility of these methods with the indigenous economies and the informal sectors¹⁸⁴.

My Pilot thesis reviewed an alternative approach to capitalism, outlined in 2011 by business researchers Porter and Kramer¹⁸⁵. The key difference in their 'Shared Value' model is the holistic view of the social and economic benefits an international or large-scale business can both enjoy and bring to communities at the remote corners of its map of operation. The features of this model include creation of local clusters; medical,

¹⁷⁶ South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and parts of North Africa are Mabogunje's only examples of countries, where colonialism was able to achieve an adequate level of capitalist transformation (1990, p. 122).

¹⁷⁷ *The Economist*'s (18 Dec. 2017) recent article reveals a greater trust in the pre-colonial authorities formed by African chiefs. Peil (1991, p. 60) also notes the role of patron-client relationships in Lagosian politics. Also Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 125 – 135.

¹⁷⁸ Richard J. Reid, *A History of Modern Africa: 1800 to the Present*, Concise History of the Modern World (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 197.

¹⁷⁹ Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 134 - 135.

¹⁸⁰ Reid, 2009, p. 198.

¹⁸¹ Lawanson and Agunbiade, 2017.

¹⁸² During my fieldwork I witnessed a series of conflicts between Nigeria's Exxon Mobil's staff and worker unions caused by job cuts decisions coming from the company's headquarters in Houston, US. Further information can be found in the article by Elisha Bala-Gbogbo, 20 May 17.

¹⁸³ According to Porter and Kramer, 2011, pp. 72-73, fostering the formation of local economic clusters is one of key ways to improve an international company's productivity whilst reducing the level of exploitation and creating shared value.

¹⁸⁴ Mabogunje, 1990, p. 134.

¹⁸⁵ Porter and Kramer, 2011, pp. 62-77.

infrastructural, educational or other advantages for the system's underprivileged participants; and opportunities for constructive feedback loops¹⁸⁶ between the top and bottom layers of the economic pyramid (Image 2 in Appendix XXXV). The benefits the authors outline, both for the company and the communities, are longer term economic profits and coherence of a company's and community's success. Whilst growing, a company's operation is a constructive catalyst for the economic growth of an ecosystem of settlements, communities and small scale entrepreneurial initiatives.

This study aims to identify ways for communities such as Ajah, described in Section 1C, to take advantage of the globalisation arriving in the Lekki region through infrastructural, construction and corporate initiatives. Within this emergent economic system of the region, the proposed hotel is seen as an integral component, at the same time responsive to the local community's interests and professional demands. In other words, whilst catering for the appetite of the region's business travellers' and companies appearing under the direction of the masterplan (Appendix VI), the proposal attempts to benefit local village' communities and the informally operating agents and enterprises that will build, staff and maintain the hotel¹⁸⁷.

As an entrepreneurial venture, this project views a specific community as the key stakeholder and accommodates participation of other regional villages and social groups. The 'One Tambon One Product'¹⁸⁸ programme in Thailand was intended to help the establishment and strengthening of community-based enterprises, particularly villages. In regions popular with tourists, such as Chiang Mai, the programme strove to introduce sector-related education, subcontracting of hotel services, food farming, production of handicrafts and hospitality goods¹⁸⁹. Although a decade into its operation, analytics noted the downsides of OTOP, such as the growth of prices and amounts of street litter, or authorities' passiveness towards the empowerment of entrepreneurs' economic self-sufficiency and aims for 'quantitative targets rather than genuine results', this study considers the initiative as a positive precedent model, since it did manage to build on rural social capital, improve the quality of life and respect indigenous forms of management¹⁹⁰.

This study aims to follow the Thai programme in pioneering hotel management as a form of participatory business. Whilst the community of Ajah will remain the key stakeholder in the project, the entrepreneurial focus will be on subcontracting laundry and catering services to local grassroots initiatives, offering hospitality training to the youth in surrounding settlements, and the production of the hotel's food, furniture and architecture through local means and human resources.

My 'Implementation essay' has previously outlined the construction of the hotel as an unpredictable kaleidoscope of materials, professionals, regulations, financial constraints and environmental risks, constantly reinventing its building process¹⁹¹. The opening of new industrial zones, the introduction of local building

¹⁸⁶ Acemoglu and Robinson, describe the virtuous circles emerging under the feedback loops between inclusive economic institutions and their systems' participants 2013, Section 4.

¹⁸⁷ Some of the mechanisms for involvement of local actors during the hotel's construction are outlined in my 'Implementation essay', Shtanov, 2017, section on mobilisation.

¹⁸⁸ Also referred to as OTOP.

¹⁸⁹ Kaoru Natsuda and others, 'One Village One Product – Rural Development Strategy in Asia: The Case of OTOP in Thailand', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue Canadienne D'études Du Développement*, 33.3 (2012), pp. 369–85 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2012.715082>>.

¹⁹⁰ Nara Huttasin, 'Perceived Social Impacts of Tourism by Residents in the OTOP Tourism Village, Thailand.', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 13.2 (2008), pp. 175–91, also pp. 381 - 82 by Natsuda et al., (2012).

¹⁹¹ Shtanov, 'Implementation Essay...', section 7 on Phase 2, construction

material production and the influx of working age populations were seen as advantages in terms of implementing the design in the spirit of participatory entrepreneurship and creation of local social value. In this respect, a collection of African projects *Bauen mit der Gemeinschaft*¹⁹² reveals some relevant case studies¹⁹³. Schools, research centres and public spaces were built using local materials by students and communities in direct collaboration with village and township management structures. Yet, the proposals are primarily designed by international architects and institutions, with construction costs covered by charity organisations, NGOs, and international partnerships¹⁹⁴ whilst being reduced through the volunteer work of students from European universities. This study aims to take the concept of *Bauen mit der Gemeinschaft* one step further by assisting the community in meeting the construction budget by contributing to a regional hospitality training programme and in subsequently self-managing the hotel as a business. The community council will therefore be the client and the key stakeholder of the project.

The business plan considers the hospitality school as a step towards the construction's funding and the hotel's subsequent self-sufficient operation. Besides, the school is viewed as a mechanism for synchronising Lekki with the demands of global hospitality, whilst empowering the local youth through education. The current state of hotel human resource in Nigeria is lacking in both quality and quantity: insufficient numbers of new staff lacking specialised skills and practical experience emerge from a few poorly maintained institutions¹⁹⁵. As a result, hotels are faced with investing into their own costly training schemes¹⁹⁶, whilst the managerial sector is perpetually dominated by non-African expatriates¹⁹⁷ who deprive the region from developing its own tradition of hotel management¹⁹⁸. Dignifying the process of staff training is a priority, where hotels are at the core of regional entrepreneurial success, yet parents 'don't like their daughters working in hotels'¹⁹⁹ due to the establishments' association with prostitution²⁰⁰ and 'shady businesses'²⁰¹, inherited from the decades of misuse of the state-owned hotels, noted in Part 2.

¹⁹² *Bauen mit der Gemeinschaft*: German for 'Building with the Community'.

¹⁹³ Andres Lepik, Sierra Bainbridge, and issuing body Technische Universität München. Architekturmuseum, *Afritecure : Bauen Mit Der Gemeinschaft* (Ostfildern : Hatje Cantz ; München : A.M., Architekturmuseum der TU München, 2013).

¹⁹⁴ Examples include Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, MCA Namibia in collaboration with Namibian Government, Orphan Angel Network and Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building Construction

¹⁹⁵ Belinda Nwosu and Trevor Ward, 'The Way Forward: Human Capital Development in the Hotel Industry in Nigeria', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 8.2 (2016), 235–40 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-11-2015-0049>>.

¹⁹⁶ In my interviews, the head of HR at Eko Hotel was particularly complacent about the difficulties of hiring foreign coaches and My interviews verified need for staff; difficulties with hotels and risks of newly qualified staff being 'pouched' to another hotel. <https://goo.gl/KPsnK9>

¹⁹⁷ Marco Cecchi and Belinda Nwosu, 'Human Capital Development: Perspectives of an Expatriate Hotel Manager in Africa', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 8.2 (2016), 207–10 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-11-2015-0048>>.

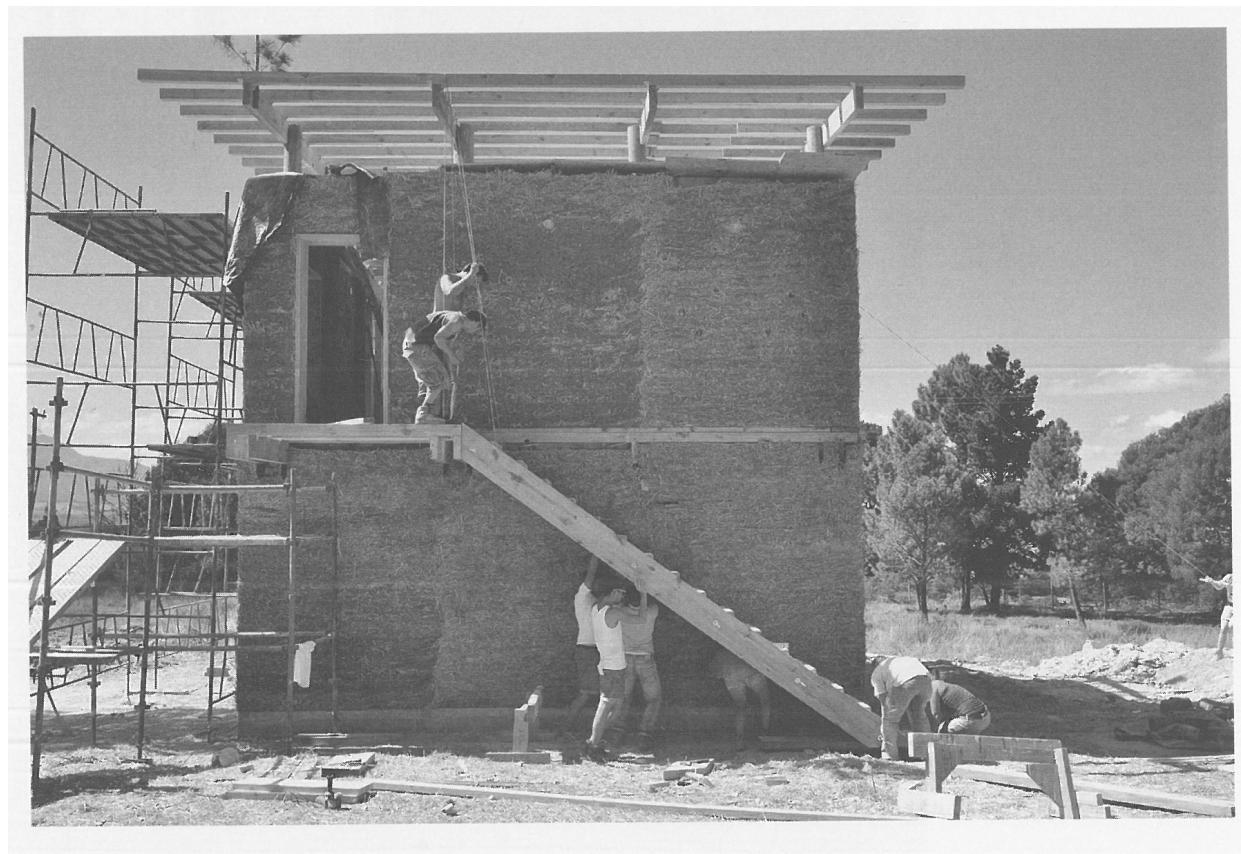
¹⁹⁸ Arike Taiwo and Trevor Ward, 'Recruitment Experiences in an International Hotel Chain in Nigeria', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 8.2 (2016), 211–15 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-10-2015-0043>>.

¹⁹⁹ From interview with Trevor Ward at 'W-Hospitality', <https://goo.gl/MFmafa>

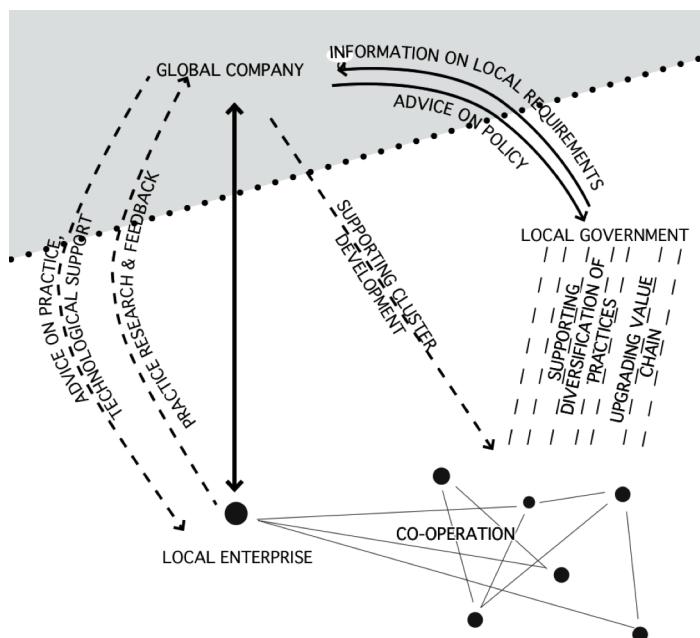
²⁰⁰ From books about Lagos: 'They [the prostitutes] pick up clients in hotels and bars or work from home.' (Peil, 1991, p. 91); 'The hotel was full of prostitutes, packed with them, and they were dressed in western attire.' (Atta, 2009, p. 251).

²⁰¹ Max Menkiti in interview with Trevor Ward, 'Keeping the Business Afloat: Entrepreneurship in the Small Independent Hotel Sector in Nigeria', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 8.2 (2016), 216–20 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-11-2015-0045>>.

Appendix XXXV. 'Bauen mit der Gemeinschaft' projects;
Shared value entrepreneurship diagram



1. Stuttgart University students volunteering at a community project in the Village of Hope, South Africa, 2011. Image from Lepik et al, 2013, p. 192.



2. Shared Value Capitalism principles diagram, drawn by author, based on Porter and Kramer, 2011.

The training hotel, a popular model for bridging the problematic gap between theory and practice²⁰², is a rare model in West Africa. This study follows the examples of the Edge Hotel School²⁰³ in Britain and Iroto School²⁰⁴ in Nigeria as a self sufficient enterprise run by an educational institution. An interview conducted at one of the world's forward looking hospitality schools at the Chinese University of Hong Kong revealed some useful lessons for this study²⁰⁵. The University uses the adjacent Hyatt Hotel as a training ground whilst remaining the owner of the establishment.

The loss of jobs through integration of robotics is a prominent debate in modern day hospitality management. Based on the 2017 McKinsey report, of all sectors, 'Accommodation and Food services' have the highest potential of automation by 2030. Although less than 45% of today's Nigerian labour is preoccupied with potentially 'automatable' activities²⁰⁶, the Africa Report²⁰⁷ notes the importance of being prepared for major shifts in employment, increasingly independent of the continent's assumed political and economic situations, yet more related to its fast-paced technological entrepreneurship²⁰⁸. The negative impact of robots in hospitality depends on the industry's capacity to invent new tasks for the application of human creativity whilst machines are taking over the routine work²⁰⁹. A model proposed by Acemoglu and Autor confirms the possibility of balance between the loss of old jobs and provision of new ones²¹⁰. This is an incentive for the intervention to be a research focused institution, attuned to the global paradigm shifts in hospitality.

This section has reviewed the socio-economic intention of this thesis. The study aims to avoid the hotel getting entangled with the extractive economics inherited from African colonialism and is seeking to make an effective intervention for Lekki's grassroots communities, inclusive towards participatory entrepreneurship. In this respect, attention is dedicated to the creation of local circles of employment, production and knowledge-sharing throughout the construction and operation stages of the combined hotel and training facility. The latter is an intrinsic part of the intervention's business plan (Appendix XXXVII), yet also a way to preserve the dignity, intricacy and grounding in local hospitality culture, whilst responding to world-wide innovation in the industry. As indicated in the essay's introduction, this study strives to develop a prototype applicable to multiple locations. An educational village-managed hotel is only one of several potential ways of demonstrating how - through architectural intervention - local entrepreneurship can influence the quality of life or trigger urban regeneration process.

²⁰² Hospitality students from poor families take a while to become accustomed to standards expected by the guests. Yet, when their appreciation is raised they bring positive change to the environment of their own homes and villages: as noted by director of the Lagoon Institute in Lekki <https://goo.gl/d68M2a>. Some hotels, like the George in Ikoyi, are particularly concerned with the home conditions of their staff and have boarding houses where the staff sleep and shower before their work shifts.

²⁰³ Edge – a school running an operational hotel attached to the University of Essex, UK; www.edgehortschool.ac.uk

²⁰⁴ The girls-only Iroto school operates a hotel and a religiously-oriented conference venue in Ogun State, Nigeria, visited by me as described in my blog post, <https://goo.gl/d68M2a> or at <http://opusdei.ng/eng/article/iroto-rural-development-centre/>.

²⁰⁵ Interview documented in the blog post: <https://goo.gl/Uzx8a1>

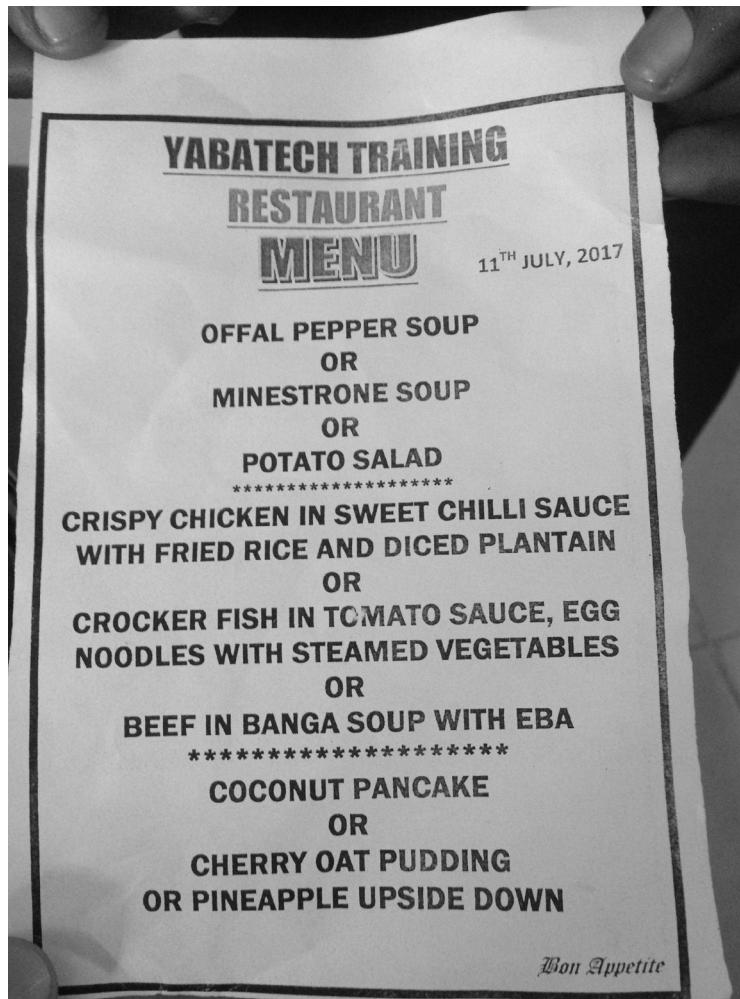
²⁰⁶ McKinsey Global Institute, *A Future That Works: Automation, Employment, and Productivity*, January 2017, pp. 7–9.

²⁰⁷ Bright Simons, 'Artificial Intelligence Hits African Companies', *The Africa Report*, 16 March 2017.

²⁰⁸ Victor Du Boucher Ecosystem Accelerator, 'A Few Things We Learned about Tech Hubs in Africa and Asia', GSMA <<http://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/programme/ecosystem-accelerator/things-learned-tech-hubs-africa-asia>> [accessed 16 March 2017].

²⁰⁹ Institutions at the forefront of hospitality research argue in favour of this shift: based on my interview at the Hospitality School at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, blog post: <https://goo.gl/Uzx8a1>

²¹⁰ Conclusion chapter in Acemoglu and Autor, 2010.



1. Lunch menu at the training restaurant at the state-ran hospitality school in Yaba Institute of Technology (Yaba Tech), Lagos, photo by author



2. Students of the state-ran Hospitality School at Yaba Tech prepare to serve lunch at their training restaurant, photo by author

	INITIAL POSITION	SWOT ANALYSIS	PESTEL ANALYSIS
Idea The project pioneers a participatory architectural and social entrepreneurship model to assist the community of Ajah, Lekki, Nigeria, in setting up a small hotel and running a hospitality school to maintain it.	Clientele The small hotel will cover the niche segment of upper end business travellers to the region, who have a particular interest in West African village culture. Some of the guests would come for the purpose of tourism, given the recreational potential of the Lagoon front, as revealed by Uduma-Olugu ^a .	Strengths W Hospitality, West African leading consultancy in the sector, endorsed the prospect of the attached hotel school. Whilst responding to the lack of trained staff at existing hotels and dilapidated condition of the state-ran hospitality institutions ^f , the new school will improve the home conditions of its students coming from underprivileged backgrounds.	Political Next step of implementation would involve a 2 to 3 week long trip to Nigeria to finalise the contact points for local collaboration. Starting in September 2018 the country will begin its presidential election primaries. This would require an elevated state of alertness and possibly cause protests or violence in cities. The elections themselves, held in February 2019, could result in changes to Lekki's urbanisation strategies.
Site With the arrival of the Free Economic Zone on one side and growth of Lagos on the other, Lekki is an progressively prominent place for African business and politics. The site belonging to Ajah community is central to the concentration of growing business activity, being close to a new mixed use/office area, Lekki Phase 1 and the proposed Fourth Mainland bridge.	Unique features Set against generic western-inspired developments of Lekki, centuries-old Ajah community has the potential to become the area's upcoming cultural centre. The chosen site is in the immediate proximity of the Ajah village whilst also overlooking the Lagos Lagoon with its unique natural settings.	Weaknesses The project is a significant intervention in an economy with many unknowns. Having suffered from the oil prices drop in 2015 - 2017, the Nigerian economy is recovering, yet the growth prospect is unclear. This study speculates on the future progress of at least some of the region's current ambitious projects listed under 'Site'. W Hospitality Group also notes issues with catering and meeting facilities sizes in phased hotel projects. Land tax depreciation values in Lekki are currently unknown and cannot be prognosed with accuracy.	Economic None of the financial sponsors are yet definitively on board. Whilst some of the investment will come in unstable Naira, the hotel's construction and operation will be dependant on goods and technologies from abroad. Progress with other projects in the area is subject to politics and to economic prospects in neighbouring countries.
		Opportunities Ajah community will remain the long term benefactor from their prominently located ancestral site, rather than selling it off to developers. The project offers a chance to test participatory entrepreneurship approach and innovative building techniques using local materials in collaboration with Architecture Research Unit at the Catholic University of Guayaquil, Ecuador ^g . Low salaries in Nigeria (see running costs) make foreign academic funding a substantial figure, by local standards.	Social factors hardly influence the project. The local population is very young. This results in a stimulating competition for places at hospitality school and potentially improves the hotel service quality.
			Technological Building the initial phase represents a challenge, given the backwards state of the construction industry and the resulting level of risks involved for the lead architect and contractor.
		Threats At times during my fieldwork, the local community leaders were noticed to change their mind and be unreliable, unpredictable or unreachable in collaboration.	Environmental . The project is on a swampy site, subject to environmental and flooding threads as well as long term water level rises discussed in Section 3C. Legal Dynamic and ambiguous boundary between National government-owned Lagoon water and state owned (excised to Ajah) land passes through the site.

^a Uduma-Olugu, Nnezi, 2014, 73–93.

^b The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Peter Ferretto is experienced with successful funding applications for projects outside of Hong Kong. <http://www.arch.cuhk.edu.hk/person/ferretto-peter/>

	COMPETITION		FINANCE: PRINCIPLE		
	<p>Despite the increase in the amount of office space, the existing hotels in Lekki have not yet re-oriented themselves towards the needs of business visitors, such as meeting and conference facilities. According to Hotels.ng, there are currently 203 hotels in Lekki, primarily small scale guest houses converted from family housing. In the site's vicinity, only the mid-range L'Avalon constitutes a considerable competitor.</p>		<p>PHASE 1</p> <p>Prototype</p> <p>Research Grants Council of Hong Kong</p>	<p>PHASE 2</p> <p>Hotel</p> <p>Nigerian Bank of Industry</p>	<p>PHASE 3</p> <p>Hospitality School</p> <p>Nigerian Association of Hotels</p>

Average construction cost, including finishes: 150 kN/sqm (£300)^c. Areas measured of design drawings as of 11.03.2017. **Monthly salaries:** managerial staff: £1440. Non-managerial staff: £144^d.

Significant sums of academic funding are available in Hong Kong for architectural prototype testing . Professor Peter Ferretto at CUHK ^b , interested in the project, agreed to conduct the funding application process, once the business plan is finalised with community's input.	Ajah Community pot currently has a limited resource generated from incomes of community's individual families. With the prospect of hotel growth, the pot is expected to have a closer relationship with the hotel's financial affairs.	Nigerian Bank of Industry has been recommended as a resource and is being reached through a local contact. Partnering with the bank is subject to a successful prototype test.	The prospect of involving Nigerian Association of Hotels was discussed with Tourism Industry Officials and the management of Eko Hotel, the country's largest. The feasibility of other hotels supporting a new staff school is subject to a successful prototype test.
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FINANCIAL CALCULATION			Phase 2: Hotel			Phase 3: Hotel and school		
£10,000	Initial investment	£1.5M	Initial investment	25 rooms, 5 managerial staff, 30 other staff	average rate £50/night ^e	£2.7M	Initial investment	100 rooms, 10 managerial staff, 20 other staff + students
75% occupancy Best	50% occupancy Medium	25% occupancy Worst	75% occupancy Best	50% occupancy Medium	25% occupancy Worst	75% occupancy Best	50% occupancy Medium	25% occupancy Worst
£21,900	£14,600	£7,300	£684k	£456k	£228k	£1369k	£913k	£456k
1 half time manager and 2 x full time staff £7781	1 quarter time manager and 2 x half time staff £5,190	1 quarter time manager and 1 x half time staff £3,027	£75k	£50k	£25k	£150k	£100k	£50k
£10,000	£7,500	£5,000	All staff full time £139k	All staff full time £139k	All staff full time £139k	All staff full time £207k	All staff full time £207k	All staff full time £207k
£4119 41%	£1910 19%	- £727 -7.2%	£125k	£100k	£90k	£300k	£250k	£200k
			£495k 72%	£267k 58%	£24k 11%	£1000k %73	£556k %61	£99k %21
			break even 3 YR	break even 5.6 YR	break even 62 YR	break even 2.7 YR	break even 5 YR	break even 27 YR

^cDuring fieldwork I repeatedly interviewed Tony and used him as an example of a modern Master builder in my implementation essay. Visit to Tony's site is documented in the blog post: <https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/05/19/hotel-building-site-in-yaba/>

^dSalaries taken according to consultation with W Hospitality Lagos. Average between expat and local manager's salaries is taken.

^eFor the purpose of this thesis, all figures are converted into Pound Sterling.

^fAged training facilities at Yaba-tech, Lagos's major public hospitality institution, are far from the standard expected by the city's prominent hotels. My visit to Yaba Tech is documented in a blog post: <https://goo.gl/q16PXm>

^gAlex Liu Cheng and Filiberto Viteri at CUG research unit have contacted me with a proposal for testing automated material manufacturing in Nigeria.

3C Physical Design: Lagoon gods, hybridisation and Fo Tan.

The social and entrepreneurial ambitions for this thesis need to be discussed alongside the real-world factors of Nigerian hospitality and construction. This section looks beyond the theoretical notions of 'open' and 'adaptive', to the practical and material strategies that articulate my thesis. In particular, it investigates the design's physical forms and their materiality, its environmental approach to the distinctive Lagosian climate and Lekki's fluid typography, as well as its functional capabilities in the long run.

The aim of identifying a strategy to reduce the project's dependency on external factors emerged from my early conversations with West African hotel managers and architects²¹¹. In comparison with hotels in the Global North, those in West Africa take four times longer to build, are exponentially more difficult to maintain and require double the amount of space, in terms of the back of house areas, caused by unpredictable waste collection and electricity supply²¹². This is particularly important with most hotels being fully reliant on air conditioning. This thesis, in conjunction with my earlier 'Implementation essay'²¹³ investigates ways to make the intervention environmentally efficient, non-reliant on faulty infrastructure and foreign goods, and built by means accessible in Nigeria at present and in the near future.

Appendix XXXIX illustrates a series of findings about Lagos's climate²¹⁴. The data reveals consistent South-westerly wind, and high temperature and humidity throughout the day and year. Moreover, the sun has a variable intensity depending on the season and shines directly from above during most daytime hours and at oblique eastern and western angles during evenings and mornings. The data confirms the guidance written by Vaughan-Richards, Lagos's prominent pioneer of natural ventilation, who argued in favour of 'large volumes of air' being in constant contact with human skin and warned about strong eastern and western sun radiation²¹⁵. Taking this on board, I developed a set of principles of sun shading and distributing wind captured by scoops, as shown in Appendices XXXIX and XLI (Image 2). The lack of thermal mass in the model's material composition reflects the absence of significant nightly temperature drops.

The capricious gods and goddesses of Lagos waters were dutifully propitiated by the site's early settlers²¹⁶. Section 1C revealed the more demanding and at times precarious approaches by modern day public-private enterprises in trying to rigidify a dynamic marshy environment, which have stimulated important design considerations for the present study. Based on Obiefuna's model, Lekki peninsula, with its general elevation of 2 to 4 m and coastal zones typically below 2 m²¹⁷, is subject to a 0.75 – 0.9 m rise in water levels by 2100, and at risk of 3 – 5 m ocean surges²¹⁸. Conversation with Buro Happold engineers in Hong Kong, in combination with Vaughan Richards' guidance on dealing with the 'poor ground'²¹⁹, indicate a need for pile foundations and

²¹¹ In particular, I am referring to conversations with architects at TP Bennett (London), Design Group Nigeria, Lagos, and a hotel manager in Ghana

²¹² Noted in the interview with Design Team Nigeria, architects of Lagos's Intercontinental Hotel. Please see my blog post under: <https://goo.gl/kWVN6b>

²¹³ Shtanov, 'Implementation Essay', 2017, section on Innovation.

²¹⁴ Some of the data is from as early as 2005, however Prof. Alan Short from Cambridge University assured me it is still accurate enough to cater for this project's scope.

²¹⁵ Akinsemoyin and Vaughan Richards, section on Lagos after Independence.

²¹⁶ Akinsemoyin and Vaughan Richards, section on early settlers.

²¹⁷ Above sea level.

²¹⁸ Obiefuna, 2015, sections 5.8 - 6.2.

²¹⁹ Akinsemoyin and Vaughan Richards, section on Post-independence and construction techniques.

Appendix XXXVIII. Hybridisation and the future African city

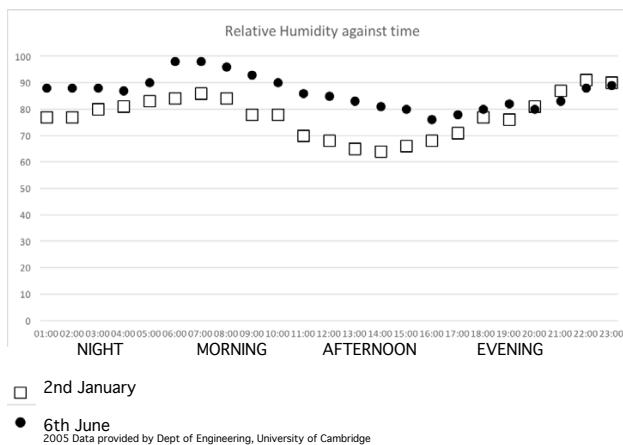


'Kinshasa of the Third Millennium': Artwork by Bodys Isek Kingelez, Democratic Republic of Congo
Image from Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 2015, p. 233.

Appendix XXXIX. Lagos Climate data

Based on data provided by University of Cambridge Engineering department.

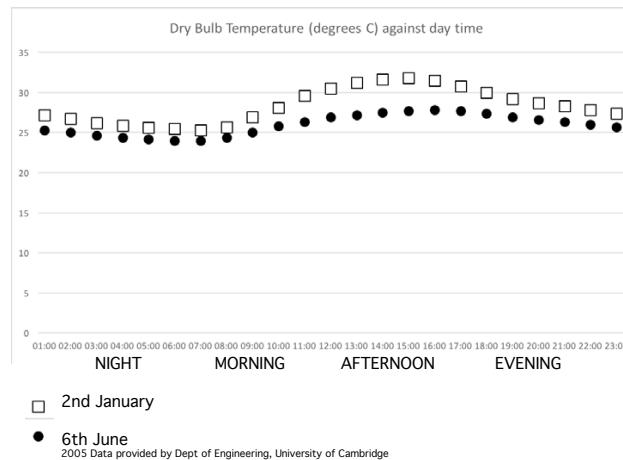
TEMPERATURE & VENTILATION



HIGH RELATIVE HUMIDITY
THROUGHOUT DAY & YEAR



NEED FOR CONTINIOUS COOL
BREEZE IN BUILDINGS

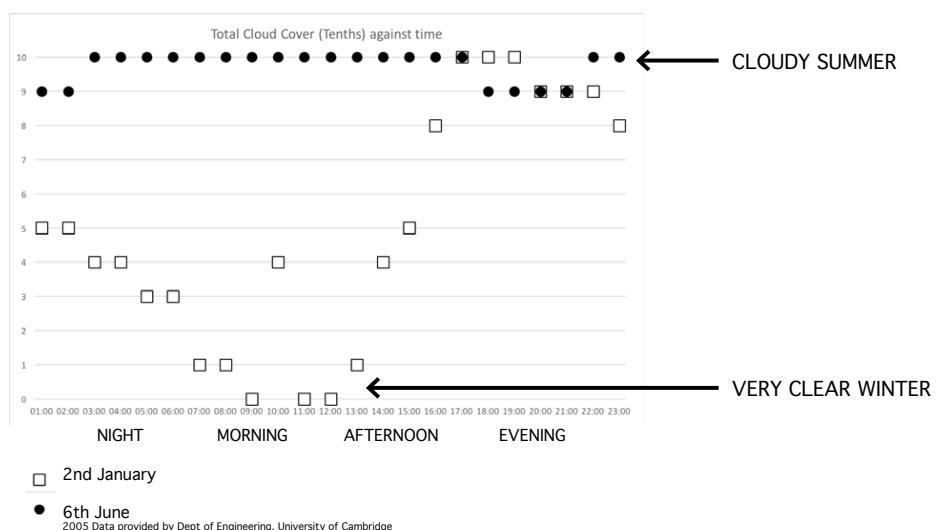


HIGH TEMPERATURE
THROUGHOUT DAY & YEAR

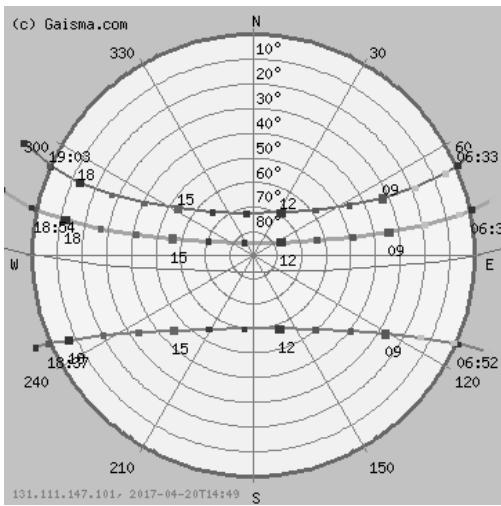


NO NEED FOR THERMAL MASS
DUE TO ABSENT NIGHT TIME
TEMPERATURE DROPS

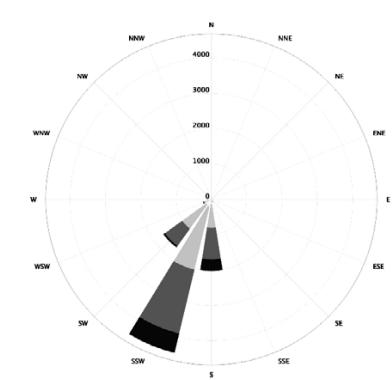
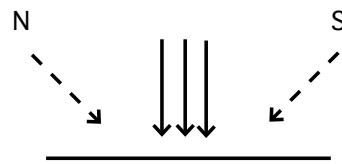
SUNLIGHT & CLOUDINESS



SUNLIGHT & CLOUDYNESS



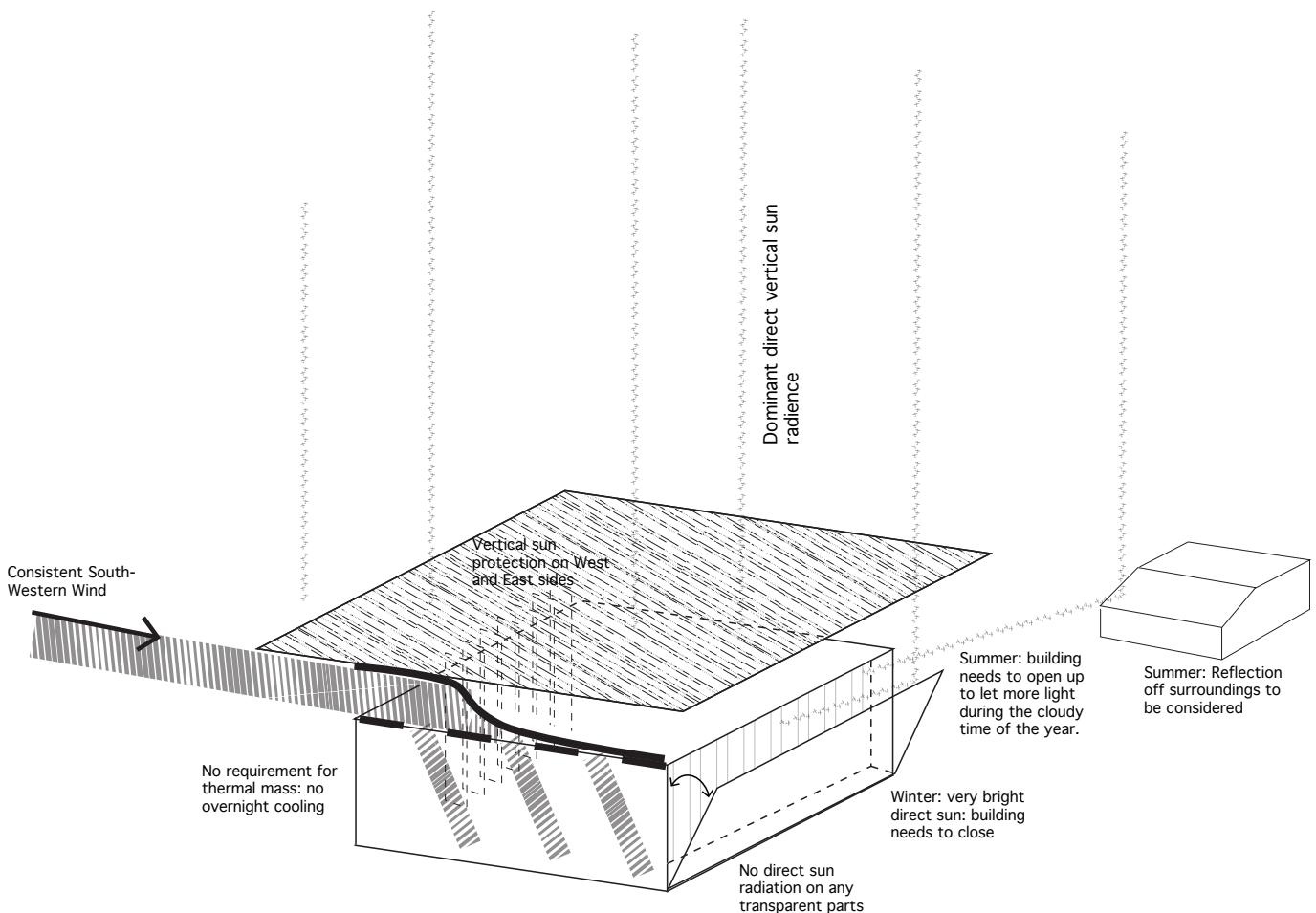
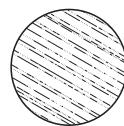
Most of the time sun is shining from above and at certain times it can be from both East and West
Image from Gaisma.com



CONSISTENT SOUTHWESTERNLY WIND
USUALLY STRONG

CLIMATE RESPONSE PRINCIPLES

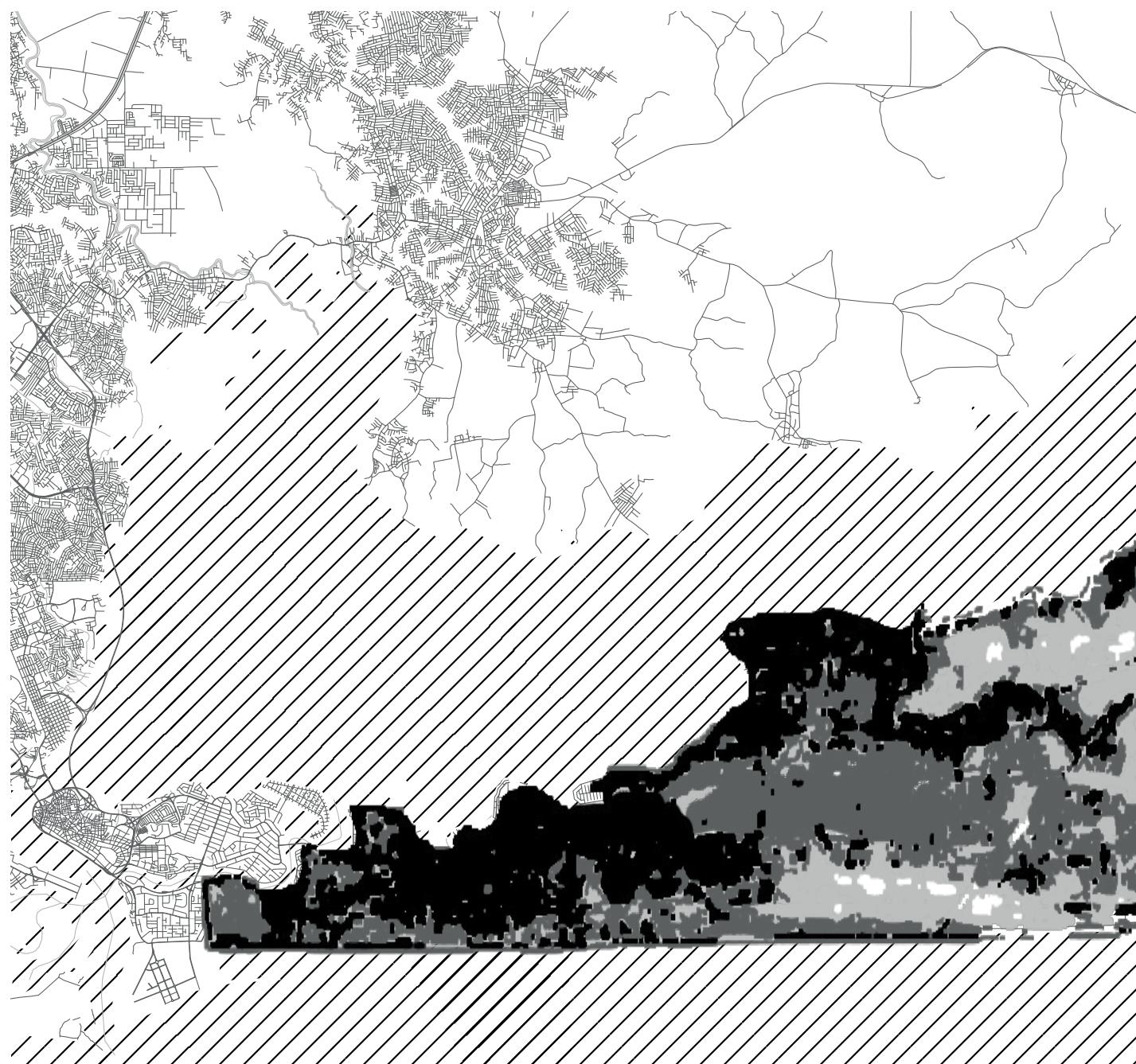
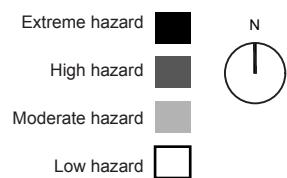
Diagram by author, March 2017

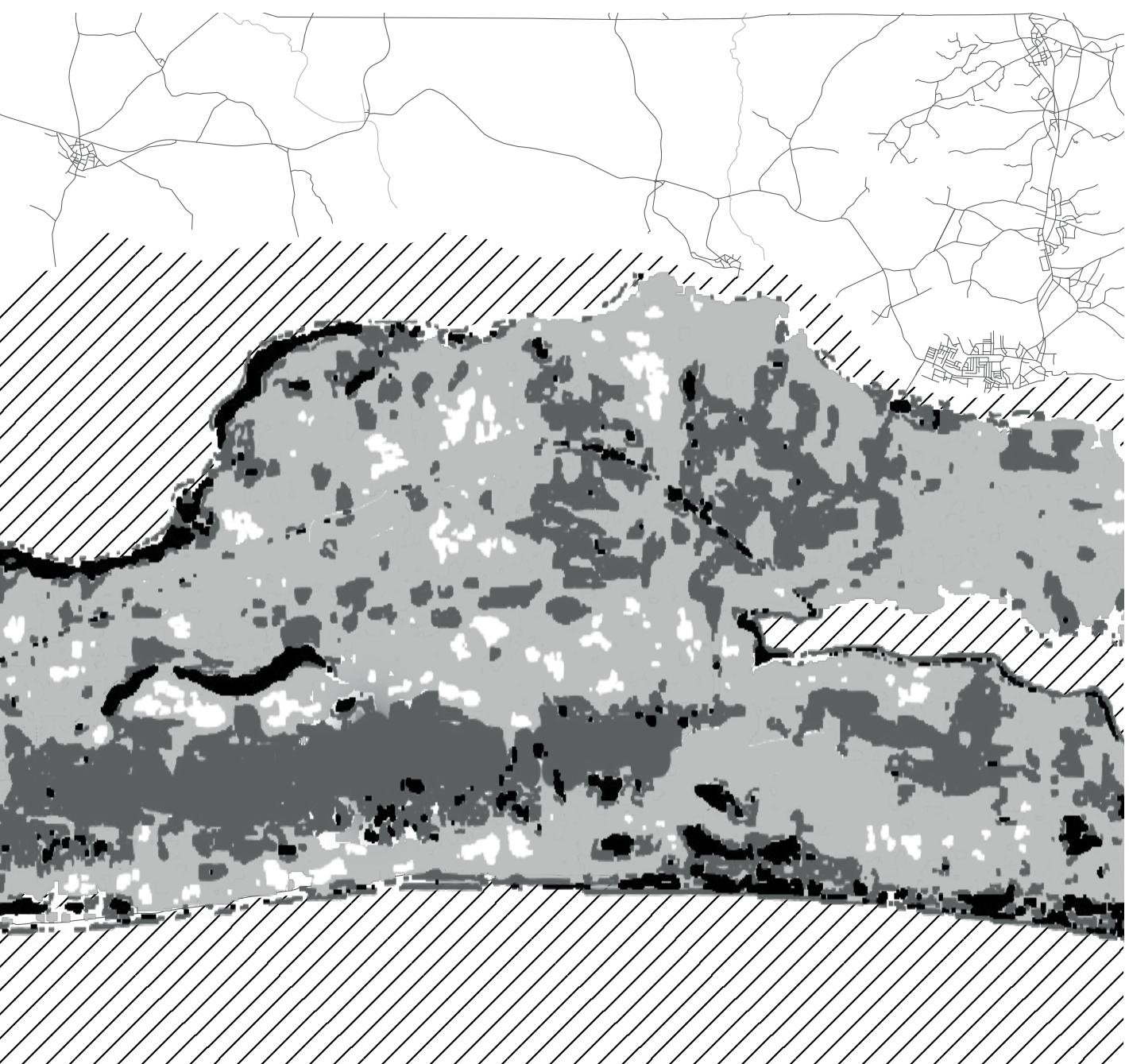


Appendix XL. Lekki Flood Risk Map

NTS, Drawn based on Obiefuna and Nnezi, 2017

Flood risk is subject to both the height of the terrain and the quality of flood level management in a particular area.





for concrete-cast sacrificial lower parts of the scheme. The topographic flood risk map of Lekki is depicted in Appendix XL.

The scheme's man-made deck (Appendix XLI, Image 5), raised to protect it from potential environmental insurgences, is a porous social threshold, infrastructural conductor and a time-proofing feature. Whilst the proposal carries aspirations for a finite building lifespan, it is beyond its scope to predict the longer term uses the local communities will apply to it, given the turbulent history of unfulfilled planning dreams, discussed in section 1A, and West Africa's own trajectories of modernity, explored in 1C: 'significations, materializations, and temporalities—perpetually contested, hard to pin down, historically labile'²²⁰. This thesis considers it a viable possibility that the hotel and hospitality school will reach their end of use through dismantling, biodegradability²²¹ or seizure, whilst the permanent deck will fall under inhabitation and adaptation by the Ajah community, displaced by floods or driven to operate on a solid platform. In this respect, the deck's essential role is in transporting water and electricity for the proposed programme and surrounding settlements, enabled through rainwater harvesting and anaerobic digestion²²² of the hotel's and village's compost.

This thesis views the hotel as a vehicle of globalisation. As an intercultural form containing strangers, spontaneities and things in motion²²³, the proposed hotel stands against the complex form of Lekki, inhabited by sand-filling trucks, Christian preachers, cassava bundles, AK47s, parasitic flatworms²²⁴, Whatsapp messages, cigar-smoking officials and other forms and agents, picked out from today's scene and subject to tomorrow's step of socio-environmental evolution. My earlier essay on 'Hotel in the City' reflected on Appadurai's choice between superficial hybridisation and coexistence in tension, in the process of bringing new forms into larger existing ones²²⁵. This study, which follows a series of post-fieldwork design experiments, presents my own approach to 'combining the native and the alien, the traditional and the foreign, into something new and beautiful', an approach to 'self-conscious' African modernity that appears in cultural theory as early as in 1939²²⁶.

According to my section 1B, the region of Lekki is emerging as an eclectic juxtaposition of local and imported themes of various levels of authenticity. Unlike the raw 'mutations' observed by Rem Koolhaas on Lagos Mainland²²⁷, the components of this study's site context follow unhindered cross-cultural trajectories of hybridisation and syncretism, interlinked across porous borders: an issue criticised by Arjun Appadurai. My earlier 'Implementation study' attempted to take a stance in combining local and global through innovation: the project benefits from ongoing diversification of Nigerian construction through government and foreign initiatives across Lagos state, whilst making use of technological progress in the surrounding countries,

²²⁰ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, 'Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa', *Anthropological Forum*, 22.2 (2012), p. 116 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.694169>>.

²²¹ It is intended to make the hotel school and

²²² Power generation through pressurised gas created by bacteria feeding on organic waste products.

²²³ As transient non-places (Katz, 2011, p. 148), hotels offer information about their users inscribed in the physical objects and settings. According to Appadurai (2013, p. 11), it is often the 'things in motion' that 'illuminate their human and social context', rather than the human actors that tell us about the physical scene.

²²⁴ NHS doctors and Nigerian housewives warned me about Schistosomiasis, a parasite that may enter one's body directly through the pores of undamaged skin during contact with water from the Lagoon, drains or puddles.

²²⁵ Shtanov, 'Hotel and the City...', 2017, section 5, in reference to Appadurai (2013, pp. 66 – 69).

²²⁶ Comaroffs (2012, p. 118) use Dhlomo's quote originating from 1939, mentioned in 'Why Study Tribal Dramatic Forms?', *English in Africa*, 4.2 (1977), p. 37.

²²⁷ Koolhaas, *Mutations / Rem Koolhaas ... [et Al.]*, 2000, pp. 652 – 714.

particularly in Ghana²²⁸. A more recent period of design investigations attempted to materialise the project through models.

Physical models have been a key instrument to finding the design language. From the start, models were being used to deconstruct the metabolisms of the given and proposed aspects of the project: climate, street condition, social approach, phasing strategy, environmental impermanence, fluid business plan (Appendix XLI). Most of the models up to the present have been made with second hand materials found in the industrial area of Fo Tan, Hong Kong, a place with undecided identity at the crossroads of global flows of forms²²⁹. The model components' irregular nature, markings and histories have led to accidents and discoveries that influenced design decisions. In the process of making I developed a recursive relationship with the model, whereby my intentions of setting rules and parameters were followed by new opportunities to corrupt, contextualise and bring them into the messy reality, whilst through the use of photography, I learnt to work with dynamic processes, rather than static representations. Once I found ways of modelling the scheme's core aspects in time, the object became the project: the initial condition, the design development and the finalised proposal.

²²⁸ M Shtanov, 'Implementation Essay', 2017, section on Innovation.

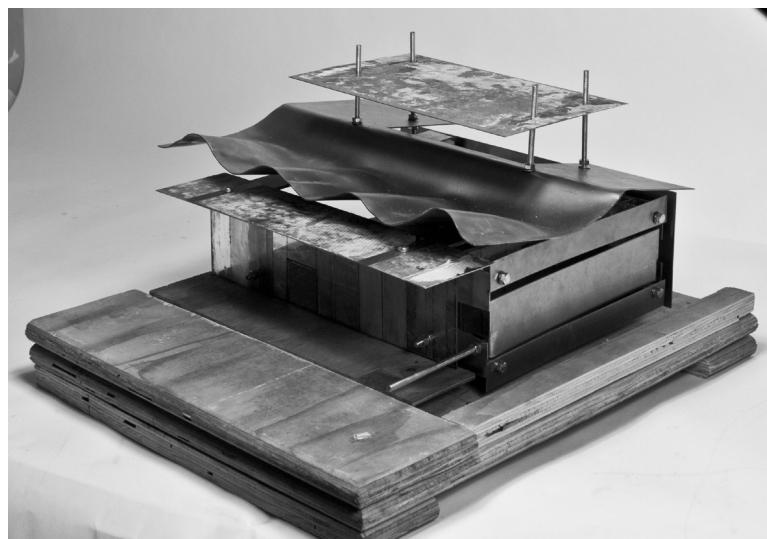
²²⁹ I make some observations on Hong Kong's 'confused' internationalism in the blog post about the city: <https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2018/03/17/leaving-the-city-without-ground/>.

Appendix XLI. Model images

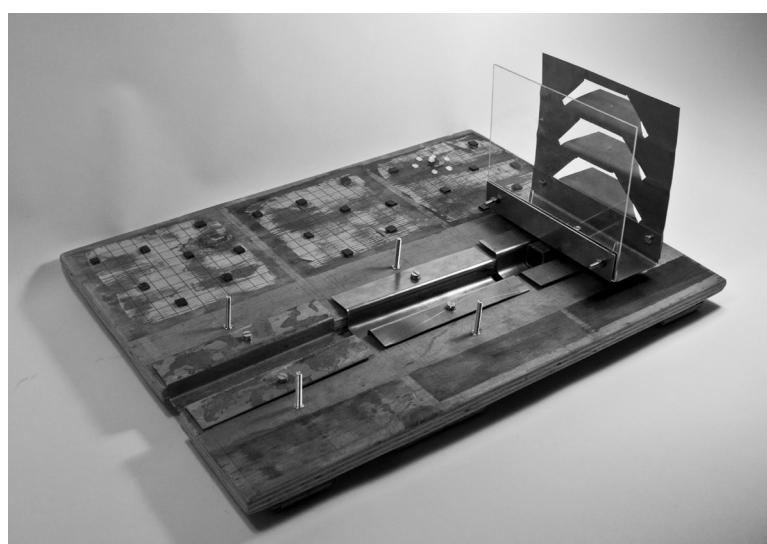
Models from mild steel, threaded rods, plywood, foam and plastics.
All models and images by author.



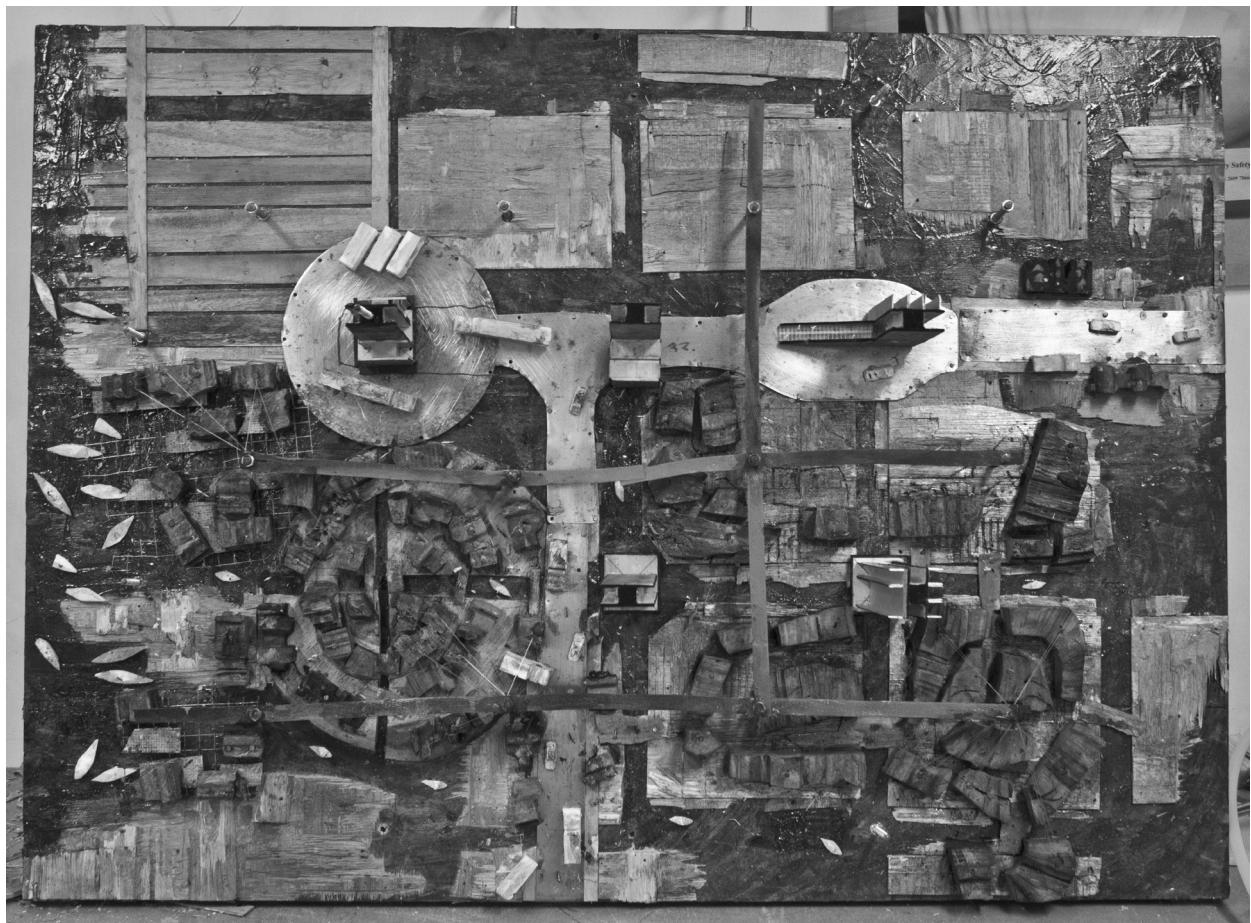
1. Site condition and ownership



2. Climate response



3. Business plan



4 and 5. Self-developing master plan, test model, 1:200

Conclusion

Part 1 of this essay introduced growth in today's West African city as an organic process influenced by global and local forces. Section 1A provided a historic background to unsuccessful planning aspirations that have shaped West African cities. Typically based on imported ideas, these projects failed to acknowledge the vast numbers of groups and individuals in the shadow of formalised capitalist order, who resist the Grand projects or ruthlessly exploit them, unconsciously reconnecting to their pre-colonial history²³⁰. In 1A I began to introduce the site context, whilst acknowledging the importance of the two urban forces, one from below and within, and one from above and outside, in the generation of the West African urban context, and the disparity that exists there between aspirations and on-the-ground realities.

Section 1B revealed Lekki as an agglomeration of highly diverse conurbations influenced by foreign interests, state-wide agendas and microscale distribution of professional opportunities. Section 1B noted the socially and economically productive potential of the thresholds between Lekki's different zones and argued in favour of new mediating interventions at critical points of these thresholds. Finally, 1C introduced the project site, having considered the temporal conditions associated with Lekki's public/private-led developments, long lasting community-bound villages and short-lived informal clusters. Whilst different in their management structure, scale and physical configurations, all of the three categories, the permanent, the temporary, and the ephemeral, are interrelated and further bound by the barrier island's dynamic ground condition. In acknowledging the fluidity of Lekki and its actors, this study operates on the border between the three temporal categories as well as on the blurred physical intersection of land and water.

Part 2 followed the evolution of the West African hotel through the twentieth century. The resulting modern day model was presented as obsolete. As contained pockets of globalization, the hotels act as instruments of rigorous control whilst representing little of the local population's values. Whilst impeding its visitors and the surrounding city from interaction, the deterritorialising and ostentatious physical configuration of the hotel supports the city's perception of itself as improper and defected.

The final part of the text presented alternative methods of conceiving a hotel as a regeneration instrument for the chosen site. These ranged from the objective of creating a democratic urban form, open, adaptive to change and engaged with its surroundings, as the 19th century American hotels did in their own way, through to strategies for arriving at the environmental, infrastructural, temporal and aesthetic configuration for the proposed architecture. These methods were derived from climate data, Appadurai's theories, and design experiments completed in Lagos, Hong Kong and Cambridge. The study searched for a new hotel prototype which would unlock and amplify the activities 'locked' inside the establishment and enable the global to work with the local. As an intervention conducting infrastructure, ideas and people, a hotel is seen an initial seed for wider change around it. This thesis sets a task for the design project to test whether a hotel can act as a starting phase and a reference framework for a community-driven self-developed master plan.

This essay explored two key themes: the importance of time in architecture and planning, and entrepreneurship through grassroots globalisation. Having reviewed the issues with uncompromising previous and current masterplans, temporal trajectories governing different areas, and the recursive fluidity of the city and its

²³⁰ Fassil Demissie, *Postcolonial African Cities: Imperial Legacies and Postcolonial Predicaments* (London: Routledge, 2007) chapter on 'Colonial Categories'.

citizens, it also noted the capricious natural environment which is addressed differently by developers, authorities, ephemeral and permanent local communities. As such, phasing will be core to the project's design and management strategies, whilst deconstructability, degradability and re-adaptation will be integral to the physical composition of the scheme.

In his essay on 'Grassroots Globalisation' Appadurai points to the knowledge and research gap between 'Globalisation from above' and 'Globalisation from below'²³¹. With regards to West African cities, the former is manifested in the policies, masterplans, control and management mechanisms, passed down from high administrative circles and from outside of the geographical domains in question. The resulting built developments, regulations, infrastructures and amenities are met by the affected majorities through resistance or illicit exploitation, using pre-colonial ways of informal negotiation and appropriation, or newly unfolding means of transportation, weapons, NGO support, social media, mobile and computer technologies. The emerging situations, sometimes 'uncomfortably complicit', sometimes 'violent', impede the convergence of the global and local interests. Through the lack of top-down and bottom-up communication, globalisation is producing ever more divergent physical and temporal environments, in close proximity to one another, as currently in Lekki.

Mediating is a key theme of this thesis. Without rejecting the ambitions of the global state-capital nexus or their grassroots resonances, the study strives to find ways for the informal and indigenous groups and actors of Lekki to influence and benefit from the regional masterplan. The proposed intervention is therefore aimed at oscillating between the needs of the local and global participants and their respective temporal trajectories, in forming a productive boundary condition, amplified and intensified through architecture and infrastructure. The chosen hotel typology, discussed in Part 2, will overarch the needs of the aforementioned groups and respond to the region's social, physical, economic and environmental fluidity through an adaptive phasing strategy governed by a time-related business plan (Appendix XXXVII).

As the global economy surpasses the authority of a national government²³², the West African city re-orientates itself towards a new set of influences. Having previously catered for the economic desires of European nations or African autocrats, the populations of regions discussed in this thesis now play a role in a bigger game. A new growing force stirs up flows of labour and capital through the economic and jurisdictional classification of urban zones, institutionalises rights of international firms and religious organisations; mass-produces appealing images of modernity through technology; and constructs new urban realities through masterplans, street layouts, building typologies and furniture designs. Whilst greatly influencing the West African city, this force provides it with the means to transcend the misleading stigma of being at 'the world's peripheries'²³³, to synchronise its temporal trajectories with global time – '*le temps du monde*'²³⁴, and to host the dialogue between its local agencies and the post-modern rootless nomads of the *Hotel Hades*²³⁵. As in Mumford's

²³¹ Arjun Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination', *Public Culture*, 12.1 (2000), pp. 15 - 17.

²³² Saskia Sassen, 'Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization', *Public Culture*, 12.1 (2000), pp. 229 -228, <<https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-1-215>>.

²³³ J.-A. Mbembé and Steven Rendall, 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa', *Public Culture*, 12.1 (2000), 259–84.

²³⁴ Mbembé and Rendall, 2000, pp. 259-260, refer to Fernand Braudel in distinguishing between 'temporalities of long and very long duration' to highlight how some regions remain 'alien' to the world's temporal order.

²³⁵ V. d. Herk in Arapoglou, 2013, pp. 139 - 150, describes the world of hotels as a rootless enclave for the displaced and otherworldly lifestyles.

*Hellenic Polis*²³⁶, the city and the citizen have the opportunity to become 'one', as the former is progressively becoming a heterotopic transnational cyberspace, beyond confined physical limits²³⁷.

This study chose a business approach as a catalyst for this transition. By exploiting urban boundaries, ruthlessly re-appropriating global ways and means, and using the semi-formal status of a hotel, my work views the excised village communities, discussed in section 1C, as potential urban managers and bottom-up master planners. As an understudied method for regeneration of semi-rural areas through participatory business initiatives requiring the provision of hotels, meeting and conference facilities, this thesis offers scope for further inquiries and interventions in West Africa, as elsewhere in the world. A similar goal is prompting the research into prototypes for assisting communities in achieving self-sufficiency through entrepreneurship and industry currently being undertaken by Peter Ferretto at the Chinese University of Hong Kong²³⁸.

The process of researching for this project in itself demonstrated intercultural collaboration beyond officially established channels. The well-placed international mediators, such as authorities, NGOs and large enterprises only represent a small fraction of the multi-faceted societies and therefore should not always act as the 'middle men'²³⁹ between an entrepreneur or a designer and currently marginal communities. The myth of a mysterious and dangerous West African city, such as Lagos, a hyperbolic image bolstered by the economy connecting weapons, security guards, fortified hotels and armoured SUVs, needs to diminish to its true proportion. This thesis is inspired by the recent work of courageous researchers who launched themselves into the city's depths to gather information capable of proving governments – or other organisations like NGOs or developers – negligent or duplicitous. Indebted to these individuals, my work calls for further constructive self-sufficient propositions tailored to the genuine lived realities of West Africa.

²³⁶ Mumford, 1991, pp. 197, 215-17.

²³⁷ David Grahame Shane, 2011, p. 41, places world's dominant cities into an overarching urban entity: a digitally connected 'Heterotopic Network System'. When an African Mega-City, such as Lagos, can become a 'World city' belonging to such network, is a separate question explored by Whiteman (2013, pp. 252 - 253).

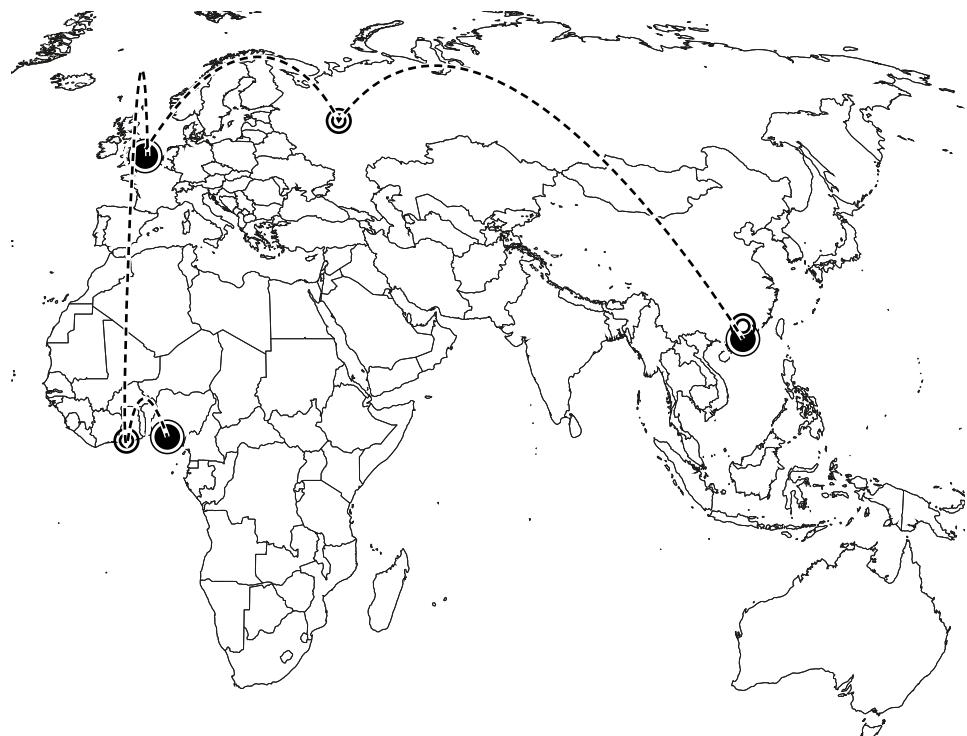
²³⁸ Peter W Ferretto, '046 Dong Village', 2017 <<http://pwferretto.com/046-dong-village>> [accessed 19 February 2018].

²³⁹ Reid (2009, pp. 33-34) calls the middlemen the African coastal traders who became an increasing burden for European travellers towards late 19 century. One can draw parallels to modern day African enterprises and authorities mediating between foreign interests and local working class populations.

Appendix XLII. Interculturalism in Lekki



1. Interculturalism in Lekki: The leader of Ajah and a Cambridge- and Hong Kong- based Russian designer for a Nigerian hotel, photo by Omolade of Ajah, July 2017.



2. Geography of the thesis^{*}

Primary design-research locations:
Cambridge, UK
Lagos, Nigeria
Hong Kong, SAR, China

Secondary design-research locations:
Accra, Ghana
Moscow, Russia
Shenzhen, China

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My Fieldwork Blog: Some of the study's content is referring to interviews and observations recorded in my fieldwork blog:

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Shortened links to the following blog posts have been provided in the footnotes throughout the text:

<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/07/19/building-sites-visits-in-north-west-accra/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/19/man-behind-castles-comments-on-lekki-land-values/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/07/unilag-tutorial/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/22/lekki-free-trade-zone/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/12/eputu-town-trip-photos/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/06/12/ajah-trip-photos/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/05/28/development-of-lekki-peninsula/>
<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/05/13/building-site-visit/>
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<https://mshtanov.wordpress.com/2017/05/16/e%D0%BA%D0%BE-hotel-power-engine/>
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