



## **Master in Urban Management and Development**

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### **Thesis**

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF WATER  
COMMUNITIES.

The Case study of Makoko 'the landless slum' along Lagos  
Lagoon, Nigeria.

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UMD-4

## **Summery**

This research is about a slum known as Makoko which is located in the heart of Lagos, Nigeria. The settlement is located partly on land and partly on the Lagos lagoon. Makoko is primarily a fisher folk community characterised with poor housing and environmental conditions. Located at the centre of the city, the slum is seen to expand in population and in the physical boundary. The sprawling slum extends further into the lagoon, as the structures built on top of the lagoon multiply daily; polluting the waters they are built upon.

There have been several attempts by the Lagos State government to evict the inhabitants of Makoko and clear the slum. These evictions were only successful in destroying the housing, property and livelihood of those affected, driving them further into poverty. The strategic location of the slum by the Lagos lagoon and in the heart of the city makes the slum target for developers. The poor housing and living conditions in the community give the government a reason to evict the people. However, the slum dwellers have persistently remained in Makoko, as those previously evicted return, those who reside there remain and new migrants flock into the settlement.

This research is developed to understand the growth phenomenon occurring in Makoko. It aims to study the various reasons the inhabitants remain in the slum and the importance of the slum to the inhabitants. The study view point is that slum dwellers are intelligent people who would not remain in a location if not does not benefit them in someway. Therefore the study looks at the livelihood assets available in Makoko and its benefit to the people. It also find out the various ways the inhabitants will like to improve their housing conditions and consequently improve their living conditions.

The research looks at the slum through the view point of the inhabitants, with the aim of finding out what the inhabitants want, need and would want to have, in order to improve their housing conditions. The research solely focuses on Makoko community and its inhabitants. The research methodology is therefore an explorative and descriptive case study research.

The research will eventually recommend the most appropriate strategy for Makoko inhabitants to improve the housing, living and environmental conditions in the settlement. The research objective is to show the reasons for the growth of slums, understand the factors that enhance the growth process and eventually help the inhabitants of the Makoko and other similar slums live a better and healthier life.

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This thesis is dedicated to the inhabitants of Makoko and to IHS, happy 50 years!

## **Abbreviations**

LMDP	Lagos State Metropolitan Development Program
SERAC	Social and Economic Rights Action Centre
COHRE	Centre of Housing Rights and Eviction
CDA	Community Development Association
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SIDA	Swedish International development Corporation Agency
CESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IRIN	Investor Relation Information Network
C of O	Certificate of Occupancy
AGFE	Advisory Group on Forced Evictions
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Program

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the research area and topic. It explains the process of slum formation in Nigeria and in particular Lagos city and describes how a forced eviction has been used to stop slum formation and growth. It presents the problem statement, motivation of the study, research objectives and finally states the research questions.

### **1.1 Background of study**

In the early hours of Wednesday, 27 April, 2005 several armed police men accompanied with bulldozers entered Makoko community without prior warning to demolish the community. The clearance exercise occurred for 3 consecutive days; the bulldozers demolished 187 housing units including 2 churches, 1 mosque and 1 medical centre (SERAC, 2005). The forced evictions of Makoko in April, 2005 rendered approximately 3,000 people homeless and displacing the inhabitants of an entire zone in Makoko community. This consequently cut those affected from their livelihood options available to them, thereby driving them further into urban poverty. The ruins created by the demolitions were later burnt and the area cleared out. Individuals who protested were either beaten up or arrested and to control the angered community, teargas and firearms were used to disperse the people. Several people were injured that day, including women and children (Amnesty International 2006).

Makoko settlement has been plagued with several forced evictions. According to the Centre of Housing Rights and Evictions, COHRE, over 300,000 people have been forcefully evicted from Makoko in the last 15 years. These forced evictions were carried out without prior notification nor was there any alternative housing arrangement or compensation given to the displaced persons. Consequently, the Nigeria government has consistently been regarded as one of the worst housing right violators in Africa for evictions that have been taking place in Nigerian cities like Lagos, Port Harcourt and Abuja. (AGFE Report for UN-Habitat, 2007)

Makoko known as “the landless slum” is a shanty town located in the centre of Lagos city, along the banks and on the Lagos lagoon. It is primarily a fisher folk community with an estimated population of 85,165 people. Makoko is one of the 43 large blighted slums identified in Lagos and has been classified as one of the 9 largest slums in the city. Makoko peculiarity and what distinguishes it from other slum is its location in Lagos. Located at the centre of the city, it is characterised by poor housing and environmental conditions which are visible for all to see, especially to those commuting on the 3<sup>rd</sup> mainland bridge. The community is said to date back several generations and occupied by a mixed income group of low class and lower-middle class all living in a community deprived of various basic infrastructure and amenities, however there is a zone in Makoko that displace extreme poverty and lack.

Despite the several force evictions and the poor environmental conditions found in the settlement, Makoko continues to grow in both population size and physical boundary. More housing units can be seen sprawling further into the Lagoon and along road side.

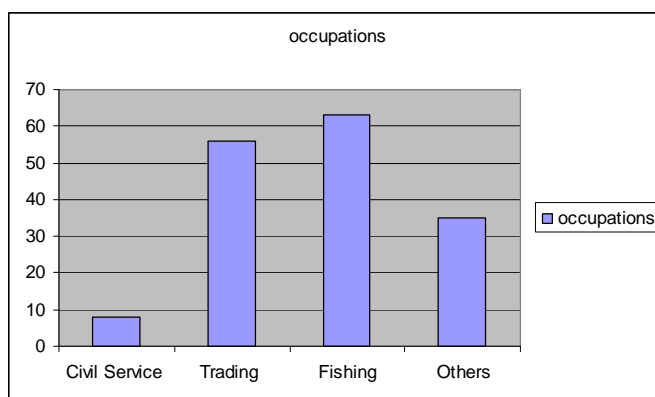
The slum is seen to be growing and consolidating at an accelerated rate, overwhelming government's effort to clear out the slum in order to carry out urban renewal and city beautification in Lagos city.

## 1.2 Description of Research Area

According to Squattercity (2007), Makoko settlement is primarily known as a fishing community whose inhabitant have lived and fished and lived on the local waters of Lagos lagoon for almost a hundred years. The settlement is based partly on the lagoon and partly on land bordering the lagoon. Makoko is made up is 98 percent brackish water and 2 percent marshland. Some of the inhabitants of Makoko are notably immigrant fishermen. Inhabitants on the lagoon are said to be mainly the Ijaw and Egun people in Nigeria and from other neighbouring countries like Benin Republic, Cameroun, Ghana and Togo. There is a network of wooden planks that connects the settlement to the main land, which is also used by canoe makers and allows access to the outside world to buy of the canoes. The inhabitants on land are said to be mainly Nigerians from different parts of the country. The community based on the land regularly suffers from heavy flooding that is knee deep. The average monthly income is said to be between 10,773 Naira (US \$92) and 15,000 Naira (US\$ 127) monthly. There are various occupations found in Makoko, but the major occupation found in the settlement are fishing and trading (LMDP Report 2002).

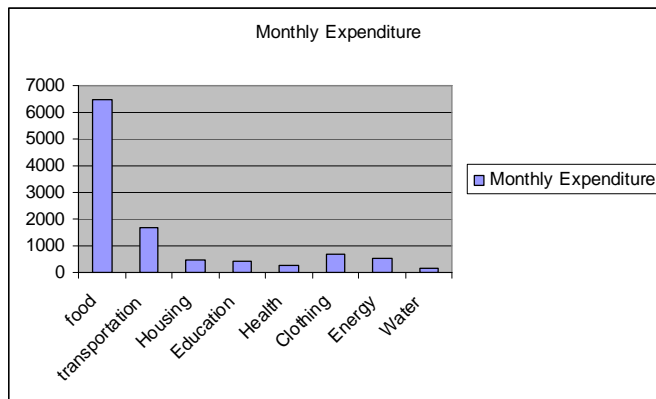
The figures below are the occupation distribution and average monthly expenditure distribution of Makoko inhabitants.

**Figure 1.1 Occupation Distributions in Makoko.**



Source: Stoveland Consult, Kristiansand's draft report for LMDP

**Figure 1.2 Average household expenditure per month: WTP survey**



Source: Stoveland Consult, Kristiansand's draft report for LMDP

The table below shows a general summary of the infrastructure facilities found in Makoko.

**Table 1.1 Summary of infrastructure facilities present in Makoko community.**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY DATA FROM MAKOKO		
Housing	Household size	6 people
	No. of rooms	1 no.
	% Sharing bathroom	90 %
	% Sharing Kitchen	69 %
	% Without indoor cooking	23 %
	% Tenants	74 %
Road	Roads tarred in front of houses	4 nos.
	Walking time to public transport	5 minutes
Water supply	From vendor water sellers	43 %
	From boreholes and wells	41 %
	From public stand pipes	12 %
	From tanker drivers	0 %
	From yard shared standpipe	2.7 %
	From direct house connection	1.8 %
Sanitation	Pit Latrine	31 %
	Pour flush toilet	60 %
	WC attached to septic tank	8 %
	No toilet	1.8 %
Solid waste	Dumping ground in neighborhood	0.9 %
	Truck pusher	96 %
	Neighborhood garbage bin	0 %
	Garbage bin outside house	0 %
	Other	0.9 %
Street lights	In street	12 %
	Working regularly	0.9 %
Electricity	In house (legal or illegal)	100 %
Drainage	Regular flooding in streets	86 %

	Regular flooding in houses	41 %
--	----------------------------	------

Source: Survey data (LMDP, 2002)

### 1.3 Housing Situation in Nigeria

Slum formation in Nigeria is on the increase as the world rapidly urbanizes and the most urbanizing region in the world being in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, majority of the growth taking place in slums and informal settlements is in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria has a population of 140 million people (2006 census) and land coverage of an estimated 1 million square meters. The urbanisation rate in Nigeria is 5.5%, a figure that is almost twice the population growth rate of the country (Agbola, & Agunbiade 2007). According to Lagos State 2004 Report, by the year 2010, it is estimated that Nigeria's urban population will exceed the rural population. The rapid urbanisation experienced in Nigeria is mismatched with the slow rate of development, as Nigerian cities expand, they lack the resources needed to provided and maintain the urban infrastructure for its growing population. In addition, population distribution in Nigeria is concentrated in only a few cities such as Lagos, putting immense amount of pressure on the cities with the highest employment opportunities in the country.

Housing stock in Nigerian cities are grossly inadequate, particularly the most populated cities in the country. A research by the Association of Housing Corporative of Nigeria in 1996 states that 60,000 units has to be built annually in the next 30 years, in exact figures 1.8 million housing units most be built by the year 2026 for the housing deficit to be met. With the population increase, in 2000 Nigeria needed 12 to 14 million housing units. The research also estimates that by 2020 the country will need 29 to 40 million housing units to solve the housing shortage in the country. In addition, Nigeria's poverty level rose from 46.3% in 1985 to 65.6% in 1996 and 70% in 2003. Current figure shows that 80 million people live below the poverty. This shows that half Nigeria's population lives below the poverty level of US\$1.00 per day. With gross poverty in Nigeria, affordable housing is both inaccessible and unavailable for the majority of the urban poor (Lagos State Report 2004).

### 1.4 Slum formation in Lagos

*'About two thirds of the state's total land mass of 3,577 square kilometres could be classified as shanties or slums'* (Governor of Lagos, 2006 in Davis, p 14).

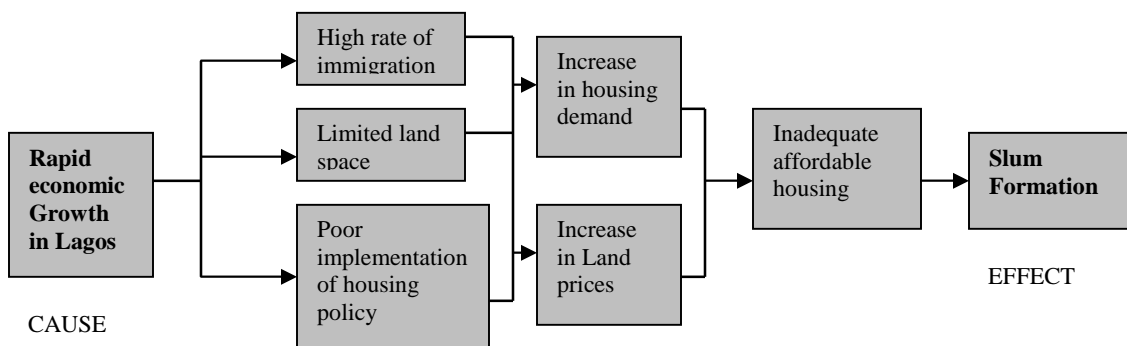
The coastal city of Lagos is grouped as one of the world's mega cities. With an estimated population of 13 million people, Lagos is the most populous city in Nigeria. Lagos land area is only 3,345sqkm, which represents only 0.4 percent of Nigeria's total land area. This makes Lagos the smallest state in terms of land area occupied by the largest population of people in the country. As home to one of Africa's leading ports and Nigeria's economic and commercial hub, Lagos is the most prosperous city in Nigeria. From the era when it was the seat of government till present day, Lagos has continued to grow stronger economically. The resultant effect of this economic growth is the rapid rate of immigration into the state, producing a rapid rate of urbanisation.

An estimated 600,000 people migrate into Lagos annually from rural areas and neighbouring countries. This means that every 53 seconds a person migrates into Lagos, looking for the promise of better life others have allegedly found in Lagos. The migrants leave their status as part of the rural population and become part of the city's urban population, increasing the number of urban poor in the city. The combination of large population and unavailability of land for housing creates exorbitant land prices that low income earners can not afford. The product of which is an unprecedented housing deficit for the majority of the urban poor. In response, the urban poor turn to the informal and illegal housing markets to meet their housing needs, creating newer squatter settlements and expanding the already existing slums.

Though rapid urbanisation in Lagos was predicted, the rate of urbanisation was acutely underestimated. In the last decade urbanisation has doubled in the city and still continues to increase at a startling rate. Unfortunately the population growth has not supported by the provision of the much needed social and economic infrastructure needed to support a mega city (Olu Sule 1990).

According to the United Nation, there are over 200 slums sprawling in Lagos. Two thirds of the city's land area is classified as slum communities. The resultant effect is that 2 out of 3 people in the city live in deprived areas identified as informal settlement in need for urban renewal (Davis 2006). In a recent attempt to give the city a face lift, the state government classified 43 extremely deprived settlements with a population of 957,365 as blighted areas in the city that urgently needed renewal to achieve city beautification and urban safety. To rid the city of slums, the government engaged in several forced evictions and consequently succeeded in clearing several slum communities but also created new slums and increased the population density of old slums in Lagos. The diagram below shows the slum formation process in Lagos.

**Figure 1.3 Slum formation process in Lagos**



## 1.5 Evictions in Nigeria

Forced evictions are a frequent occurrence in Nigeria with a total of 2,334, 433 million people forcefully evicted from their homes from 1995 to 2005. Nigeria has consistently been called the worst human rights violator in Africa and even the world. (AGFE Report 2007) In Nigeria forced evictions primarily targets marginalised people who mostly reside in slums and have lived in their communities for several years, deprived of basic services and amenities. In 1996, over a quarter of a million people were evicted from their homes and business premises in a 21 days clearance exercise that took place in Lagos. In 2002, a total of 1.2 million people were also evicted from Rainbow Town in Port Harcourt, Rivers State. The Rivers State government claimed the demolition was necessary for urban renewal. Those affected were never provided with housing or given any compensation. In Abuja, between November to December 2005, a total of 800,000 people were rendered homeless and without work due to forced eviction done in order to revert back to the Abuja Master Plan. Once again, no compensation or alternate housing was given to those affected.

The table below shows forced eviction trends from 1995 to 2005 in seven countries, with Nigeria having the second highest number of evicted persons, after China.

**Table 1.2 Slum Evictions in Seven Countries**

REPORTED FORCED EVICTIONS Selection of Seven Countries, 1995-2005 Number of persons evicted								
Year	Zimbabwe	Indonesia	China	Nigeria	Bangladesh	India	South Africa	Totals
1995	6,500	300	336,754	17,300		6,550	86,965	454,369
1996		272,182	336,754	253,105	25,580	156,790	112,151	1,156,562
1997	200	272,182	336,754	15,000	22,000	65,000	128,996	840,132
1998			336,754			172,000	65,771	574,525
1999			336,754	300	100,205	2,460	88,223	527,942
2000			336,754	1,201,100		177,455	57,230	1,772,539
2001	8,300	40,205	341,754	7,500	63,750	450	27,924	498,883
2002	250,000	3,000	439,754	165		950	62,878	756,747
2003		5,184	686,779	12,000		150,850	138,308	993,121
2004	5,000	39,184	467,058	7,550	21,552	20,715	56,813	617,872
2005	704,300	4,425	187,064	820,413	9,355	363,795	1,420	2,090,772
Total	974,300	645,662	4,142,933	2,334,442	242,442	1,117,015	826,679	10,283,464

Source: Second report of AGFE to the executive Director of UN-Habitat

With forced eviction on the increase in Nigeria, communities such as Makoko are under the continuous threat of forced evictions, creating a problem for the inhabitants of the communities.

## **1.6 Problem Statement**

Makoko inhabitants are regarded as deprived people. The community itself is deprived of basic amenities like water, electricity, drainage, sewage disposal, roads, schools, health centres, and good housing units. Makoko dwellers in recent years have had to endure extreme hardship from the several demolition exercises that took place in the community, displacing the inhabitants from their homes and breaking important social networks and limiting access to livelihood options. Makoko is located at the centre of Lagos city and with the limited land area in the city; it is a prime location for new property development. The unavailability of land in Lagos and with the high prices of land and housing, Makoko community remains on the endangered list for redevelopment. However, with the influx of migrants into the city and lack of housing options, Makoko also remains an ideal location for immigrants coming from all over the country and neighbouring countries to settle.

In recent years, the slums has expanded, as housing units can now be seen sprawling further into the lagoon, while overcrowding of existing houses increases on Makoko on land. As the slum grows the living conditions of its inhabitants worsen. Part of the housing stock in Makoko is built with temporary material such as used plywood, bamboo, mud, cartons and any available material that can be used. There is inadequate drinking water, inadequate sanitary facilities and a high level of environmental pollution in the community. The community's living conditions is said to pollute the lagoon which flows directly into the Atlantic Ocean, thereby creating a health hazard to all who live in the settlement and the surrounding communities along the lagoons. Life expectancy in the community is said to be 45 years due to the presence of malaria, HIV, cholera, typhoid fever and other deadly diseases that plagues the inhabitants. This creating a negative perception of the slum and its inhabitants, as it is considered as a dangerous and highly volatile settlement that is also used as a criminal hideout. Makoko is furthermore considered as a dangerous part of the city as police presence is largely absent in the community, this further segregates the inhabitants of the community from the rest of Lagos.

The main problem in the community and the motivation for this research is the continuous expansion of the slum further into the lagoon and the increased congestion of houses on land. The expansion of Makoko creates overcrowding, poor housing conditions in the settlement and varying health and safety issues. This research aims to understand the reasons for this growth by studying the community and its inhabitants, in order to be able to improve their housing and living conditions in the most appropriate way that best serves the inhabitants.

## **1.7 Research Objective**

- This research plans to identify and understand the factors that enhanced the formation, continuous existence and growth of Makoko slum.
- It plans to identify the livelihood options available in the community in order to understand the importance of Makoko to its inhabitants.
- It plans to identify why the several forced evictions by the government have failed in clearing the slum and its inhabitants.

- The research will identify what Makoko dwellers consider as the most appropriate housing solution in the community and how they plan to achieve it.
- This research plans to collect data that will be useful for other in-dept research that will be carried out in the community, as it plans to act as a source of information for further related study.

### **1.8 Research Questions**

1. Why does Makoko settlement continue to develop and consolidate despite governments efforts to clear the slum?
  - What are the factors that enhance the growth of Makoko slum?
  - Why has the clearance of Makoko slum failed over the years despite forced eviction?
2. What do Makoko inhabitants consider to be the most appropriate strategy for providing housing and improving their general living condition?



## Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews various literatures by different authors on issues that are relevant to the study of the research.

### 2.1 Slums and Informal Settlements

According to UN-Habitat, slums are defined as blighted areas in a city that are densely populated and characterised by poor and deteriorating housing conditions and without tenure security. Many academics have argued that this definition is general and although slums have similar characteristics, they are very distinct and diverse from one another.

Slums were originally areas located in cities in developed countries. They were once respectable areas in these cities but they deteriorated over time. However, slums have also come to include informal and squatter settlements usually found in developing countries that depict the signs of increasing urban poverty in these countries (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Cities Alliance, a world wide network committed to achieve the goal of cities without slums and finding new approaches to reduce poverty describes slums as *“neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Slums have different names..... but yet share the same miserable conditions”*.

Slums are viewed differently by various authors. The different perceptions of slums are looked into, to give a clear understanding on the potentials and disadvantages of slums and how they can be considered and dealt with.

#### 2.1.1 Negative Perception of slum and slum dwellers

Slums are negatively perceived as ‘blighted areas’ in a city, where criminal activities and vices take place, area of low and debased moral standards. Slums are locations with bad housing conditions and with terrible sanitary conditions. It is also believed that slums are disease prone areas, vicinities where epidemics breed. They are also considered as hideout for illegal immigrants and areas where poverty and deprivation thrive (UN-Habitat, 2007).

According to The Global Research Centre (SIDA, 2006), slums are deteriorating urban settlements, with unsanitary environmental conditions, which are highly congested and marked with poor housing conditions. It has been discovered that not all slum dwellers are poor and disadvantaged, many have been found to be middle income earners with formal employment. A majority of slum dwellers are highly dependant on the informal market and they possess very minute number of productive assets, since they lack the education and opportunity for formal employment. According to Devadas & Desai (1990), a significant number of slum dwellers live in very unhealthy conditions often degrading their local eco-system. Most slums are located on illegal land with housing structure that is usually vernacularly, constructed by the inhabitants themselves using diverse, easily

found materials for construction. These characteristics make slums areas where diseases can easily be transmitted and infant mortality high. Many slum dwellers live on hazardous or marginal land, and they are constantly threatened by forced evictions (Sida, 2006).

Slums or informal settlement, are terms used interchangeably, they are also popularly referred to as ghetto, shanty towns, or favelas, and depending on the country they are found. Many also consider them as starting points for riots, social and political dispute. Another negative perception of slum dwellers is that they are highly unskilled people with little or no type of formal education and therefore unable to productively partake in the opportunities available in cities, making their contribution to the city's economy and development insignificant and often counter productive (UN-Habitat, 1987). Slum dwellers themselves and many academics oppose this widely held perception of slums and its inhabitants; they are convinced that such misconception has increased the rate of forced evictions in slum communities.

Some quotes reflecting the previous negative perception of slums from the 1930's:

*"Urbanization is facilitating, disciplining, embellishing, giving man the elements of a life that distinguishes him more and more from the initial eras of the human community. The urbanization of the city will give the town hall the means for raising the standard of life of the people, building houses and protecting the city from shameful slums"* (Campelo, 1938).

*"From [slums]...come all moral and material miseries and all vices. In the slums there is tuberculosis and alcoholism. Low instincts are developed there. Fighting against slums is taking part in a battle for raising morality and for improving the physical health of the race"* (Mendonca, 1931)

### **2.1.3 Positive Perceptions of slums and slum dwellers**

Slums or informal settlements are considered to be as an essential solution to the shortage of housing stock predominant in a rapidly urbanising world. Slums contribute an enormous percentage of the labour found in cities, which increases the cities productivity. Unlike the pessimistic perception of slum being unorganised and without any social coordination, the contrary has been discovered, that slums are vastly organised and such organisations is displaced when there are threats of forced evictions or involuntary relocation. Slum dwellers have strong social cohesion and behave as a family when necessary. Slums also have been noted to have leaders and community representatives who represent their collective interest just like any other community found in urban areas (Nawagamuwa & Viking, 2003).

Slums are very rich and diverse in their social assemblage; they consist of inhabitants from varying ethnic backgrounds, cultural and religious groups, occupation and social levels. Slums have a rich and varied source of knowledge and if the inhabitants are included in decision making and their participation sort in issues affecting their development, they will be more productive and successful in improving their settlement.

Housing continues to be a problem for the low income category in developing countries, therefore, slums and informal settlements are 'base camps for survival' for they provide a logical solution to housing the urban poor and provide a pragmatic means to escape poverty in urban areas. It is therefore believed that the recognition of slums as part of the city will contribute to the city's sustainable development without excessive demand on services and infrastructure and minimal energy consumption (UN-Habitat, 1987).

According to Payne (2005), most slum dwellers are migrants who come to the city to capture opportunities found in urban areas. They come with the attitude to survive and succeed, no matter the urban challenges thrown at them. Their survival attitude enables them to be very active member of the city, gaining access into enterprising parts of the city as they struggle to improve their living conditions. Various research conducted by UN-Habitat finds that unemployment and poverty associated with slum dwellers gradually disappear as they discover where economic opportunity can be found, and earn a living though informal sector.

There is a close interaction and interdependency between the formal and informal sector. The informal sector contributes significantly to the formal sector in the form of providing particular goods and services at a reduced cost, such as garbage collection, recycling, domestic help, informal markets and trade and light manufacturing. While the formal sector contributes to the informal sector, goods and services such as infrastructure provision and job opportunities (Nawagamuwa & Viking 2003).

Slums or informal settlements have been classified into two groups. UN-Habitat classified them as "slums of hope" and "slums of despair". Where the "slums of hope" are slums that are improving daily, theses slums are characterised by newer structures, usually illegal, they are mostly self built structures that have or are undergoing the process of development, consolidation and improvement. On the other hand "slums of despair" are neighbourhoods on a downward slope with declining environmental conditions and decaying services.

Jane Jacobs also classified slums into two categories, namely 'unslumming slums' and 'perpetual slums'. 'Unslumming slums' are slums that have existed over generations and have improved over time. As the inhabitant's financial situation improves, they tend to upgrade their settlement gradually and eventually become respectable areas in the city. "Perpetual slums" on the other hand are settlements that gradually deteriorate into slums. They are settlements often created by the state and urban planners in order to solve existing housing problems, but over time and with poor maintenance these areas become slums. 'Perpetual slums' are most often formal settlements like relocation sites, low income housing neighbourhood or social housing.

## **2.2 The Millennium Development Goals, Target 11**

In 2000 the Millennium Development Goals MDG were adopted by member states of the United Nations. Its main aim was to address poverty and its effects in the lives of people. 8 goals were set and each of theses goals were given targets in order to ensure they were realised. A total of 18 targets with over 40 indicators were developed to guarantee a universal evaluation of the goals.

Under Goal 7, Ensuring environmental sustainability is target 11, which is attaining “Cities without slums” where “by 2015, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers”. With a world urban population of nearly two billion people, the figure is expected to double in the next 30 years. This specifies that half the world population will be living in urban areas. It has been noticed that most of the world urban dwellers will be the urban poor and will be living in slums. Presently, it is estimated that one-third of the world population already live in slums. In actual figures, an estimated 924 million people live in slums with 188 million slum dwellers living in Africa, where large numbers of slum dwellers are facing the compelling challenge of high morbidity and infant mortality rate. The number of slum dwellers in the world is expected to double by 2030 unless there is a tangible intervention. Target 11 became a response to this challenge. It recognises that slums are not only a product of urban poverty but they are important developmental issues that can not be ignored (UN-Habitat, 2007).

Two indicators were originally assigned to Target 11. They were secure tenure and access to improved sanitation. However, the indicators were not found to be sufficient in defining and measuring slums. UN-Habitat in 2002 then developed five main indicators that characterised most slums in the world. These 5 indicators are: Access to safe water, Access to Sanitation, Tenure Security, Durability of Housing and Sufficient living area.

**2.2.1 Access to safe water:** Clean water is essential and paramount to human life and health, unfortunately an estimated 2 billion people lack access to it, many of whom are in developing countries. Most Slum dwellers lack access to water and have to walk several kilometres to get clean water, since they are not connected to pipe water network; others pay an exorbitant amount, almost 200 times more than the price of pipe water to water vendors.

UN-Habitat has defined improved access to clean water as direct pipe water connection to individual households, public pipe water stand shared by a maximum of two households or access to protected boreholes or wells. Access to water should have three main characteristics.

- The water should be affordable, that is, it should not take more than 10 percent of household income.
- The water should be sufficient in quantity; therefore 20 litres should be available per day for each person.
- The water should be accessible without excessive physical effort and should not take unnecessary proportion of the household time in obtaining it.

**2.2.2 Access to sanitation:** Inadequate sanitation kills about 2.2 million people every year. It is a major cause of diseases and deaths especially in infant and it affects not only the health but also the environment and hampers economic development in man hour lost due to illness. Lack of sanitary disposal threatens not only communities but also the entire global water resources.

Access to adequate sanitation facilities includes a private connection directly to a dwelling that flows directly into either a public sewer system or a septic tank with

adequate holding, a flush latrine that can be private or shared, a well ventilated pit latrine that is either shared or private but not public.

Definition of elements used above:

- Private use of toilet or latrine facilities is private usage by single family.
- Shared use of toilet or latrine facilities is shared usage by a maximum of two families.

**2.2.3 Secure Tenure:** “*Secure Tenure is the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against forced evictions*” (UN-Habitat, 2003). It is in simple words ‘*Freedom from fear of eviction*’ (UN-Habitat, 2007). Secure tenure is said to be evident when there is proof for individuals in form of documentation, de facto or perceived protection that they will not be forcefully evicted from their homes within five years, which can be in the form of a formal title deed on either land, residence or both, any documentation proving tenure arrangement, rental contracts, customary tenure or irregular occupancy with proof of property tax payment, any municipality payment, or utility bills.

Although it has been proven that secure tenure alone can not solve the problems identified with slum formation and growth such as inadequate housing, poverty, poor environmental conditions in slums or provide credit for the poor, it plays a vital role in achieving the MDGs objective in improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers. Secure tenure is said to encourages slum inhabitants to invest in their housing, assist the government to carry out long term planning, reduce poverty and social exclusion, gives more women and children the access to inherit land and property.

There are two major forms tenure security can take; they are individual and communal tenure security. Both types of tenure security can be on temporary or permanent solutions. Individual tenure involves the provision of security of tenure to individual members of a community. It is a much preferred option but it takes a longer time and has more administrative cost. The communal tenure, either temporary or permanent provides the option and possibility of upgrading the community to a more permanent individual tenure security. It also reduces the administrative cost and time of registering property, which can take several days and months in some countries. It also limits the attraction and possibility of higher income groups from buy out the poor from their properties. Whatever the type of tenure security, when provided keeps the urban poor close to their source of livelihood (Payne, 2005).

**2.2.4 Durability of housing:** Durable housing is housing located in non-hazardous location, constructed with strong or permanent building material that can protect them against strong weather or extreme climate. Materials used can be modern or traditional in nature but should be in compliance with local building standards.

**2.2.5 Sufficient living area:** Over crowding is one of the noticeable characteristics of slums. Sufficient living area is classified as a maximum of two persons sharing the same room (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Study show that slums located on water fronts are found to exhibit characteristics that are different from slums on based on land. It is therefore vital to look at the special traits and environmental conditions peculiar to water communities as the research population reside on houses located on and around water.

### **2.3 Water front communities**

Cities that are located at the banks of or on top of water and have developed based on their proximity to water bodies are water front settlement. In developing countries, these water front communities are occupied by low income or the urban poor in order to gain access to employment and infrastructure in the city. Risk areas such as flood plains are a cheap and practical alternative for informal settlement location. Informal settlement inhabitants settle on water fronts like rivers, lagoons, lakes etc because of it strategic location to the heart of city, nearness to their source of livelihood and for cultural reasons (Navarro, 1994).

Various research carried out do not classify water front communities, whether formal or informal as poor communities. Water front communities have been discovered to exist as a result of ancestral occupation of the inhabitant and their need to have access to the water body in form of Lagoon, lake, river etc for fishing or agricultural benefit. Therefore poverty can not be used as an indicator for settlements located on water, as the location where the community resides has both traditional and cultural values to the inhabitant as well as the advantage of having easy connection to the city centre and access into formal employment and informal activities in a the city.

Slums on water generally have worse living and environmental standards than slums on land; this is because the inhabitants of water communities settle in areas that are not suitable for habitation as they are mostly on risk plains. In general water front communities share some similar problems with other slums such as lack of infrastructure like clear water supply, roads, drainage facilities, sanitation facilities, waste collection management, flood management techniques and its inhabitants are more often prone to health problems such as diseases and accidents (Hurtado, 2005 quoted in Tovar, 2006).

A widespread solution to slum formation and growth around the world especially in developing countries and in particular Nigeria has been forced evictions. According to AGFE report, a total of 2,334,433 million people forcefully evicted in Nigeria from 1995 to 2005, forced eviction is an occurrence that took place in Makoko and a frequent occurrence in Nigerian cities.

### **2.4 Forced Evictions**

Forced eviction is a phenomenon that occurs yearly all around the world, which involves the temporary but most often permanent displacement of individuals, families and entire communities against their will, from their homes, land, and businesses. Millions of people all over the world are forcefully ejected from their houses and communities and in most cases without adequate notice or due compensation (UN-Habitat, 2007). However, forced evictions are mostly channelled to poor and vulnerable households. Those targeted and affected are mostly poor individuals and communities, living under

informal or illegal land tenure. They are evicted without consultation, notice or even alternate housing and compensation (Plessis, 2004).

Forced evictions take place for various reasons, they include:

- Absence of tenure security, which is mostly absent in poor communities.
- Developmental projects, which include infrastructure and service provision.
- City beautification schemes.
- Large scale international events, such as Olympics and World Cup games.
- Absent or nonchalant attitude of government towards the poor.
- Ethnic, political or religious conflicts
- Gentrification, where market forces push out the poor.

#### **2.4.1 Forced Eviction: Illegal and Unjust**

Forced eviction without consulting those to be affected or providing housing alternatives and compensation is illegal according to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the main legal source of international housing rights law. Article 11(1) comment No. 7 states that *'the State itself must refrain from forced evictions and ensure that the law is enforced against its agents or third parties who carry out forced evictions'* it continues by saying that *'Evictions should not result in individuals being rendered homeless or vulnerable to the violation of other human rights'*. This law further prescribes protective mechanism for persons who have to be evicted because of exceptional circumstances where evictions can not be avoided. 150 countries including Nigeria signed this covenant.

The UN Commission on Human Rights in 1993 also declared forced evictions as 'a gross violation of Human Rights'; this statement was also reaffirmed by the UN sub-Commission on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights, stating more elaborately that *'the practice of forced eviction constitutes a gross violation of a broad range of human rights, in particular the right to adequate housing, the right to remain, the right to freedom of movement, the right to privacy, the right to property, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to security of home, the right to security of the person, the right to security of tenure and the right to equality of treatment'* (UN-Habitat, 2007 & Plessis, 2004).

Forced evictions apart from being illegal are also unjust for the simple fact that it has traumatic consequences for those affected and in particular, the poor. Forced evictions usually involve the destruction and damage of productive assets such as property, social networks, livelihood assets and the access to basic services are lost. Forced evictions, increases homelessness and exacerbates poverty, further ensures inequity, discrimination, violence such as rape, assault and murder and it guarantees social exclusion. It causes numerous psychological problems that require years for affected to recover from. Force eviction is therefore unjust (Plessis, 2004).

Forced evictions are also counterproductive to human development in numerous ways. However, forced evictions are done under the pretext of development and city beautification; they were often justified as events carried out for the public good. Force evictions are destructive to human development as it destroys the limited assets available

to the poor. It alters and tears down physical, social, financial, natural and human asset presents in their communities, thereby altering the development and survival of those affected.

Slum dwellers are attracted to slums and remain in this habitat for diverse reasons. Slums are said to have productive values it gives its inhabitants as it provides them with benefits they require to survive in the city and may not find elsewhere. Studying the livelihood assets available in slums areas facilitate the understanding of slum communities and their coping strategy in urban cities.

## **2.5 Livelihood**

Livelihood assets is vital to the urban population and in particular the urban poor. As it is an antidote against the poverty. It is essential to note that slum dwellers may not have cash and other material resources, therefore they lean on other assets such as their family, friends, social ties, health, knowledge, skills and natural resources found around them. These resources are usually located in a physical location. A clear and realistic understanding of these assets is vital in understanding the strengths and weakness of these assets found in slums communities, and how they help shape the nature and size of the slum and how it pulls people into the slum.

Migration preference, urban food production, access to services such as housing, education, infrastructure and participation in social networks is highly dependant on the economic activities available to a household (Rakodi, 2000). The city is a magnet that pulls millions of disadvantaged rural dwellers in search of improved livelihood, which constitutes better employment, housing, educational opportunities, health care services and improved diets.

*'A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets. Tangible assets are resources and stores, and intangible assets are claims and access.*

*A livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets in which livelihoods depend, and has net beneficial effects on other livelihoods. A livelihood is socially sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and provide for future generations.'* (Chambers & Conway, 1991)

Livelihood is the ways people support and sustain living; this can include income in cash, social institutions (family, kin, neighbourhood, and community), property rights, the accessibility and benefit gotten from public services like infrastructure and other assets. (Chimhowu, & Hulme, 2006)

A realistic understanding of slum dwellers livelihood and why they choose to reside in a particular slum is imperative to solve the problems associated with slum formation and growth. Understanding livelihood is also necessary in the study of resettlement, upgrading and compensation.

There are several livelihood assets relevant to slum dwellers that are other than cash or savings. They are material and non-material resources that offer opportunity for slum



dwellers and reduce their vulnerability. The five livelihood assets considered are Natural Assets, Financial Assets, Physical Assets, Human Assets and finally, Social and political Assets.

### **2.5.1 Sustainable Livelihood Assets**

#### **2.5.1.1 Natural Assets**

Natural assets are common pool resources, stocks from which resources flow that are useful to livelihood. Natural resources include water bodies, forest, land and other environmental resources. Urban residents that have direct access to natural assets depend on it for their food and energy.

Natural assets differ depending on the environmental condition of an area and the natural resources available in that area. The use of natural capital is significant to the urban poor when urban land is considered as natural capital, hence, they often depend directly on it for food energy and water and have to utilise the limited natural assets located in urban areas (Rakodi, 2002).

#### **2.5.1.2 Financial Assets**

Financial assets is financial resources that enable people choose different livelihood option. This includes credit, remittances, savings and pension. This enables households to invest in more productive assets such as housing. The lack of financial assets limits the ability of the urban poor households to save or acquire enough resources (Rakodi, 2002).

#### **2.5.1.3 Physical Assets**

Physical assets are produced assets. This includes housing and household goods, tools and equipment, basic infrastructure like transport, energy, communication. It is the production of tools and equipment that allows and aids people accomplish their livelihood. It has the ability to increase labour productivity. Example is income gotten from rent or home based businesses. Physical assets includes social infrastructure like schools, hospitals and housing. Water bodies used as means of transportation and household goods such as jewellery are also physical asset.

#### **2.5.1.4 Human Assets**

Human assets are quality and quantity of labour resources available to a household. Quality of labour refers to educational level and skills, while quantity of labour refers to the number of persons in a household that is available to earn an income. Human assets can be stored, exchanged and even put to work in order to create income and other remuneration. The lack of human capital limits the ability for households to secure livelihood in urban labour markets, due to the low level of skill found within the urban poor, human assets is important for the exchange of labour. Human assets are formal schooling, skill acquisitions, and entrepreneurial skills. Human assets can also include the culture of the people, their attitudes, values and social behaviour (Rakodi, 2002 & Schuh, 1993).

### **2.5.1.5 Social Assets**

According to Portes & Landolt, social capital is the ability to secure resources by virtue of membership in a particular social network (Lederman, 2000 p5). It enables its members call for support to achieve both individual and community goals, they includes friendship, kinship, membership in an organisation or neighbourhood, relationships of trust and reciprocity. Although most cities inhabitants are heterogeneous in nature, informal settlements dwellers show signs togetherness and support. Slum dwellers rely on Social networks for employment, loans, and other needed assistance. Social assets can also include political assets (Rakodi, 2002).

According to Van Eerd (2008), in order for social asset to exist, a person must be related to other individuals in the community, and these related individuals are the actual source of social asset, that bring advantages to the person. Van Eerd also states World Banks definition of social assets as the ‘norms and networks that enable collective action’.

The some inhabitants of slum communities are in recent years have protected from forced evictions and assisted in bettering the living conditions by Non-governmental organisations NGO. NGOs play a number of vital roles in slum communities as well as educating slum dwellers in identifying optimising the various livelihood options available to them in a sustainable way.

### **2.6 The Role of NGOs in Slums Area**

NGO are legally founded institutions that are part of the private sector and are partly or completely run without government funding. NGOs are involved in a variety of issues ranging from health issues to human rights issues. In recent years and with the increase in urban slums, NGOs have been involved in urban developmental issues and are active in assisting the urban poor and slum dwellers.

According to Van Eerd (2008) the roles of NGOs in cities are:

- **Mediators:** NGOs act as mediators between the people and government. They share information between the two parties and act as negotiators for the people. They support the people during times of difficulty or crisis and ensure there is peace between the two parties.
- **Enablers:** NGOs set up community base organizations and work with them to increase community empowerment and involvement. They educate and train slum inhabitants in urban development, health and other relevant issues. They set up organization in the community and encourage the participation of the inhabitants in developmental programs.
- **Advisors:** NGOs act as advisers to the people and also to the government on policy issues. They also advise urban communities on ways to improve their living conditions in the city.
- **Lobbyist:** NGO lobby for money and relief for those in need. They lobby and are constructive in influencing government policies; they put pressure on government to modify existing policies that do not benefit slum communities.

Slum upgrading is one of the solutions to the poor housing and environmental conditions found in slums. It also has the potential to limit forced eviction, when upgrading is success. Slum upgrading and it implications is reviewed below.

## **2.7 Slum upgrading**

With the continual increase in the number of slum dwellers and the counter productive effects of forced evictions, slum upgrading has proved to be the least expensive method in improving the housing condition of slum dwellers in comparison to site and services or low cost housing. Many positive reviews have come from slum upgrading projects acknowledging that it produces improved housing conditions, increased business activities, better environmental conditions, improved transportation, health facilities and recreational areas for slum dwellers. In addition slum upgrading has the advantage of eliminating any violent reactions that can arise from troublesome slum dwellers resisting eviction or relocation. It also, keeps slum dwellers social and cultural communities together and does not disrupt their proximity to their source of employment and livelihood. In general, it reduces the huge economic and financial cost associated with displacement (Werlin, 1999).

However, writers such as Gilbert & Gugler (1992) have given slum upgrading very negative reviews, portraying the process as expensive and producing minimal impact in improving slum conditions (Bassett & Gulyani, 2007). Some notable slum upgrading projects after being evaluated were considered 'wasted investments' due to the failure to recover cost and maintain provided utilities and infrastructure causing theses services to breakdown or deteriorate. According to Werlin (1999), slum upgrading can be successful but needs what he calls a humanistic bureaucracy that is powerful and organised and that Turners theory of theory of 'minimal state' is actually counter productive to sustainability of slum upgrading.

### **2.7.1 The theory of 'Development from below'**

John Turner's benevolent view of community, hostile view of bureaucracies, approval of participation and humanistic management brought about his theory which says that the solution to upgrading slums is to improve the environment of slums rather than demolish the existing housing in slums. He view point was that if slum environment improves, slum dwellers are likely to gradually improve their housing conditions. According to Turner (1972), if slum dwellers are provided with tenure security and access to credit, slum upgrading will be a successful process and will evidently better the lives of slum dwellers. He further minimises the role of the government, limiting their role to providing infrastructure and delivering services such as clearance of harmful substances like human waste, refuse and polluted water. Turner believed that the government should be more a facilitator in slum upgrading rather than the principal provider. He argued that slum dwellers were intelligent individuals that possessed and exhibited organisational skills needed to maintain provided infrastructure (Linden, 1986 in Werlin, 1999).

### **2.7.2 The Benefit of Secure Tenure in Slum Upgrading**

Both Turner (1972) & De Soto (1986; 2000), shared similar views regarding the relevance of tenure security, emphasizing that slum dwellers have the resources, skills and social networks needed to improve their living conditions. They both argue that what slum dwellers lacked is actually tenure security, which limits their ability to improve their housing on the land they occupy. They believe that if protected from eviction, slum dwellers will gather the resources required and invest in their individual housing, bring about a total improvement and upgrade of the entire slum. Tenure security has also been identified as an important element in infrastructure management and cost recovery in slum upgrading. Slum dwellers with secure tenure have a 'vested interest' in the upgrading project, their status change to that of long term stakeholders who have more to benefit from the project. Therefore they want the upgrading program to succeed and are willing not only to pay for services provided but they to maintain the provided facilities since it not only improves their living condition but also has the added benefit of increasing their property values. (Bassett & Gulyani, 2007)

In addition, it is also argued that tenure security has the advantage of increasing formal land titling. This provides government with the opportunity to broaden the property tax base, which in return will provide more revenue for the state. This gives governments the incentive to provide the much needed services in slums settlements (Bassett, 2001; Cohen, 2001; Sanyal, 1996).

### **2.8 Lagos Metropolitan Development Upgrading Project**

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2006, the Government of Lagos in union with the World Bank embarked on a project called the Lagos Metropolitan Development Project (LMDP). An ambitious project formulated to give Lagos the much-needed facelift by investing in the much needed basic infrastructure. The project involves the upgrading of 9 major slums in Lagos metropolitan area. The project was channelled towards improving the quality of life of its citizens especially those living in slum by improving their present housing condition. The end result will be the beautification of Lagos city as a whole. The 9 major slums chosen for the upgrade were Ilaje, Ajegunle, Iwaya, Badia, Bariga, Amukoko, Itire, Agege and Makoko. It was estimated that there will be close to one million people that will directly benefit from this project (LMDP Report, 2005).

The projects major aim was to provide basic infrastructure to the city. The project entails the provision, construction, reconstruction or rehabilitation of infrastructure such as water supply, sanitation, roads, drainage, electricity, and other basic infrastructure needed in the city (LMDP Report, 2005).

Naturally, the project is said to involve the displacement and relocation of some slum dwellers currently living on any property that will be needed for proposed public infrastructure such as roads and drainage (LMDP Report, 2005). Therefore since the project is in collaboration with the World Bank, the Lagos State Government was required submit a Resettlement Policy Framework that will be in line with the World Bank Resettlement Policy. The Resettlement Policy Framework should act as a guideline to be followed by all stakeholders involved in LMDP and the document should be made

available and accessible to the general public, government officials, and the World Bank. This is in order to ensure that transparency, accountability and due process is followed at all times.

According to the LMDP Report (2005), the Resettlement Policy Framework main object is to protect and ensure that Project Affected Persons, PAPs as popularly called are protected from any negative social, financial or physical loss that can be associated with resettlement and those PAPs are able to improve or at least sustain their previous living conditions, before resettlement took place. In a case where there is disparity between the World Bank Policy and the Nigerian Laws, the World Bank policy will be adhered to. The table below shows a summery of the LMDP budgeted cost for upgrading works that will involve 4 main components which are: general upgrade of slums, drainage provision, solid waste management and capacity building in the 9 identified slums.

**Table 2.1 Lagos Metropolitan Development Project Organisation's 4 components**

Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4
<b>Slum Upgrading</b>	<b>Drainage</b>	<b>Solid Waste Management</b>	<b>Capacity Building &amp; Institutional Development</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Budgeted cost US\$ 37.75 m</li> <li>▪ 9 slums to be upgraded, including Makoko.</li> <li>▪ Selected because they were the latest slums in Lagos.</li> <li>▪ The cumulative population of the 9 slums is 1 million inhabitants.</li> <li>▪ Land area of 760 hectares</li> <li>▪ Infrastructure to be delivered include: water, roads, walkways, footpath, foot bridges, street lights, drainage, public sanitation facilities, health centres, schools, electricity, community centres, market stalls, floating jetty with petrol station, box culverts and fish smoking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Budgeted cost US\$ 61.1m</li> <li>▪ The new construction, reconstruction, rehabilitation and general maintenance of Lagos city drainage network.</li> <li>▪ To enable and support a long-term solution to mitigate flooding in Lagos.</li> <li>▪ In the 1<sup>st</sup> year 20km to 50km of drainage channels along or directly affecting the 9 slums will be unblocked by cleaning out.</li> <li>▪ A drainage board will be formed in order to ensure the maintenance and sustainability of the project.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Budgeted cost US\$23.20m</li> <li>▪ Construct 3 sanitary landfill facilities.</li> <li>▪ Improve waste collection and revenue mobilisation</li> <li>▪ Support various institutions in Lagos working to enable them carry out their responsibilities, which includes Policy and regulation formulation, monitoring and enforcement mechanism.</li> <li>▪ Boost private participation in solid waste management in area without.</li> <li>▪ Constructing 6 new solid waste stations on existing solid waste management service sites.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Budgeted cost US\$11.31m</li> <li>▪ Financing consulting services.</li> <li>▪ Training of officials and capacity building.</li> <li>▪ Knowledge and skills acquisition and information sharing.</li> <li>▪ Purchase of office equipment and vehicles.</li> <li>▪ Providing support in Project Management, Environmental Management, Civil works contract Management, Infrastructure Control, Financial Management, Auditing, Data Collection, the use of GIS, Quality Control, Participation and Community based</li> </ul>

facilities especially needed in Makoko.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Upgrading or rehabilitating existing solid waste management dumpsite.</li> </ul>	planning, Procurement, etc.
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### 2.8.1 LMDP Works Carried out in Makoko

According to LMDP (2007), the action plan for Makoko's selected section 72 hectares started 2007 and is expected to end 2009. Although various LMDP works have been contracted out, the works found on ground are still very few juxtapose to works to be accomplished.

Works carried out and still one going.

- Rehabilitation of two primary schools
- Construction of one fish smoking stall
- Provision of five boreholes
- Construction of 4km Dacosta-Makoko collector drain.
- Construction of 3km Oyadiran collector drain, in Makoko.
- Supply and installation of solar streetlights in Apollo Street Makoko.

### 2.8.2 LMDP Compensation for Displaced Persons

LMDP is an upgrading project that is will involve the relocation of people along infrastructure developmental routes. The estimated number of people that will be affected is unknown. However, those to be affected by the upgrade and will have to relocated will be categorized into 3 groups, for compensation consideration.

1. Individuals affected by the upgrade: There will be compensations for individuals affected by the project that suffer the loss of land, property, loss of asset and investment, access to natural or economic resources.
2. Household affected by the upgrade: There will be compensation for any household or member of a household located in Makoko or any of the other 8 slums, affected by project activities. Either through the loss of property, restriction to sources of livelihood, or other negative effects created by the upgrade. Those provided for include:
  - Any member of the household, house tenant, dependant, or friend, regardless of gender, religious affiliation, age, etc
  - Old or handicap members of the household.
  - Household members that can not reside together cultural or religious rules but depend on each other for support and daily existence.
  - Members of family that help with housekeeping, maintenance or productive services but may not eat together.
  - Vulnerable Households: Vulnerable people that find it difficult or can not participate in production, consumption or co-residence because of physical or cultural reasons. (This also involves members of production

that may exchange domestic or farming services regularly but may live separately).

3. Vulnerable Households: Vulnerable households include owners of compound walls, shops or rooms that are partly affected by demolition from upgrade activities, if partial demolition will deprive neighbouring landlords from gaining income from rent or lean to the termination of rent by their tenants (LMDP Report, 2005).

## **2.9 Relocation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation**

Relocation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation are term three that are distinct and used differently. According to Van Eerd, 2008, relocation is the physical movement from people from their original habitat to a new environment or location. Relocation does not always involve the provision of housing or basic infrastructure and services to those affected. Relocation involves definitely involves the displacement of people from their usual location. Relocation projects for slum dwellers specifically provide housing and services for those affected.

*'Resettlement is the physical implantation of a new colony'* (Asif, 2005). Resettlement usually has to do with economic issues. According to World Bank, 2004, Resettlement involves not only the physical relocation of people but can also the acquisition of physical properties which can include land, buildings or businesses and the economic restoration of assets lost to enable those affected regain their lost standard of living.

Rehabilitation is the total re-establishment of lost livelihood; this includes the reinstallation of physical, social and the environmental culture that will is required for affected people to obtain a dignified life. Rehabilitation involves the replacement of any lost economic capital and the rebuilding of lost social ties and systems altered by displacement and psychological strain influence by the loss of livelihood assets.

To be able to ensure that the relocated individual is not worse off than he was before the relocation project, the affected person has to be relocated at the same level of income that he or she had before the project. However resettlement should be done in such a way that individuals and families their income potential is increased. It should be considered by the affected individuals and families as a way of promoting their economic development and a good opportunity to reinvest in their future. To achieve this, a multidisciplinary team should be involved in all relocation, resettlement and rehabilitation projects. In conclusion, relocation, resettlement and rehabilitation should be sustainable for all who are involved (Schuh in Cernea, 1993).

The LMDP upgrading project in Lagos is done in collaboration with the World Bank. It involves the relocation of some slum dwellers located along proposed roads and drainage parts as well as inhabitants located in risky and unsafe parts of the slum. The project displaced people will be resettled according to World Bank resettlement policy. Therefore, the World Bank policy is considered below.

### **2.9.1 A Summary of World Banks Resettlement and Compensation Policy**

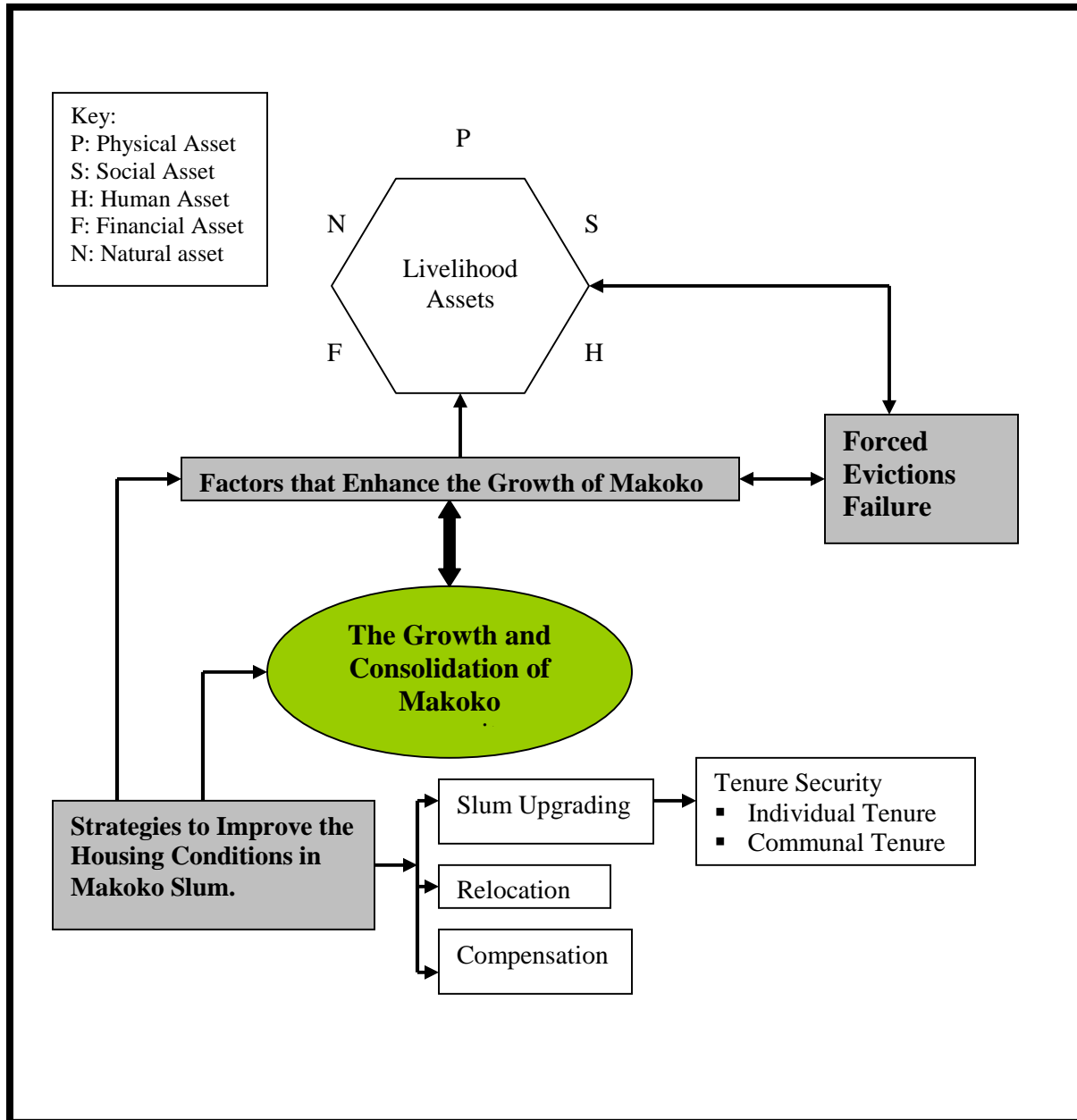
- Involuntary displacement should be avoided whenever possible and alternative urban projects should be considered to avoid disruptive and impoverished effects. In the case where displacement can not be avoided, resettlement should be carried out with regard to displaced persons needs, entitlement and protection from the environment.
- Involuntary resettlement should be carried out as a ‘developmental program’; where adequate opportunities be given to resettlers in order assist them improve or at least restore their previous living and earning capacity. This includes compensation at replacement cost, opportunities to share in the benefits of the project and help with the movement and support while in transition at the relocation site.
- If agreed upon by the affected people, displaced groups should be moved collectively to preserve the social ties and network.
- There should be sufficient public revenue for compensating affected persons in order to ensure adequate resettlement and rehabilitation and compensate them for the loss incurred by involuntary displacement from their current housing.
- The distance between the current site and the relocation site should be minimal, in order to balance the spatial and cultural differences and economic opportunities. To enable the affected people can adapt and integrate into their new environment without difficulty.
- Both the displaced community and the host community’s social and cultural institutions should be considered in the resettlement process. The affected people should be consulted and informed about their entitlement, options and moving timetable. There should be active and organised participation with the community in decision making and implementation of resettlement.
- New resettlement communities should be provided with required infrastructure and services.
- Host community to receive additional resettlers must be considered in the planning process and should be given necessary assistance in tackling the social and environmental effects of population increase.
- Finally, affected people that have informal customary land with or without legal title or other resource that might be lost due to involuntary resettlement, must be provided with suitable land, infrastructure and adequate compensation for resources lost.

Also inclusive in the policy guideline was a procedural requirement which formed a new framework for displacement and resettlement programs. That was aimed at limiting the negative effects of resettlement, ensure their income and livelihood improves or at least remain the same, hence preventing the impoverishment of displaced persons. (Cernea,1990).



## 2.10 Theoretical Framework

Box 1 Theoretical Framework diagram



## Chapter 3: Research Methods

This chapter is a detailed description of the research methodology used for this research.

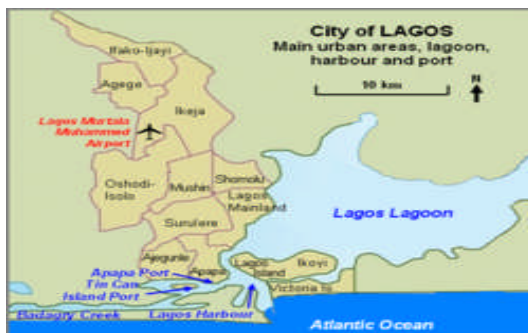
### 3.1 Location

The research is carried out in Makoko settlement, Lagos State, Nigeria. Nigeria is located in the western part of Africa, bordered by Niger Republic on the North, The Republic of Cameroon on the east, Benin Republic on the west, and the Atlantic Ocean on the south. Lagos state is a coastal city located in the south west of Nigeria and it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean. The unit of analysis of this research is Makoko settlement, a fishermen community located in the heart of Lagos city, Nigeria. Makoko settlement lies in the south east of Lagos and is under the Lagos Mainland Local government Area. The settlement overlooks the Lagos lagoon and the longest bridge in Africa the 3<sup>rd</sup> Mainland Bridge with the length of 11.8 kilometres. The settlement can be access through Herbert Macaulay way or through a canoe or ferry ride. The community is said to have immigrants from all parts of the country and neighbouring countries like Togo, Benin and Ghana. Makoko settlement is located partly on land and partly on the Lagos state lagoon. The research takes place in both Makoko on Land and Makoko on the lagoon.

**Figure 3.1 Maps of Research Location**



Map 1: Nigeria



Map 2: Lagos State



Map 3: Arial Map of Makoko

### **3.2 Population and Sample Size**

The total population number in Makoko is 85,165 people (Census, 2006). 30 people out of the total population were selected from the population as samples to be interviewed for the research, 25 respondents from the population on land and 5 from the population on the Lagoon. There were 3 focus group discussions with a total of 30 respondents. Therefore, primary data was collected for this research from 60 people in total.

### **3.3 Sample Selection**

Their selection method was done using various sample techniques which include:

- Snowball sampling: this sample method was used in order to for the researcher to gain access to the 'knowledge source' in the community. This sample method was chosen to enable the researcher gain access to responsible respondents of various ages that were not criminally affiliated. The researcher identified and made contact with a few members of the community that knew Makoko inhabitants and settlement extremely well. The selected few were then able to identify other samples for the research.
- Stratified random sampling: this was done with the purpose taking samples from various strata of the inhabitants identified from the snowball sampling.

Sample picked for interview were:

- 5 Fishermen from Houses on the Lagoon
- 5 from Old Makoko
- 5 people who were evicted from Makoko in 2005 but returned to the community.
- 10 from New Makoko

There were a total of 30 respondents interviewed.

The focus group discussions entailed 23 women and 7 men were selected. The groups selected include:

- 5 Residents who were Fishermen.
- 21 Women traders evicted from the slum but returned.<sup>1</sup>
- 4 Community Development Association Leaders.

There were a total of 30 focus group respondents.

### **3.4 Research Strategy and Type**

The research strategy of this thesis is a holistic case study research. Using a case study strategy is ideal in addressing a variety of issues concerning the growth of Makoko slum and housing needs and will be collected through qualitative data techniques. In addition, according to Yin (1993) case study approach is an ideal approach to inquire into a phenomenon or investigate a real life occurrence. Hence, it enabled the researcher to carry out a detailed investigation into the genuine reasons for the development and consolidation of Makoko settlement. In addition a case study will enable the researcher

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<sup>1</sup> The 21 Respondents of the focus group discussion were women who remained behind after Makoko evicted women traders' monthly meeting.

use various data collection methods, which includes collecting and using a combination of historical and recent data, in-dept interviews and personal observation.

The research type is exploratory in nature this is due to the research objective and questions of this study. The research is primarily a fact finding research aimed at collecting information from the inhabitants, it also acts as foundation for a more detailed research that can be carried out in Makoko.

### **3.5 Research Instrument**

To enable the researcher to carry out an in-dept study of the reasons for the growth of Makoko settlement and to get a comprehensive view point on the housing wishes of different Makoko inhabitants, a qualitative in-dept research was carried out.

Using quantitative methods for a community such as Makoko with 85,165 people can only be efficient in getting cross sectional and generalised findings, but a quantitative method will be limited in deeply capturing the perspective of the inhabitants, therefore a qualitative method was employed. This enabled the researcher to capture the inhabitant's perspective of the slum and their housing requirements.

### **3.6 Observation Method**

According to Gray (2004) observation is a complex mixture of perception and sensation which includes sight, sound, smell, touch and even taste. It involves viewing of people's actions analytically and interpreting their behaviour. Observation method was used intensively in this research. Due to limited data on available on the community and its residents and the variety of languages used in the community, the researcher collected information from observing the community and the respondents. Therefore the research also employed an observation method which was intended to accentuate the meaning that people give to their actions. Observation of the daily occurrences that take place in the community, also allowed the researcher study the actions and happenings in the settlement. Observing the settlement assisted the researcher capture details that were not considered. Observation supplemented the data collected from interviews and focus group discussions; it helped answer questions that were not addressed in the interview questions and was able to authenticate the data collected from respondents.

The observation method was an overt observation, where the people of Makoko were aware that they are being observed. Informing the residents that their daily routine was being studied was able to gain their trust and increase their involvement and cooperation in the research.

### **3.7 Data Collection Source**

Data was collected from various sources, data sources include:

- Secondary Data Collection
  1. Consultation and review of available Literature that related to the research topic intended to obtain relevant theories and information on slums, resettlement, upgrading.
  2. Document and records with relevant information about Makoko settlement.

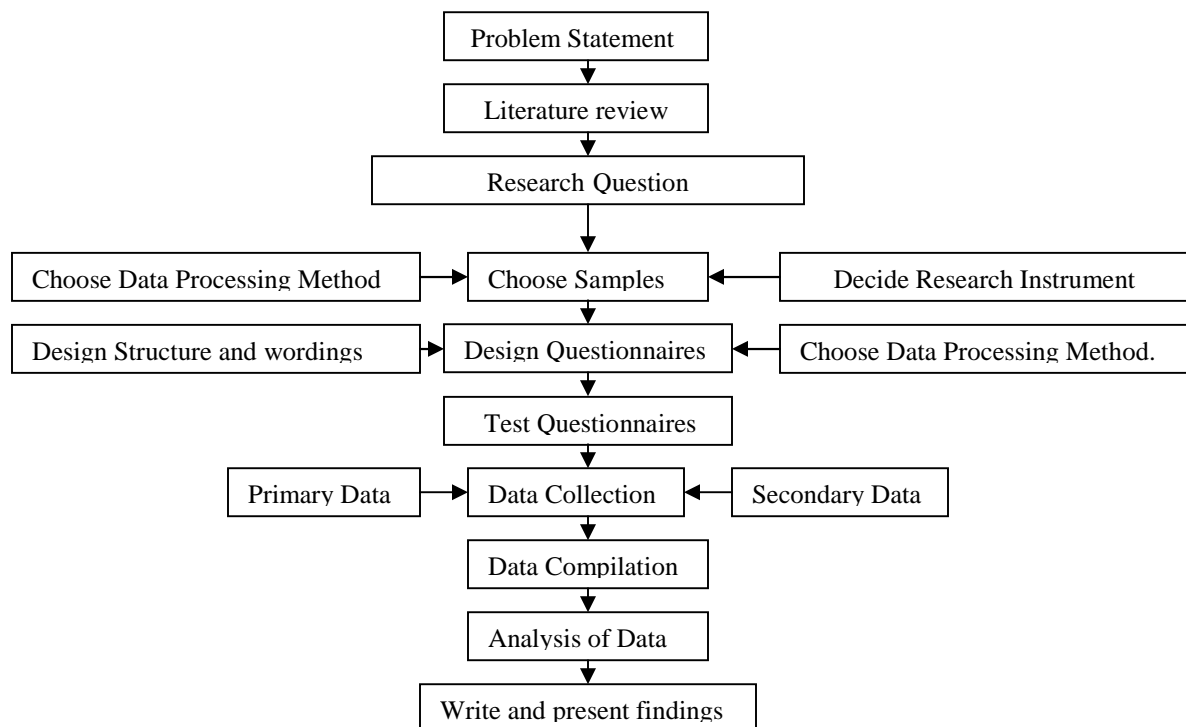
3. Archival records from Local government and SERAC an active NGO.

- Primary Data Collection

1. In-dept data collection from individual in-dept, semi structured interviews.
2. Focus group discussions.
3. Personal observation of events happening in real time in Makoko.

### 3.8 Research Methodology

**Figure 3.2 Research Framework**



Adapted and modified from Czaja and Blair, 1996 in Gray, 2004

### 3.9 Unit of Analysis

The study will be organised primarily at the household level and community level, the unit of analysis concentrates only on samples selected from the inhabitants of Makoko community.

### 3.10 Validity and Observation

To ensure that the research will measure what it is intended to measure, triangulation method will be employed. Triangulation, according to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) is a method used to ensure validity, where data collection will be done at different times of the day and collected from different sources. Therefore, data was collected from secondary and primary sources, from in-dept interviews and focus group discussions and

the interviews. The interviews were carried out with selected respondents at different times of the day, to check if their answers were the same as when they were first asked.

Observation of the settlement also ensured the validity of the research carried out by verifying that the data collected from respondents is a true expression of events and responses. It also helped the researcher have an in-dept understanding of the normal behaviour the participants in an everyday situation.

### 3.11 Reliability

*‘Reliability is an indication of consistency between two measures of the same thing’* (Black 1999). Therefore a research can be considered reliable, if it is able to produce the same research results if it is repeated. To ensure this research is reliability the researcher reviewed the data collected through notes, tapes and video tape repeatedly. The researcher also pre-test the interview questions before the fieldwork and on site, in order to ensure that only relevant questions are asked, translated the interview questions to Yoruba(a major language spoken in the community) and finally collated collected data promptly.

**Table 3.1 Research Variables and Indicators**

Research Questions	Variables	Indicators	Data Source	Interview Question Numbers
What are the factors that enhance the growth of Makoko slum?	Natural Asset/livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Proximity to Lagoon</li> <li>Fishing</li> </ul>	Interview with fishermen and other inhabitants.	Qs. 1-11
	Physical Asset /livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Accessibility to city centre</li> <li>Closeness to infrastructure such as schools, clinics, transport etc</li> <li>Accessibility to Market and employment</li> </ul>	Interview with all respondents.  Focus group discussions	Qs. 35-42
	Human Asset /livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Type of skill available</li> <li>Availability of Labour</li> <li>Level of education</li> </ul>	Interview with all respondents and evictees who remained in Makoko.	Qs. 12-22
	Social and Political Asset /livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relatives and friends in Makoko</li> <li>Membership in institutions and societies.</li> <li>Community support.</li> <li>Relationship with NGOs</li> <li>Political</li> </ul>	Interview with all Makoko respondents.  Interview with Evictees who remained in Makoko.	Qs. 23-34

		support/Participation		
	Financial Asset /livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Informal business activities</li> <li>• Access to community cooperative loans</li> <li>• Presence of loan sharks</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with all Makoko respondents</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 44-48
Why has forced eviction in Makoko slum fail over the years?	Eviction Failure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Location of slum</li> <li>• Landscape of slum</li> <li>• Community cooperation</li> <li>• NGO support</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with Evictees who remained in Makoko.</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 49-53
What do Makoko Dwellers believe to be the most appropriate strategy to providing housing and improving their general living conditions?	Upgrading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self help upgrading</li> <li>• Community based upgrading</li> <li>• Government operated upgrading</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with all Makoko respondents</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 56-62
	Relocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collective relocation</li> <li>• Relocation close to original site but not by water body.</li> <li>• Relocation far from original site but by to water body</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with all Makoko respondents</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 71-74
	Compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monetary Compensation</li> <li>• Land Substitution</li> <li>• House Substitution</li> <li>• Crop Compensation</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with all Makoko respondents</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 75-77
	Tenure Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual tenure security</li> <li>• Community tenure security</li> </ul>	<p>Interview with all Makoko respondents</p> <p>Focus group discussions</p>	Qs. 78-78

### 3.13 Scope and Limitation

- The main limitation of this study was the typography of the research location, Makoko community is partly located on water and marshland, access to the community on the lagoon was only through a canoe ride, which posed safety issues.
- Interviews with participants that are fishermen was challenging as the fishermen had to be meet further in into the lagoon.
- Interview with fishermen that fished further on the sea had to be done before sunrise and after sunset.
- Makoko is a settlement where little or no research as been done. Therefore there is scant information about the community and its inhabitants, the researcher collected most of the data primarily.
- The inhabitants of settlement were insecure, afraid and unwilling to be interviewed due to the past experience of forced evictions that took place in the settlement.
- Inadequate resources and limited time on the research.



## **Chapter 4: Living and Housing Conditions in Makoko**

This chapter aims to paint a picture of Makoko, as it exists in real life and in real time. It reveals the housing situation in the slum. It unveils the living conditions of the inhabitants which is necessary in order to answer the research questions. This chapter also presents part of primary data collected from interviews and also present findings collected from the observation of the settlement and its inhabitant. The primary data collected includes in-dept interviews with 30 respondents, 3 focus group discussions and observed findings collected over the one month fieldwork in the settlement.

The primary data collected is mainly on the perception, personal preference for housing conditions and the future developmental desire of the sample interviewed for the community. The researcher records events and happenings observed on the field, and depends intensely on these findings obtained by observation in order to understanding and capture the activities taking place in the community and create a data base for a more in-dept research . Observation was also used as a tool to legitimize the data collected from both primary and secondary data. Therefore, there should be no generalization of findings in this research as the 30 respondents and 3 focus group discussions involving 30 respondents, making a total of 60 respondents is not adequate to be a representative sample of the entire Makoko community with a population of 85,168 people. The research is therefore an explorative research aimed at exploring and describing the slum and the inhabitants in order to answer the questions presented.

### **4.1 Makoko Community**

Makoko community a community that has been in existence long before Nigeria became an independent country and is an intricate and authentic part of Lagos city. This finding is evident in the number of years respondents claimed they and their families have live in the settlement. 7 respondents out of the 30 respondents interviewed claimed that they and their families have lived in Makoko over half a century and longer. They claimed to know this because they claim they and their parents were living in Makoko when the ‘white man’ ruled the country, depicting that they or their parents have lived in the settlement before Nigeria’s independence in 1960.

Makoko community was originally divided into three smaller zones namely:

- Old Makoko: Old Makoko houses on Land  
Houses on the Lagoon (waterfront community)
- New Makoko
- Aiyetoro-Orio

In this chapter Makoko is introduced as a single community because some particular data were collected as a single community. The 3 zones will later be introduced independently; in order elaborate their peculiarities. Makoko will eventually be divided into two communities, based on their physical landscape, they are Makoko on Land and Makoko houses on the Lagoon. It also shows the 2 mains zones unique characteristics and hence their differences.

## **4.2 Makoko: The Settlement and the Inhabitants**

Makoko as a community comprises of a collection of people from different ethnic tribes, nationalities, religious beliefs, educational backgrounds, occupation and even social status. This was evident in the differences in the sample selected. The sample picked were different income earners from different parts of West Africa and had varying educational background. Observing the community also confirmed that the community comprised of both the low income and low-middle income earners. Although many tribes all over Nigeria and West Africa can be found in Makoko, the four major tribes in the settlement are the Yoruba's, Ijaw's, Ilaje (from Nigeria) and the Egun's (from Benin Republic). There was also a mixture of Christians, Muslims and traditional worshippers, all living in the community. The major languages spoken in Makoko are Yourba, Egun, Ijaw, Ilaje, English and French which is spoken in particular by the people that live on the Lagoon.

The population of Makoko inhabitants is 85,168. However, it was observed that the population seems a lot higher than stated, especially in old Makoko. With an average of 6 people used to calculate a household size, findings show that the population of Makoko can be more than stipulated. On visiting a respondent's house in old Makoko, it was told by the respondent and observed that in the day time the number of people seen to live in the respondent's house was less than the number of people that lived in a single room in his house at night. The settlement was visited both at day and night, and at night it was discovered after questioning one of the men found in the respondents house that he and his friends had came to Lagos from their village and rented a sleeping space in the landlords house. He also mentioned that there were as much as 10 to 14 people who slept together in the same room. The respondent mentioned that he and his friends set out to hawk goods on Carter Bridge in the daytime and return at dusk to sleep. The boy however failed to share how much money he or his friends pays to sleep in the landlord's house but revealed that payment was made for his sleeping space. It was also observed that a considerable amount of revenue was generated by landlords from rent collection. As the landlord's interviewed who use their properties as a source income, claimed that rent from their houses generated regular income for them. Findings show that it is a normal practice for landlords to rent rooms in their owner occupied houses to several individuals willing to pay for accommodation in the settlement.

According to the interview carried out with the Chairman of Joint Makoko CDA there are a total of 4280 housing units in Makoko. It was observed that there was a huge housing deficit in the settlement because of overcrowding observed in the settlement. Overcrowding is a certainty in Makoko; especially Old Makoko where it has been reported that a room in a house is occupied by as much as 14 people. A lot of houses (an unspecified number) in Makoko lacked the necessary facilities needed to make it a standard habitation.

Educational background vary in Makoko, the researcher found both University lecturers, university graduates, secondary school graduates, civil servants and those who have some primary school education and also those without any formal education. There were several Christian churches seen in Makoko, in particular two Christian sects known as the Celestial Church and Cherubim and Seraphim Church, also known as K&S Church.

The predominate occupation found in Makoko are fishing and trading as mentioned in chapter 1. Although various occupations can also be found in the community, a household member was usually found under the two categories of either being a Petty or medium scale trader or a fisher folk. A Survey report from LMDP and interviews carried out with the respondents confirms this finding.

Makoko community as a whole is prone to flooding. Findings show that Makoko community is below sea level. According to a recent survey carried out static water level in the entire settlement is definitely above 900m, especially during the raining season, where most areas become impassable. The inhabitants interviewed claimed that flooding during the raining season can be as high as their knee. The LMDP and COHRE (Centre of Housing Rights and Eviction), 2004 report reviewed in chapter 2, shows that the flooding situation in Makoko is further exacerbated by the very poor drainage facility present and further made worse by the series of primary channels in Lagos that are channeled through Makoko, from where it flows into the lagoon. Several houses have been built on the settlements natural water part, hindering the flow of water. This further exacerbates the flooding problem experienced in the settlement.

Makoko as a whole has three public primary schools and two private primary schools. There were three major markets in Makoko but now they are two:

1. Agejire Market by Acts of Apostle Street.
2. Family Support Program Market.
3. Temidire Market<sup>2</sup> (The market has now been demolished to make way for government development plan).

There were no hospitals facilities found in the entire Makoko; however there was one maternity hospital in the settlement. The respondents claimed that its capacity is not large enough to serve the entire people in Makoko.

There is a joint Makoko Community Development Association, CDA found in the settlement. CDAs were originally formed in all the identified blighted communities in Lagos, in response to the need to provide infrastructure development in the state. Makoko was no exception, as it formed the Joint Makoko Community Development Association with the mission of encouraging community participation and awareness and to bring about physical and economical development. The association was formed from the previous Makoko landowners association. Their activities in the community include security and vigilante services<sup>3</sup>, sanitation, welfare, conflict resolution, community education on developmental issues and the legal rights and project monitoring and evaluation. Makoko Joint CDA is a registered organization in Lagos state and they stand as representatives of the community. Data gotten from interviews and the focus group discussions with respondents showed that they recognize the CDA as Makoko community leaders and representatives and that the CDA decided on all important issues concerning the community. It was observed that the CDA is quite active in the community as no interviews were granted until the CDA leaders was notified and gave the necessary approval. There is also a strong and active market women association and most female traders are members of this association. This association is said to have

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<sup>2</sup> Temidire market was located in the cleared Aiyetoro zone

<sup>3</sup> Vigilante services in Makoko are a group of community members who act as security agents in their community. They patrol the community in turns and pass judgement on criminals as they wish.

immense authority in the markets and community as a whole. They are in charge of price control and conflict resolution amongst the market women. The Market women association also are involved in small a saving scheme, known as 'Owo'<sup>4</sup> which involves a group of 5 to 10 traders saving part of their income together, so all the members can individually can take the savings in a lump sum.

Area boys (Agberos)<sup>5</sup> are a notorious gang of young men that comprise mainly of teenagers who operate primarily on the streets of Lagos city. Area boys forcefully and violently extort money from unfortunate citizens on the road carrying on with their normal daily activities. They are also involved in all sort of criminal vices, such as robbery, drug dealing and are used to cause havoc during conflicts and riots. Area boys are mostly based in slum communities within the city (IRIN, 2005).

According to interviews carried out with the Makoko residents, there are young unemployed men from Makoko (on land and on the lagoon) who belong to this gang. They residents claim to know these young men and were they reside in the community. They claim that the gang is on the increase as more Makoko children who do not go to school or have jobs are recruited into this gang. The respondents claim that the Area Boys in Makoko are hired by notorious politicians during election times to mobilize voters and cause disruption whenever possible.

#### **4.2.1 Old Makoko**

Old Makoko as the name implies, was the first and original settlement. Old Makoko originally belonged to the Olaiya family<sup>6</sup>. Old Makoko according to the focus group discussion carried out with the CDA leaders is no longer classified as a squatter community due to a court judgment that favor of the Olaiya family as the valid original owners of Makoko land, which the owners formally acquired in 1942. The favored judgment transform the settlement from being a squatter settlement as originally assumed to an established settlement within Lagos, Nigeria. Old Makoko is divided into two, the community on land and the community on the Lagoon.

##### **4.2.1.1 Old Makoko on Land**

The housing situation in old Makoko (on land) can be described as generally poor. Although they are a mixture of modern, well built houses constructed with permanent building materials and fit for habitation, poorly built houses and shacks were noticed all over the settlement. A number of dilapidated and old structures were observed to be lived in old Makoko. Old Makoko on land, according to the focus group discussion with the CDA members suffers the worst flooding the entire community. The respondents interviewed from old Makoko categorized flooding as the worst problem they face in the settlement.

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<sup>4</sup> Owo is the local name given to a rotating saving scheme that entails a group of 5 to 10 people saving money collective. Every member of the group takes the saved sum of money in turns.

<sup>5</sup> Agbero is the local name given to Area Boys in Lagos

<sup>6</sup> The Olaiya family are the original owners of Makoko's land. Further information about their present ownership status is unknown.

It was discovered that the LMDP upgrading developmental plan, which is meant to develop a new layout for every zone in Makoko, unfortunately, has not designed a developmental layout for old Makoko. Those interviewed, say that it is speculated that some parts of old Makoko on land and all those on the lagoon have to be demolished to make way for public infrastructure, which includes drainages, schools and road etc. The inhabitants of Old Makoko were observed to be insecure and uncomfortable with strangers in their neighborhood. According to those interviewed, there was the fear that strangers lurking and walking around the settlement could be government spies sent with the intension to evaluate the settlement in order to demolish parts of it for the infrastructure upgrading taking place. The respondents say that the forced evictions that took place in Aiyetoro, Makoko in 2005 is a reminder of what the government is capable of doing in order to successfully evict communities obstructing their developmental plans.

Interviews carried out with the 5 respondents in Old Makoko showed that the residents pay tenement rate to the government. 2 of the respondents claimed to have documented prove of payment of tenement rate. All the other 3 respondents say they are willing to start paying tenement rate, immediately tenure security was given to them.

#### **4.2.1.2 Houses on the Lagoon**

##### **Picture 4.1 Makoko Houses on the lagoon**



The community on the lagoon is where uncontrolled expansion can be seen. The houses on the lagoon extend further into the Lagoon and spread along the banks of the settlement.

According to Hurtado (2005) quoted in Tovar (2006), water communities cannot be regarded as poor and that their existence by the water is based on access to a kind of lucrative money generating activity.

Findings from Makoko houses on the lagoon ran contrary to Hurtado's theory. According to reviewed literature the community is presumably poor. Observation of the community and the inhabitants showed that they were highly deprived people and with signs of abject poverty. They were classified by the respondents as the poorest inhabitants of Makoko.

The findings of the observation, affirms LMDPs draft report and IRIN (2006) that Makoko houses on the Lagoon are extremely deprived of many basic facilities. Also from examining the types and quality of houses in the settlement, their living conditions were poor. Interviews with 5 fishermen inhabitants also showed that there was an enormous amount of poverty and deprivation in that part of Makoko. An interview a fisherman, who also had a second job as a driver, showed that although the man earned money as both a fisherman and a driver, he could not afford to improve his housing unit or even provide all his families basic needs.

Reviewed in chapter one, IRIN (2006) classified Makoko houses on the lagoon as 'dehumanising shacks' not fit for human habitation. The houses were considered to be substandard, inhabitable and dangerous to live in. The research showed that these houses on the lagoon were old, dilapidated units that pose several safety issues. The houses were wooden structures supported by stilts driven deep into the bottom of the lagoon. Although some the wooden stilts seem relatively strong, they are covered with algae

A housing type found there was one room housing units, varying in dimension but the observed sizes range was 2m to 2.5m to 4m by 8m houses. Some of the larger units were shared with several households. The occupants of theses units practice outdoor cooking. The kitchens were on open wooden platforms, although a few kitchens were observed to be enclosed.

**Picture 4.2 Single floor housing type found in Makoko**



There were a few housing units that were unconventionally large. Theses houses were one storey high. They looked structurally stronger than the one floor houses and they were built with materials that were more permanent than the one floor houses.

**Picture 4.3 One storey housing type found in Makoko**

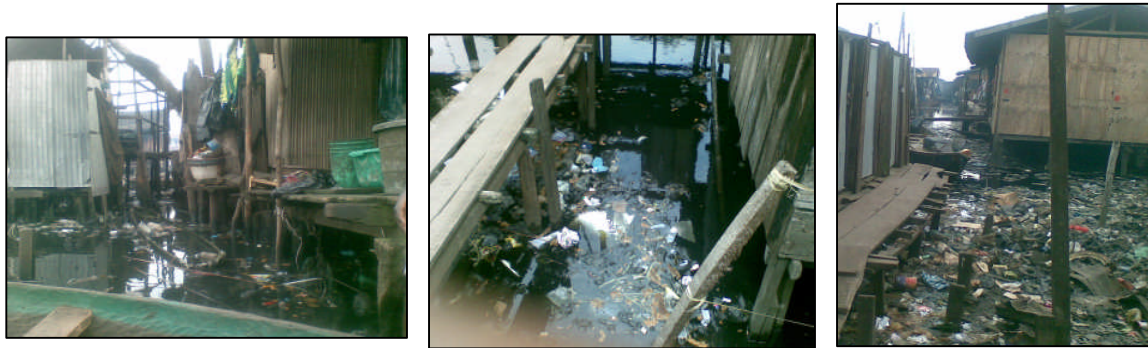


The house owners in Makoko on the lagoon usually construct their house themselves or with help of family members and friends. The 5 homeowners interviewed claim they also contract skilled carpenters that are members of their community, to help with the construction of their houses. When the respondents were asked if carpenters outside

Makoko were employed to construct their houses, the respondent said that unless the carpenters were highly skilled and conversant with their type of houses on water, good swimmers and unless they provided cheaper labour than their own people, they will not employ them. They said that their own carpenters and family members were more familiar with their type of house design and construction, and possessed the skill needed to build houses that will not sink.

Although Makoko's extreme deficiency in basic facilities and its poor environmental conditions was reviewed in Chapter one, the researcher's observation of the houses on the Lagoon discovered that the environmental conditions found in the community was in deplorable state. As the community was filled with filth, which included floating garbage and plastic on the lagoon, hills of garbage on the shore, faeces floating on water and also exposed on the banks of the lagoon. It also noticed that children swam in same garbage and faeces filled water.

**Picture 4.4 Depicting the poor sanitary condition found in Makoko community on the Lagoon.**



There is a stale and unpleasant smell in the settlement; this presumably comes from the mixture of smell from sewage, refuse and dirt found in the settlement. The community is also enveloped by a pocket of smoke, which emanates from the numerous fish smoking activities that takes place in the settlement. This impairs clear visibility in the community. After every rain the smoke clears up, the researcher was then able to take clear pictures of the settlement after it had rained. The lagoon water below the community is indisputably black in colour. The water beneath the settlement has been polluted over the years that it looks more like black oil than water. Further into the lagoon, the water begins to clear out but never becomes fully clear as the Lagos lagoon is presumably polluted in itself.



**Picture 4.5 Showing the black waters beneath the Lagoon community of Makoko**



**Picture 4.6 Makoko on the Lagoon poor and unsafe walkways**



There is little or no infrastructure found in Makoko community as a whole but the houses on the lagoon are lacking of basic infrastructure, such as piped water, electricity<sup>7</sup>, sewage facilities and others. The only toilets found in the settlement were pit latrines that were not cleaned and a locked mobile plastic toilet that was not being utilised. The walkways over the lagoon are made from used wooden planks, which are old, broken, worn out and structural not strong. The walkways were also not properly fastened to the support that carried them up. When the walkway was walked upon the planks move and the supports under them wobbled. Observation

showed that the walkways were not structurally sound and were accident prone.

The inhabitants on the Lagoon interviewed admitted that they did not pay any type of tax to the government. According to them, this was due to the fact that the government does not levy any tax on them. The Lagoon inhabitants said they were interested in paying their tenement rates to the government whenever they are levied.

It was also observed that the inhabitants of the houses on the lagoon seemed more hostile to visitors outside the settlement and were hesitant to be interviewed, photographed or filmed. Most of the inhabitants spoke French and Egun (Benin Republic language). A mixture of French and Egun were spoken quite frequently in the community and it was noticed that only a few inhabitants spoke Yoruba or pigeon English<sup>8</sup>. This suggested that the inhabitants were mostly foreigners who migrated to Nigeria. The fact that most of the inhabitants on the lagoon could not speak any Nigeria language fluently suggests that they are not only foreigners but they are recent migrants that have little or no communication with people outside their community.

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<sup>7</sup> Electricity is seen in 2 houses on the lagoon

<sup>8</sup> Pigeon English is vernacular English, which is a mixture of English and French. It is spoken in most west African countries.



#### 4.2.2 New Makoko

According to a focus group discussion carried out with 5 community leaders showed that 2 of the CDA members claim they have lived in New Makoko for over 40 years. All the 5 CDA members present also said they had all lived in the community for over 20 years.

A respondent during the focus group discussion said:

*'I built my first house in Makoko in 1963. It was not a very good house because we did not have enough money. In 1973, after I made more money, I tore the old house down and built a bungalow. In 1992, I tore the bungalow down and built a one storey semi-detached duplex. All these years I have always paid my tenement rate and I have the records'.* Makoko CDA Chairman

According to the CDA member's focus group discussion, New Makoko started as a community in 1970, 10 years after Nigeria gained her independence. According to the Joint Makoko CDA Chairman, there are 430 housing units in New Makoko. Calculating the house with 6 persons <sup>9</sup>(the conventional number used to calculate the number of people in a household in Nigeria), New Makoko population comes to 2580 people. This number can not be proved, because census data shows Makoko population as a whole and not segmented into zones. Although the CDA members insist on the accuracy of this number, as they claimed to have carried out a physical house count personally. However, the numbers seems unrealistic because from interviews and observation of households it was discovered that households in Makoko have more than 6 persons living in them.

It was observed that there is notable difference in the housing quality and type found in New Makoko and Old Makoko. The housing found in New Makoko were observed to be newer houses constructed with modern materials such as sandcrete blocks, iron roof sheet, aluminium and glass windows etc. Some of the houses had modern water closet toilet and modern kitchens with fitted with sinks, cupboards and other contemporary equipments. However old and deteriorating houses were still seen in the settlement but the housing quality in general was better off than those seen in Old Makoko.

New Makoko environmental condition also stands above the rest of Makoko as the streets were seen being cleaned at four occasions during the fieldwork visit. There was a community organised garbage collection operation that appeared effective in reducing the amount of solid waste on the Streets of New Makoko. The settlement, from observation cannot be totally classified as clean or dirt-free but in comparison to other zones in Makoko, New Makoko was observed to be cleaner.

The income level in New Makoko seemed definitely better off. This was evident in the number of cars and taxi's parked on the streets of New Makoko. It was gathered that an unspecified number of the residents were involved in car taxi services or small-scale car sales business. Although the community shows signs of residents with good houses and striving financial activities, a high level of poverty and deprivation was still noticeable there. There was a lack of basic facilities in that part of the community, as the existing

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<sup>9</sup> A household in Nigeria is multiplied by 6 people

drainages were blocked, the roads were bad as car entry was difficult. However, interviews with the 10 respondents who lived in New Makoko showed that they believed that they were able and willing to organise themselves to better their housing condition.

In addition, it was observed that the 5 interviewed community leaders and members resided in New Makoko and they 5 CDA members were landowners. This can be related to why new Makoko seems more organised and had better housing conditions.

#### **4.2.3 Aiyetoro-Orioke**

Aiyetoro-Orioke area of Makoko was an intricate part of Makoko. It is where the 27<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2005 evictions took place that rendered 3000 inhabitants homeless, demolishing their houses, schools, churches, a mosque, a traditional physiotherapy clinic and distorted the livelihood of its residents. Interview with the April, 2005 evictees of Aiyetoro Makoko, showed that the most affected location by the forceful eviction is known as Wright Street towards Ebute-Meta area of Lagos State. Wright Street is presently under construction by property developers. A previous eviction that took place in Aiyetoro in 1996, involved the clearance of the Aiyetoro football field that was used by Makoko youths was developed into Danny Estate. Danny Estate is a residential housing estate which is presently occupied by members of middle class.

A respondent said:

*“The former football arena of Makoko was built into Danny Estate, the government claimed to develop houses for the low income earner. After the developers completed the estate, the prices they quoted for the estate was way beyond the reach of ordinary inhabitants of Makoko. After tricking us and building Danny Estate, they are trying to collect our land on which the Makoko market is presently built on”.* Makoko CDA Chairman.

The 2005 evictions according to data collected not only destroyed the houses of those affected but also separated families from each other and cut them from their livelihood sources found in Makoko. It was also discovered that although Makoko inhabitants are always under the threat of being evicted, with the exception of Aiyetoro, no other zones in Makoko community has actually ever been evicted. Aiyetoro has been built into a range of modern buildings and part of it is still presently under construction. They affected were never compensated. However, the respondents' claim that the eviction threats continue especially with the LMDP upgrading that is presently taking place in Makoko, which will involve the involuntary displacement of some Makoko residents in order to provide infrastructure for some designated areas.

#### **Summery**

Below is an overview of the entire Makoko's Housing Conditions in a Nutshell

**Table 4.1 Show a summary of the findings of the housing condition in Makoko.**

	Indicators	New Makoko	Old Makoko	
			Makoko (On Land)	Makoko (On the lagoon)
<b>Housing</b>	Temporary/permanent structures	Mostly permanent structure.	Both permanent and temporary structures found	Temporary structures present.
	Quality of Houses	A mixture of good and poor quality of houses present.	More poor quality of houses found but a handful of good houses present.	Most houses are very poor in quality.
	Housing ownership/ contract	A mixture of owner-occupier and tenants. Most landlords resided in the settlement.	A mixture of owner-occupier and tenants. Most landlords resided in the settlement.	Most occupiers own in the houses they own.
	Construction method	Constructed by hired workmen	Constructed by hired workmen	Mostly self built houses
	Possession of formal title deed for house	Those interviewed were possession of title deed.		
	Payment of tenement rate tax	Interviewees calm to pay taxes but could not show proof of payment.	More interviewees calm to pay taxes and showed proof of payment.	Interviewees say they do not pay of taxes.

Below is an overview of Makoko's land and tenure issues in Makoko in a nutshell.

**Table 4.2 Show a summary of the findings of the land structure found in Makoko.**

	Indicators	New Makoko	Old Makoko	
			Makoko (On Land)	Makoko (On the Lagoon)
<b>Land</b>	Land ownership	Yes, more people claim to own the land they live on.		Do not own land or space occupied.
	Possession of formal title deed	Yes, authentic title deed present.	Respondents who have resided in Makoko for more than 10 years claim to have title deed, but not sure of its authenticity.	No title deed at all.
	Willingness to pay for public infrastructure	Do not pay for infrastructure	Do not pay for infrastructure	Do not pay for infrastructure
<b>Tenure Security</b>		Inhabitants interviewed feel more secure and protected from eviction. Since government has done the layout for the settlement.	No tenure security present. Since government has not done an urban development layout of the area.	No tenure security present.

## **Chapter Five: Analysis and Results**

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected in order to answer the research questions.

### **5.1 Factors that Enhance the Growth of Makoko**

Makoko as mentioned earlier was discovered to be a settlement that dates back to the early 1940's. Although various parts of the community evolved at various times, the youngest part of Makoko is recorded to have been in existence since the 1970's. The sprawl of the slum is visible in the physical expansion of the shanty housing unit and the increase in population. This section presents the results of the findings of the factors responsible for the development and consolidation of Makoko communities over time.

#### **5.1.1 Natural Assets**

The common pool resource that Makoko inhabitants and in particular inhabitants on houses on the lagoon obtain their livelihood from is the lagoon itself. Lagos state lagoon like most lagoons anywhere in the world is the point where fresh water meets with salt water and empties into the open sea. Lagos lagoon is Makoko's foremost and most resourceful natural asset available. The lagoon is fed by various creeks in Lagos and its waters flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean.

The exceptional advantage of the lagoon to Makoko inhabitants, who are mostly fisher folk and fish traders, is the array of different fishes and seafood that is readily available in the Lagoon. According to the interviews with fishermen, the brackish water which Makoko community is located by and on is rich with various types of seafood. They listed six special types of seafood that are particularly fished from the lagoon. The fishermen interviewed also said living close to the lagoon gave them direct access to the high sea, where they had better access to more sea products. It was also discovered that only one fisherman from the five interviewed had another job outside the community as a driver and when interviewed he said that his other fishermen solely lived on income gotten from fishing and related water activities such as operating taxis or canoe making. He had an added advantage in speaking Yoruba language and was therefore able to learn how to drive and find employment outside the community. The fishermen when interviewed said that their proximity to the lagoon was essential to their success as fishermen, as fishing could take many hours and in order to have a good catch of fish they often had to go fishing at midnight or early hours of the day. The 5 respondents claimed that living in Makoko gave them easy access to the waters at anytime of the day without contact with the police patrolling the city at night or alarming anyone from outside their community. The 5 fishermen respondents also mentioned that at certain months in the year, they did not have to go far from their homes for a good catch. At these times, they just cast their nets on the waters, go home and return later on in the day.

The fishermen also said that although the income from fishing was not steady and fluctuated often, they made more money from fishing than any alternate money generating activity. Although the inhabitants of the makeshift houses on the lagoon are the most deprived and have the poorest housing conditions, Makoko community being by

the lagoon is a pulling force for friends and family of the present inhabitants and fishermen or fish traders from neighbouring countries to migrate to, knowing that they can always survive on fishing for direct consumption and financial profit. It is also the reason why the present inhabitants remain in the community.

Another natural asset found in Makoko and in particular with the inhabitants of houses on the lagoon is the excavation of sharp sand from the bottom of the lagoon. Sharp sand is a very dominate building material in the construction industry as it is used in the production of building blocks and the casting of concrete. Sharp sand is also used immensely in Lagos to sand fill land in order to reclaim land. Sharp sand in other parts of the lagoon are exhumed by small, medium and big scale drilling companies. It was observed that inhabitants of houses on the lagoon especially women and children exhumed sharp sand to sell by digging the bottom of the lagoon. It was observed that the individual quantity they were able to get daily was not in tons but it was still an additional source of income for the inhabitants and an addition reason to migrate into Makoko and remain in the settlement.

The relevance of the lagoon to the inhabitants of Makoko on land is however different. Interviews with the 25 respondent shows that they claim not to benefit from the natural asset as much as those directly on the lagoon in Makoko. They claimed the only benefit of being close to the lagoon was their ability to resell fresh fish bought from the fishermen at a cheaper price. The seafood caught was sold in a fish market called Better-Life market located in Makoko. In addition, the inhabitants on land also benefitted from using water transportation and in order to avoid heavy traffic jams that is a frequent occurrence in Lagos. Other natural asset such as crops, trees, plants, wildlife, and forest products are not found in Makoko on land and when available they did not generate money for the inhabitants.

According to Rakodi (2000), classifying land as a natural asset maybe doubtful but to the urban poor, urban land can be considered as a valid natural asset. In Makoko, land is a natural asset as the inhabitants can make money from it. Their limited access to urban land in Makoko makes land a priced possession in the settlement. Land due to the nature of its formation in the community is a source of livelihood to the inhabitants. Interviews with the CDA leaders who are all land owners and 3 respondents whose houses were previously demolished in the 2005 evictions but remained in the community, shows that they had built their houses on land that was previously water or marshland. They claimed they did not buy land but bought water and gradually filled it to become land on which they built upon. Respondents said that the lagoon flood yearly during raining seasons for an unknown number of years before it finally dry up, but they still experience flooding often. It was observed that the community close to the lagoon were still sand filling to make land. In this case, garbage is being used to form land at the shores of the lagoon and also on the lagoon, creating small islands which in one case was used as play ground for children and in another case was sold to a foreigner who wanted to live in Makoko on the lagoon. The respondents mentioned that they had put in their effort and time into filling their part of Makoko, they had participated in making up land and they had both financial and emotional attachment for the work they had done in the community. An interviewee who had lived in the community for 28 years said that he tells his children about the physical formation of Makoko and how proud he was for being part of the process. Land

reclamation is therefore a money generating activity as well as a historical process in which the old Makoko residents, both on land and in water are emotionally attached to and very proud of. It is therefore a reason why Makoko inhabitants choose to remain in an environment they have physically created.

## Summery

Natural assets in Makoko are diverse, and their significance to the inhabitants on land and on the lagoon is profound. The research showed that the natural assets in Makoko are useful for personal use as well as for income generating activity that improves their lives of the inhabitants. People that have migrated into Makoko from other countries and other parts of Nigeria and survived on the natural asset found the slum. The residents in the community claim their lives have better off in Makoko than living elsewhere in Lagos city.

This research finding is that Makoko's natural asset is a main source of income for present and future inhabitant and is a poverty reduction instrument for the urban poor. The research shows that access to natural asset is the main explanation for the continuous growth and expansion of Makoko community and in particular, the sprawling of the shelters on the lagoon.

The table below shows a summary of the natural assets found in Makoko and the relevance to the inhabitants of Makoko.

**Table 5.1 Summery of Natural Assets in Makoko**

<b>Natural Asset Present</b>	<b>Benefit</b>
The Lagoon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Employment</li> <li>▪ Fishing</li> <li>▪ Water transportation</li> <li>▪ Canoes used as mobile shops to hawk food on the lagoon</li> </ul>
Seafood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Sale of fishes and other seafood for profit.</li> <li>▪ Direct consumption of fishes for food.</li> </ul>
Land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Formation of artificial land to live on</li> <li>▪ Formation of artificial land foe public use (Playground for children on the lagoon).</li> <li>▪ Formation of artificial land for sale</li> </ul>
Sharp sand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Exhumation of sharp sand from the bottom of the lagoon for sale.</li> <li>▪ Exhumations of sharp sand from the bottom of the lagoon to top fill garbage hills to form land in Makoko on water settlement.</li> </ul>

### 5.1.2 Financial Assets

The various financial resources available to the inhabitants of Makoko to enable them choose a variety of livelihood option and improve their housing conditions were observed to be limited. According to the interviews conducted with the 5 respondents on the lagoon and 10 respondents on land claimed not to make enough money to be able to adequately save and that profits made from their businesses were immediately used to provide for their families immediate needs, which includes food, housing, clothing and

education. They said money that remained after their basic needs were met, was plunged back into their business or trading activities. 20 respondents on land claimed they were members of a small saving group with the friends in Makoko called 'Owo'. 14 of the respondents, who all resided on land, said they had bank accounts which helped them carry out financial transactions instead of cash.

The 30 respondent interviewed said that they had never collected a loan from the bank. They claimed that because they did not have a steady income they believed no bank would loan them money. The focus group discussion with the CDA members who were also landowners showed that they believed collateral like the certificate of occupancy (C of O), to their houses, would be more confident to approach a bank for a loan. Both the respondents on land and the lagoon said that they had no financial institutions or community association where they collected loans. They also claimed that there were no members of the community that they approached to give them loans in times of need. The respondents were also asked if they patronised informal money lenders located in Makoko. They all claimed that they were no informal lenders in the community. The respondents said that the only place they could get financial assistance from family members or close friends.

A respondent:

*'I am a barber.....I have never met anybody in Makoko to loan me money for my business, except my wife. In Makoko! Who will help me? Everyone has their own problem, we all need money.'* Ekene, 26 years old

However, the focus group discussion carried out with 21 evicted women traders showed that, the women were in the process of borrowing money from SERAC the NGO, to add to the money they were saving together in order to start a micro-finance scheme. The women said they were presently contributing 100 Naira (US\$ 0.8) weekly, towards the micro-finance scheme. The women planned to double the weekly amount contributed in order to save enough money to approach SERAC the NGO for the loan. According to the leader of the association, the only women eligible to participate in the micro-finance scheme were women traders affected by the 2005 eviction in Aiyetoro, who had lived in the community for over 7 years. Therefore new female migrants or those who have lived in the community for less than 7 years can not participate in the saving program.

Findings show that 20 respondents worked in the informal sector as petty traders, fishermen, construction workers, taxi drivers, landlord and a variety of other informal money making activities. It also showed that 26 respondents had other sources of income other than their major money making activity, including respondents with full-time wage employment. The respondents claimed that it was too risky to rely on a single source of income and that they need other money making activities to be able to meet their needs. They claimed that community provided them with the environment to make a living from informal activities and pursue various business activities.

## Summary

The community lacks the adequate financial assets needed to assist them access credit facilities, loans from financial institutions, microfinance schemes, or access to pension funds. This hinders the residents from investing more in productive assets like their housing or investing in the business activity. However, the evicted women traders took the lead and started collectively saving to equip them with enough resources to invest in their trading, by collecting a loan from SERAC the NGO to make them eligible for a micro-finance scheme. Although the community as limited tangible financial assets that can assist the inhabitants improve their housing conditions, findings show that the women in the community are taking the initiative to increase their financial asset. Therefore, the presence of the small rotating saving group ‘Owo’ and the larger micro-financial scheme available to the inhabitants increases their financial assets and is an added benefit to the residents and a factor that keeps the present inhabitants in Makoko.

**Table 5.2 Summary of Financial Assets in Makoko**

Financial Assets present	Location in Makoko		Effect on the growth of the slum
	On Land	On the Lagoon	
Informal business activities	✓	✓	Finding show that the inhabitants are involved in various informal business activities that enable them make a living and keeps them in Makoko and attracts new migrants into the community.
Access to community association loans	✓	✗	There were no community association loans or loan sharks. The presence of the rotating saving group of 5 to 10 people ‘Owo’ on Makoko on land is a factor why the residents remain in Makoko.
Access to loans from NGO	✓	✗	SERAC the NGOs loan to evicted women traders in Makoko to enable them start a micro-finance scheme. However, only those directly affected by the 2005 eviction were permitted to participate.

### 5.1.3 Social and Political Assets

Makoko is a community that according to its inhabitant’s dates back over a hundred years. 4 respondents claim that they have lived in the community over 35 years. 7 respondents located both on land and on the lagoon, between the ages of 18 years and 30 years say that they were born in Makoko and have lived there ever since. All respondents claim they were either born in Makoko or have lived in Makoko for more than 6 years. Makoko is a large community with over 80,000 people (Census, 2006) from diverse parts of Nigeria and neighbouring countries, with different background, religious beliefs and social and economic class. However, it was observed that inhabitants of the two main zones, which are New Makoko and Old Makoko (on land and on the lagoon), knew



members of their own community in Makoko by first name or family name. A 50 year old female respondent said she knew every household who lived in Makoko and that she helped discipline them whenever necessary. When asked the importance of the community to a respondent who had lived in Makoko since 1960.

The respondent said:

*“Makoko has become my home town. It is the ancestral home of my six children. I was born in Ogun State, but my children know Makoko as their home. Lagos State is now their home town not Ogun state”.* Mr Kehinde, 60 years old

The community social ties were observed to be strong. It was observed that the inhabitants were able to notice the presence of stranger in their neighbourhood and it was noticed that they questioned strangers on what they wanted and what their business was in the community. It appeared that they kept watch over each other and their community.

According to data collected, there is an active CDA and Market Women Association in the community. All the CDA members are landowners in Makoko and all the registered market women are members of the Makoko Market Women Association. Makoko landowners are observed to be very powerful and influential in the community. Respondents mentioned that no decisions were made regarding Makoko without consulting with the CDA. The CDA was observed to have close relations with SERAC the NGO and government issues with the community was done through them. Interviews with respondents show that the CDA are in charge of community participation, they bring the community together in times of rallies and protests, they supervise the clearing up of drainages, they also organise sanitation. They are in charge of the community security and they organise vigilante groups that patrol all zones in Makoko, since the presence of the police in the community is very absent. A Market woman that was interviewed said that the CDA members were the voice of the inhabitants; she said the CDA fought for the community and that she and her family trusted them. She said they were all landowners and they had more to lose if Makoko was cleared, so she knows that they will do all in their power to keep the settlement in existence.

According to an interview that took place in the morning with a landlord in old Makoko, he claimed that his household consisted of six people and that rented a room in his house to a young couple. The landlord said that he had retired and lived on earnings from rent collected from his house. The researcher returned to the same house at 6pm to interview the landlord's tenants and discovered that over ten people including the mentioned couple slept in the 3m by 4m room. On questioning one of the boys found in the room, he mentioned that he and his roommates rented a sleeping space in the room from the landlord but he failed to disclose the amount he paid for it. He mentioned that he came from the village to Lagos to make a living and was invited by his cousin to stay with him in Makoko. He and his cousin slept in this particular room at night along with several others and sold bottled water in the day time on the streets of Lagos. It was observed that the landlords were able to make extra money from renting overcrowded units to people needing accommodation. An interview with the CDA chairman confirmed this theory.

*“The population density in Old Makoko is extremely higher than New Makoko. We have 430 houses in New Makoko, multiply by 6 people, that is 2580 houses. In Old Makoko there are 1700 houses. In Old Makoko you have to multiply each house by 14 people because the landlords are greedy. They rent their houses to as many people as possible. Believe me some houses have over ten people in a room. The over crowding there is scary. Old Makoko is disorganised and very dirty. We in New Makoko refused such population increase. We need our neighbourhood to be under our control.”* Makoko CDA Chairman.

The Market Women Association is another group women traders are also members of. The focus group discussion carried out with 21 market women, showed that the decisions made in the association are adhered to by all the market women in Makoko. The focus group discussion showed that the supported each other during weddings, funerals and times their members needed assistance. During one of their meetings held before the focus group discussion, the women discussed the planning of the naming ceremony of one of their members. There was also a conflict resolution between two women over a loan that went bad, where one of the women was asked to pay back the loan or be excommunicated from the association. It was therefore noticed that the association were facilitator of peace within the women of Makoko. A relationship of trust and support within the association members was observed during the meeting and focus group discussions.

Makoko’s social tie is perceived by the researcher to be very strong and unified. This was observed in a tragic event that took place in the community. The Secretary General of the Joint Makoko CDA died a week before the fieldwork commenced. It appeared that all of Makoko community mourned the loss of one of their leaders, respondents pointed out the immense contribution he made to the development of the slum, his humility and his close relationship with SERAC. The loss was to a great extent felt that all the CDA members and elders in the community could not be interviewed until after the Secretary General’s burial. It was gathered that the CDA took charge and catered for the wake keeping of the late Secretary General. The unification of the inhabitants of Makoko noticed in a time of sadness was unexpected for an urban population, which are usually known for their individuality. This event shows the support the inhabitants draw from their social interactions and the societies they participate in.

Findings show that Makoko inhabitants remain in the community also because of the presence of family and friends that assist in the city. Interview with the 5 respondents who were evicted but returned to Makoko showed that a reason why they returned was because they had family and friends in Makoko that they needed in order to get back on their feet. There is a visible presence of family, relatives and friendship ties in Makoko. Interviews with the respondents show that all the 30 respondents had either a family members or friend that resides with them in Makoko. An 18 years old student respondent, who also operated a call centre, said he had lived in Makoko for 6 years said that he moved to Makoko after his father had sent him to live with his mother who resided in Makoko. Another 26 years old male respondent, who had also only lived in Makoko for 6 years and worked as a barber in a salon said that he came to Makoko after two of his brothers, had sent for him from Abia state, Nigeria. He claimed that he did not like living in Makoko because of the constant flooding and bad smell but he had continue to live

there because his brothers and their families lived in the community and he needed their support. Another 29 year old electronics trader, who claimed to have come to Makoko 10 years ago from Abakiliki, Ebonyi State, Nigeria said he came to Lagos to make money and that he chose to reside in Makoko because his best friend who had left the village years earlier resided in Makoko. He said he did not have money, so he lived with his friend and after he had some money to live on his own, he felt safer staying close to people he knew in the city; he therefore decided to remain in Makoko.

There was only one local NGO active in Makoko and the NGO is SERAC. SERAC according to inhabitants, have contributed to the community in several ways. The 5 respondents in the 2005 eviction said that SERAC is presently representing them in the court case against the 2005 evictions. They also mentioned that SERAC staff paid for their one year accommodation in Makoko eviction. 20 respondents said that SERAC has been involved with COHRE in several training and educational programs in the community. They claimed that SERAC defends the community against any injustice that may want to come their way; they said SERAC negotiate with the Lagos state government for them and advocate for their needs. They also claim that they are constructive in bring media and international attention to the community. 25 respondents out 30 respondents knew who SERAC was and the work they were doing in the settlement. The five respondents that were unaware of SERAC and their contribution to the community were the inhabitants who live on the lagoon. SERAC is observed to be influential and respected in the community as evident in the attention and respect given by the respondents to the researcher when companied by SERAC staff. Makoko on land were full of praises for SERAC the NGO, its Managing Director Felix Morka and his staff. During the Women Traders Evictees meeting that the researcher witnessed, the women started their meeting with the slogan 'up SERAC, up Felix Morka'.

SERAC impact in the lives of the inhabitants was also witness in the burial arrangement of the Joint Makoko CDA Secretary General. SERAC supported the family members of the late CDA Secretary General by paying for his burial, while Makoko CDA members catered for his wake keeping. The community organiser in SERAC was also praised by family members of the late CDA Secretary General, saying that she regularly visited him while he was hospitalised and was mistaken to be a family member by the medical staff. It was also observed that members of the community were seen several times in SERAC office over the fieldwork period, visiting, holding meetings or inquiring about the progress of the evictee's court case with the government, which was being handled by SERACs legal department. This showed that SERAC office was open to any Makoko inhabitants who needed their services or support.

Makoko has a large population, although there is not demographical data of the voting population. Interviews with all the respondents showed that 28 respondents voted in the 2007 elections. One respondent turned 17 years in 2008 and therefore not illegible to vote, the other respondent claimed she was unable to collect her voters' card and therefore was unable to vote. Interview with all the respondents showed that there was a large turn out of voters queuing to vote during the primary and secondary election days. The respondents said that Makoko was a prime location that politicians came to campaign. They also commented that during theses campaign rallies there was a large turn of Makoko residents supporting the various politicians. The respondents were asked

if the politicians brought gifts to the inhabitants during these rallies, all the respondents claimed that they had never received any gifts from the politicians nor did they know anyone who had been given gifts. They said that the only thing the politicians gave them were empty promises of infrastructure provision and tenure security in Makoko if they were voted in.

## Summary

According to Rakodi (2002), social assets are not often visible in urban areas due to the heterogeneous nature and mobility of urban populations. However, findings show that Makoko community is a close knitted community, with visible social networks and dependency. The finding shows that Makoko residents prefer to remain in places familiar to them, where families and friends reside. Places where they can call on their social networks in times of crisis, which minimises the challenges experienced in urban areas, thereby reducing the vulnerability and increasing their ability to cope. Those who were evicted in 2005 and remained or returned back to the settlement were found to return because of their dependency on these social networks.

**Table 5.3 Summary of the social assets in Makoko**

Social Asset Evident	Location in Makoko		Effect on the growth of the Slum
	On Land	On the Lagoon	
Support of family and friends in Makoko.	✓	✓	Findings show a pull in of migrants by friends and family presently residing in Makoko a support system of relatives and friends that keeps existing Makoko resident in the slum.
Work of Makoko CDA	✓	✓	The CDA is responsible for managing community affairs, protecting, uniting, educating and providing support for the inhabitants, which keeps residents in Makoko.
Influence of Makoko Landowners	✓	✗	Makoko landowners as responsible for overcrowding and the pull of more migrants into the community, as they rent their houses and rooms to numerous people.
Membership and participation in associations	✓	✗	The inhabitants are members of associations located in Makoko that assist their members in times of difficulty, which keeps present residents in the community.
The support and protection of SERAC	✓	✓	SERAC was found to be influential in keeping the present residents in Makoko by assisting them in times of need.
Social ties in Makoko	✓	✓	The community was found to be an urban village. Where the inhabitants knew each other and watched out for

			each other and the community's interest.
Support of politicians during election.	✓	✓	Politicians during elections promised to bring more development to the slum, which keeps the inhabitants in Makoko in hope of improvement.

#### 5.1.4 Human Asset

According to literature, Makoko on land is a mixed community, where its inhabitants have different levels of education. Four 4 of the respondents interviewed were university graduates, of which 3 where professionally employed and 1 respondents was a university student. The sample selected shows the presence of highly educated people in the slum as well as people without any type of formal education as mentioned in the LMDP survey report (2002). However, the survey report states that Makoko on land is occupied by more uneducated people, working in the informal sector than educated people working in the formal sector. The 5 respondents on the lagoon were found not have any formal education but were skilled in manual work. Interviews with respondents, both on land and on the lagoon showed that inhabitants are able to make a living in Makoko without any type of formal education and that most jobs located in the slum did not require education. The interviewed respondents also say that they had observed that Makoko is an ideal location for people without education and who need work. The 30 respondents interviewed all said that the community had more job opportunity for uneducated skilled workers than highly educated workers and that uneducated people usually move to the community to live and find employment.

The quantity and quantity of labour available in Makoko vary depending on its location. Based on the LMDP survey (2002) carried out the main skills found in Makoko are fishing and trading. According to the interviews carried out with 25 inhabitants who reside on land, shows that 10 respondents out of the 25 persons interviewed that lived in Makoko had second jobs to support their main job. They claimed they needed the second job in other to have enough resources to survive. When asked the said their second jobs were in Makoko and neighbouring locations. It was observed that the inhabitants on the lagoon also worked in various skilled sectors ranging from working on construction sites as labourers and carpenters, as they are many building under construction in the city centre, to conductors and drivers in commercial buses and taxis

The inhabitants on the lagoon are mainly skilled fishermen, boat makers, skilled carpenter, traders and fish smokers who all worked in Makoko. Those interviewed claimed to have been taught theses skills by their parents and friends who they claim also lived in Makoko. Interviews with the five respondents on the lagoon showed that the children in the community as young as 7 years old start working, trained to continue in their parent's occupation. A fisherman that lived on the lagoon said that he had a second job as a water taxi operator in Makoko. He said that he used his canoe to transport people from one part of the lagoon to another. He further mentioned that fishermen in the community did not have other jobs but few of his friends (a number he could not specify) were water taxi operators or canoe makers. He said that fishermen that had second jobs usually worked in the Makoko and hardly worked outside their community to work. The

data collected was supported by observing that the people on lagoon were isolated from the other parts of the city and it could be difficult for them to get work outside Makoko. The reasons for this emanates from the fact that although those interviewed claimed to be from Badagry, a Lagos state local government bordering Benin Republic, it appeared that they were from surround countries in West Africa and language was a barrier preventing them from getting jobs outside their zone. The 3 inhabitants interviewed and those observed on the Lagoon spoke only French and Egun.<sup>10</sup> Theses languages are seldom spoken in Lagos, therefore making communication difficult for them with communities outside Makoko.

A survey carried out by LMDP showed that there are many unemployed youths in Makoko, making the dependency rate in the community high. Interviews with a Makoko inhabitant on Land showed that an unspecified number of unemployed youths did not possess any form of education or useful skill. The respondent also mentioned that many of the unemployed youths (a number he could not specify) were members of popular gang known as “Area Boys”, a notorious gang known for various crimes and unrest in the city. Area Boys are a known gang that reside in slum communities but carry out there criminal operations all over Lagos. There are claims that this group also double up as armed robbers and are generally feared in the city. The interview showed that Makoko Area Boys can be found in Makoko on land and on the lagoon. They are said to be feared and avoided in the community and are often used by politicians during election time to forcefully persuade people in the city centre to vote for them or cause disruption in the city whenever possible. According to interviews carried out with a 21 year old female and an 18 year old male student in Makoko, Area Boys stay close together in order to support and protect themselves from the police and rival criminal gangs. Makoko is said to be a good hideout for these Area boys because of police absence in the community.

## Summary

According to the 30 respondents interviewed in Makoko, the community attracts unskilled labour and high numbers of educated people. They claim that unskilled and low skilled works come to Makoko to have a chance to acquire needed skills in time, in order to survive in the city. Theses skills attainable in Makoko are fishing, carpentry, canoe making and trading. Findings show that it is easy to get employment in the informal sector of Makoko, as Makoko’s informal sector is thriving and lucrative due to its central location in the crowded city of Lagos. Findings show that inhabitants, foreigners and local migrants take advantage of the informal work availability in the community to survive in the city. They claimed that many people who have migrated to Makoko with no education and can find work, those with no skill have learnt new skills and those with skills can better their skills whilst they worked and lived in Makoko. The table below shows a summery of Makoko’s human assets and its effect in the growth of the slum.

**Table 5.4 Summary of Human Assets in Makoko**

Human Asset Available	Effect on the growth of the slum
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<sup>10</sup> Egun is the language of the people of Benin Replublic. Badagry, a Nigerian town bordering Benin Replublic also speck the language.

Type of skill and labour available.	There are a variety of skills and labour in Makoko. It shows that migrants without skills are able to acquire new skills and those with skills are able to improve upon their chosen skills when they come to the settlement. Those who reside in Makoko remain because of their ability to earn money in informal activities located in the community.
Level of education	There are both uneducated and educated people in the community. Makoko community is able to provide work for uneducated people found in the community. Thereby keeping uneducated residents in the community as well as attract more uneducated people looking for employment to the community.

### 5.1.5 Physical Asset

According to Rakodi (2000), physical assets are assets that are produced. They include both soft and hard infrastructure. There were a variety of produced assets found in Makoko. Findings show that there are numerous physical assets in Makoko that influenced the formation, growth and expansion of the community and assist the inhabitants to obtain their livelihood.

Makoko's location plays an important role in the decision of the inhabitants to move to the community and to remain in the slum. Interviews with the 5 respondents evicted from Makoko that returned back showed that Makoko's location, in the city centre was vital to their survival in Lagos. The interviews with the 5 respondents evicted from Makoko who came back confirmed this finding, showing the importance of Makoko location to their trade, health and the education of their children. When asked why they returned to Makoko after they had lost their homes, they said that they were several reasons for their return; however, one vital reason was because Makoko's location gave them easy access to important areas in the city. They mentioned that the settlement was in close proximity to the general hospital, the orthopaedic hospital, Tejuosho market,<sup>11</sup> their mosques and churches, University of Lagos, Yaba Federal Polytechnic, the National Stadium, several secondary schools and a variety of other useful location. They claimed that some of these locations were just a walking distance from their previous homes in Makoko or one stop in a bus ride from Makoko. The women said that if they had left Makoko, they would not only have lost their homes and contacts with their friends but they would also have lost their access into the city and these key locations.

A respondent said:

*'I left Makoko when we were first evicted to stay with my sister in Agege, but I returned when SERAC gave use accommodation. I had no problem staying with my sister but I sell provisions in the Yaba market and transportation from Agege to Yaba everyday will finish my profit. My children's schools and also located in Makoko. I can afford the transport cost for 3 of them to go to school everyday. Makoko is close to the important places I need to go.'* Wasilat, 39 years old.

<sup>11</sup> Tejuosho Market is big market complex in Lagos.

Another respondent said:

*'The people that were previously evicted from the present Danny Estate in Aiyetoro over ten years ago by the government, were resettled in a relocation village built for them at far away Ibesha in Ikorodo, Lagos. The government gave them the houses free of charge and built free sawmills for them, since the evictees previously worked in sawmills in Makoko. The people stayed there for a few months, I cant remember how long but many returned to Makoko, since in Ibesha they were cut away from all the important locations, facilities and costumers they had access to in Makoko.'* Victoria, 30 years old.

Makoko community as described previously is deprived of essential infrastructure but although the community itself lacks several infrastructure facilities, it feeds on the infrastructure facilities located in surrounding locations. Makoko community is a street turn from a major highway known as 'Herbert Macaulay Road', a road where large companies, The University of Lagos, and The Lagos State Polytechnic are located. Other locations surrounding Makoko also have better infrastructure facilities. It was therefore observed that though the community lacked needed infrastructure facility, the inhabitants were able to illegally tap such facilities like electricity and cable frequency. The community also benefitted legally from surrounding location. Such benefits include quick access to highways, access to good roads in surrounding locations, quick and easy access to work and market, cheaper transportation to respective locations, and walkable access to transit stations such as the major bus stops, taxi parks, rickshaw stops and canoe transit.

Respondent:

*'I like this place very much, I hardly take public transportation. I simply walk or take Okada (Motor Bike). My sister living in Ajah spends all her money on transportation just to buy second hand clothes for sale from Yaba market. Whenever she decides to come to the headquarters of our church, I feel sorry for her. As for me, I just work to church, it takes me 20 minutes and when I am late, I simply take a 20 naira bus (US\$ 0.16).'*  
Aminat 32 years old

Interviews with the respondents showed that all the respondents either worked in the community or worked in neighbouring locations and only need a single public transportation fare to get to work, because Makoko is close to where a concentration of jobs are located. The respondents also claimed that they were able to walk short distance to their place of work places especially on Mondays when there is huge traffic jam and not enough commercial buses on the road. The interview and focus group discussion with the Evicted Women Traders Association showed that the women get the product they sell from Makoko fishermen or from the 8 markets in and around Makoko, reducing their transportation cost. This depicts the significance of Makoko's physical location to the inhabitant's access to employment, entertainment, education, and to the success of their business activity.

The table below is a summery of the physical assets found in Makoko (On land and on the lagoon).



## Summary

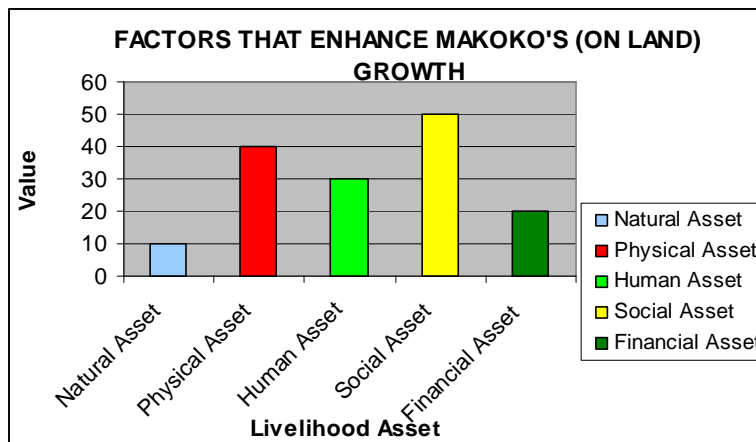
**Table 5.5 Summary of Physical Assets in Makoko**

Physical Assets Present	Effect on the growth of the slum
Access to city centre	Being in the heart of the city, Makoko provides easy access to the core locations in the city.
Access to the city's infrastructure	The inhabitants are able to benefit from the concentration of infrastructure facilities such as schools, hospital, banks, etc located in the city centre.
Access to transportation facilities	There are several transportation options and numerous transit stations located in and around Makoko. Creating easy movement at a cheaper cost for its inhabitants.
Access to market	The inhabitants have a close proximity to 8 markets located in and around Makoko, enabling them to have cheaper and quicker access to markets where they sale or buy goods.
Access to employment	Makoko is located close to a hub of offices and companies, giving inhabitants access to their places of work.

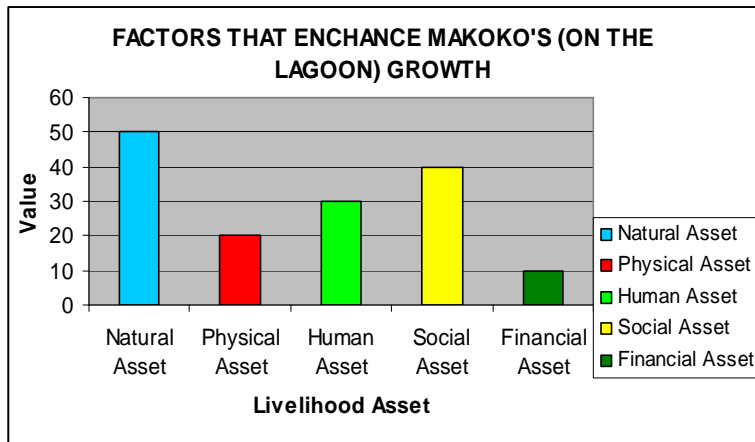
## Summary of factors that enhance the growth of Makoko

The figure below shows an overview of the result of the finding on the factors that influence the formation and growth Makoko community. The figure below is plotted to show the importance of the different assets found to be responsible for the growth phenomenon in Makoko on Land and Makoko on the lagoon.

**Figure 5.1 Result on factors that enhance the growth and consolidation of Makoko on land**



**Figure 5.2 Result on factors that enhance the growth and consolidation of Makoko on the lagoon**



## 5.2 Forced Eviction Failure in Makoko

Forced evictions are not an alien phenomenon in Nigeria. Several forced evictions have taken place in different parts of the country. There have been several forced evictions in Lagos state, and many more are still being carried out.

According to Plessis (2005), forced evictions creates various negative consequences that goes beyond the homeless of those affected and the loss of livelihood but also increases poverty, further ensures inequity, discrimination, and social exclusions. However, the consequence of forced evictions goes beyond the loss of physical and financial asset, it also creates social and psychological problems for those affected. Families become displaced, separated from each other, their friend, and their social and business networks. With forced evictions, it is guaranteed that the better-off become poor and the poor become poorer. Forced evictions also create an entry point for all sorts of social misconduct and violence as proven in the case of Makoko.

The forced evictions that took place in Aiyetoro Makoko, supports Plessis's view. The focus group discussions carried out with the 21 evictees showed that those affected lost their homes and entire belongings without warning or prior notice. They reported that after their homes were destroyed, their other belongs such as cloths and furniture etc were burnt down in order to clear out the community. The market was also demolished, destroying also their livelihood. According to interviews carried out with 5 evictees of the 2005 evictions, many of their neighbours did not have anywhere to sleep, so they slept along the roadside and under bridges. Respondents interviewed said they were fortunate and were welcomed into churches or stay with friends. This brought about traumatic and psychological problems to all affected. Report gathered in the focus group discussion claim that some of those affected lost their lives shortly after the evictions due to ill health.

## Box 2 An interview with evictee.<sup>12</sup>

'I have lived in Makoko for 35 years and all those years I have been a trader in Makoko. My original tribe is Ilaje from Ondo state, Nigeria. At 10 am on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, 2005, a day I will never forget, members of the Lagos state Task Force came to my 18 room newly built block of flats and demolished it right before my eyes without any prior notice. You see, I was a successful trader and I put all the money I had saved into the construction of my property which was located on my late fathers land in Aiyetoro, Makoko. The bulldozers destroyed everything in a day and what the bulldozers could not destroy, the taskforce set on fire. One of my daughters was raped during the confusion of the demolition. She was only in Senior Secondary 2. Nobody could stop them because they were fully armed and I was not the only one affected, almost everyone's house in Aiyetoro was being demolished and they were too busy trying to gather what they could save before it was their turn.

At first I lived in a church, while waiting for SERAC to help us out with accommodation. I assist SERAC to identify and organise all who were truly affected by the eviction, so that SERAC could find accommodation for them. Although, a lot of those affected got accommodation, unfortunate I was unable to get it because when it was my turn SERAC's funds had run out. While squatting around, my eight children had to be separated because I was unable to take care of all of them. My boys went to live with their friends. My daughter that was raped got pregnant, so we had to move out of the church and live with my daughters past classmate, whose father was kind enough to give us a small room in his house. We still live there till now but it is not easy at all, because we now pay him rent. He wants us to move out but I do not have the money to get another place because I can not work as I use to, since I am not a young woman anymore. Whenever it rains, the house floods, the water most times rises up to my ankle, sometimes it rises to my knee, which is not safe or healthy for my daughter's baby. I can not ask my boys for help because they are now area boys and heavily use Igbo (drugs). My youngest son (15 years old) is too ashamed to go back to school; he is now learning to be a carpenter. The eviction has destroyed my family's life as we knew it. I lost my home, clothes, documents; they even demolished the market where I use to sell. I need a house and a market to sell my provisions. I am ready to leave Makoko, if government gives me a good house somewhere else. I am not a lazy woman. I will work to pay them back. I promise, I promise!' Mrs Y.A

Other zones in Makoko settlement have been threatened with force evictions several times but they have never been evicted. Something happened that altered the continuous eviction plans in Makoko after the 2005 evictions. From 5 interviews and the focus group discussions that took place with the evictees and community leaders, it was discovered that SERAC's actions in the community had a strong effect in halting forced evictions in the Makoko. SERAC the NGO assisted by media attention and broadcast brought the Makoko's inhabitants and eviction stories to the lime light. This was an effective tool aimed at naming and shaming responsible government officials and

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<sup>12</sup> Evictee is a 60 year old grandmother. The interview was originally carried out in Yoruba and later translated back to English.

individuals involved in the election. The media further captured the attention of international housing and human rights agencies; they were quick to point fingers at the Nigerian government, accusing them of violating the human rights of Makoko inhabitants. SERAC the NGO with the aid of the media was able to stop the further clearance of Makoko by putting the community on the news and in magazines. COHRE the NGO in collaboration with SERAC the NGO organized training and educational programs that covered housing, community participation, health, environmental, human and women rights issues.

According to the 5 CDA members interviewed, SERAC the NGO has been constructive in the training of community members in urban development issues and in the protection and improvement of the living conditions in Makoko. They said SERAC represents those previously evicted in 2005 in the court of law, as they try to get some type of compensation for those affected. They claim SERAC holds talks with government officials regarding improving the living and environmental conditions in Makoko. This various training, they say has formed a more educated, stronger and better coordinated community association. According to the CDA chairman, the Joint Makoko CDA is now equipped to represent, defend the community and negotiate with the government. The awareness and education SERAC has brought to the people has had an effect in stopping forced eviction in Makoko.

Information gather from the respondents showed that Makoko's location had the advantage of creating awareness when forced evictions taking place in the community. 11 respondents said that Makoko's location could bring in help and support from surrounding communities which could bring in the news crew quickly. Contrarily, 19 respondents believed that the Makoko's central location could not help stop forced evictions because the location has not changed since the last successful forced eviction in Aiyetoro. The 5 respondents who were previously evicted claimed that Aiyetoro zone, whose inhabitants were evicted in 2005 was closer to the Herbert Macaulay\* than the other zones in Makoko were. They said that their zone was visible for all to see, but no help them stop the task force from evicting them.

With regards to the topography of the houses on the lagoon, the respondents said that they believed that the houses were not protected from forced evictions. 10 respondents claimed that they had been told that even though the houses on the lagoon could not be demolished with bulldozers, that the government was planning to blow up the lagoon houses with explosives. A fisherman on the lagoon claimed that government had come to carry out test explosions late last year on a dilapidated house close to his house. However, no other person has substantiated his claim or previously heard his story. According to a fisherman interviewed, Makoko's topography is one of the reasons why the government and property developers want to clear the community.

Respondents:

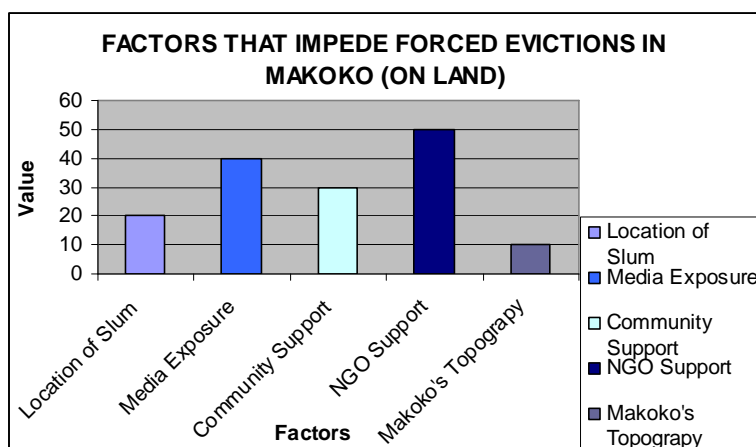
*'The government those not care about us! They can destroy our houses whenever they want. They are just afraid of what the white man in London and America will say to them. They do not even need bulldozers because it can not climb or work on water. They will just put bombs on the planks that carry our houses and blow it all up.....the*

*government and the rich people in Lagos want Makoko. Makoko will fetch them big money. It is in the middle of the city and also by the water. They have big plans for the land but no plan for its people’. Nicholas 25 years old*

## Summary

The figure below shows an overview of the result of the findings on the factors that impeded forced evictions in Makoko community. Figure 5.3 below is plotted to show the relevance of the different factors found to be responsible for the forced eviction failure in Makoko on Land and Makoko on the lagoon.

**Figure 5.3 Result of findings on factors that impeded forced evictions in Makoko.**



## 5.3 The most appropriate strategy to providing housing and improving Makoko's housing condition.

Findings show that the all the 30 respondents believed that if they were ensured tenure security it will increase their willingness and ability to improve their housing conditions. The respondents said that there was the constant fear of being evicted from the past evictions in Aiyetoro zone. The fear is currently heighten by the LMDG and World Bank upgrading project presently been carried out in the slum. With the commencement of the project, residents say they sleep with an eye open, unsure whether their houses will be demolished to make way for public infrastructure and facilities. The LMDP report acknowledges the fact that some properties and assets will be lost in order to provide and improve infrastructure in the community. The project report states that PAPs will be informed if their houses will be demolished and will be given prior notice before demolition. The report also says that due and timely compensation will be given to the PAPs. Unfortunately, when respondents were asked if they believed LMDP report, they all said that from past experiences, they did not trust the Lagos state government but that the world Banks involvement gives them some hope that due process will be followed. They said that tenure security will give them Judicial and negotiating power.

Findings from interviews and focus group discussions show that tenure security and its complexity in Nigeria are very well understood by the inhabitants, especially residents on land. COHRE the NGO and SERACs organised train programs for Makoko inhabitants

had raised awareness on urban development issues and its effects on the community. All the inhabitants, including those that were not educated were conversant with the community's problems and challenges, the LMPD upgrading program that was taking place and their housing and human rights.

Findings shows that the all 30 respondents wanted tenure security and believed that security of tenure will enable them improve their housing units and eventually their environment. Given tenure security, they claimed that they are willing to invest in rebuilding and repairing their housing and were willing to work together as a community to provide basic services in Makoko and maintain these facilities. When a CDA member was asked the services the CDA provided for the community, he said that the drainages were dug and cleaned regularly.

Respondent:

*'Can't you see the work we are doing here? Am sure you met our boys digging out the gutter, outside. We organise the cleaning of our gutters ourselves but our people keep throwing dirt into it. We are trying to educate them, but it takes time to make them understand that we have to maintain our community ourselves if we want to reduce the flooding'.* Claudius 58 year old CDA member.

All the respondents believed that tenure security will gives them better access to financial assistance from local lenders, community banks, family and friends and money lenders. The respondents also believed that tenure security gives them more respect, confidence and a lot more sleep than presently experience. The 5 respondents interviewed on the Lagoon, who had no formal education claimed they just want to be left alone by the government and private developers. They want to stop being afraid that they will lose their homes or be driven from the Lagoon, which is also their main source of income.

Respondent:

*'I am a fisherman and I have lived in Makoko since I was 5 years old.....I am also driver in Adekunle..... This is my home; I can not live anywhere else. We want to be left alone and not to be afraid that the police are coming to bomb my house. Sometimes I leave for work and I do not know if my house will still be there when I return. My house, which I built with my own hands, is the most valuable thing I own.....the garbage you see on the water is used by us to fill some part of the lagoon, see the school and church there, we filled the land there with garbage'.* Vincent 25 year old fisherman.

This finding confirms and supports Turners (1972) view point that if slum dwellers are given tenure security, they will likely improve their housing condition gradually. Turner and De Soto 2000, similar view point is that if slum dwellers are free from the fear of eviction, they will make the necessary investment on their individual houses and surrounding infrastructure since they would have vested interest in the slum.

It also affirms De Soto (1986) theory, that what slum dwellers lack and desire is tenure security and that if given, it will enable them gain access to financial loans and therefore improve their financial capacity. The inhabitants of Makoko, according to records are mostly fishermen and traders and are economically active and in need of small scale

loans. They believed that Tenure security was able to increase their accessibility to small scale loans for financial institutions and will give them the confidence to negotiate for whatever assistance they required.

According to Payne (2005), he states the importance of tenure security as a tool for upgrading slum areas. He recognises the importance for slum dwellers to reside close to where they earn their living. Payne also recognises the cumbersome and expensive land registration procedure that comes with individual tenure security, especially found in developing countries. He considers communal ownership or communal tenure security, whether temporary or permanent, as a way of making tenure more accessible to slum dwellers. However, when all the respondent were asked if they will consider communal tenure security, their response was that they did not trust other people with their land and property rights and regardless of the benefit, they would prefer to collect individual tenure security. It was also observed that the idea communal tenure security made the respondents uneasy, they felt the idea of joint ownership would be problematic and confusing and that it will limit the freedom and power that comes with security of tenure.

Due to the LMDP upgrading taking place in nine largest slums communities in Lagos, upgrading is a term that is very familiar and frequently used in Makoko. It was observed that most people asked, were aware of what upgrading meant. The Joint Makoko CDA assisted by SERAC the active NGO in Makoko ensures that the inhabitants are frequently informed and educated on the LMDP upgrading process taking place in Makoko and the other 8 slums.

All the respondents interviewed said that they wanted Makoko to be upgraded. They did not want to be away from their homes, present source of income, families and friends. It was noticed that those who wanted to be upgraded were mostly respondents who were born in Makoko or had lived in the community for many years and therefore had formed their identity in Makoko. Residents, whose families had lived and died in Makoko, did not want to consider being relocated from the settlement and seemed offended by the idea. When a CDA member was asked where he wanted his children to live, he said that he wanted his entire family to continue to live in Makoko, even after he was died. Finding showed that the longer the inhabitants had live in the community the more attached they were and wanted to remain in Makoko.

However, the interviews and focus group discussion carried out with the 2005 evictees that remained in Makoko after the evictions showed that all of those interviewed and half of the focus group discussion did not mind relocating to other settlements. 4 of the women evictees that were not able to get accommodation from SERAC presently live in bad and overcrowded housing units, squatting in friends' houses, others respondents lived in churches and some in houses that often flooded. They claimed to have gone through very dreadful times after the evictions and they do not mind leaving Makoko to relocate to other settlements with better housing conditions anywhere in Lagos.

All 20 respondents on Makoko land, part from the 5 respondents evicted from Aiyetoro said that regardless of the poor and unhealthy housing conditions they would not like to relocate to other areas unless they were provided with free housing elsewhere, however

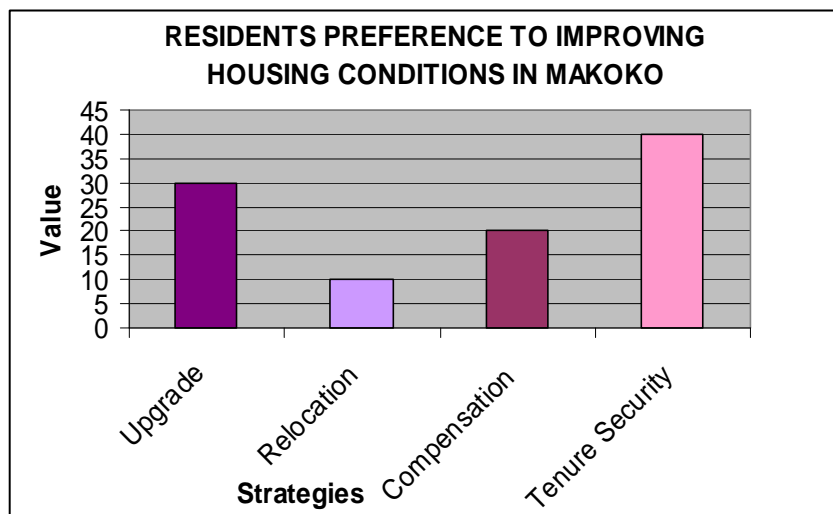
they said they are unwilling to leave their present location, and would rather be left in Makoko.

All respondents wanted Makoko to be upgraded; they said that they wanted the government to facilitate the provision of basic infrastructure such as roads, drinkable water, electricity etc. that they could not afford to provide in the community. They claimed they wanted to upgrade their housing unit by themselves and will take on the responsibility of maintaining infrastructure provided by the government. All respondents (both on land and water) interviewed were asked to list out their infrastructure preference according to what they needed most and score each chosen item. The chart below shows the result of what Makoko inhabitants consider to be what they wanted the most in their community.

According to World Bank resettlement policy and LMDP policy, displaced groups should be relocated collectively in order to preserve and maintain social ties and network that existed prior to the relocation. When the 5 respondents that were previously evicted from Aiyetoro were asked if they were ever going to be relocated, did they want to be relocated collectively or independently. The respondents said that they wanted to be relocated individually and not collectively with other members in the community. They claimed that their social networks were broken already from the 2005 eviction and that they believed that individual relocation would be faster and easier process to achieve than collective relocation.

The figure below shows the result of the respondents both on land and on the lagoon preference in improving their housing conditions.

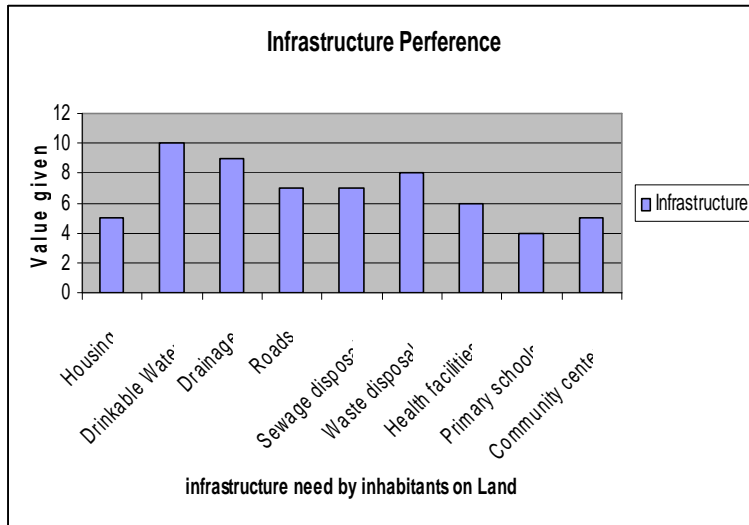
**Figure 5.4 The collation of the preferences of Makoko inhabitants in improving their housing conditions.**



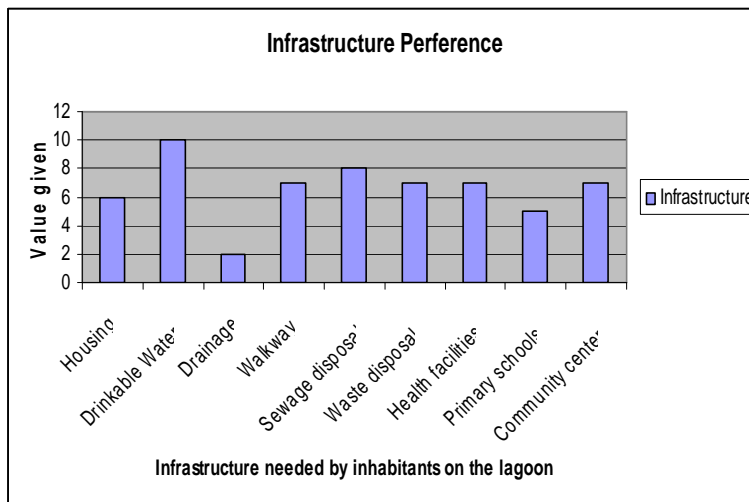


The table below is a survey of the infrastructure preference of the 30 respondents interviewed. The listed infrastructure was gotten from in-dept interviews with respondents. The interviewed persons were asked score the complied infrastructure and carry out a preference selection by assigning a number to each infrastructure listed, where 10 is the highest number and 1 the lowest number.

**Figure 5.5 Infrastructure preferences of the inhabitants of Makoko on land**



**Figure 5.6 Infrastructure preference of inhabitants of Makoko houses on the lagoon**



## **Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendation**

### **6.1 Conclusion**

Makoko settlement is found to be a community that is characterised with poor housing, environmental and living conditions. A slum by definition, it is deprived of basic services and infrastructure that is needed by its inhabitants. Makoko is a community that has existed since the beginning of the century. Makoko residents claim to have resided in this settlements for decades, many say they were born, married, had children, grand children and buried there fathers and grand fathers in the settlement, which is contrary to reports of Makoko being a new squatter settlement. However, the growth and expansion of the slum is visible, as housing units spring up spontaneously along roadsides, drainage lines and sprawl further into the lagoon. Makoko's growth is not isolated from its strategic location in the city centre; however, several other factors evident in the slum have been revealed to be other reasons why the settlement continues to grow despite very poor environmental and housing conditions in the settlement.

Livelihood assets are important to the urban poor and in particular to urban slum dwellers, because they tend to lean on resources other than cash in order to survive in the city. In Makoko, this was found to be true, as the various livelihood assets available to the slum dwellers, had direct and indirect effect in the existence and continuous growth of the slum. The livelihood assets present enable Makoko inhabitants survive, cope and sustain their existence in Lagos.

There were several assets found in the settlement that gives the inhabitants livelihood options and reduces their vulnerability to shocks and stress present in urban cities. The livelihood assets present in Makoko are Natural assets, Social and political assets, physical assets, human assets and financial assets. Theses assets play a vital role in the growth of the slum. The slum is discovered to be productive to the livelihood of its inhabitants and gives them a means of survival in the mega city of Lagos. The development and consolidation of the slum is discovered to be related to the different assets found in the slum, however the influence of the various livelihood assets differ, as some assets were found to be a greater factor than others were in keeping the Makoko inhabitants in the slum and a factor that pulls new migrant into the settlement.

#### **6.1.1 Makoko on Land**

1. Social and political asset is the leading reason why the respondents remain in the slum. Results show that the social networks and association the inhabitants belong to, their family ties and the support they get from neighbours and friends, the assistance SERAC the NGO give to the community, the role of the Joint Makoko CDA and political support especially during elections were the most prominent reason they inhabitants continue to live in Makoko.
2. The physical assets found in the slum were the second reason why the people remain in the slum. Makoko's central location in the city centre plays a vital role in the growth of the slum. It locations gives the inhabitants easy access to important locations such as their work places, markets (to buy and sell goods), hospitals, the University, primary and secondary schools, etc. The location also

- give them access to surrounding infrastructure facilities found in the city centre such as the highways, transit stations, electricity, and other physical amenities.
3. The third reason for the growth of the slum is the human asset found in the settlement. The level of skill and education required to survive in the community is minimal, as the community is able to provide employment in the informal sector, allowing them earn a living from different sources, as well as enable them acquire different skills.
  4. Financial assets are the fourth reason for the development and consolidation of Makoko. Although the financial assets such as credit facilities and loans are minute in the community, they were seen to be developing gradually as more saving groups were being formed and a micro-finance scheme was being introduced.
  5. The natural capital found in Makoko was the least important and beneficial to the inhabitants on land. Although the proximity of the lagoon was beneficial to some of the inhabitants, like the fish traders, it was discovered to be the least significant to the expansion of the slum on land.

### **6.1.2 Makoko on the Lagoon**

1. The most important asset Makoko houses on the lagoon have is the lagoon. Natural asset was discovered to be the foremost reason responsible for the sprawling of the housing further into the lagoon. As Makoko on the lagoon is a fisher folk community, the inhabitants obtain their income and food from the various seafood caught in the lagoon and sea. The lagoons added advantage is the protection it gives the foreign immigrants in the community, hiding from the immigration and police.
2. Social assets are the second factor that keeps the inhabitants in Makoko. The inhabitants depend on their families and friends for survival and support in the city. They protect themselves from external intrusion into their community. They are highly dependent on each other for survival because many members of the community can not fluently speak any of the local Nigerian languages.
3. The third reason for the growth of Makoko community on the lagoon is the human asset present in the community. The inhabitants were found to be highly skilled in fishing, boat making, fish smoking and carpentry. Which are skills required to survive in their habitat. Unskilled immigrants were able to acquire these need skills in Makoko and improve upon their skills when necessary.
4. The access to physical assets is the fourth reason for growth of the slum. Proximity to market to sell seafood is vital for the inhabitants on the lagoon. Access to transportation, facilities and basic infrastructure such as electricity and water is important in enabling the inhabitants survive and cope in the city.
5. The fifth and least asset that enhances the growth of the community on the lagoon is the financial capital. There was no evidence of loan institution or credit facilities evident in Makoko; however the inhabitants were able borrow money from their family and friends in times of need or crisis.

Makoko's 3 major zones has been reduced to 2 zones, with the forced evictions and consequent clearance of an entire zone to make room for development that has not been beneficial to the evicted residents of Aiyetoro or the inhabitants of the 2 remaining zones

in Makoko. Findings show that there have been continuous eviction threats in Makoko and this is heightened by the upgrade of the 9 major slums, which Makoko is part of. The ongoing upgrade known as LMDP only involves the provision of some infrastructure such as water, roads, drainage and schools but those not plan to provide or improve housing units.

The LMDP upgrading will involve the further displacement of project affected persons living along planned infrastructure developmental paths or drainage lines. Although the LMDP is in collaboration with the World Bank, and is in line with the World Bank's relocation and compensation policy, the Makoko people are weary of the integrity of the Lagos State government.

Fortunately, since 2005 there has been no evidence of forced evictions in the entire community. The 2 other zones in Makoko have escaped actual forced evictions but have not been able to escape the continuous threats of eviction or the fear that emerges from it. Several reasons have aided Makoko community in avoiding forced evictions. This includes the location of the slum, media exposure, community support and cooperation, NGO support and Makoko topography.

1. The support, education and advocacy of SERAC and COHRE, two NGOs that have been involved in the community, have been the most effective halting forced evictions in Makoko.
2. The attention of the media in form of television, newspapers, and magazines on the community and the effects of the past evictions has been successful in gaining international human rights attention, as well as shaming the government negative actions in the community.
3. The third factor that has been successful in halting the forced evictions is community cooperation and support, which has enabled the community to mobilise and coordinate themselves as a strong, able and influential unit.
4. The locations of Makoko being in the city centre is found to be able to limit forced eviction as the location of the slum allows clear visibility of events taking place in the slum.
5. The least factor that hinders forced evictions in Makoko is the topography of the slum. Although the topography of Makoko, being partly on the lagoon is able to limit demolition with bulldozers, it is inadequate to totally stop forced evictions, as findings show the inhabitants claim to be threatened with the use of explosives to demolish the houses.

The research shows that if the inhabitants are given tenure security they will improve their housing condition. The inhabitants of Makoko believe that their housing conditions need improvement and believe that the best strategy to improve their housing and general living conditions is the provision of tenure security for all Makoko inhabitants.

The research also shows that the inhabitants both on Makoko on land and on the lagoon want their community upgraded. They however want the government to provide infrastructure for them and claimed that they were willing and able to maintain these services for themselves. The Makoko people wanted to be compensated in the case where upgrading is not possible. They want to be given houses as compensation for loss of their

housing. Contrary to the adamant desire of the inhabitants not to be relocated, the 2005 evictees claimed that although they want to remain in Makoko, their present living conditions was bad because they had to squat with friends, family or in church, others whose house rent was paid by SERAC after the 2005 evictions said that they could not continue to live in their present units because they did not have the resources to continue the rent payment. The evictees said they would relocate to other locations if the government provided them with alternate housing.

## **6.2 Recommendation**

Makoko is a community that is rich with diverse livelihood assets. The settlement creates an environment that enables its inhabitants acquire valuable livelihood assets that improves their coping strategy, moves them further away from poverty and reduces their vulnerability in Lagos. Nevertheless, the poor housing and general living conditions evident in the slum should not be overlooked. After the result of the research findings has been considered, the researcher recommends the following:

### **6.2.1 Makoko on Land**

- Evictions and eviction threats should cease in the settlement. As the fear of being evicted does not encourage the inhabitants to carry out permanent improvement on their housing units. Therefore the residents of Makoko on land should be given tenure security of some sort. It could be documentation proof of ownership in form of a title deed, a C of O or a De facto that can protect them from forced evictions. When tenure is provided, inhabitants should be given individual tenure security and not communal tenure security, which is in line with their preference. This will encourage Makoko inhabitants to start investing in the improvement of their housing units and their community in general.
- The inhabitants should be allowed to improve on their own housing units gradually, as preferred by the inhabitants. They should be encouraged and enforced by the government to follow the National building code and construct their buildings with permanent and durable building material.
- All land and property owners should be levied and allowed to pay their property tax to the Lagos state government. This will give the community recognition as productive citizens of Lagos and enable them request for services needed in the settlement.
- This research, recommends that Makoko on land be provided with the much needed services and infrastructure lacking in the community. This includes adequate drinkable water in the form of piped water or boreholes, drainage facilities to reduce flooding, solid waste disposal systems, good roads, sewage disposal system, health facilities, primary schools and a community centre.
- Houses that are a structural risk to its inhabitants and neighbors should be pulled down for safety reasons.
- To diminish the flooding problems associated with Makoko, houses on drainage channels and flood planes should be demolished and the inhabitants relocated close to original houses to ensure social networks are not broken.

### 6.2.2 Makoko Houses on the Lagoon

- As it was discovered that the housing, environmental and general living conditions of the houses on the lagoon is poor. It is therefore recommended that the Makoko houses on the lagoon should be cleared for safety and environmental reasons. The inhabitants should thereby be provided with the alternate housing is another location. Although the researcher is aware of the desires of the inhabitants to remain in the settlement, the health and environmental conditions of the inhabitants and the lagoon should be considered because it will continue deteriorate if the people are not relocated to more suitable location.
- Due to the reality that the inhabitants obtain their source of income from the lagoon, the displaced community should be relocated to a location close to their original location and more importantly they should be relocated to a location with the similar natural conditions, preferably an area with close proximity to a water body. In order to ensure that the natural livelihood assets found in the community are not destroyed or diminished.
- Until the relocation and rehabilitation process of the inhabitants of the houses on the lagoon is completed, the community should be provided with needed services such as boreholes, sanitary facilities, solid waste disposal systems and health centers, that is presently lack. This is to ensure that the rate of illness and mortality found in the settlement is reduced.
- The community should be moved collectively to limit the rupture of close social networks that are already present in the community.
- The community representatives and leaders should be involve in the decision making process on how and when relocation should take place. This will facilitate the relocation process and encourage the participation of the community members, as well as ensure that the relocation is done properly and the best interest of the community is being considered.
- There should be fair and just compensation given to those affected in form of land, housing or money, according to the LMDP and World Bank relocation guidelines..
- SERAC the NGO, should be consulted and involved in the relocation process. Since they have a better understanding of Makoko in general and have been active in the community for many years.

The positive influence of SERAC the NGO should be encouraged and should therefore continue in the community. Providing assistance for the slum dwellers and educating them on human rights and urban development issues.

Finally, there should be a reorientation of the negative perception the Lagos state government and its citizens have towards Makoko community. The community should be viewed as a 'slum of hope' and not a 'slum of despair'. The result of this research shows that the community does have productive assets it contributes to the city of Lagos.

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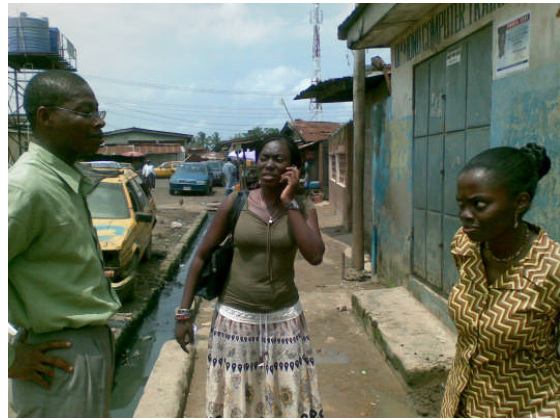
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## Annex 1 Pictures of Makoko community



Focus Group Discussion with Evictees



SERAC. The NGO Staff in Makoko



Interview with 28year old Barber



Interview with CDA Member



Interview with Evictees who remained in Makoko



Focus Group Discussion with Evictees who remained in Makoko





Poor Roads in New Makoko



Improved Road in New Makoko



Bad Drainage in Old Makoko



The Clearing of Drainage in New Makoko



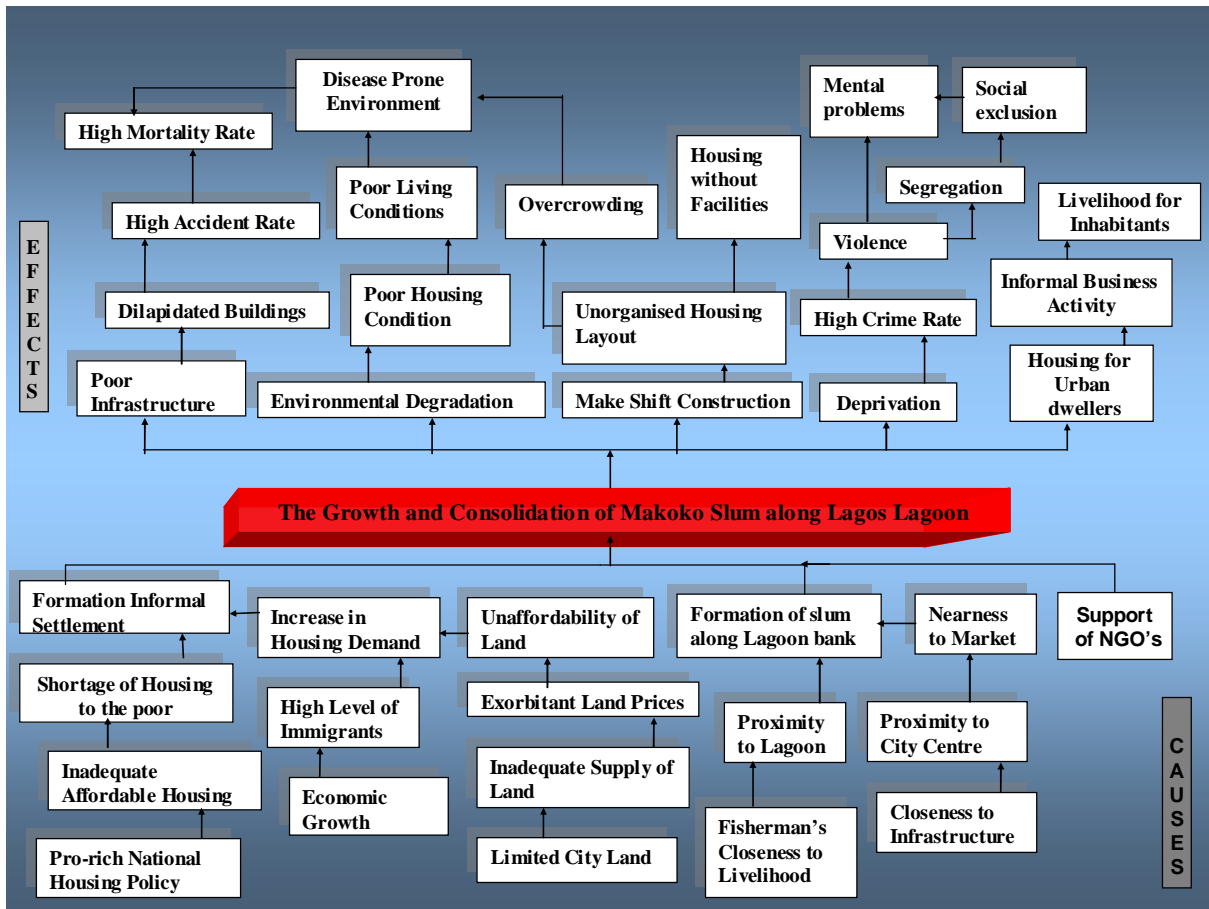
Fish Smoking Hut in Old Makoko



A Housing type in Old Makoko



## Annex 2 Problem Tree





### Annex 3 Interview questions

Research Question	Variable	Respondent	Question
General Questions		All respondents	<b>Name:</b> <b>Age:</b> <b>Sex:</b> <b>Residence in Makoko (On the Lagoon/ On Land):</b> <b>Date &amp; Time of Interview:</b> <b>Original origin of Respondent:</b> <b>Years of Residing in Makoko:</b>
What are the factors that enhance the growth of Makoko community?	Natural Asset	Fishermen	1. How many years have you been a fisherman? 2. How many family members are fishermen? 3. Where do your family live? 4. Why did you become a fisherman? 5. How early do you go to fish? 6. How many hours do you spend on the lagoon fishing in a day? 7. Are the fishes caught able to provide for you and your family's need? 8. When you go fishing, what type of sea food do you catch? 9. How do you sell your sea food products? 10. Is there any benefit in living on the Lagoon?
		Other respondents	11. Is there any benefit in living close to the lagoon?
	Physical Asset	Other respondents	12. Do you own your own house or rent? 13. How did you build your house? 14. What type of house do you live in? a. Temporary material b. Permanent material 15. What other possessions do you own in Makoko? 16. What market do you shop? 17. How do you get to the market? a. Walking b. Public transport (1 drop) b. Public transport (1 drop) 18. Where is your place of worship located? 19. Where do your children go to church? 20. Where is your hospital located? 21. Where are bus and taxi stops located? 22. What locations and facilities in the city centre are accessible to you in Makoko? 23. Is there any benefit in living in the city centre?
		All respondents	24. What skills do you have? 25. What other type of work to you do for extra money? 26. Where is the job located? 27. What is your educational background? 28. Did you go to school? 29. Where did you go to school? 30. Do you have family and friends who live in Makoko that assist you do any type of work. 31. What type of chores do they help you with?
	Social Asset	All respondents	32. How many of your family members live in Makoko? 33. How many children do you have? 34. Where do your children? 35. Are you a member of any association located in Makoko? 36. Do the association members help each other?

			<p>37. If the association members assists, how do they assist each other?</p> <p>38. What is your relationship with SERAC?</p> <p>39. How do they contribute to your life or the community?</p> <p>40. Do you participate in any political activity?</p> <p>41. Do you vote?</p> <p>42. Do politicians come to campaign in Makoko during elections?</p> <p>43. Do Makoko residents campaign for politicians?</p> <p>44. What do they promise to do for Makoko settlement?</p> <p>45. Do they bring gifts/tokens to the residents of Makoko during election time</p>
	Financial Asset	All respondents	<p>46. Are you involved in any business or trading?</p> <p>47. What type of business or trading did you do?</p> <p>48. Is your business/work registered with the government?</p> <p>49. Who loans you money for business?</p> <p>50. Who loans you money for personal affairs?</p> <p>51. Are there any people in the settlement that loan you money?</p> <p>52. Are you a member of a saving group?</p>
Why has forced eviction in Makoko slum fail over the years?	Forced Eviction	All respondents	<p>53. Where were you when the 2005 evictions took place?</p> <p>54. Do you believe the location of Makoko help prevent further evictions?</p> <p>55. Do you believe the landscape of Makoko helps prevent forced evictions?</p> <p>56. Do you believe community cooperation has helped keep forced evictions away?</p> <p>57. Do you believe SERAC has been able to limit forced evictions in Makoko?</p> <p>58. What do you think is the reason that forced evictions have not taking place in Makoko since 2005?</p>
		Those who were evicted and returned to Makoko.	<p>59. When were you evicted from Makoko?</p> <p>60. Was any of your property destroyed during the evictions?</p> <p>61. Can you specify what was destroyed?</p> <p>62. Can you describe other things of value that was lost after the eviction?</p> <p>63. Why did you return to Makoko after the forced evictions?</p> <p>64. Did you have any other place to live in Lagos after you were evicted?</p> <p>65. If yes to question 8 what other location in Lagos could you have secured accommodation?</p> <p>66. What is unique about Makoko to you?</p> <p>67. How has living in Makoko benefited you and your family?</p>
What do Makoko Dwellers believe to be the most appropriate approach/strategy to providing housing and/or improving their housing condition?	General Question	All respondents	<p>68. How do you feel about your present housing condition?</p> <p>69. What do you think is the best way to solve the housing condition in Makoko if you believe it is poor? a. Upgrading b. Relocation</p>
	Upgrading	All respondents	<p>70. How would you like the upgrading of Makoko to be carried out? a. Self help upgrading b. Collective community participation upgrading c. Government controlled upgrading d. Other</p> <p>71. Do you think upgrading can be successful in</p>



		<p><b>Makoko?</b></p> <p><b>72. Do you think you will get the necessary support from government, to upgrade?</b></p> <p><b>73. Do you think Makoko as a community is able to work together to upgrade the settlement themselves?</b></p> <p><b>74. Do you think the inhabitants of Makoko have the time and the skill to upgrade their housing individually?</b></p> <p><b>75. Do you believe that government is willing to provide infrastructure for the community?</b></p> <p><b>76. Do you think the government is able and willing to upgrade the community solely?</b></p>
Relocation	All respondents	<p><b>77. Will you like to be relocated to another site? a. Yes b. No c. I do not know.</b></p> <p><b>78. Would you like to be relocated to a site close to Makoko and the city centre, but not by water?</b></p> <p><b>79. Would you like to be relocated to a site far away from Makoko and the city centre but by water?</b></p> <p><b>80. Would you like to be relocated together to same site with your neighbours and friends?</b></p>
Compensation	All respondents	<p><b>81. Should the government compensate you if you are relocated?</b></p> <p><b>82. What is the most valuable thing you own in Makoko?</b></p> <p><b>83. What type of compensation would you prefer?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Land compensation</b></li> <li><b>b. Housing compensation</b></li> <li><b>c. Monetary compensation</b></li> </ul>
Tenure Security	All respondents	<p><b>84. What do you believe is the most appropriate type of protection from eviction you should have?</b></p> <p><b>85 What do you feel about communal ownership of land/ security of tenure?</b></p> <p><b>86 Do you believe you are protected with communal security of tenure?</b></p> <p><b>87 What do you feel about individual ownership/security of tenure?</b></p> <p><b>88 Do you believe you are safe with individual security of tenure?</b></p> <p><b>89 Would you be satisfied with a document from government stating that you will not be forcefully evicted anymore?</b></p>