

EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HOUSING COOPERATIVES AS A SOLUTION FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria confronts one of the most severe housing crises in sub-Saharan Africa, with a housing deficit estimated at 14.9 to 28 million units, annual housing production below 100,000 units, and over 58 percent of urban residents living in substandard conditions. Both public housing programmes and private mortgage finance have proved structurally incapable of reaching the low- and middle-income majority. This paper evaluates housing cooperatives as a third-sector alternative, drawing on a qualitative analysis of secondary data comprising government reports, peer-reviewed literature, policy documents, and case studies from Nigeria and six international contexts (Germany, Singapore, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, and Vienna). Anchored in Social Capital Theory (Putnam, 2000), Institutional Theory and Sustainable Development Theory (WCED, 1987), the analysis finds that Nigeria's cooperative sector comprising approximately 82,460 registered societies with over 1.4 million formal members demonstrates meaningful but severely underutilised capacity for affordable housing delivery. More than 52 percent of cooperative loans are already directed toward housing-related purposes, yet only 27.2 percent of members achieve their housing objectives. Five enabling conditions are identified as critical for cooperative housing effectiveness: adequate social capital, a specific legal framework, affordable land access, dedicated financial architecture, and strong governance capacity. All five are currently deficient in Nigeria. Comparative evidence demonstrates that targeted reform including a dedicated Cooperative Housing Act, a Cooperative Housing Finance Facility, and public-private-cooperative partnerships could substantially close the gap between cooperative potential and performance. The paper contributes to the growing literature on community-led housing in sub-Saharan Africa and generates actionable policy recommendations for Nigeria's housing sector.

Keywords: housing cooperatives; affordable housing; Nigeria; housing deficit; social capital; institutional theory; cooperative housing policy; sub-Saharan Africa

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's housing crisis is among the most acute in Africa. The national housing deficit, estimated at 14.925 million units by the National Housing Data Technical Committee in 2025 and at 28 million units in the federal government's own 2023 assessment, is growing faster than annual housing production, which remains below 100,000 units (Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (Housing Cable, 2024; FMHUD, 2025). Nigeria delivers fewer than two dwelling units per 1,000 people annually, against the United Nations recommended

minimum of 10 (Guardian Nigeria, 2023). Approximately 58.8 percent of the urban population lives in slums, and rent-to-income ratios in Lagos; Nigeria's economic capital and most populous city, range from 50 to 70 percent, far exceeding the internationally accepted 30 percent affordability threshold.

The structural causes of this crisis are well-documented. The Land Use Act of 1978 constrains private land development; the formal mortgage system serves fewer than 1 percent of the population, reflecting a mortgage-to-GDP ratio below 1 percent (World Bank, 2021); and the 90 percent of housing stock produced by the informal sector lacks the legal standing and construction quality to meet national housing needs (Iiste, 2023). Successive government housing programmes have consistently underdelivered against targets, while private real estate development is oriented overwhelmingly toward upper-income segments (Veriva Africa, 2024). The result is a structural exclusion of the low- and middle-income majority from both ownership and adequate rental housing.

Housing cooperatives; organisations in which groups of individuals collectively pool resources to acquire, develop, finance, or manage housing for members, have emerged globally as a significant third-sector alternative to both state provision and private market development (UN-Habitat, 2002; International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), 2015). Nigeria has substantial cooperative institutional infrastructure: approximately 82,460 registered cooperative societies covering 605 local government areas and encompassing an estimated five million member families (Akinmoladun & Oluwoye, 2007). Yet the sector's contribution to affordable housing supply has remained far below its potential, constrained by a weak enabling environment, governance deficits, and insufficient policy integration.

This paper evaluates the effectiveness of housing cooperatives as a solution to Nigeria's affordable housing challenge. It asks: (1) How do housing cooperatives contribute to affordable housing in Nigeria (2) What challenges constrain their effectiveness (3) What policies and strategies can maximise their contribution. The study makes three principal contributions: it provides the first systematically theorised evaluation of Nigeria's cooperative housing sector against international comparators; it synthesises dispersed empirical evidence into a coherent five-condition framework for cooperative housing effectiveness; and it generates evidence-based policy recommendations grounded in international best practice and Nigerian institutional realities.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Affordable Housing and the Nigerian Deficit

Affordable housing is broadly defined as housing whose total cost does not exceed 30 percent of gross household income, encompassing financial accessibility, physical accessibility, structural adequacy, and tenure security (Quigley & Raphael, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2011). By all four dimensions, Nigeria's housing situation is severely deficient. Nigeria's housing deficit grew from 7 million units in 1991 to between 14.9 and 28 million units in 2023-2025, a trajectory representing over 300 percent growth in three decades, substantially outpacing population increase (Housing Cable, 2024; FMHUD, 2025). Closing this deficit would require an estimated investment of N21 trillion and an annual production rate of at least 550,000 to 700,000 units, against current production below 100,000 (FMHUD, n.d.; CAHF, 2024). The affordability crisis falls disproportionately on low- and middle-income households: Jiburum et al. (2021) found that

public housing in Abuja was unaffordable to 15.3 percent of low-income households even at minimum prices, while Ndubueze (2009) documented that three in five urban Nigerian households experience significant housing affordability difficulties.

2.2 Housing Cooperatives: Types and International Evidence

Housing cooperatives take several institutional forms with different affordability implications. Market-rate (equity) cooperatives allow members to sell shares at market prices, risking affordability drift over time. Limited-equity cooperatives cap resale values to preserve long-run affordability- widely regarded as the most effective model for sustained inclusivity (Davis, 2010; Saegert & Benitez, 2005). Non-equity cooperatives, in which members pay cost-recovery carrying charges without holding share equity, offer the lowest barriers to entry for very low-income households. Building cooperatives focus on collective development and construction, after which units may be transferred to member ownership (UN-Habitat, 2002; ICA, 2015).

International evidence consistently demonstrates that cooperative housing achieves meaningful affordability outcomes when embedded in supportive institutional ecosystems. In Germany, Baugruppen (building groups) eliminate developer profit and marketing costs, delivering housing at 15 to 30 percent below market rates; municipal land allocation policies that prioritise cooperative over commercial developers are the critical enabling factor (SPUR, 2017; Regulatory Review, 2023). Vienna's limited-profit housing sector, covering approximately 60 percent of residents, is sustained by comprehensive legislation, compulsory reinvestment of profits, and a government subsidy architecture (WU Wien, 2011). Singapore's Housing Development Board (HDB), though state-directed rather than cooperative-governed, demonstrates the potential of collective housing at national scale: over one million units housing more than 80 percent of the population (NUS Law Working Paper, 2020). In sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia's government-cooperative housing scheme in Hawassa provides cooperatives with subsidised land, government-brokered construction materials, and low-interest mortgages, certifying more than 35,000 cooperative members, though implementation gaps in land provision and construction cost management have constrained full impact (Frontiers in Sustainable Cities, 2023). Kenya's cooperative housing model, prominent in Ruai Sub-County, demonstrates cooperative resource pooling as the most practical approach for low-income households where individual access to finance is severely constrained (IPRJB, 2003).

In Nigeria, the cooperative housing literature is thin but instructive. Akinmoladun & Oluwoye's (2007) survey of 171 members across 12 Lagos cooperative societies found that over 52 percent of cooperative loans were directed toward housing-related purposes (construction financing or rent payment), with high member retention (48.6 percent with over six years of membership) suggesting institutional durability. The study identified cooperative societies as a viable "third way" in housing provision alongside government programmes and mortgage finance. The most recent Lagos evidence, however, finds that only 27.2 percent of cooperative members achieve their housing objectives through membership, with rent-to-income ratios among non-member households exceeding 70 percent, underscoring both the relevance and the limitations of current cooperative performance (IJRISS, 2026). The Lagos Cooperative Home Ownership Incentive Scheme (CHOIS), which delivered 10,000 affordable units through a state-cooperative-private partnership stands as Nigeria's most significant documented case of cooperative housing at scale (First World Communities, 2022).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This study integrates three complementary theoretical frameworks. Social Capital Theory (Putnam, 1993, 2000) illuminates the internal dynamics of cooperative housing: the trust, shared norms, and networks, bonding social capital within cooperative membership and bridging social capital connecting cooperatives to external institutions, that enable or inhibit effective collective action. Nigeria's cooperative sector possesses substantial bonding social capital rooted in indigenous rotating savings traditions (*esusu*, *ajo*), but bridging social capital connecting cooperatives to banks, government agencies, and technical assistance providers remains underdeveloped, explaining why individual savings strength has not translated into systemic housing delivery capacity.

Institutional Theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; North, 1990; Ostrom, 1990) explains how the formal and informal rules of the cooperative operating environment shape performance outcomes. North's (1990) concept of path dependency is particularly salient: the legacy of colonial cooperative legislation, the institutional gaps in the 1993 Co-operative Societies Act, and accumulated governance practices of Nigeria's sector constitute path-dependent constraints on what is institutionally achievable. Ostrom's (1990) design principles for sustainable common-pool resource governance, including clearly defined membership, collective choice arrangements, monitoring, and external recognition of cooperative rights, specify the institutional conditions under which cooperative housing achieves long-term viability. Powell and DiMaggio's (1983) isomorphism framework explains patterns of cooperative governance convergence under regulatory, normative, and mimetic pressures.

Sustainable Development Theory (WCED, 1987; United Nations, 2015) frames cooperative housing as a mechanism for advancing SDG 11; sustainable cities and communities, across three dimensions: economic sustainability (long-term financial viability and inter-generational affordability), social sustainability (inclusive, equitable, and cohesive communities), and environmental sustainability (resource-efficient design and low-carbon construction). The triple bottom line provides the normative orientation against which the performance of cooperative housing programmes is assessed.

3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative research design based on systematic secondary data analysis. The design is appropriate given two imperatives: the research questions require understanding the institutional processes, governance dynamics, and contextual factors that determine cooperative housing performance, phenomena not reducible to quantitative metrics alone; and the thinness of primary data on cooperative housing across Nigerian states makes field survey coverage of national scope impractical within this study's parameters.

Secondary data sources comprise four categories: (1) government reports and policy documents, including publications from FMHUD, the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN), the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), and the National Housing Data Technical Committee (2025); (2) peer-reviewed academic literature sourced from Google Scholar, JSTOR, the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), and the African Journals Online (AJOL); (3) case study materials from cooperative housing organisations, development institutions (UN-Habitat, World Bank, CAHF), and investigative journalism; and (4) international institutional reports enabling comparative analysis.

Data analysis follows Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase thematic analysis framework: familiarisation with the data; initial code generation; theme construction; theme review; theme definition; and interpretive write-up. Codes were generated both inductively from data and deductively from the three theoretical frameworks. Purposive sampling governed case study selection, prioritising cases that are information-rich, geographically representative (Nigeria's major urban centres and diverse international contexts), and well-documented in the academic or institutional record. Six international cases were selected on the basis of comparability with Nigerian institutional conditions and demonstrated effectiveness: Germany (Baugruppen), Singapore (HDB), Ethiopia (Hawassa scheme), Kenya (Ruai Sub-County), Rwanda (CAHF Urban Lab), and Vienna (limited-profit housing). Quality criteria follow Lincoln and Guba's (1985) credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability standards.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Cooperative Housing Effectiveness in Nigeria: Current Performance

The evidence establishes a paradox at the core of Nigeria's cooperative housing sector: substantial institutional infrastructure coexisting with modest housing delivery outcomes. With 82,460 registered cooperative societies spanning all 605 local government areas and an estimated five million member families, the sector's organisational reach is considerable (Akinmoladun & Oluwoye, 2007). Survey evidence confirms that cooperatives are already functioning as meaningful housing finance intermediaries. Over 52 percent of cooperative loan activity is directed toward housing purposes and member retention rates above 48 percent for six-year members indicate institutional durability (Akinmoladun & Oluwoye, 2007). The gender distribution of Lagos cooperative membership (59 percent male, 41 percent female) demonstrates broader inclusivity than most formal financial institutions.

The findings situate Nigeria's cooperative housing challenge within a broader pattern observable across sub-Saharan African cities: substantial social capital and community savings capacity coexisting with institutional barriers that prevent the translation of collective resources into affordable housing outcomes at scale. This pattern is structurally distinct from the cooperative housing challenge in Europe or North America, where the primary constraints are affordability drift and gentrification rather than foundational legal and financial infrastructure gaps.

Yet the gap between institutional potential and housing outcome is stark. Only 27.2 percent of cooperative members in Lagos achieve their housing objectives through cooperative membership (IJRISS, 2026). Annual housing production across all channels remains below 100,000 units against a deficit exceeding 14 million (Guardian Nigeria, 2023; FMHUD, 2025). The principal explanation for this gap is not a failure of cooperative social capital; member commitment and savings discipline are demonstrably present, but a failure of the enabling institutional environment across four critical dimensions: legal framework, land access, financial architecture, and governance capacity.

4.2 Five-Condition Framework for Cooperative Housing Effectiveness

Synthesis of the thematic analysis and comparative case evidence generates a five-condition framework that explains both the successes and the failures of cooperative housing across international contexts Table 1.

Condition 1- Social Capital: Cooperative housing requires the trust, shared norms, and horizontal and vertical networks that enable sustained collective action over multi-year development cycles. Nigeria's cooperative sector benefits from the bonding social capital of indigenous mutual aid traditions, but the erosion of community cohesion in rapidly urbanising cities and the underdevelopment of bridging social capital connecting cooperatives to external institutions constrain this foundation.

Condition 2- Legal Framework: Effective cooperative housing requires a specific enabling legal framework that defines housing cooperative rights and tenure arrangements, governs land acquisition, and provides governance standards calibrated to housing development. The Nigerian Co-operative Societies Act of 1993 provides general cooperative law but contains no housing-specific provisions, a critical gap that creates legal uncertainty for cooperative housing programmes and their financial partners.

Condition 3- Land Access: The availability of affordable, serviced land is the irreducible prerequisite for housing development. In Nigeria, the Land Use Act of 1978 creates a cumbersome, expensive, and corruption-prone land administration system that imposes prohibitive costs and delays on cooperative land acquisition. International success cases uniformly involve direct government land support: German cities allocate plots below market to Baugruppen; Ethiopia's scheme provides subsidised or free land; Singapore's HDB owns all development land.

Condition 4- Financial Architecture: Housing cooperatives require access to long-term, affordable finance that member savings alone cannot provide. No dedicated cooperative housing finance institution exists in Nigeria. The National Housing Fund's reach is limited by informal-income exclusion criteria, and commercial banks do not offer cooperative-specific housing lending products. Germany's cooperative banking sector (DZ Bank Group), Ethiopia's government-subsidised mortgage facility, and Singapore's Central Provident Fund integration each illustrate different models for providing the dedicated financial architecture that cooperative housing requires.

Condition 5- Governance Capacity: Effective housing development and management require specialised competencies in loan underwriting, construction cost management, real estate valuation, and project finance that general-purpose savings cooperatives typically lack. Akinmoladun & Oluwoye (2007) document member dissatisfaction across all cooperative housing loan service dimensions, attributing weaknesses to governance and management deficits. Ethiopia's experience corroborates this finding: staffing shortages, inadequate financial resources, and poor inter-organisational coordination are identified as primary implementation barriers (AAU, 2025).

All five conditions are currently deficient in Nigeria. The comparative evidence demonstrates that the most successful cooperative housing systems satisfy all five simultaneously. Germany succeeds because municipal land policy, cooperative banking finance, comprehensive legislation, and strong organisational capacity all operate together. Vienna's limited-profit sector succeeds because comprehensive legislation, mandatory profit reinvestment, government subsidy, and professional housing management converge. Ethiopia's partial success reflects satisfying Conditions 3 and 4 (land and finance) while Conditions 2 and 5 (law and capacity) remain underdeveloped.

The five-condition framework advances existing theorisations of cooperative housing effectiveness by integrating Social Capital, Institutional, and Sustainable Development perspectives into a single diagnostic tool. Previous studies of cooperative housing in Africa (e.g., IPRJB, 2003; *Frontiers in Sustainable Cities*, 2023) identify individual enabling factors in specific country contexts; the framework synthesises these into a generalisable analytical structure applicable across contexts. Its diagnostic value lies in its capacity to identify the specific condition deficits that limit cooperative housing performance in any given jurisdiction enabling policy makers to design targeted interventions rather than generic "housing cooperative support" programmes.

4.3 Principal Challenges

The five-condition framework organises the principal challenges facing Nigeria's cooperative housing sector into a coherent analytical structure.

Legal and regulatory barriers are the most fundamental. The Co-operative Societies Act 1993 does not define housing cooperatives as a distinct institutional category, does not address land acquisition rights for cooperative organisations, contains no provisions for cooperative bond issuance or housing fund establishment, and does not create the governance standards specific to housing development. State-level cooperative legislation varies widely in quality. The multiplicity of regulatory authorities- federal and state cooperative departments, FMBN, state housing corporations, urban planning authorities- imposes fragmented oversight that generates high transaction costs without coherent support.

Financial constraints operate at three levels. At member level, low and irregular incomes limit savings accumulation below what is required for unaided housing development. At organisational level, cooperative financial management is often inadequate for housing loan portfolio management — member satisfaction surveys confirm weakness across all loan service dimensions including interest rates, collateral, repayment periods, and disbursement promptness (Akinmoladun & Oluwoye, 2007). At sector level, the absence of a dedicated cooperative housing finance window means cooperatives must compete for short-term commercial finance poorly suited to long-term housing investment.

Socioeconomic and governance challenges compound these structural barriers. Rapid urbanisation at 6 percent annually creates high residential mobility that erodes the community cohesion on which cooperative organisation depends (ACASH, 2025). Macroeconomic instability, including the naira depreciation since 2023 and sharp increases in cement and steel prices, has dramatically increased construction costs, reducing the affordability of cooperative housing development. Within cooperative organisations, governance failures including leadership accountability deficits, weak financial transparency, and vulnerability to elite capture constrain the quality of housing services delivered (Onuoha, 2000).

4.4 Comparative Analysis

Table 1 presents the comparative framework across six international cases and Nigeria on five analytical dimensions. The pattern is consistent: the cases achieving meaningful scale and sustained affordability- Germany, Vienna, and Singapore- satisfy all five enabling conditions through different institutional mechanisms. Ethiopia and Kenya demonstrate partial effectiveness under conditions of partial policy support. Nigeria demonstrates the institutional foundations

(social capital and organisational infrastructure) but lacks the four externally-provided enabling conditions, explaining the gap between potential and performance.

The comparison yields three transferable lessons for Nigeria. First, government land policy is the most powerful single lever for cooperative housing effectiveness: where governments actively allocate land to cooperative developers at regulated prices, cooperative housing achieves scale that market-priced land prevents. Second, dedicated financial intermediation, whether through cooperative banks, government-subsidised mortgage facilities, or development finance institution channels, is a necessary complement to member equity and cannot be substituted by member savings alone. Third, apex institutional infrastructure- national cooperative housing federations, state-level development corporations, professional training programmes, is essential for raising governance capacity across a dispersed cooperative sector and cannot be left to individual cooperative self-organisation.

Table 1. Comparative Framework: Housing Cooperative Enabling Conditions Across Six International Cases and Nigeria

Dimension	Nigeria	Germany (Baugruppen)	Ethiopia (Gov-Coop)	Singapore (HDB)	Vienna (Ltd-Profit)	Kenya
Legal Framework	General cooperative law; no housing-specific provisions	Comprehensive housing cooperative and city land policy	State cooperative housing regulations; dedicated housing cooperative policy	Statutory HDB Act; strong national mandate	Comprehensive limited-profit housing legislation	National cooperative law; limited housing specificity
Land Access	Market pricing; Land Use Act constraints; limited government allocation	City allocates land below-market to cooperative groups; priority over developers	Government provides subsidised/free land to registered cooperatives	Government owns all land; allocates exclusively to HDB	Municipal land policy supports limited-profit sector	Market access; limited government land support
Financial Support	NHF (limited access); no cooperative-specific housing finance	KfW subsidised loans; DZ Bank cooperative banking network; state subsidies	Government-subsidised mortgages; wholesale construction material pricing	Central Provident Fund integration; subsidised rates	Government subsidy architecture; compulsory profit reinvestment	Microfinance; cooperative revolving loan funds
Governance Model	Democratic but weakly enforced; governance deficits common; no apex federation	Strong democratic governance; city-supported; member participation in design	Government-supervised; cooperative self-governance within state framework	Government-directed; professional management; limited member democracy	Professional management by regulated limited-profit companies	Emerging democratic governance; growing apex capacity
Scale / Outcome	~10,000 units (CHOIS); 27.2% of members achieve housing goals	15–17% of new private housing in major cities; 15–30% cost savings	35,000+ members certified; partial implementation; 30–40% cost reduction	>1 million units; 80%+ of population housed; 90%+ own	~60% of city residents housed; sustained over decades	Hundreds of units; accessible to working poor

Source: Compiled from reviewed literature.

5. CONCLUSION

Nigeria's housing cooperative sector represents a substantial and underutilised institutional resource for affordable housing delivery. With 82,460 registered cooperative societies, five million member families, and existing housing-oriented loan activity exceeding 52 percent of cooperative lending, the sector possesses the social capital, organisational infrastructure, and member motivation that are the necessary foundations for effective cooperative housing. The primary constraints are not inherent to the cooperative model but are externally imposed by an inadequate legal framework, the structural barriers of the Land Use Act, the absence of dedicated cooperative housing finance, and governance capacity deficits, all of which are amenable to policy intervention.

The five-condition framework; social capital, legal framework, land access, financial architecture, and governance capacity provides a diagnostic and prescriptive tool for understanding why cooperative housing succeeds internationally and what is required for it to succeed in Nigeria. International comparisons from Germany, Singapore, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Vienna confirm that the gap between Nigeria's cooperative potential and performance is not fixed but is a consequence of addressable institutional failures.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

For policy makers, three priority interventions emerge from the analysis. First, the enactment of a dedicated Cooperative Housing Act, or comprehensive housing amendment to the Co-operative Societies Act 1993, is the foundational reform that provides the legal certainty on which all other interventions depend. This legislation should define housing cooperatives as a distinct institutional category; establish housing-specific land access rights; provide governance standards for housing cooperative management; and create mechanisms for cooperative housing tenure security.

Second, a Cooperative Housing Finance Facility (CHFF) should be established within the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria, with initial capitalisation of not less than N100 billion from federal budget allocation and development finance institution co-lending. The facility should provide 15- to 25-year mortgage loans at affordable rates to registered housing cooperatives, with group lending mechanisms extending access to informal sector cooperative members. Reform of the National Housing Fund's eligibility criteria to include informal sector workers through cooperative group lending arrangements is a near-term achievable step within existing legislative authority.

Third, formal cooperative housing land allocation policy should be introduced across all states, providing registered housing cooperatives with priority access to public land at regulated prices for affordable housing development. The Lagos CHOIS model in which the state government allocated land and provided a public-private-cooperative partnership framework demonstrates the feasibility and impact of this approach at state level.

For cooperative housing practitioners, the priority recommendations are: investment in professional financial management capacity; adoption of digital financial management tools that improve transparency and member access to accounts; engagement with apex cooperative housing organisations for shared services, training, and advocacy; and deliberate attention to gender equity in cooperative governance and programme design.

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