

LAGOS: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF AN EMERGENT AFRICAN MEGA CITY

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1.0 Introduction

The available human and natural resources in Nigeria should have catapulted the country into an economic colossus of international standing. Yet, Nigeria is a nation of confounding paradoxes. Its tremendous natural resources feed into the international economic systems, in exchange for massive revenues that carry the promise of rapid socio-economic transformation within the country itself. Furthermore, enormous possibilities for industrial development abound due to the availability of assorted raw materials but these are still just dreams. Beyond these natural resources, the country is blessed with large and fairly good agricultural land, extensive forests, excellent fisheries, and a large labour force of about 150 million. However, juxtaposed against the potentials for economic growth and sustainable development are deteriorating socio-economic conditions. One of the major conclusions of the Nigerian Human Development Report: 1996 (UNDP, 1996) was that wide regional (spatial) disparities are Nigeria's Achille's heel – the primary source of its perennial conflict, political instability and social unrest¹.

Cities contribute very substantially to national economic growth and wealth. Recent available data on developed nations, show that cities generate more than 80% of national economic output while it is about 40% for developing nations. For Mexico, the ten largest metropolitan areas representing about one third of the national population produces 62% of national value added. In Vietnam, where the urban, population is below 30% yet, the contribution of the towns and cities to gross domestic product (GDP) constitute 70%. Only 120 cities in China account for about 75% of the country's GDP (UN-Habitat, 2008). Lagos state is claimed to contribute about 40% of Nigeria's non-oil GDP.

While acknowledging this reality this study is however, motivated by the growing concern that urban growth creates challenges such as poverty, environmental degradation, inadequate infrastructure and finance, insecurity and inequality all of which impact negatively on individuals, groups, societies and national development. These challenges could hamper social welfare, and hinder development and in addition, place costs on health and well – being of people. Uninclusive development limits the capacity for improved and sustainable livelihoods with negative implications for security. It is now well acknowledged that, development and the environment exhibit a recursive relationship, such that, it becomes an imperative to promote the quality of both of them. Inequality and lack of opportunity also reduce productivity opportunities for poverty reduction, while also creating conditions that militate against sustainable social and economic development such as slums. Furthermore, gender inequality in access to social capital for example has implications for the capacity of women to pursue and encourage livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions. It also weakens the prospect of good governance and effectiveness of government policies (Olokesusi, 2010, World Bank, 2001).

2.0 Study Objectives, Scope and Methodological Approach

2.1 Study Objective and Scope

The objective of this paper therefore, is to use Lagos city as a case study to unravel some of the issues raised in the foregoing in urban Nigeria. In doing so, the paper focuses on critical analysis of the heterogeneous and spatial dimensions of the challenges confronting this rapidly growing mega-city, the implications of this growth and then highlights the completed and planned policies and initiatives of government as well as the potential opportunities for making the only mega-city in Sub-Saharan Africa livable and sustainable.

Apart from examining access to physical infrastructure, some other crucially important measures of human well – being elaborated include living conditions, access to basic services, level of educational attainment, education, vulnerability, and adequacy of safety nets. Too much reliance on the monetary dimension of poverty leads to an under estimation of the real nature and depth of urban poverty, where living conditions can be made harsher by diseconomies of agglomeration, such as congestion, environmental degradation and crime, theft and chaos (Muzzini 2008) on the other hand, proper delineation of monetary poverty offers policy makers the opportunity to pursue multi-prong non- monetary dimensions of poverty, such as shelter improvements, vocational training, women empowerment and enhanced access to environmental services.

2.2 The Study Methodological Approach

The study relied on both primary and secondary data in order to meet the set objective. The first primary data were obtained from the data base of UN-Habitat on An Urban Inequalities Survey (UIS) conducted in Lagos State by Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and UN-Habitat in 2005. This particular study used a multi-stage stratified sampling technique to select 1,864 households for sampling. The 20 Local Government Areas that constitute Lagos State were clustered specifically into urban, rural, slum and non-slum areas. Then a range of 80 to 100 households per local government areas (LGA) were selected for the household questionnaire survey. The research instrument was randomly administered in 1,452 households situated within urban clusters compared to 412 in rural clusters. Also, 725 households in slum areas were sampled while 1,139 households in non-slum areas were sampled. The households were selected in such a way that the surveys are self-weighting² (UN-Habitat, 2008).

The second set of primary data was obtained in 2010 in Lagos through in-depth interviews of 19 specialists made up of specialists in urban management, physical planning, estate management, economics, political science, sociology and mass communication. Also, in 2010, the author held discussions with the Honourable Commissioner for Physical Planning and Urban Development Tpl. Fransisco Abosede, and senior physical planning officials in the same ministry. Eight poor Lagosians were purposively selected in an attempt to elicit information on their conditions and coping strategies. Two distinguished retired civil servants were also interviewed on the physical conditions of the city and suggestions on the way forward. In addition, field observation

² UN-Habitat, 2008

trips were conducted for two days, while relevant published and unpublished materials were collected and reviewed.

The results of the survey questionnaires administered were cleaned and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences 17 (SPSS 17). However, only a small component of the results is presented in this paper. The results of the in-depth interviews and content analysis of the secondary data are also used to complement the primary data collected with the aid of household survey questionnaire. The categorization of the city into slums and non-slums is based on extant UN-Habitat slum indicators shown in Appendix 1.

3.0 Literature Review

3.1 Urbanisation and Its Consequences

Extensive literature confirms that the rapid urban growth witnessed in West African Countries is largely attributable to rural-urban migration and natural population increase, with the latter more prominent in most urban areas. Some of the cities have also grown due to annexation into adjoining peri-urban and rural areas, government policies and physical infrastructure development especially transportation (See World Bank, 2010, UN-Habitat, 2010).

Across Africa, 24 million slum dwellers have enjoyed improved living conditions between 2000 and 2010. During this reporting period, the proportion of urban population living in slums has fallen by a mere 5% or 17 million. In West Africa, there are daunting challenges in the urban areas from having the highest level of urban poverty, more than 50% of the urban population in poorest countries such as Sierra Leone lives below the poverty line. Poverty often manifests itself in form of inequality in access to adequate housing leading to slum formation. In terms of income inequality Nigeria tops the list with a very high Gini coefficient when compared with cities of the sub-region leaves much to be desired despite economic growth and practices in recent years. In Nigeria, the urban Gini coefficient rose from 0.37 in the 1980's to 0.416 in the 1990s. The political crisis in Abidjan has resulted in human and economic dislocation such that the national currency was devalued followed by an increase in the income Gini Coefficient from 0.497 in 1992 to 0.529 in 1998³.

The sluggish economic performance and urban inequality could be traced to several factors all interacting very intricately one of the key factors is the colonial hang over era, many new urban communities and towns were established to purposively serve the interest of colonial administrative structure and the extant economic order. This policy brought some tangible benefits such as construction of new transportation modes (e.g railways) and corridors, upgrading of township status and provision of social amenities.

Benefits accrued mostly to primate national and regional administrative centres such as Lagos, Enugu, Jos, Jebba, Accra, Lome, Abidja, Dakar, Freetown, Bamako and Bouke amongst others. However, the indigenous urban areas were left unattended to and

³ Kayizzi – Mugerwa, 2001, Grimm 2001.

remained in parlous conditions. Following independence in the last four decades or thereabout, many of the primate cities and new administrative centres experienced significant unplanned rapid urbanization. The new development has been attributed to the need to respond to political decision aimed at decentralisation in order to further the process of national integration through the trickle down effects of growth poles. Some of such urban centres are Minna, Ilorin, Akure, Youmoskro and Abuja (Agbola, 1995; Udo, 1987, Blij, 1996).

With a view to spurring economic growth and improve living standards, most governments embarked upon import substitution development plans with only marginal success. The dichotomy between the formal and informal sectors which the economic policy was meant to close increased. Perhaps the most devastating of all macro-economic policies that destabilized the sub-region is the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced in the 1980s by the behest of the Bretton Woods institutions. SAP which was meant to catalyse economic growth, and open new vistas of employment and economic activities led to the pauperization of the urban middle class. While subsidies for basic services were removed, urban poverty and slum formation experienced a spike, thus exacerbating urban inequality. This group of countries continues to experience limited economic growth and development and urban equality because of ineffective governance, poor property right especially land titles, corruption, nepotism and expropriation of national wealth by the ruling elite.

The level of urbanization in West Africa in 2001 was 38%, which is 3.2% higher than what SSA experienced. It has been projected that the level of urbanization in the subregion will be 42.5% by 2015 (UN-Habitat, 2010). As the old famous adage says that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, urban planners refer to certain communities or locale as slums, the inhabitants regard those places as home. But using the UN-Habitat data set, there is a positive correlation between urbanisation and slum formation in West African cities (UN-Habitat, 2009, 2010b).

Most of the unskilled and inadequately educated urban dwellers who could not secure wage employment stayed hoping for the best. The more enterprising among them were forced to engage in new economic activities and to cut new niche for themselves what is now popularly referred to as the informal sector-sector made up of small-scale, one-man or family businesses, depending on small credit provided from varied, interpersonal sources. These small-scale, informal sector enterprises now dominate the economy of most cities of West Africa and employ by far the largest proportion of workers. They cut across small-scale industrial, commercial, transportation services, and construction establishments amongst others (Mabogunje 1995).

Informality also occurs as well with shelter provision for most migrants in the cities. Confronted with the dismal record of official incapacity in meeting the basic need for a roof over their heads, or even of laid-out and available building plots, most urban residents have had no alternative but to find their own solutions to their housing need. They have had to do this with or without formal arrangements for infrastructural services

such as road network, water supply, storm drainage, sewerage, sewage disposal, and electricity. They have had to cope on a daily basis with the environmental pollution hazards arising from living in under-serviced neighbourhoods. But they have continued to survive in such neighbourhoods through organizing themselves in a manner to enable them confront official inadequacies and threats to their enjoyment of certain level of peace of stability.

Onibokun et. al. (1987) and Onibolun and Kumuyi (1999), assert that various political and socio-economic factors have resulted in rapid growth of urban population resulting in informal settlements, poor housing and slums in Nigeria. The rate of influx of people into major cities has been so high that the pace of settlement development and housing provision could not accommodate them. Since they must have shelter, all forms of informal procedures are adopted to provide housing. This has resulted in non-compliance with physical planning regulations and development control standards. Thus there have been cases of incompatibility of land use activities, overcrowding (due to high occupancy ratio, high density of development), poor construction standards (due to use of substandard building materials and construction methods), and ill-serviced dwelling units, among others. This has resulted in slum development in most Nigerian cities (See also Owei and Ikpoki 2006, Olokesusi et al., 2003, Olokesusi and Adebayo 2001, Sada et al nd).

A conference on “Sustainable Cities” organized by the New Economic Partnership on African Development (NEPAD) held in Abuja noted that, Nigerian cities are now dominated by slums and informal settlements to the extent that about 30-70 per cent of the urban population in Nigerian cities live in unplanned or informal settlements. Some reasons for this include inability of the urban poor households to gain access to the formal housing market and are therefore compelled to access shelter through the informal housing supply system⁴.

Some development experts note that political leaders with development-oriented policies contribute to the growth of the institutional capacity of government and are able to develop good public policies for the improvement of the quality of life of their citizenry. These leaders are able to move their countries out from a “lower level of development to a higher level with reduced poverty, marked by significant improvements in respect of the basic needs of education, health, food, and housing” (Adamolekun, 2002:10). The forms of government and qualities of the political leaders always have a bearing on the formulation and implementation of policies and this ultimately affects the civil service performance.

3. 2 Transformation of Lagos from a Wetland Village to an African Mega City

Lagos originated as fishing and farming settlement on Lagos Island inhabited by the Aworis. Historical accounts show that Lagos first attracted the Ijebus, who came to trade and were the earliest immigrants. By 1821, Lagos was acclaimed the most important slave port on the West African Coast. The British abolished slave trading and assumed

⁴ Akpan, 2010

control of Lagos colony in 1861. Under British rule, the colony was expanded and Lagos became the terminal of many routes. The first steamer service between Lagos and England began operations in 1853. This was followed by the establishment of a Bank in 1881, telephone in 1882 and a chamber of commerce in 1894⁵. These activities, together with infusion into the Lagos population of freed slaves from Sierra-Leone and the Americas, increased the scale and variety of commercial activities which, in turn, necessitated the need for a modern port (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1988: 133). Lagos remained as Federal Territory between 1953 and 26th May, 1967 when it was upgraded to the status of during the creation of additional states by the Yakubu Gowon military administration.

Population explosion in Nigeria in general and in urban areas in particular became noticeable after 1950. Lagos headed the urban population explosion. According to the 1952 census the population of Lagos numbered 346, 137. By the time of the 1963 census this population had increased to 1,135,805. These figures imply an intercensal annual growth rate (for Lagos population) of 11.4 per cent per annum. This phenomenal population explosion is attributable to significant economic, commercial and political changes which made Lagos the fastest growing city in Nigeria. As noted earlier in this paper, the population of Lagos state and Lagos metropolis are issues of intense debate and litigation⁶. In addition, Lagos became a dual capital. It remained the national capital and when, in 1967, the country was divided into twelve states, it also became the capital of the newly created Lagos state, as Ikeja. Both the Federal and Lagos state governments spent large amounts for the provision of modern infrastructural facilities thus further attracting migrants.

Whereas, the Federal Government of Nigeria officially moved the political capital of the country to Abuja in 1991, yet Lagos remains incontrovertibly the commercial and industrial hub of Nigeria, with virtually all prominent companies having headquarters in the city. In a very important sense, Lagos is mini-Nigeria as about every Nigerian ethnic group is represented in the city (Roberts and Oladeji, 2001:1). Lagos, as sub-Saharan Africa's largest city, is open for foreign direct investment. The World Bank noted that Nigeria remarkably received nearly 30% of all FDI to sub-Saharan Africa in 2008, making it one of the continent's premiere investment destinations (see www.TheFirstGroup.com, accessed on 24th July, 2009). Since 2003 there has been an upsurge in the hospitality industry with FDIs coming in from South Africa and Europe in particular.

3.3 The Place of Lagos Mega-City in Nigeria

Today, the city of Lagos occupies 1,170 squared km of land out of which 220 squared km (18.9%) is water. Lagos is the most populous city in Nigeria and it is one of the fastest

⁵ UNDP subcontractor Wilbur and Associates with UNDP project staff and Lagos state Government, *Master plan for Metropolitan Lagos: Existing Conditions and Needs*. Vol 1.

⁶ Lagos maintains that it was shortchanged by the 2006 Nigerian Population and Housing Census, in which it claimed it has been grossly undercounted. Lagos maintains that its population is not less than 17, 553,924 (see The Guardian, 22/7/2009:BP)

growing cities in the world.^{7, 8}. By United Nations estimates, there will be over 25 million people in the Lagos area by 2015 (www.TheFirstGroup.com). Thus, Lagos state constitutes the highest concentration of human beings in the smallest landmass in Africa.

The economy depends more on commerce and industries. Sawmilling is a prominent primary industry common in the state due to high demand for timber in the construction and building industry. Modern industries ranging from food, beverages, metal work, foundries, roofing sheets and packlaging abound in the city. Also, Lagos is an important commercial centre in West Africa and the number and size of markets both organized and unorganized continues to increase. Historically, with the progressive spatial expansion of Lagos and the creation of new suburbs and city centres to accommodate more immigrants, the Lagos State Government and the LGAs have been confronted with the problems of street trading and inadequate market facilities. Box 1 summarises the importance of Lagos to Nigeria and the West African region.

Box 1: Key Information on Lagos State

- Geographical Area: Size : 3,577 Sq. Km (0.4% of National Population)
- Population:
 - 17.5 million- UN-Habitat Projection
 - 18.0 million- Lagos State Census - 2006.
- Population Density (UN): 4,193 persons/Sq. Km; High; Over density
- Population Growth Rate (UN Projection): Btw. 6-8% (Nigeria = 2.9%) (Jakarta 3.1%, Tokyo 0.3% and Shanghai 0.1%)
- Annual population growth: 600,000 (10 times New York City/Los Angeles)
- Projected population
 - 20.19m (2010);
 - 24.5m (2015)
- 20 Local Governments plus 37 Local Government Development Areas; 2600 Communities
- Destination for all ethnic nationalities & ECOWAS; Opportunities for improved lives
- One of 7 New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) Cities
- Lagos is the product of Nigeria's rapid urbanisation process
- HQ of Trans-national Corporations and National Conglomerates
- Largest Stock Exchange in West Africa; over 200 financial institutions
- 22 Industrial Estates (2000 Industries; 65% of Country Total); 60% of Nation's Value Added Manufacturing
- 31.89% Contribution to Non-Oil National GDP - (2004)
- 65% of Nation's Value Added Tax
- Informal Sector Size: 65% of working population
- Hub of National Aviation Activities (82.61% international, 47.30% Domestic)

⁷ The Guardian, 29/5/2005:49

⁸ The Guardian, 22/11/2005:16

- 3 Lighter Terminals and 3 of Nation's 8 major seaports (50% of Nation's Ports Revenue)
- Telecoms/Media Hub: 50% of 30m PTO/GSM subscribers
- Public Transportation = 75,000 low capacity buses
- Vehicular Density = 224 vehicles/km (country average = 15)
- Waste Generation = 10,000 Metric Tons / day
- Power Supply = Less than 1000 Mw; Need = 10,000 Mw
- IPP Injection = 270 MW (Phase 1); 540 MW (Phase 2)
- Water Supply = 170 million gallons per day (mgd); Need = 540 mgd

Note: Of the 20 LGAs in Lagos State all are regarded by UN-Habitat as part of the city of Lagos with the exception of Ikorodu, Epe, Badagry, and Ibeju-Lekki LGAs and this is adhered to in this paper, however, the Lagos state government tends to refer to the state as the mega-city.

Source: After Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, 2010

4.0 STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

Results of this study indicates that Lagos, like other cities in the world is constantly changing as a result of growth and expansion. But in this process of transformation, the city is facing enormous challenges some of which are discussed after a short discussion of the city's socio-demographic characteristics.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Household Members

Age, Indigenship and Place of Residence

Results of the survey show that the average age of residents in the city is 26 years. The pyramid of the Lagosians and that of migrants by gender presented in Figures 1a and 1b indicate the bulge in the young adult cohort. An implication of this is the likelihood of population increase by the natural increase. About every two out of three migrants in

Across the city, the majority of people who resides in slum areas are found in Ajeromi Ifelodun, Amuwo-Odofin, Lagos Island, and Shomolu LGAs. The majority of the non slum residences are found in Agege, Alimosho, Ikeja, Ojo, Oshodi/Isolo and Surulere LGAs. There are more adults residing in the slum and non slum areas than children aged 1-14 years.

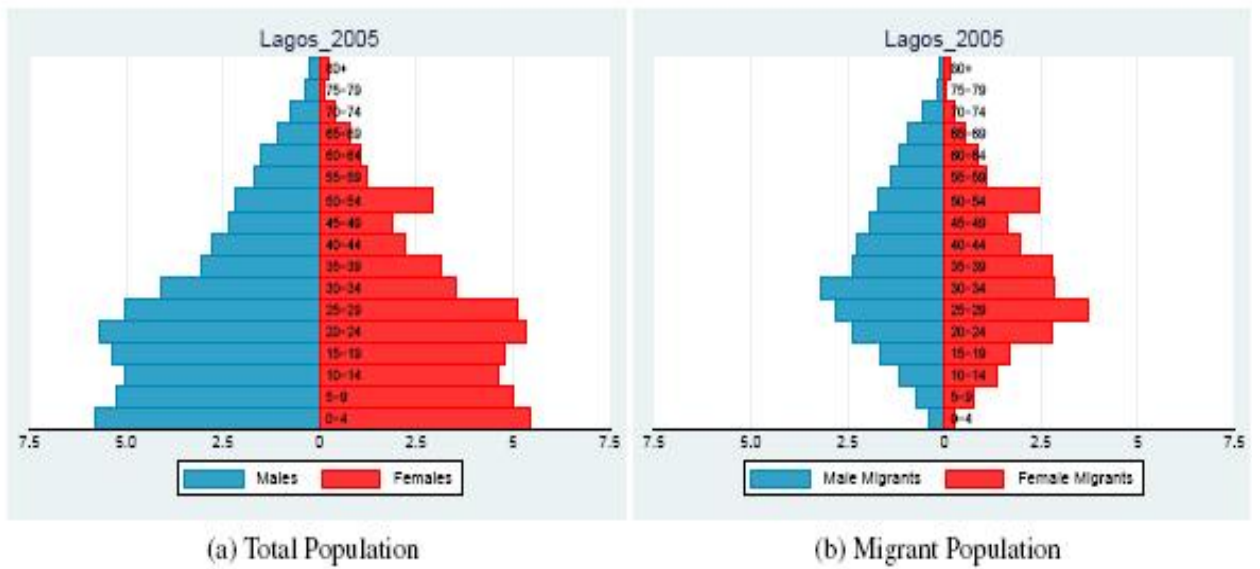


Figure 1 : Population Pyramids for Total and Migrant Populations, Lagos, 2005

As discussed earlier, there are migrants and non-migrants in Lagos. The living standards of both migrants and non-migrants are depicted by Figure 2. In general, migrants are less poor than non-migrants.



Figure 2: Living Standards for Migrants and Non-migrants

Education

Education is a major determinant of the quality of life of individuals. Studies have consistently indicated that educational attainment has strong effect on health behaviours and attitudes. Education is very critical to R & D, innovation, entrepreneurship, city growth and sustainable development. The results indicate that majority of respondents lack formal education but, there are gender differences in educational attainments. The female respondents accounts for the highest percentages of respondents without formal education across all the LGAs in the metropolis. More males have higher educational qualification than females across the LGAs. These trends in educational attainment are similar for primary and secondary education across the LGAs.

Employment and Informal Enterprises

The survey results show that the level of involvement in economic activities is generally low due to high unemployment and underemployment in both slums and non-slum areas as depicted on Table 1. Many slum dwellers in Ajerom/Ifelodun and Amuwo-Odofin are employed unlike Alimosho. Since formal employment opportunities are inadequate, most of the people are engaged in informal income earning activities which encompass a wide range of small-scale, largely self-employment activities. The informal sector covers productive, service and financial subsectors.

4.3: Key Challenges of Lagos Mega-city

4.3.1 Introduction

Successive governments in Lagos state tried to implement their various public services programmes. However, by the late 1980s there were complaints and sustained criticism about the quality of state public services. There is a huge urban divide in terms of economic inequalities and socio-spatial segregation among the people that reside in Lagos. It varies from the very wealthy to the very poor. Lagos has drawn many young people and families seeking a better life from all parts of Nigeria and beyond. Proponents of decline find evidence in the persistent growth of slums resulting from rapid urbanization without the requisite expansion of services such as roads, schools and hospitals. The challenges are social, economic, environmental and cultural in nature and are capable of causing social instability if proper policies and programmes are not instituted.

4.3.2 Physical Infrastructure Challenge

Detailed literature compiled by Brenneman and Kerf (2002) has confirmed that a positive linkage exist between availability of infrastructure and poverty reduction in rural and urban areas in diverse countries of the world. The importance of public infrastructure and services is etched in economical, social and political considerations (Garfield and Lovejoy, 1964 and Ugwu 1993). Economically, public infrastructure facilities are among basic industries on which national productivity depends and which absorbs very huge capital expenditure. Socially, public facilities are of great importance to transport, communication, health, safety and others, in shaping the life of people. Politically, they are of collective challenge to privatizing enterprises who replaces public services motive for profit making. Availability of city infrastructure makes the society comfortable and habitable.

4.3.3 Electricity Connection

With a view to meeting the energy needs of Lagosians the state government in in partnership with Enron/Folawityo Company in 2001 built the first Independent Power Plant since independence. Unfortunately, because of the centralized distribution system in place, the electricity generated in the state have to be fed into a ditributable pool at the Osogbo National Control Centre which now allocates according to some formular.

Results indicate that there are more households with electricity connections than households without electricity connection in both slum and non-slum areas of the state. A casual perusal of the table reveals that there are no biases in electricity connections between the slum and non-slum areas. However, the poor and unreliable public electricirt supply compels most house holds and enterprises to rely on generators.

4.3.4 Access to Safe Water and Improved Sanitation

There is spatial variation in terms of access to and use of improved and unimproved toilet facilities. LGAs with high percentages in the use of improved toilet facilities include Mushin, Shomolu, Ojo, Kosofe, Oshodi/Isolo and Surulere.

Results of this study also indicate wide spatial differentials among the LGAs in terms of access to safe and unsafe drinking water. These differentials are also observed between

slum and non slum areas in Lagos state. Seven LGAs including Agege, Amuwo-odofin, Ikeja, Ikorodu, Lagos Mainland, shomolu and Surulere have tube wells as their major source of drinking water. Apart from Ajeromi Ifelodun LGA where 28.4% and 11.4% of the slum and non- slum areas depends on public tap, there is no other LGA that depends on the public tap system as their major source of drinking water signifying the collapse and non-functionality of the public water supply system in the city (Table 2).

With respect to solid waste management, results of the survey show that some of these wastes are disposed in the streets or burnt even in non-slum areas such as in Eti Osa and Kosofe, while slum residents in Apapa and Ajeromi-Ifelodun engage the service of garbage collectors. In consonance with global research findings, slum dwellers generate less of food wastes compared to non-slum dwellers in the city.

Lagos has open drains and narrow shallow trenches which are often clogged with discarded household or industrial appliances, sand, and refuse transported by flooding. When the drains are not cleaned, they are unsightly and exude unpleasant odours. Potholes in the streets, pools of stagnant water, and waste gushing from bathrooms and kitchens provide breeding sites for malarial mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease. In order to improve drainage, many drains have been widened while the Lagos Drain Ducks Authority an agency charged specifically with the responsibility of clearing the drains was created seven years ago.

4.3.5 Informal Settlements, Housing and Slums

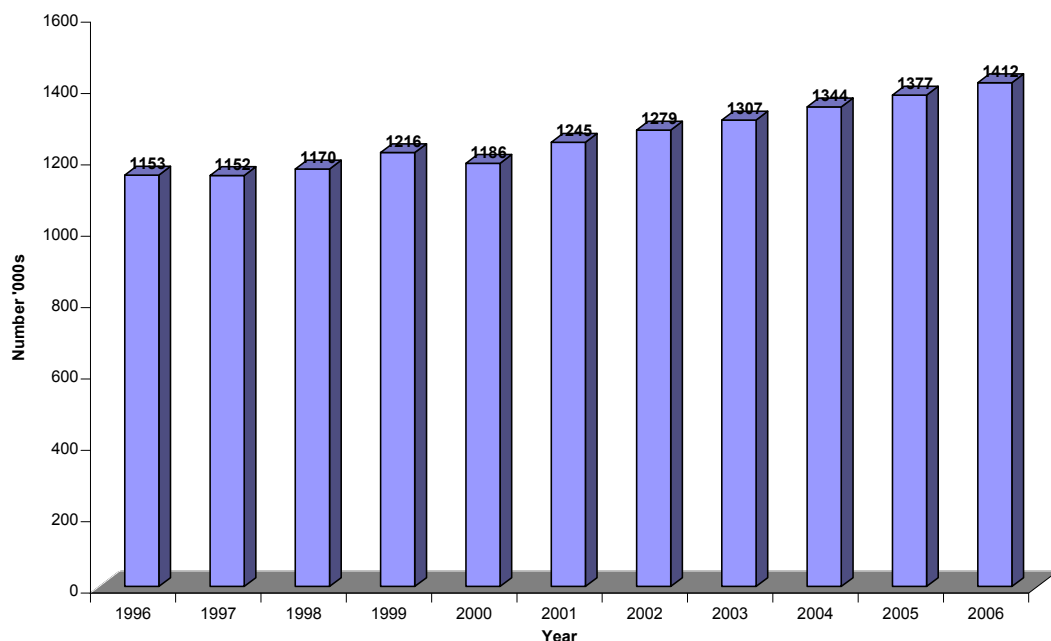
The root of urban informality can be traced to the nature and pattern of urbanization of Lagos as earlier discussed in this paper. Housing continues to be in short supply partly because land acquisition is expensive and complex and beyond the reach of the poor. Public utilities are insufficient and over stretched. Some of the most extensive slums in Lagos are Ajegunle, Mushin and Somolu. Figure 3 shows the temporal changes in Lagos slum population.

Analysis of the survey data indicates that more than half of Lagosians are tenants in both slum and non slum areas across the the LGAs. LGAs with high percentages of tenants include Lagos Mainland, Mushin, Ojo, Oshodi/Isolo, Shomolu and Surulere. There are no difference between the slum and non slum areas in terms of ownership of houses. In some LGAs such as Ajeromi Ifelodun, Amuwo-Odofin, Ifako Ijaiye and Mushin, ownership of houses is more in slum areas as against the non slum areas. These LGAs are more of residential than commercial and this might explained the high number of households owning their houses in these LGAs. On the other hand, LGAs such as Ikeja and Lagos mainland which serves more commercial purposes than residential tends to have more ownership of houses in the non-slum areas. Generally, it is obvious that the house ownership is below the nationally average of 67.1% (Table 3).

Significant proportion of structures in the slum areas of Ajeromi-Ifelodun, Amuwo-Odofin, Apapa and non-slum areas of Lagos Island need major repairs. Land ownership

is generally higher in slums than non-slums with the exception of Kosofe, Ifako Ijaye and Lagos mainland which confirm the chaos in the housing market and land transactions (Table 4). There seems to be more security of tenure for non-slum dwellers compared with their slum counterpart especially in the slums of Alimosho, Amuwo-Odofin, Ifako-Ijaye and Mushin.

Figure 3: Number of Slum Dwellers in Lagos: 1996-2006



Source: Lagos State MDG Report (2007)

4.3.6 Environmental Degradation and Climate Change

The city is groaning under environmental degradation due to pollution of the air, water, and land. Industrial wastewater disposal is poorly managed and industries discharge untreated and often toxic wastes into sewer, open drains and lagoons. Noise is another challenge in the city. Deteriorating basic public services affect the welfare and productivity of the citizenry. Like most parts of the world cities, the life of Lagosians will be affected by the different impacts of climate change. Climate change impacts can undermine the efforts of government and other stakeholders to make the city a liveable mega-city. Its coastal location makes it highly vulnerabnle to sea level rise, coastal erosion and flooding (NISER, 2010, Olokesusi and Olorunfemi, 2008).

4.3.7 Street Trading

Where, street trading has some benefits, its wide scope and intensity exposes young vendors to some risks and evil influences. The young traders are subjected to unrelenting exploitation in their work environment. In addition, traffic flow is obstructed by this activity. Several military edicts since the 1970s were enforced against street vending. Children were arrested and detained until their parents or custodians showed up to pay stipulated fines. To further arrest the trend, the municipal government erected signboards in specific areas where street trading was prohibited. But, these signboards were uprooted, defaced and ignored and street trading continued as usual.

4.3.8 Challenge of Mobility in Metropolitan Lagos

Lagos has one of the largest and most extensive road networks in West Africa. Highways are usually congested in peak hours, due in part to the geography of the city, as well as to its explosive population growth. Lagos is also linked by many highways and bridges. The present day development in the road networks and urban transport in the Metropolis have its roots from the colonial and post-independence era. The transport system is dominated by road especially para-transit operated by private operators that run into tens of thousands. With the population explosion had come with a major expansion of roads and bridges. 1991.

Since the early 1990s there had been an upsurge of motorcycle (okada) transport in Lagos. Initially confined to the outskirts like Ikotun, Egbe and Ipaja, they now operate everywhere, even in the reputed upper-class neighbourhoods of Victoria Island and Ikoyi. Though heavily patronised, the Okada motorcycles have become a threat to the lives and limbs of their passengers, pedestrians and other road users.

4.3.9 Financial Resources Challenge

The issue of financial resources is one of the problems the government faces in the process of providing physical infrastructure in the city amongst other important services. The major source of funding until recently was federal allocation. The underlying constraints are institutional, structural, political and cultural. Much has to do with public attitude and perception, and the government capability to give good public service. This trend has really changed since 2003 with the drive to increase internally generated revenue.

4.3.10 Lack of Continuity in Governance

As an independent state, Lagos has had 25 out of 50 years under the leadership of military governors. The rapid and sudden change of chief executives does not encourage institutional continuity and lasting policies. However, against this background since mid-1999 the situation has changed. "We grew up knowing that the country was not run very well. But some 10 years ago in Lagos, a new concept of governance commenced. The Tinubu-Fashola experience is a good example of the benefits of continuity".⁹

4.3.11 Violence in the City

⁹ The Guardian 3 October, 2010:55

Results of the survey show that the level of violence in the community now and five years ago has remained largely the same. There are also no differences in the level of violence for both the slum and non slum areas across the LGAs. Apart from Ikeja and Lagos Island where about 8.0% of the respondents reported increase in the level of violence in their respective communities, all the other LGAs recorded less than 5.0% increase in the level of violence between now and five years ago. It is also pertinent to note that several LGAs have recorded appreciable decrease in the level of violence in the last five years. These are Alimosho, Apapa, Ikeja and Oshodi/Isolo LGAs with percentages of 24.7% and 66.7%, 33.3% and 25.3%, 0.0% and 44.7%, 0.0% and 32.6% respectively for slum and non slum areas.

5.0 Public Policies, Initiatives and Opportunities

5.1 Introduction

This section of the highlights the policies and initiatives of the Lagos state government and the potential opportunities for other stakeholders to invest in the city in the process of poverty reduction, equality and city transformation.

5.2 City administration

Currently, governance of the city is at three levels, the State Government, 16 Local government Councils and over 25 Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs). The latter were created by the Ahmed Tinubu administration in 2001. But, unlike most large metropolitan cities of the world, Lagos does not benefit from a municipal administration entirely devoted to responding to the needs of the city. Hence, the state government has reinvigorated its policy of involving community groups in the development process by encouraging communities to form more Community Development Association (CDAs). Between 2001 and 2003, the state government actually spent N12.3 million on community development activities and initiatives (Lagos State Government, 2007).

In the past few years, Lagos has developed vibrant private sector participation (PSP), public-private partnerships (PPP), build operate and transfer (BOT), build own operate and transfer (BOOT), and build own operate and manage (BOOM) in service delivery and infrastructure development. Such include waste management, road rehabilitation, new town development power generation, street lighting, shelter provision and security services. It is the only state that has a dedicated Office of PPP.

5.3 Policies on Poverty and Economic Inclusion

An array of poverty reduction programmes have been put in place by the federal and state governments but with little positive impact. Table 5 shows some of the major programmes embarked upon by the federal government. Since the return of democracy in 1999, the overall objective of the Lagos state government has been to transform Lagos into Africa's model Mega city; to build a world class city state that is clean, secure, livable, functions efficiently and enables the people to express their potentials. Lagos

state has also consistently devised and implemented new strategies and initiatives predicated on 10-Point Agenda (TPA) for its development objective (See Box 2).

Box 2: Development Priorities of Lagos State	
1	Environment
2	Infrastructure development
3	Human capital development (education, health)
4	Poverty eradication
5	Water
6	Promotion of collaborative efforts With the private sector
7	Maintenance of public security and order
8	Public service reform
9	Revenue regeneration
10	Roads and Transportation

Source: LASEEDS-1:2004-2007.

For the unemployed youth in the state, the current administration provides vacation jobs such as planting (of flowers and trees), digging, and grading for young school leavers and those who are still in school. In 2007 the Eko Micro-Finance initiative aimed at granting small grants for improvement of informal sector enterprises has disbursed over Naira1.5 billion to more than 5,000 indigent women and 4,500 university graduates (Lagos State Budget, 2010).

Emphasis has been placed on the development of a gender and women's empowerment frameworks as very well enunciated in the state annual budgets, LASEEDS-1 and 10-Point Agenda. All these policy instruments highlight gender as a crosscutting issue. Budget allocation to WAPA steadily rose from a mere N759 million in 2007 to N3.15 billion in 2009 before sliding to N2.5 billion in 2010. Overall, between 2007 and 2010, WAPA was allocated N8.06 billion for capital and recurrent expenditure (Lagos State Budgets 2007-2010)

5.4 Physical Development Policies and Programmes

The Lagos Mega City Regional Plan recently developed, offers a wide range of programmes and incentives at bridging the urban divide as it concentrates not only on programmes and projects which are regarded as of strategic significance for the redevelopment of the entire Megacity. 'Model City Plans' have been prepared for all the districts constituting Lagos mega city. As of now, the Lekki, Ikeja, Ikoyi-Victoria Island Model City plan has been completed while work has been completed on that of Alimosho. There is also the redevelopment of Lagos CBD and the review of the planning of legislation to make them more responsive to urban planning challenges.

Key projects include redevelopment of the Tejuosho, Oluwole and Balogun markets through public-private partnership. Establishment of the Lekki free trade zone in Ibeju-

Lekki. A new town named the Eko Atlantic City for at least 250,000 people that will span the popular Lagos Bar Beach and the Oniru Estate along Lekki on the Atlantic Ocean is under construction. The development meant to decongest Lagos is being developed under PPP arrangement between the state government and South Energyx Nigeria Ltd and co-financed by First Bank Nigeria Ltd. It will be a highbrow residential and commercial city planned to accommodate about (The Punch 4 October, 2010).

5.5 Land and Housing Policies

Land to Lagos is what oil is to Nigeria hence, three decades ago the government embarked on land banking in the urban periphery as well as far flung areas like Badagry, Eti-Osa, Ikorodu and Lekki. It is such land that the government's agencies build housing units in addition to partially checking speculation and organic growth of the city. Another policy adopted is site and services scheme for housing although most of these sites were beyond the reach of the poor. The high land development charges in the city improve the fiscal capacity of the government but, it is a disincentive towards provision of housing for the low income earners.

Several residential buildings were developed in the Government Residential Area (GRA) in Ikeja by the Lagos state government for the bureaucrats. In order to develop other city nodes, the Amuwo Odofin new town (in Amuwo-Odofin LGA) designed to accommodate 100,000 people in the first phase commenced with the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) building 400 housing units. LSDPC developed in the 1980s several housing estates in Isolo, Ipaja, Ogba (Ikeja), Oko-Oba, Agege, Epetedo, Oko-Awo and Iba.

Under the 1999 policy, the state government plans to provide 45,000 housing units by 2007. The LSDPC was then charged to cater more for the housing needs of the medium and upper classes. The resurgence of development of public housing for the middle and upper classes in choice locations e.g. Ikoyi, Victoria Island and Eti Osa was designed to recover cost. The LSDPC has also developed through PPP arrangements additional housing units in prime locations. As of 2006, LSDPC had 40 estates with 14,972 housing units for low-income, 3,878 and 1,722 units for middle and upper groups respectively.

5.6 Slum Improvement

The Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project has instituted an urban renewal programme for the 760 hectares of land occupied by 1.1 million people in some slums namely Ajegunle, Orile, Okokomaiko, Otto and Sari Iganmu, Oworonshoki, Makoko, Badia, Ilaje, Ijeshatedo/Itire/Agege and Amukoko. Towards this end, the World Bank in partnership with the government has disbursed US\$200 million as take off grant (Alausa Alert Jan, 2010 p. 14). Given the high housing supply deficit, real estate development and urban renewal are two critical and profitable sectors yearning for investors' intervention. For example, 70% of the Lekki zone is still vacant, yet most Lagosians lack access to decent housing (Lagos State Government 2010). Markets and derelict communities could be improved through urban renewal as have been done for the Oshodi market and old Yaba.

5.7 Transportation Policy

The city's transport policy is premised on the inter-modal connections involving land, water and train services. While some measure of success have been realized in the land transport especially the BRT, LAGBUS, Executive taxis, progress has been relatively slow on the other two. Hence, the government is tackling the water transport challenge developing three routes as pilot routes; the Lekki area of Lagos to link Marina and compliment the road expansion work going on at Lekki, Ikorodu to Marina and the Badagry water route right up to Mile 2 linking to Marina. As part of the transformation of the city, 195 new air conditioned buses have been purchased for moving commuters, while another PPP initiative is the Ebute-Ipakodo Ferry service from Ikorodu to Marina in the CBD (Lagos State Budget 2010). The train mass transit system is a planned development commencing with the Expanded Lagos-Badagry Expressway the construction of has started. Perhaps the most profitable investment opportunity in the city is transportation services in view of the large unmet needs and the rapid spatial expansion of the city.

5.8 Environmental Management

In 1999, Governor Babatunde Fashola declared July 14 every year as the tree planting day in the state. The environmental beautification programme tagged Operation Green Lagos (OGL), is designed to re-green the entire state by planting trees and flowers. Apart from beautifying the environment, plants provide assorted ecological services including flood and erosion control and absorb carbon dioxide.. This particular initiative has created employment for more than 4,000 people in the city especially the erstwhile miscreants referred to as "Area Boys".

With a view to further improving environmental sanitation, the government initiated the Waste to Wealth Programme (WWP). An important project under the WWP is the conversion of solid waste to organic fertilizer in a factory sited in Ikorodu, the fertilizer produced is used by farmers and horticulturists. For a large city as Lagos, WWP offers an opportunity for investment some such projects could enjoy the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) supported by the United Nations Organisation. Also, with an estimated requirement of 850 waste collection trucks per day in 2010, more private investors are still capable of making somenmoney in the solid waste sector. The same goes for waste water management.

5.9 Education and Health Care Delivery

Due to the huge number of young population and the thirst for education, construction and operation of educational institutions is averitable investment opportunity in the city. Due to lack of access to clean water, poor hygiene, high density living in the city especially in the informal settlements, illness, such as diarrhea, malaria, tuberculosis affect a large number of people especially women and children. Hence, private individuals and firms could invest in the health care sector.

5.10 Access to Water Supply

This challenge is being tackled by the city administration with the refurbishment of the Adiyin water works and construction of mini-water works in a number of districts such as Amuwo-Odofin, Alimosho, and Lagos Island amongst others. This sector is also rife for PPP because of the estimated 540 million gallons (mgls) of water required per day out of which the Water Agency with an installed capacity of 280mgls per day is able to meet less than 40% of the demand (Lagos State Government, 2010c).

5.11 Security

Security of lives and properties has generally been a serious challenge. Since the last four years the challenge of security has remained a priority of the government and has procured more vehicles and established a State Security Fund while more street lights and closed circuit television are being installed. Given the importance of security, this is an investors haven.

5.12 Resources for City Development

With a view to meeting the challenge of inadequate funds especially for the infrastructure and services, the government initiated a policy of accessing public funds by floating series of bonds on the Nigerian Stock Exchange. Since the policy began in the early 2000s the government has been able to raise more than Naira 150 billion and it has met its obligations to all investors (Lagos State Budgets, 2008 and 2009). Financial institutions should be able to leverage on the viability of the state to make more funds available for profit.

5.13 Conclusion

From the foregoing the pace and nature of urbanization in Lagos are such that the resources, ability and capability to provide for an inclusive city where all have access to affordable and good housing, reliable utilities, services and employment opportunities have been severely constrained. The resultant negative externalities include the development of shanty towns, slums and other informal settlements which are ill-served to cater for the socio-economic and physical needs of the inhabitants. In a desperate need to cope people engage in all forms of informal activities in order to earn a living, secure shelter and any available services.

The phenomenon of informality has been exacerbated by environmental degradation, poor means of mobility, climate change effects, and inadequate financial resources to meet these challenges. Although a number of policy and programme initiatives are being deployed by various governments to address the challenge of poverty in general and urban slums in particular, it is quite evident that both the outputs and outcomes have not been quite robust and incapable of adequately reversing the trend. Hence, the government should leverage on PPP so as to convert these challenges into opportunities.

6.0 Recommendations

1. The Lagos state government should lay more focus on the formulation of inclusive and pro-poor policies as well as on equitable and efficient urban management for in the city. This means that it should operationalize equity and inclusive principles in all planning processes to cater for all categories, especially children, youth, women, the aged, people with disabilities and the poor in general.

2. There is the urgent need for enhancing and deepening local democracy and good governance, and recognizing rights for excluded groups such as women, youth, slum dwellers and workers in the informal economy. Re-evaluation of urban policy on local economic development and workers' rights is essential to recognize the key contribution that urban informal workers make to city economies, and to redress problems of poor working conditions and lack of livelihood security¹⁰.

3. Experience shows that improved governance can significantly reduce urban inequality can. Decentralization and strengthening the city's financial and revenue mobilization capacities are key factors in enhancing the governance of the city.

4. Local governments within the city need to develop and/or strengthen aspects of local youth policies such as youth care, education, youth employment, leisure activities, and family support.

5. There should be improved access to land, housing and employment opportunities for the slum dwellers and the poor in general.

6. The PPP approach should be intensified in many areas such as waste management, water supply, transportation, security, environmental management and climate change adaptation, housing and urban renewal. Pursuit of this approach to service delivery would create jobs, accelerate poverty reduction and liveability of the city as well as attracting new investment in other sectors.

7. There is the need to facilitate broader-ranging cooperation among stakeholders, the existing urban fora for discussion and participation should be fast tracked, systematized, institutionalized and anchored in law. In doing so, government should encourage greater public involvement and promotion of responsive leadership for the management of the city in order to meet the diverse needs of the population.

8. The Model City Plans should be legally adopted and implemented accordingly, and where none exists they should be made to benefit.

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Appendix 1: UN-Habitat SLUM INDICATORS

A slum household consists of one or a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area, lacking one or more of the following five amenities:

1. Durable housing (a permanent structure providing protection from extreme climatic conditions)
2. Sufficient living area (no more than three people sharing a room)
3. access to improved water (water that is sufficient, affordable and can be obtained without extreme effort)
4. Access to improved sanitation facilities (a private toilet, or a public one share with a reasonable number of people) and
5. Secure tenure (de factor or de jure secure tenure status and protection against forced eviction).

Due to data constraints UN-Habitat uses the only the first four indicators to define and project slum households.

Source: UN-Habitat (2010) State of the World’s Cities: 2010/2011 – Bridging the Urban Divide.

Table 1: Economic Activity Status of Respondents

Local Government		Status	
		Slum	Non-Slum
AGEGE	Employed	11.7	56.3
	Unemployed	0.4	4.8
	Homemaker	0.0	3.5

	Full-time student	3.9	14.3
	Retired	0.4	4.3
	Disabled/Illness	0.0	0.4
AJEROMI IFELODUN	Employed	61.5	2.6
	Unemployed	9.8	0.4
	Homemaker	5.3	0.0
	Full-time student	18.1	0.8
	Retired	1.1	0.4
ALIMOSHO	Employed		38.1
	Unemployed		41.7
	Full-time student		19.0
	Retired		1.2
AMUWO-ODOFIN	Employed	33.8	4.1
	Unemployed	11.1	2.7
	Homemaker	5.1	3.4
	Full-time student	25.0	9.8
	Retired	3.7	1.4
APAPA	Employed	6.3	8.4
	Unemployed	28.1	27.0
	Homemaker	0.4	0.7
	Full-time student	14.0	15.1
BADAGRY	Employed	4.3	67.5
	Unemployed	0.0	6.4
	Homemaker	0.0	0.9
	Full-time student	0.0	18.4
	Retired	0.0	2.6
EPE	Employed	51.9	11.3
	Unemployed	6.7	0.0
	Homemaker	0.8	0.4
	Full-time student	16.7	3.3
	Retired	6.7	0.8
	Disabled/Illness	0.8	0.4
ETI-OSA	Employed	19.8	48.7
	Unemployed	1.1	1.1
	Homemaker	0.0	1.1
	Full-time student	12.8	12.8
	Retired	0.5	2.1
IBEJU LEKKI	Employed	13.0	57.3
	Unemployed	2.7	5.9
	Homemaker	0.0	2.2

	Full-time student	1.1	13.5
	Retired	0.0	3.2
	Disabled/Illness	0.0	1.1
IFAKO/ IJAIYE	Employed	28.2	30.2
	Unemployed	7.5	8.6
	Homemaker	1.2	0.0
	Full-time student	11.4	9.0
	Retired	1.2	2.4
	Disabled/Illness	0.4	0.0
IKEJA	Employed		63.8
	Unemployed		10.7
	Homemaker		1.6
	Full-time student		18.1
	Retired		4.1
	Disabled/Illness		1.6
IKORODU	Employed	59.5	7.9
	Unemployed	4.5	0.0
	Homemaker	2.1	0.0
	Full-time student	19.0	2.5
	Retired	4.1	0.0
	Disabled/Illness	0.4	0.0
KOSOFE	Employed	39.8	21.2
	Unemployed	8.9	9.7
	Homemaker	3.7	0.4
	Full-time student	4.8	5.6
	Retired	3.7	2.2
LAGOS ISLAND	Employed	52.7	5.0
	Unemployed	6.5	0.7
	Homemaker	6.5	1.1
	Full-time student	19.0	3.2
	Retired	3.9	0.4
	Disabled/Illness	0.7	0.4
LAGOS MAINLAND	Employed	27.3	24.6
	Unemployed	4.7	1.2
	Homemaker	0.8	2.0
	Full-time student	16.4	16.4
	Retired	2.7	3.5
	Disabled/Illness	0.4	0.0
MUSHIN	Employed	25.1	33.1
	Unemployed	3.6	2.8
	Homemaker	2.0	4.0

	Full-time student	6.8	17.9
	Retired	2.4	2.4
OJO	Employed	16.7	41.5
	Unemployed	7.7	6.4
	Homemaker	1.3	1.3
	Full-time student	6.0	16.7
	Retired	0.9	1.7
OSHODI/ISOLO	Employed		55.3
	Unemployed		21.1
	Homemaker		0.7
	Full-time student		18.5
	Retired		4.0
	Disabled/Illness		0.4
SHOMOLU	Employed	42.6	9.1
	Unemployed	10.3	1.2
	Homemaker	7.0	2.5
	Full-time student	17.4	2.9
	Retired	6.2	0.8
SURULERE	Employed	6.5	55.1
	Unemployed	0.8	7.2
	Homemaker	0.0	1.9
	Full-time student	2.3	23.2
	Retired	0.0	2.3
	Disabled/Illness	0.0	0.8

Source: UN-Habitat (2008)

Table 2: Type of Access to Drinking Water by LGAs

LGAs		Slum	Non-Slum
AGEGE	Safe water	10.2	84.7
	Unsafe water	0	5.1
AJEROMI IFELODUN	Safe water	54.6	20.4
	Unsafe water	4.5	1.1
ALIMOSHO	Safe water	24.8	72.1
	Unsafe water	2.2	1.1
AMUWO-ODOFIN	Safe water	48.9	29.9
	Unsafe water	8.3	8.3
APAPA	Safe water	44.4	41.4
	Unsafe water	6	8.1
ETI-OSA	Safe water	0	12.6
	Unsafe water	10.3	63.2
IFAKO IJAIYE	Safe water	16.8	20.5
	Unsafe water	38.5	22.9
IKEJA	Safe water		89.4
	Unsafe water		4.8
IKORODU	Safe water	58.1	19.4
	Unsafe water	0	10.2
KOSOFE	Safe water	53.2	21.2
	Unsafe water	12.8	10.6
LAGOS ISLAND	Safe water	15.6	55.3
	Unsafe water	0	0
LAGOS MAINLAND	Safe water	41.8	55
	Unsafe water	0	0
MUSHIN	Safe water	57.3	26.4
	Unsafe water	2.3	2.3
OJO	Safe water	5.5	27.8
	Unsafe water	7.8	57.8
OSHODI/ISOLO	Safe water		40.5
	Unsafe water		58.4
SHOMOLU	Safe water	34.1	64.8
	Unsafe water	0	1.1
SURULERE	Safe water	40.3	29.4
	Unsafe water	21.7	7.6

Source: UN-Habitat (2008)

Table 3: House Ownership Structure

LGAs	Ownership Structure	Slum	Non-Slum
AGEGE	Own	3.1	26.5
	Rent	7.1	61.2
	Rent free/squatter/other	0.0	2.0
AJEROMI IFELODUN	Own	2.3	4.6
	Rent	66.7	20.7
	Rent free/squatter/other	3.4	2.3
ALIMOSHO	Own	10.8	22.6
	Rent	15.1	43.0
	Rent free/squatter/other	1.1	7.5
AMUWO-ODOFIN	Own	27.4	21.4
	Rent	33.3	16.7
	Rent free/squatter/other	0.0	1.2
APAPA	Own	4.0	5.1
	Rent	44.4	38.4
	Rent free/squatter/other	2.0	6.1
BADAGRY	Own	22.7	27.8
	Rent	19.6	17.5
	Rent free/squatter/other	8.2	4.1
EPE	Own	14.0	17.0
	Rent	10.0	18.0
	Rent free/squatter/other	26.0	15.0
ETI-OSA	Own	0.0	24.1
	Rent	4.6	41.4
	Rent free/squatter/other	5.7	23.0
IBEJU LEKKI	Own	3.4	36.8
	Rent	4.6	10.3
	Rent free/squatter/other	1.1	43.7
IFAKO IJAIYE	Own	27.7	14.5
	Rent	22.9	25.3
	Rent free/squatter/other	6.0	3.6
IKEJA	Own		18.8
	Rent		67.1
	Rent free/squatter/other		14.1
IKOROKU	Own	11.2	5.1
	Rent	34.7	19.4
	Rent free/squatter/other	23.5	6.1
KOSOFE	Own	21.3	9.6
	Rent	37.2	21.3
	Rent free/squatter/other	8.5	1.1
LAGOS ISLAND	Own	2.1	5.2

	Rent	18.8	54.2
	Rent free/squatter/other	0.0	19.8
LAGOS MAINLAND	Own	9.9	15.4
	Rent	28.6	41.8
	Rent free/squatter/other	4.4	0.0
MUSHIN	Own	5.7	8.0
	Rent	50.6	24.1
	Rent free/squatter/other	9.2	2.3
OJO	Own	1.1	22.2
	Rent	11.1	57.8
	Rent free/squatter/other	1.1	6.7
OSHODI/ISOLO	Own		32.6
	Rent		57.3
	Rent free/squatter/other		10.1
SHOMOLU	Own	11.5	23.0
	Rent	23.0	42.5
SURULERE	Own	5.4	9.8
	Rent	52.2	25.0
	Rent free/squatter/other	5.4	2.2

Source: UN-Habitat (2008)

Table 4: Ownership of Land Dwelling

Local Government		Status	
		Slum	Non-Slum
AGEGE	Yes	3.4	65.5
	No		
	Joint ownership	6.9	24.1
AJEROMI IFELODUN	Yes	33.3	50.0
	No	0.0	16.7
	Joint ownership		
ALIMOSHO	Yes	29.0	51.6
	No	3.2	16.1
	Joint ownership		
AMUWO-ODOFIN	Yes	34.1	39.0
	No	19.5	4.9
	Joint ownership		
APAPA	Yes	44.4	55.6
	No		
	Joint ownership		
BADAGRY	Yes	30.6	44.9
	No	2.0	0.0
	Joint ownership	12.2	10.2
EPE	Yes	41.9	45.2
	No		

	Joint ownership	3.2	9.7
ETI-OSA	Yes		100.0
	No		
	Joint ownership		
IBEJU LEKKI	Yes	5.7	80.0
	No		
	Joint ownership	2.9	11.4
IFAKO IJAIYE	Yes	40.0	22.9
	No	2.9	2.9
	Joint ownership	22.9	5.7
IKEJA	Yes		93.8
	No		6.3
	Joint ownership		
IKOROKU	Yes	62.5	25.0
	No		
	Joint ownership	6.3	6.3
KOSOFE	Yes	63.3	26.7
	No	3.3	3.3
	Joint ownership		
LAGOS ISLAND	Yes	14.3	57.1
	No		
	Joint ownership	14.3	14.3
LAGOS MAINLAND	Yes	34.8	30.4
	No	4.3	26.1
	Joint ownership	0.0	4.3
MUSHIN	Yes	41.7	41.7
	No	0.0	8.3
	Joint ownership	0.0	8.3
OJO	Yes	4.8	90.5
	No		
	Joint ownership	0.0	4.8
OSHODI/ISOLO	Yes		55.2
	No		3.4
	Joint ownership		41.4
SHOMOLU	Yes	33.3	66.7
	No		
	Joint ownership	33.3	66.7
		5.0	7.0
SURULERE	Yes	35.7	50.0
	No	0.0	14.3
	Joint ownership		

Source: UN-Habitat (2008)

Table 5: Major Poverty Alleviation Agencies Established by Government

Agency	Year	Remark
i. Agriculture Development Projects (ADPs)	1975	Ongoing
ii. National Directorate of Employment (NDE)	1986	Ongoing
iii. National Board for Community Bank (NBCB)	1991	Ongoing
iv. Population Activities Fund Agency (PAFA)	1990	Ongoing
v. National Primary Health Care Agency (NPGCDA)	1990	Ongoing
vi. Federal Environmental protection Agency (FEPA)	1981	Became Fed. Min. of Env't. (1999) Merged with NICON (2000)
vii. National Agricultural Insurance Scheme (NAIC)	1986	Absorbed by FMARD
viii. Federal Agricultural Coordinating Act (FACA)	1997	Absorbed by the UBE
ix. National Commission of Mass Literacy (NCMC)	1989	Phased out, functions shortly absorbed by FMARD
x. Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI)	1997	Phase out and functions absorbed by NACRDB
xi. Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP)	1972	NACRDB
xii. Nigerian Agricultural Cooperative Bank (NACB)	1989	Converted to NACRDB
xiii. Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN)	1989	Phase out and function absorbed by NACRDB
xiv. Federal Urban Mass Transit	1999	NACRDB
xv. National Agricultural Land Development Agency (NALOA)	1989	Absorbed by FMT
xvi. Universal Basic Education Programme	1989	Abolished
xvii. Nigeria Agricultural Co-operative and Rural Development Bank (NACRDB)	2000	Phase out and function performed by FMARD
xviii. River Basin Development Authority (RBDA)	2000	Ongoing
xix. National Commission for Nomadic Education	1986	
xx. Poverty Alleviation Programme	1989	Ongoing
xxi. National Poverty Alleviation Programme	2001	Ongoing
xxii. National Poverty Alleviation Programme		Absorbed
		Abolished
		On-going

Source: After Technical Committee on Review of Poverty Programmes in Nigeria, vol. 1, Main Report.