





MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

(October 2016 – September 2017)

The utilization of social and political strategies of the urban poor in coping with the impact of forced evictions: A case study from Badia East in Lagos, Nigeria.

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UMD 13 Report Number: 1079 Rotterdam, September 2017

Summary

Cities in the 21st century are fast developing with rapid increase in urbanization. The implication of this is the rapid deterioration of housing conditions, as there is more demand for housing than supply. As a result of lack of adequate housing alternatives for the urban poor it has led to large numbers of slums and informal settlements. This is a settlement with little or no basic services and infrastructures like good roads, sewage facilities, drainage system, water etc. People tend to live in illegal settlement which are mostly slum areas when the option of settlement in a legal settlement is unavailable and also due to their inadequate livelihood assets. The main reasons for forced evictions in most developing countries is due to the beautification of cities, large developmental project and mega events which have been a challenge for the government to manage urban development project without having a negative impact on the lives of citizens. This development often time result to displacement of millions of people.

Forced eviction in itself is not the solution for having cities without slums, but it has helped to fuel the growth of a new slums and the increase of people living in existing slums. Due to unplanned evictions and without proper relocation plan for the evictees, evictees are again forced to move to another neighbouring slums leading to great increase in the number of slum dwellers.

The enormous population in Lagos state has posed a challenge to the state government as there are increase in rural-urban growth due to its being a commercial capital of the country. This has resulted to acute shortage of standard housing which has led to the development of prolific growth of slums, the deterioration of the existing houses, as a result of lack of consistent maintenance. People live in slums and squatter settlements scattered around the city. This also resulted to frequent forced evictions in the city, this has accelerated the displacement of thousands of people from their homes every year. In 2013 over 9,000 persons were rendered homeless without any appropriate form of alternative relocation.

This research centres on the utilization of social and political strategies adopted by urban poor in coping with the impact of forced evictions. More concentration was based on the strategies evictees adopted in coping with evictions impacts. The study debate on the livelihood framework, livelihood assets, vulnerability context, forced evictions and its impacts, social capital as a coping strategy, political capital as a coping strategy and right to the city was all used in analysing theories and having a broader knowledge on the study.

The study is based on contributing to the understanding of forced evictions and the impact of unplanned actions by the government in removing evictees from their communities without adequate provision of alternative relocation which have a huge effects on their livelihoods. The research also explained the strategies adopted by evictees for surviving after encountering an adverse form of forced eviction. The research was qualitative in nature and as a result of that case study as a research strategy was used. As it enables research to be studied in depth and closely examine a study within a specific context. This was also supported with the administration of questionnaires.

The study reveals the impact of forced evictions on the livelihood of the evictees. Most of the evictees suffers from different forms of diseases and sickness due to the unhealthy environment they find themselves after evictions, evictees children could no longer continue with their education after the evictions because they have to assist in meeting the needs of the family so reliance on child labour was encouraged. Most of the evictees lost their home-based business, their houses and personal belongings was also lost due to the eviction. However, they were able to use their social and political capital to cope with the impact of forced eviction. In regards to their social strategies, family and friendship ties were mostly adopted by evictees and this

enable them to be relieved from their losses. Finally, their political strategies was in great advantage to them also, with the help of their NGOs and Community leaders, they were able to access compensation from the government. They have been more enlightened on their right as a citizen of Nigeria and are now more forcefully organized in fighting for their rights due to programs organized concerning forced eviction featuring educational talk, health and housing right.

Keywords

Forced eviction, social strategy, political strategy, Badia East, right to the city

Acknowledgements

First of all. I want to appreciate the Government of Netherlands through Netherlands Fellowship program for granting me this scholarship that enable me to become a Masters student in this great institution Erasmus University.

I want to sincerely thank both the academic and management staff of IHS for granting me this wonderful opportunity for my masters and also for the knowledge impacted into me in building me for the great future ahead of me.

Moreover, I cannot forget to appreciate my supervisor, Dr Maartje van Eerd for her great role in the completion of my program. I find it a great privilege to have you as my supervisor, words will fail me to describe my gratitude to her. Thanks for your guidance, correction, assistance from the beginning of my thesis to the completion and for taking a special interest in my research.

Moreover, I want to appreciate my second reader, Dr Hebes Verrest for her precious guidance and her suggestions which have contributed to the success of the research.

I also want to appreciate all UHL lecturers and all my amazing UHL colleagues. I cherish every minute we spent together, for the love and care we have for one another.

Also, I want to appreciate UMD13 my friends and class mate for your support and encouragement all through this programme. It was a great privilege to have you around and have a wonderful experience with friends from different continents. I want to specially appreciate God for this God sent friend Faith Lesa, you are a friend in a million, thank you for standing by me all through.

Furthermore, my gratitude goes to my parents for their love, constant prayers, encouragement and supports. I pray that God will keep you in good health and you will eat the fruit of your labour. Also my darling siblings, you guys are wonderful to have as sisters and brothers, thanks for standing by me all through this time.

Also, my wonderful church TOG, am grateful to God for ordering my steps to this church. I really want to say thank Pastor and Mrs Oyinlola and all members of TOG.

I owe my research assistant Otunba Damilola Adesheyoju a special gratitude for his tireless engagement, even though it was not convenient at that time, you did a wonderful job in assisting in my data collection period, I say thank you and God bless. Also, I sincerely want to appreciate Barrister Abiodun Olutekunbi a very good friend, "my fiancé" for his love, encouragement, professional contributions to the completion of this research.

Lastly, I am indebted to the experts of two NGOs, Social and Economic Right Action Centre (SERAC) Barrister Emmanuel Nwaghodoh and Spaces for Change Barrister Victoria Ibezim Ohaeri for their timely information and immense contribution to the success of this project.

Dedication

I want to appreciate God of heaven and the earth. The God that Only His hand can perform great things. You are worthy of all my praises Mighty Father. Thank YOU for all you have done for me.

Abbreviations

IHS Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

SERAC Social and Economic Rights Action Centre
COHRE Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CBO Community Based Organization

S4C Spaces for Change

HIC Habitat International Coalition

HLRN Housing and Land Rights Network

ACHR Asian Coalition for Housing Rights

UN-Habitat United Nations Human Settlements and Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Urbanization rate is very rapid in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mostly, as a result of huge movement of people from rural area to urban centres in search of employment and modern facilities. "The impact of rapid population growth on the urban development is far more than the demographic one" (Aluko, 2010 p. 65). Urbanization in most of the Africa countries is characterized by employment opportunities and natural factor, which has resulted to an ever increasing shortage of services and facilities (Aluko, 2010). Urbanization in the developed countries primarily occur as a result of industrialization, while in the less developed countries it mostly occur due to natural growth and the search of economic opportunity. The implication of this is the rapid deterioration of housing conditions, as there is more demand for housing than supply. This has resulted to large numbers of slums and informal settlements.

As a result of this, governments from various countries responds to the unwanted slums and informal settlement in different ways which are through proactive and adaptive measures. Proactive measures are policies to prevent proliferation of slums and they are significantly cost-effective and easy to implement, such measures includes provision of affordable housing, social housing. Adaptive measures deal with the existing slum such as slum upgrading, resettlement plans. Some of the adaptive measures which governments often engage in, which are illegal is through forced evictions. Forced evictions have helped to fuel the growth of a new slums and the increase of people living in existing slums. As a result to the growth of slums, millions are forcibly evicted or faced with a threat of eviction from their homes every year (UN-Habitat, 2005). Forced evictions are carried out due to various reasons, for instance; for urban development purposes, large scale development project, natural disasters and climate change, mega events, and evictions that are economic related to global financial crisis (UN-Habitat, 2004b).

According to the international human rights law, "it is recognized that everyone has a right to adequate standard of living in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)" (UN-Habitat, 2004b), which include adequate housing and right to the city. The features of the right to adequate housing are classified in the committee's general comment No.4 (1991) on the right to adequate housing and No. 7 (1997) on forced eviction (UN-Habitat, 2005).

"Forced evictions are the permanent or temporary removal against the will of individuals, families and communities from the homes and land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection" (CESCR, 1997 p.3). Forced evictions in Nigeria are usually carried out in defiance of international, regional, and local laws. The government carry out forced eviction without the provision of adequate notice, resettlement, rehabilitation, and compensation to those affected. Forced evictions are often affected by the less privilege in the society, those with less resources and the least population (COHRE, 2002b). In case an eviction is considered justified, it should be carried out in strict agreement with the relevant guidelines which is in agreement with the international human rights law (UN-Habitat, 2004b), with specific requirements that must be duly followed before eviction. Also, Nigeria has ratified the covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right and thus they are legally bound to respect, protect and fulfil within the means they have to help realize the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing (UN-Habitat, 2004b) and forced eviction are in violation with the right.

Lagos State is located in the southwestern geopolitical zone of Nigeria which is the commercial capital of the country, it has a population estimated at 21 million, with a population density of 20,000 persons per sq. km which makes it the largest city in Africa (Mabogunje, 2002). Lagos is called the business hub of west Africa, which also accounted for its population, with this enormous population, it has resulted to acute shortage of standard housing which has brought about the growth of slums, the deterioration of the existing houses, as a result of lack of consistent maintenance which also accumulated to the housing problem. People live in slums and squatter settlements scattered around the city. It was revealed that seventy-six percent (76%) of resident of Lagos live in slum (Lagos State Population, 2017). Government has made efforts to increase the quality of urban housing, from slum upgrading to providing subsidized housing units and involving public-private partnership to combat the housing needs. All these measures however were unsuccessful to reduce the number of slums in the State (Mardeusz, 2014), the growth of slum continue to increase.

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Figure 1: showing the location of Badia East

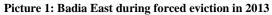
(Source Google map, 2017)

Badia East is one of the largest slums in Lagos State. The people of Badia East formerly lived in Oluwole village in Iganmu but due to the building of the Nigeria's National Art Theatre, the Federal Government forcefully evicted the people from their ancestral land without any consultation or notice. At that time in 1973, Lagos was still the capital of Nigeria and the one in charge was the Federal Government. Due to protest of the evictees, that had to move from Oluwole village, part of the evictees were given access to land in Badia East by the Federal Government (Morka, 2007).

In Badia East, many people were forced to build shacks made mostly of stilts and corrugated iron sheets of various shapes and sizes as each family could afford (Morka, 2007). Before they moved to Badia East, the land was already surrounded by other communities, the host community had severe lack of basic social and economic infrastructure such as water, drainage facilities, solid waste disposal, roads, which the government had failed to address before the people were moved to Badia East, this became even worse when the evictees were moved to the same village (Morka, 2007). Gradually the whole area transformed into a slum.

In 1991 Abuja officially became the capital of Nigeria and Lagos became governed by the Lagos State Government. The Government of Lagos State wanted to have access to Badia East for the sake of urban development. In 2013, the State Government forcefully evicted about 9000 of the inhabitants of Badia East without respecting their housing rights and the promise made by the federal government to the people of Badia East. Due to this, thousands of resident of the Badia East community were rendered displaced due to forced evictions that occurred. The only available place to move to was other neighbouring slums which were also under the threat of eviction (Morka, 2007).

The main aim of evicting the people was due to the World Bank project that was to take place in Badia East which was targeted in beautifying the city, where according to World Bank, demolition was strongly opposed and settlement had to be upgraded but that was not what happened in reality. The demolition of Badia East has rendered many people homeless and also has a massive consequences on their livelihood. These forced evictions constituted a violation of human right. The violation of human right has a grave ramification on individuals, families and communities (UN-Habitat, 2004b). "The demolition of Badia East constituted a forced eviction that violates the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), an agreement to which Nigeria is a party" (Amnesty International, 2014). This study will focus on the coping strategies that the evictees employed; how do they cope in their new location, how do they organize themselves and what was the effect?





(Source: www.bing.com)

1.2 Problem statement

Although urban development is a major tool in developing a country, it also brings along challenges and vulnerability concerns for the urban poor. Badia East was home to about 9,000 people until Lagos State Government forcibly evicted the people from their homes in 2013. As bulldozers crashed the neighbourhood and their belongings were all lost. According to Morka,

(2007) forced evictions lead to the multiplication of social and individual impoverishment as evictees turn to be homeless, insecure and socially isolated, they have no access to their source of livelihood, they lost their personal goods and property, all their social relationship and livelihood which they had built for many years are suddenly lost and their right to adequate housing are denied. Many people had no other place to live than to continue living in the streets, and became even poorer than they were in their former state, which had affected them both physically and emotionally. According to the United Nations on Human Settlement, "undertaking major clearance should take place only when conservative and rehabilitation are not feasible and relocation measures are made" (COHRE, 2002a), conferring, to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, "the procedures to applied in relation to forced evictions are; opportunity for genuine consultation with the affected, adequate and reasonable notice, information on the proposed date, appropriate legal remedy and that eviction should not lead to people being homeless" (UN-Habitat, 2004b).

At the time of the shifting from their original village to Badia East in 1973, there was no legal document to evidence their title to the Badia East like a Certificate of Occupancy to back up their allocation. They were however, given allocation papers which were issued to them by the Federal Government. Despite the allocation papers, the community was forcefully evicted.



Picture 2: Badia East during forced eviction in 2013

(Source: www.bing.com)

Hence, the research will focus on the impact of forced eviction and explain the effect of coping strategies mechanism which they adopted in improving their livelihood and also claiming their right to live in the city, as we want to examine the living condition of evictees after forced eviction and how they were able to adapt to it.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The objective of this research aims to assess the impact of forced eviction on the livelihoods of the urban poor, to explain the impact of the social and political strategies adopted by the evictees, in coping with their loses.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

The overall research question is:

How have the social and political strategies of evicted households helped them to cope with the impact of forced evictions and claiming their right to live in the city?

The sub-questions are:

- What is the impact of forced eviction on the livelihood assets of the evicted households?
- To what extent have the social strategies helped them in coping with the losses in livelihood assets after forced eviction?
- How have the political strategies helped them in claiming access to a new location and compensation?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Nigeria Government has approved the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in 2000 and has become partners to its consequent instructions (COHRE, 2002a). It is therefore the responsibility of the government to work towards the progressive fulfilment of the right to adequate housing. Forced evictions are in violation with that right, the right to be protected from forced eviction. The research aims to examine the impact of forced evictions on the asset of the affected people, the coping strategies they explored to tackled vulnerability and also to examine the strategies to claiming their right to live in the city.

The study will help to research the right of the evictees in Badia East in Lagos in relation to the adverse effect of forced evictions on the asset of the evictees. This research will have a practical relevance to both policy as well as academic as it will add to the existing knowledge on the impact of forced evictions and also the strategies the evictees adopted to improve their livelihood, the research will identify the importance of social and political strategies on combating against the effect of forced evictions. This study will revisit the country policy pertaining to the right of the people in the city which emphasized on the right to adequate housing and ensuring that the right of the people is not only on paper only but that the urban poor should have access to exercise their right.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The scope of this research was to study the characteristics of evictees, their socio-economic situations that covers financial, psychological, social, political and physical aspect of the evictions. The study considers the impact of forced evictions on evictees livelihoods and also critically analysed the strategies adopted by the evictees to be able to adjust their livelihood conditions. Also, the research assess the potential loses and the vulnerability of the affected population. The study wants to know how the evictees have used their social and political capital as a coping strategy to improve and adapt to the losses of their livelihood after eviction process.

The study comprises of some limitations. After the eviction in 2013, without any plan of resettlement by the government, the evictees were scattered in different places, some to other neighbouring slums, some to their relatives and others had no option but to return back to Badia East, so it was very difficult to find them from different locations for this research. Also due to time constraints, all the households could not be covered for survey, a percentage of the population were selected to represent the total population.

Also, the researcher work alongside with an assistant, due to financial constraints on the part of the researcher, an assistant was engaged in the collection of the data, and proper training was conducted for the research assistant to fully understand the interest of the researcher, this enabled him to come out with an accurate and concrete data. The research assistant encountered challenges on the field as the people were unwilling to be interviewed or to fill up the questionnaires and some that were willing demanded a sum amount of money before they could fill up the questionnaires and also to be interviewed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section deals with the existing knowledge that assists and guides the study. It presents the overview of the literature reviewed on the livelihood framework of evictees, forced evictions and impact of forced evictions which includes the literature overview of asset vulnerability. The chapter also includes what is globally accepted by the international movement as the Right to the City and what that means for people in informal settlements and victims of forced evictions. The chapter will also look at the coping strategies of the evictees, especially the social and the political strategies adopted by the evictees. Moreover, related literature presented here provides an overview of the theory as well as to some extents it presents experiences from cases around the world.

The section will focus on four concepts. They are as follows:

- Livelihood
- Forced evictions and its impact
- Coping strategies
- Right to the city

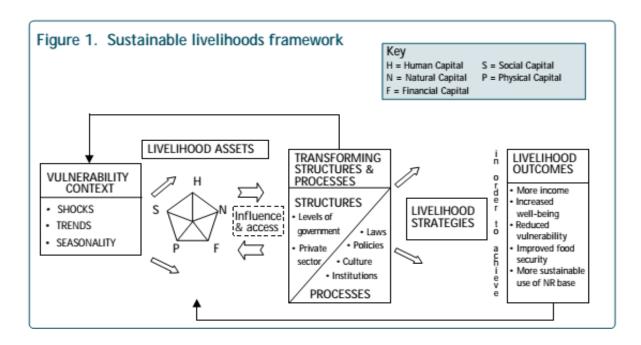
The right to the city is a concept and a civil society movement debating and propagating a diversity of issues including the right to every citizen to live in the city and to have influence on how their city is shaped. The occurrence of forced evictions is a violation of many of the rights including the right to the city and therefore this study is placed within this broader debate and concepts in order to understand the responsibilities of Government to its citizens. It is a large debate that radically opposes forced evictions and advocates the right of the people to live in the city. It is a concept that has been adopted in the urban studies that help to expose citizen justice and inclusion in the city. This concept is more applied as a guiding principle underlining the study and will therefore not be operationalized.

2.2 THE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK

The livelihood framework was developed to understand the various dimensions and complexity of people's livelihood. It seeks to explain how people are organize in an environment that is vulnerable which is also influenced by various factors, such as economic shocks and longer term trends, how they draw on various livelihood assets and how they used their assets to improve their household income in order to realize their preferred livelihood outcomes (DfID, 2007).

A livelihood can be said to be sustainable when it can withstand shocks and stresses and can still have the capabilities to maintain its assets both now and in the future (Carney, 1998). It focuses on the way people attempt to alleviate or trying to make a living that is above mere survival. According to Scoones (2009 p. 172), "a livelihood is the combination of the resources used and the activities undertaken in order to live". Livelihood components include vulnerability context, livelihood assets, infrastructure and services, livelihood strategies and outcome, and the function of policies and institutions. "The livelihood model seeks to understand the various dimensions of a person's livelihood; the strategies that the households adopt and the associated opportunities and challenges as influenced by external factors" (Rakodi, 2002 p.21). Poverty can be explained as a situation where a household or individual does not have enough money or misses the ability to meet basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing. But poverty can also be viewed in a wider context. Poverty can also be defined as lack of access to job, health, education and security. Households manage and function

according to the accessibility of the assets. It seek to gain an accurate understanding of people's strengths. The strategies adopted by households is the interaction of both livelihoods opportunities and households asset, to improve incomes, reduce vulnerability and increase well-being. An explanatory analysis describes the various ways of activities and interactions that people adopt to make a living. But in actual existence people merge different acti vities together in order to improve livelihood. This form of activities give rise to different outcomes depending on how different strategies used by household. (Scoones 2009). "This dynamic, longitudinal analysis emphasises such terms as coping, adaptation, improvement, diversification and transformation" (Scoones 2009, p.180).



Source: (DfID, 2007, p. 13).

Figure 2: Livelihood framework

The livelihood model aims to eliminate poverty and it explains poverty as a dynamic concept. The livelihood framework is a way of looking at the complexity of people's livelihood, especially the livelihood of the poor. It can also be used as a tool or checklist to understand poverty in responding to poor people's perspective of poverty. The livelihood framework is also a bottom up approach which enables the people themselves to explain about the poverty they suffer. It gives an analysis of the factors that influences people's incomes. It provides the important checklist on how assets are linked to each other (DfID, 2007). It is a people centred model that explains the participation of people and aims to eliminate poverty. The model consists of five livelihood assets which include physical, social, human, natural and financial capital. Assets are influenced by external factors such as the governments, policies and institutions (Rakodi, 2002). It shows how policies and institutions affect the way household use their assets in search of various livelihood tactics which include the choices they employ in search of income, security, well-being and other productive and reproductive goals. It is a holistic model that explains assets of households. The model describes how households can have two or three of the livelihoods assets and can still survive and have a meaningful life. However, the model does not focus only on the negative area of livelihood but also the positive side, the opportunities embedded in the asset that can lead to the resilience of a households. "The model can be used both in planning new development activities and also assessing the contribution to livelihood sustainability made by existing activities" (DfID, 2007 p. 7).

2.2.1 LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

Livelihood assets are the capitals that are very vital and they are at the main centre of the livelihood framework. It is very important for the poor people, though they may not have investment in the bank or any cash but there are additional assets which are physical and non-physical assets which they have. Such assets include health, knowledge, skills, family networks, friends and the natural resources close to them. Livelihood assets at the household and society level, can be stored, accumulated, exchanged or depleted or mobilized to generate some additional income or benefits which they can used to enhance the asset they have (Rakodi, 2002).

The approach is founded on the idea that to have a progressive livelihood model, it is required to have a range of assets. Livelihood assets are further explained in detail below;

Physical capital: This is an essential part of livelihood assets which includes transport, water energy, shelter and communication and the productive materials which are needed to support and improve livelihoods. Housing is considered the most important assets to have as physical capital by the urban poor and when their house is demolished it has an enormous impact. Housing produces other income by renting out parts of the house and other home based activities etc. Thus, access to productive physical capital is a strategy to reduce the household poverty (Rakodi, 2002).

Social capital: These are resources that people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. "Social capital can be developed through networks and connectedness that increase people's trust and ability to work together and expand access to wider institutions" (DfID, 2007, p. 15). It can be valued as a good in itself that contributes to people's sense of wellbeing. The urban poor really depend on this capital because the stronger the social relationship the weaker are the chances of vulnerability.

Financial capital: it is the monetary resources that enable people to access other necessary resources. It includes credit, savings, remittances, pensions and liquid asset such as jewellery and livestock (DfID, 2007). Financial capital is not easily accessible to the poor, it is the least of all the assets they can access, due to the fact that other capitals tend to be more accessible to them.

Human capital: this capital represent the knowledge, skills ability to work and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies to achieve their livelihood goals. It is a building block or means of achieving livelihood outcomes. "At a household level human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available that varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential and health status" (DfID, 2007, p. 16). Human capital supports urban poor to overcome vulnerability and reduce poverty.

Natural capital: These are resources that are available near the shelter that foster livelihood, it is an assets that is very vital for those who obtain all or most of their livelihoods from resources-based activities such as fishing, farming, gathering in forest and mineral extraction (DfID, 2007).

Forced evictions have a huge impact on assets people have. As a consequence of forced evictions, people experiences destruction of properties; they lose their employment and productive assets, and also social networks are broken up.

2.2.2 VULNERABILITY

"Vulnerability can be defined as the period of insecurity and sensitivity in safeness of households or the communities during the condition of changing surrounding circumstances" (Moser, 1998). Vulnerability thus has two sides: "an external side of risks, shocks, and stress

to which an individual is subject; and an internal side which is defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss" (DfID, 2007 p.7). The vulnerability context recognizes that livelihoods of households and the broader availability of assets are influenced by unfavourable trends as well as by shocks and seasonality (DfID, 2007).

The concept of vulnerability is often used as a synonym for poverty, it is assumed to mean the same. However they are slightly different. Poverty measures are usually static in time, it is a fixed concept. On the contrary, vulnerability is more dynamic and better captures change processes as people move in and out of poverty. "Although, poor people are normally among the most vulnerable, not all vulnerable people are poor" (Moser, 1998). The ability to manage income, food and other necessary basic needs depends on the capacity on how to reduce vulnerability on the initial assets secured.

People's livelihood and their availability of assets are largely affected by shocks, trends and seasonality, over which the people have no or limited control. These factors have a direct impact upon people's assets status. Shocks can destroy assets directly for instance in the case of flooding, forced evictions, storms, sudden economic changes etc. They can also force people to abandon their assets and homes. Trends could be more predictable compared to shocks, it has important influence on rates of return to chosen livelihood strategies. Seasonal shifts in prices, employment opportunities and food availability are the greatest and the most enduring sources of hardship for poor people (DfID, 2007). However, analysing vulnerability involves not only the threat and the impact to households assets but also their resilience, their ability to mobilize assets to exploit opportunities to recover from the threat and the negative effects of a changing environment. The ability of a household to reduce vulnerability depends on their initial assets and the capacity to transform those assets into income and other basic needs by diversifying their assets (Moser, 1998).

2.3 COPING STRATEGIES

According to Carney (1998 p. 4), "a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base." A sustainable livelihood consists of a set of five assets, both tangible which are the (stores of cash and food, and resources such as physical investments or skills,) and intangible such as the claims on others and on the government, and access to rights (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The decisions every household make is greatly influenced by the portfolio of assets they have access to. The strategy of every household depends on their portfolio (Rakodi, 1995). A livelihood outcome also depend on the strategies adopted by households. If a livelihood outcome is progressive, there will be improvement in the wellbeing, income, and also reduced vulnerability and improved food security (Rakodi, 2002). The more opportunities of resources that are available to households, the more households are able to build more strategies.

"A coping strategy is an approach adopted by households in order to survive and to recover from stress and shocks by protecting, depleting or diversifying assets" (Rakodi, 2002 p.21). As individuals that belongs to an household transverse from a life cycle and their condition changes, they tend to build and change to new strategies (Rakodi, 2002). Faced with shocks and stress, households develop some surviving tactics to preserve their social procreation and recovery. Household normally adopt coping strategies during hard times with the hopes of surviving, it is a short-term strategy that is applied during a complex situation. Households tends to assemble their assets and chances and incorporate them to become a livelihood strategy which includes the mixture of market participation, borrowing, investments, productive as well as reproductive activities, labour and asset pooling and social networking (Rakodi, 2002).

Diversification of economic activities is often used as a basis of a household strategy, overlapping with economic activities such as migration movement, keeping of ties with rural areas, engage in a small scale and maintaining community social networks (Rakodi, 1995). "Household members may diversify their role in each of these and their influence over household decision may vary from household to household, over time and between activities" (Rakodi, 1995). Therefore the choices and strategies open to a household, their outcome of strategic decision can be greatly influenced by the household composition (Rakodi, 1995). This implies that despite the social and financial restrictions, the people can still make choices that can help to combine assets by working in formal as well as informal markets, making a skilful use of social networks (Hossain, 2005). The entering of more family members into the workforce is another way of household diversification of resources which serves as a household strategy.

"This is the reason female participation in the work force is significantly high nowadays. The women use their domestic spaces for both production and reproduction by engaging in income generating activities with the assistance of other family members as a strategy to cope and improve their livelihood" (Hossain, 2005 p.14).

This section will focus on the impact of forced evictions on assets that people have, and also look at the coping strategies they apply to overcome the negative impacts.

2.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A COPING STRATEGIES

Social capital can be defined as "inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups" (Putnam, 2001 p.22). It can commonly be seen among the heavily populated class that have solid relationship with each other which serves as bonding networks, this helps in providing social support within groups in a society (Agnitsch, Flora, et al., 2006). It is comprised of networks of similar people with similar resources. It occurs among homogeneous populations, which only include people from within a community and excludes people outside the community, simply it has benefits only for internal people. It is measured by the degree of indigenous bonds presents in the neighbourhood such as family, friends, neighbours, sacred groups and ethnic groups, which bring about connections with and among people that have identical upbringings.

Social capital can be described as a unique and important set of resources that can both depend on and increase economic and human capital. It also refers to features of social organization such as norms, trust and networks that can improve the efficiency of a society by facilitating coordinated action (Putnam, 1995). The concept social capital was introduced by a social reformer L. Judson Hanifan, who argued that the solution to all the social and economic problems confronting communities can be solved through a stronger networks of harmony among citizens. He believed that social capital would have a greater advantage to communities as a whole through cooperation of all its parts, as individuals will have to their disposal support, kindness and companionship from neighbours. The association between individual members of a community will have the potential to enable community well-being (Esau, 2009).

Coleman (1994) "defined social capital by its function. It does not consist of single entity, but diverse entities having two distinct qualities in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure". Social capital is an organized community activities that can be carefully considered by the local organization developed from actions like community organizations and participation, trainings and programs (Turner, 1999). Social capital also incorporates networks and social relations that have a significant impact on the growth, wellbeing and happiness of some basic concepts like reciprocity and solidarity. These networks offer assistance for its members and

can also advance the lives of communities and individuals in diverse ways. "Social relations between citizens are formalized through institutional arrangements, it is expected that these will nurture virtues of civic-ness, a common good and collective will within communities which will give rise to a meaningful political community where negotiation between the state and citizens occurs" (Esau, 2009, p. 23). For such an evolution to take place, there are some number of things to take into consideration.

"First, citizens must establish a relationship with others either through formal organizations or through informal networks of relations. Secondly, citizens must share common values and norms, and lastly, citizens must have resources from which the whole community could benefit from. The benefits of social capital are in threefold. Firstly, it benefits individuals through developing social relationships of financial and other support, secondly, it contributes to the civic development of the community and lastly, it contributes to more of the inclusive democratic arrangement and practices. "The formation of social capital is founded on the willingness of individuals in the communities to participate and engage in networks of sociability while networks and association are important indicators of social capital" (Esau, 2009 p.22).

Social capital is also related to poverty indicators such as income, livelihood, health, education, employment, and food security, with a detailed reference to gender. In terms of poverty alleviation, it is commonly claimed that poor people, though they might lack material assets but they can call on friends, neighbours, close relations and family as a form of social security. As a result of that, social capital produced by families is mostly used among the poor to protect themselves against shocks such as loss of jobs, forced evictions and also to pool resources such as food, credit or taking care of children (Cleaver, 2005). Social strategies are a range of activities undertaken by both the poor and evictees in accessing and mobilizing resources lost. It assists individuals to reduce their economic insecurity likewise their vulnerability. Evictees tends to improve their resources by seeking and accessing enabling resources (Oyefara and Alabi, 2016).

Social capital tends to be more strengthened through trust, norms and networks. Successful collaboration of communities leads to building of trust especially when there is an immediate threat of forced eviction or impact of forced eviction, as this is one of the social assets that facilitate more citizens to be more involved, those who have social capital tends to accumulate more. The more the networks and relationships households or individuals have, the access they have to social capital acquired (Esau, 2009).

Social capital is often used by evictees so as to improve on their livelihood, or in most cases, it helps to reduce the losses caused by forced evictions and to counter the erosion of assets. Evictees who have access to social networks, networks of friends and families will often receive their support in times of crises which contributes to improving access to food, housing and vital services. Families assist in the provision of temporary shelter for evictees by allowing them to live with them for a particular period of time in order to cope with the loss of their house due to the evictions, since all their properties and source of income has been lost. "Close family ties are believed as an important as social glue and for guarding against vulnerability" (Cleaver, 2005 p.4). Also, evictees involve in diversification of resources. They struggle to diversify resources by engaging in trade and other economic activities as a coping strategies and they tend to involve their families also in the trade, especially their children so as to transient from their livelihood breakdown (Jacobsen, 2002).

2.5 POLITICAL CAPITAL AS A COPING STRATEGY

Political capital connects individuals or group of people who are different from each other in some ways. It is vital in obtaining a wider variety of resources and information that is being enhanced within and between groups (Agnitsch, Flora, et al., 2006). Political capital is referred to as heterogeneous ties, it has interaction with different groups. According to Saxton and Benson (2005), political capital has high levels of relationship and connection with other people. Putnam (2000 P. 23) "argues that social capital is good for "getting by" but political capital is essential for "getting ahead". The more formal ties a community has, the better the community will be exposed to new ideas and new ways of tackling problems such as forced evictions. There is a lot of growing knowledge in the invention of political capital through Community Based Organization (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), and local government in helping to address forced evictions (COHRE, 2008).

The establishment of community organizations and the support from NGOs is used as a political strategies to prevent forced evictions. Programs initiated by NGOs such as mass mobilization, establishing human right campaigns, exposing and publicizing forced eviction and engaging the government in a dialogue are all strategies applied by NGO's sometimes in collaboration with CBOs of preventing forced evictions, condemning them when they occur and providing legal assistance to affected communities. These reactions to the threat of forced evictions have been successful in some countries. (COHRE, 2008). Communities have embraced strong community mobilization for an effective response to forced evictions.

For instance, in 2006, forced evictions were stopped in Motala Height Pinetown in South Africa, a suburb of Pinetown which was home for the people of Indian and mixed race community. They continually faced the threat of forced evictions by the government, but as a result of the mobilization of slum dwellers movement with the support of Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) as letter was sent to the municipality by COHRE that the evictions were illegal. This brought an end to the threat of forced evictions in the community. Also, in 2012, the Old Fadama settlement in Ghana were served with an eviction notice. But with the help of international organizations like COHRE, they brought international pressure on the government not to evict the settlers without compensation and the government was unable to carry out their plans in evicting the settlers. Through community empowerment, these communities were able to gain more knowledge about their legal rights which led to community protests, resulting in the development of an alternative plans and leading to the cancellation of the eviction threat (COHRE, 2008).

Some of the strategies embraced by communities are: "communities protesting in public places such as streets, demonstrations and marches; blocking of streets; draping buildings that are to be demolished with slogans. These forms of protest raise the awareness of the public so as to get support and help from others in order to defend their cause, this also most times draws the attention of the media" (Cabannes, 2010 p.12). Moreover, international NGOs are the key international networks that are active against forced evictions in which the resistance to demolition and evictions is closely linked and supported by the NGOs. NGOs also help the people threatened with forced evictions or communities that are already evicted in presenting their cases in court in order to achieve justice and implementation of their rights (Cabannes, 2010).

There are many organizations that play a role in mobilizing media, informing communities about their rights, bringing the case of forced evictions out in the news, publish reports, providing legal assistance to affected communities when they bring their case to court, which can be both local and international NGOs such as the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), Habitat International Coalition (HIC), Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN),

Asian Coalition for Housing rights (ACHR), Amnesty International and in Nigeria Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) and Spaces for Change (S4C). Mobilizing citizenship rights always remains one of the important tools in preventing the right of the urban poor.

2.6 FORCED EVICTIONS

According to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right (ICESCR), "Forced evictions are the permanent or temporary removal against the will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or lands which they occupy without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal and other protection" (CESCR, General Comment No 7, 997). Forced eviction have continued to rise on a large scale in many countries of the world, despite the positive development and the intervention in the recent years that notably reinforces legal protection against forced evictions under international human rights law and which continues to emphasise that forced evictions are a gross violation of human rights (COHRE, 2002a).

Generally, government officially refer to forced evictions as displacement, which they try to justify through the argument of public interest and that it is required for the developmental process as development and infrastructure projects, city beautification, eradication of slums or prestigious international events are essential for the development of the country (UN-Habitat, 2011, UN-Habitat, 2005). Often this displacement is justified by government by using the argument that they generate economic growth which generally leads to improved welfare. However, "these projects in many instances have left people permanently displaced, disempowered and destitute" (Ocheje, 2007). Although these justifications may appear reasonable at the superficial level, but from the human rights perspective, it is violation of human rights: people are denied access to justice, there is no notice, people do not receive any compensation, they are rendered homeless and forced evictions also violate a number of other human right.

Forced evictions tends to be violent and extremely affecting the marginalized and the destitute parties, people with the insecure tenure, that do not only suffer forced evictions but also suffer human rights violation including Civil and Political rights such as right to freedom, right to non-discrimination and equality and the right to health, education, and employment (UN-Habitat, 2004b). This exposes them to the potential risk to displacement which includes "landless, jobless, homeless, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources and social or community disarticulation" (UN-Habitat, 2011; Robinson, 2003).

The word development generally connotes a positive thing, it is a comprehensive social, economic, cultural and political progress which aims at stable improvement for the wellbeing of the whole community with the people being actively involved (Robinson, 2003). However, in practice, development does not benefit everyone equally. Most of the developing countries seek to become more developed by improving on health services, livelihoods, expanding on educational opportunities or building infrastructure. However, so-called development projects have made millions of people homeless around the world, development costs them their homes, livelihoods, their health, it has made them to settled in an unfamiliar and unfriendly environment and some have even lost their lives in the process. While those that benefit from the development project are numerous, the cost of development is being borne by the poorest and most marginalized groups. Development ought to be sustainable in which the benefits of it should be shared equally among the people not uneven where the rich and the middle class enjoy the benefit of development while the poor faced the cost (Robinson, 2003).

Nowadays, "it is a common practice for governments to employ armed police officers, criminal gangs, hired thugs as a well as bulldozers and other heavy equipment to ensure a complete and successful eviction" (COHRE, 2002b). Evictees are labelled as illegal squatters who are not entitled to any compensation, compensation in form of a resettlement or monetary form, regardless of how many years they have lived on the land and how much they have spent establishing their homes (Ocheje, 2007). Even if there is a resettlement project, in many instances it fails because the government often lacks appropriate inputs, such as national legal framework and policies, political will, pre-displacement research, careful implementation and monitoring (Oliver-Smith, 2009). And due to the weak and unsustainable economic and housing condition of the evictees, it again leads to the formation of a new slum (Oliver-Smith, 2001).

In 1998 the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) pointed out that the urbanization which has many positive influences also has created a negative impact especially on vulnerable communities. Urbanization has impaired the right to an adequate standard of living which includes right to adequate housing, clothing, health and food (Kenna, 2008a). Developing nations are obliged to choose urbanization even though it brings negative impact on the enjoyment of other rights. According to Kothari (2015, p.5), "the majority of the world's population lives in some form of dwelling, roughly one half of the world's population does not enjoy the full spectrum of entitlements necessary for housing to be considered adequate". The United Nations estimates indicate that approximately 100 million people worldwide are without a place to live and over 1 billion people are inadequately housed (Kenna, 2008 p.8).

UN-Habitat (2004), as identified, seven ways of avoiding forced evictions which are: "the government must recognize that the poor are trying to survive and when they squat on an illegal land, it is because there are no other alternatives for them; the poor should not be punished by evicting them from the land where they provide for their shelter and livelihoods; the ideas of the communities facing evictions should be heard before any plan of policies or laws, by looking at the way other cities have combat forced eviction without having a negative impact on the people; the expansion of communities organizations, networks should be supported to create an avenue for the ideas of the poor to be shared and come up with solutions that have been successful in some places; urban development plans should be prepared in collaboration with poor communities so that the projects plans can leave room for affordable housing which is also close to employment opportunities; better land management and administration should be introduced to make it profitable to use free land for affordable housing; work with legal reform and legal aid organizations to review and reform the eviction laws and procedures which already exist, so that they will take into better consideration the lack of land and housing options for the poor and better protect their rights and property in the event eviction does occur" (UN-Habitat, 2004 p.45).

Miloon Kothari recommends that states should conduct an eviction impact assessment that should be carried out before the commencement of any project to be able to secure fully the human right of all that will be potentially affected including their protection against forced evictions. The assessment should also entail the consideration of other alternatives and strategies for minimizing harm. Assessing the impact of forced evictions is a key factor for the individual and communities in claiming their rights (UN-Habitat, 2004a).

2.7 IMPACT OF FORCED EVICTIONS

The impact of forced evictions in the life of the affected people can be characterized as a human tragedy. Due to forced eviction, people are often left homeless and destitute without no means of earning a livelihood and in reality there is no means of having access to legal or other

remedies (Ocheje, 2007). Forced evictions generally affect the marginalized and the most vulnerable in the sector which also increases inequality.

Forced evictions lead to loss of livelihood and income, means of livelihood are often lost by the evictees, as they are forced to leave their homes where they have a job and secure their source of income. They become impoverished and cannot provide for themselves and their families. Moreover, while forced evictions have an impact on both the men and the women, women tend to be greatly affected by forced evictions, women evictees face a unique challenges from violence and intense emotional stress during and after the eviction as they are forced to manage numerous responsibilities due to their close ties to the home and their role as caregivers for the whole family (COHRE, 2002a). According to Amnesty International, during evictions women are often more vulnerable to verbal abuse, beating and rape, this is because evictions normally happen in the day time, when most men are away at work (Ocheje, 2007).

Also, forced evictions affect children's health, educational advancement and their overall wellbeing. Forced evictions affect a child from enjoying human rights, including their right to education, health and personal security (Ocheje, 2007). "The convention of the Right of a Child recognizes the right of every child to a standard living which affect the child's mental, physical, spiritual, moral and social development" (Ocheje, 2007 p.9). Homeless children are more vulnerable to a range of emotional problems which include sleeplessness, anxiety, and aggression.

Forced evictions lead to the breakdown of social capital, which is the breakdown of community and social networks. They loss these relationships which provide them a survival networks of protection against income decline, ill health and which allows many duties which could have affected an individual to be shared among themselves. This affect evictees as they have great dependence in these networks (Kothari, 2015). Social relationships and bonds play an important role in people's lives. They depend on the community and other social networks for practical support such as borrowing of money, taking care of children. The dislocation of this network could cause sense of insecurity, emotional stress and trauma on the lives of the people (Kothari, 2015).

"At the individual level, forced evictions can also lead to increases in anxiety, depression, and suicide" (COHRE, 2008 p.10). Forced evictions are painful and causes emotional imbalance, removing people forcefully from their homes always leaves a negative impact on their lives, some might not be able to recover from the shock and stress.

2.8 THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The right to the city was a concept originally created by Henri Lefebvre in his book Le droit a la ville (right to the city) in (1968). Over the past decades, the right to the city concept has been greatly adopted in urban studies, in policy, in academy and also among activist, UN-Habitat and UNESCO have conceptualized on this concept as part of their human rights agenda (Habitat, 2010, UNESCO 2006). The goal is to promote justice, sustainability and inclusion in the city (Purcell, 2014). According to Henri Lefebvre (1968), "the right to the city is like a 'cry and a demand' which can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life". Many scholars have contributed to the fast growing literature of the right to the city, coming up with their own definitions. Alkhalili, Dajani, et al., (2014) defined the right to the city as a "loud and radical cry to challenge the existing citizenship status, capitalist social relations and property rights and their influence on space and its formation". Harvey (2008) defined the right to the city as far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources, rather it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city.

For the purpose of this research, this study will focus on the work of Henri Lefebvre who is the progenitor of the idea. Therefore, right to the city focused on the group who are underprivileged and suffering in urban society, those that are socially excluded from the city (O'Loghlen and McWilliams, 2016). It is a right where a material needs alone is not only provided but also aspirational needs can be met. An individual right to live in the city is often times dependent on both the individual's claim of ownership of property and rentals. The right to the city is a moral claim and a banner under which the side of the conflict is mobilized in order to have the benefit of the city. The demand for the right to the city comes directly from the marginalized, the poor and the oppressed. The right to the city has these characteristics; justice, democracy, equity, the full development of human potentials (Marcuse, 2009).

There are scholars who have expanded more on this concept and have moved beyond the original work of Henri Lefebvre. For instance, the World Charter for the Right to the City appears to have incorporated many rights to the concept, like the right to telecommunication, cultural memory, day care, removal of architectural barriers and so forth that the right to the city seems to be at the same time everything and nothing (Purcell, 2014).

The right to the city is directly linked to the human right which focuses on the right to adequate housing. The word housing does not indicate the roof alone, rather it is understood as the human right which is apprehended in a broader context which encompasses the security of all forms of tenure and the protection against forced evictions. Access to basic services, which include education, health, portable water, sanitation, electricity, green spaces and a healthy environment are all integrated into housing. It is also the right to use appropriate and adequate resources ensuring habitability, which include adequate space and effective protection against natural threat to health and life, access to means of subsistence, including access to land, infrastructure, sources of livelihood and the right to participate in all stages and processes of decision making related to housing (Rolnik, 2014).

The right to adequate housing can be understood as a gateway to other rights, adequate housing has to be fulfilled in order for the existence of other related human rights. Housing is crucial for the creation of a sense of belonging to the city, to be deprived of access to adequate housing is to be deprived of the very possibilities to be part of the city and to enjoy the city life (Rolnik, 2014). The possibilities of earning a living can be seriously impaired when a person has been relocated due to forced evictions to a place that is far from employment opportunities. Inadequate housing has a consequences of right to health, if housing and settlements have insufficient good drinking water and sanitation, residents may fall ill regularly (COHRE, 2011).

The violation of people's rights to the city brought about the establishment of political capital through the medium of the CBOs and NGOs such as COHRE and SERAC. These organizations aim at sensitizing people especially the poor and vulnerable population on their legal right as a citizen of a country. These enlightenment are carried out through the media, newspapers, published reports, these are all used in fighting forced evictions and also enlightened the poor of their legal right to live and remain in the city.

Cities shows modernity to the fullness that it does not have any regard for informality. Government tries to ignore the upgrading of informal settlement, even though everyone has the right to better living in the city, government prefer to relocate informal settlers to the urban periphery than in situ upgrading (Huchzermeyer, 2010). According to Huchzermeyer (2011), the right to the city is the right to long-term habitation to the city and a right to oeuvre which means that citizens have access to public space in the city after their own desires. Government most times abandoned the extension of basic services into informal settlement as a better way of discouraging people from these areas, and believing that this will reduce slums. They tend

to increase rigid security measures to curb informal settlement growth and deny the informal dwellers from their right to live somewhere in the city.

From the view point of informal dwellers "the cities are not produce for them but rather for international investors and the professionals". The poor are left alone to build their own low quality houses (Huchzermeyer, 2011), and most of them who manage to builds shacks for themselves are threatened with forced evictions. The right to the city must defend existing claims of habitation rights from being dismantled. Informal settlement are evidence of an exclusion of the poor from the realization of their right to the city (Mardeusz, 2014).

The forces of exclusion that are active in the urban space has rendered the poor and the marginalized helpless in fighting for their right in the city, due to that most government embark on an illegal slum clearance rendering the poor homeless and causing a threat to their livelihood, this measures need to be constantly challenged and contested. The city is not an end stage in which the world is flawless, instead it is an urban space that need constant struggle to create a world that is less alienated from its inhabitant (Aalbers and Gibb, 2014). The right to the city is both an assessment and moral claim against the privatization and commodification of housing and urban space. According to Albers and Gibb (2014) it is a call to rank the city use value (everyday life) over its exchange value (profit-oriented), "the right to the city is the right to create cities for the people and not for profit". So the section focusses on political strategies, whether and how communities organize themselves politically to remain in the city, and to have their rights respected.

2.9 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework is based on the livelihood model which helps in explaining the coping strategies adopted by the urban poor. After evictions, households organize to enhance their livelihood assets in order to cope with shocks and stress. The framework helps to assess livelihood assets disrupted by forced evictions and how livelihood assets are enhanced. This study analyses on the coping strategies which the urban poor applied after they were forcefully evicted, including social and political capital. Social capital comprises the strategies of the evictees in borrowing from friends, seeking support from relatives and living with families, however, this strategy may not be sustained if there is no reciprocity, this reveals that social capital can only solve short-term problems. Therefore, the political capital as the second strategy is analysed including the mobilization of the community, approaching local and international NGOs for support and with them starting dialogues with the government officials. It will be assessed to what extend the mobilization of political capital helps affected communities to get their right to compensation respected and provides them with opportunities to accessing a new location in the city.

Hence, based on the livelihood model this conceptual framework explains the strategies applied by the household to be well-informed of their right and claiming it. The framework depicts that the right to the city can only be achieved through the intervention of political capital.

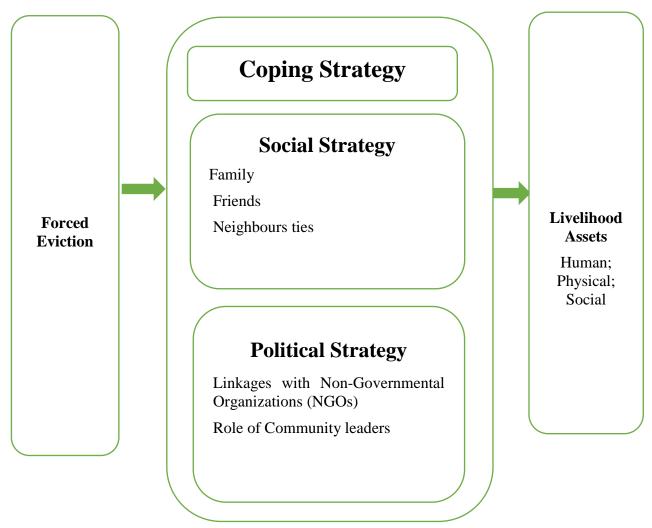


Figure 3: Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design of this study. These includes the research question, operationalization of the concepts and research strategy. It also includes methods of data collection, sampling, reliability, validity of methodology and data analysis method.

3.1 Research Question

Main research question

How have the social and political strategies of evicted households helped them to cope with impact of forced evictions and claiming their right to the city?

Sub-questions

- What is the impact of forced evictions on the livelihood of the evicted households?
- To what extent have the social strategies helped them in coping with the losses in livelihood assets after forced evictions?
- To what extent have the political strategies helped them in claiming access to a new location and compensation?

3.2 Operationalization of variables

Table 1: Operationalization of variables

Research question	Concepts	Definition	Variables	Indicators	Respondents
What is the impact of forced evictions on the livelihood of the	of assets material, social resources and activities required for means of living (Chambers and	Physical capital	Loss of house Loss of basic services (water, sanitation and health facilities) Loss of productive assets	Evictees of Badia East	
evictees?		Conway 1992).	Social Capital	Loss of proximity to relatives and neighbours. Loss of assistance from friends and family. Loss of closeness to ethnic groups.	Evictees of Badia East

			Human Capital	Health status of evictees. Loss of jobs. Disruption of children education. Home based business damaged	Evictees of Badia East
To what extent have the social strategies helped them in coping with the losses after forced evictions?	Social strategy	Social strategies are strategies used to improve on livelihoods and guarding against vulnerability. It is a networks of friends, families and neighbours (Agnitsch, Flora, et al., 2006).	Family ties	Increase number of family members in the workforce. Support from families in providing food and other basic services Living with families	Evictees of Badia East
			Friendship ties	Frequency of support from close friends No of close friends who live close by Level of trust in terms of borrowing or lending of money	Evictees of Badia East
			Neighbours	Frequency of borrowing kitchen utensils from neighbours Borrowing of money from neighbours Looking after each other's kids	Evictees of Badia East
To what extent have the political strategies helped them in claiming access to a new location?	Political strategies	Political strategy referred to an integral process of poverty reduction policy, it aim at the involvement of community participation and empowerment as a coping strategy of	Linkages with Non- Governmental Organization (NGOs)	What was the role of NGOs, which NGOs, who approached them, why did they come, what did they do, what was the result? Mass mobilization Human rights campaign Did NGOs have a dialogue with the government, who initiated this, who joined from community and from government. What was the result.	NGOs

	human right violation. It is essential for getting ahead. Putnam (2000)			
		Role of Community leaders	Was there community protest, what did that involve. How did that start (through support of whom), who joined in from the community, who did not, and why not? Was there demonstration and	Community leaders
			marches, who took the initiative, who joined, what was the result? Was there any community training, and workshops in empowering evictees.	

3.3 Research strategy

Research strategy is a methodology that helps to investigate research issues and also helps in answering research questions in a systematic way. Research strategies deepen the issue and explain/explore the facts of the subject under study. In social science, research strategy can be carried out in four ways, this includes survey, case study, quasi-experiments and desk research, this helps to achieve research aims and objectives. Single or multiple research strategy can be used in order to have a better understanding of the subject.

For this study, case study as a research strategy was used, this strategy was chosen because of the character of the study which required a qualitative approach that helps to explain the impact of evictions and collect in-depth information and also a small sample size of the total population that were selected. Likewise, it enables researcher to closely examine a research within a specific context. Also, it helps researcher to study the depth of a situation than just the breadth of a research, this helps the situation to be studied in very great detail.

Case study is a research strategy whereby one or several cases of the subject to be studied are examined in a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. It provides answer for "How and Why" question. It does not only explore or describe a data in real life environment but also help to explain complexities of real life situation which may not be captured through experimental or survey research (Rowley, 2002). It always concentrate on a limited situation in a small unit area, as a researcher aim for depth and not breadth.

3.4 Data Collection method

Data collection methods is an approach used in collecting information on variables of study in order to answer the research question. The qualitative method was used which is one of the two methods of data collection in social sciences. In this research primary data was used to gather information as this research requires a direct response from the respondents.

Data collection tools selected for the research are semi-structured interviews, this was combined with questionnaires for the purpose of triangulation. The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that it allows the researcher to prepare an interview guide with planned questions, but it also permits flexibility as the researcher can be able to ask more questions related to answers given by the respondents. In a semi-structured interview, key people like the

experts from Social and Economic Rights action Centre (SERAC), and Spaces for Change, key informants in the community like community leaders were interviewed while a questionnaire was administered to the people that were evicted. This helps to cover both the depth and the breadth of the research, this also helped to know how the evictees have used their social and political capital in coping with the effects of forced eviction. So the residents, community leaders, experts from Spaces for Change and SERAC were the sources for the data collection in this research.

In this research, both social and political capital as a coping strategy was assessed. This is to know those that are aware of their social and political capital as a strategy and how they have been able to used it to access some of their rights and those that have not. The research includes three sub-questions which are; what is the impact of forced eviction on the livelihood of the evictees? To what extent have the social strategies helped them in coping with the losses after forced eviction? To what extent have the political strategies helped them in claiming access to a new location?

The concepts studied in the research are; livelihood assets, forced evictions and its impact, coping strategy, and this is studied within the overall concepts of the right to the city. Here forced evictions is the independent variable which influences the coping strategies as a dependent variable the evictees adopted in order to improve on their livelihoods.

3.5 Sample size and selection

Primary data was the major data source for this research. The research was carried out by semi-interview where community leaders and staff from the NGO Social Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) and Spaces for Change were interviewed. Also, survey was conducted through the administration of questionnaires by purposive sampling. Purposive sampling helps to select respondents based on knowledge of the situation. Based on this study, snow ball sampling method was applied, it uses a group of initial respondents to nominate others through their social networks. It is applied where population is difficult to access. In the case of Badia East, as a result of forced evictions that took place in 2013, many people were displaced from their community. After sometimes, some of them returned back to live in the open space of Badia East while others moved to other slum areas, the population could only be captured through snowball sampling.

Also to be able to increase the validity of the research, questionnaires was used to gathered information and it was administered within Badia East community among the affected residents. The people was randomly selected and a total number of 30 questionnaires was administered to help to capture the view of the large number of the community. Out of 30 respondents for the survey, 10 were found in Badia East while the other respondents were contacted in other community through the assistance of SERAC, as some contacts were given to the researcher.

Table 2: Sample selection

POSITION	NUMBER
Semi-structured interview with expert from Social and	1
Economic Right Action Centre (SERAC)	
Semi-structured interview with expert from Spaces for	1
Change	
Semi-structured interview with community leaders	5
Questionnaires with affected people	30
Total sample	37

3.6 Validity and reliability

Diverse methods were used in the field work, which included semi-structured interviews and a survey, so as to generate various perceptions and to maintain the objectivity in the research. In order to ensure and increase the validity of data, triangulation of data was used. Triangulation of data involves gathering of data from interviews, survey, information from different data such as newspaper, reports. Moreover reliability of research was improved by properly documenting all the steps taken and data sources in a transparent and coherent way. Besides, the reliability of most of the data were tested by statistical methods in the software.

3.7 Data Analysis Method

In this research case study was taken as the main research strategy as it is qualitative in nature. Due to the small amount of the interviews, atlas.ti could not be used. SPSS (statistical package for social sciences was used to analysis questionnaires, this was combined for further analysis and interpretation. The unit of analysis was households heads, 13 male households heads and 17 female households heads were targeted and administer questionnaires, making a total of 30 questionnaires.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research carried out during field work and seek to answer the research questions. The research was done based on a primary data that was collected using semi-structured interviews with two experts of the NGOs from Social and Economic Right Action Centre (SERAC) and Spaces for Change (S4C), and also with five community leaders. Interview was based on the political strategy of evictees in claiming new location and compensation. Also, it was supported with a survey, questionnaires among 30 respondents focusing on the impact of forced evictions on their livelihood and how their social capital as a strategy has helped them in reducing the impact of forced evictions.

4.2 Research area description

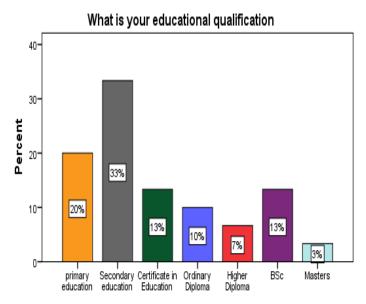
Badia East happens to be one of the Federal Government procurement in Lagos State. The land measuring 55.07 Hectares was acquired in 1929 for the Railway Corporation (overruling public interest). In 1973, the Nigeria Government planned to build a National Theatre, and the residents of that particular community, which was Oluwole village that formed part of the land were displaced. As at that time the Federal Government had land that belonged to the Nigeria Railway Corporation, this was the land the Federal Government moved the displaced community to, which is Badia East. As a result of the fact that the title of the land was not assigned to the people in a proper and recognized form, Badia East continues to experience series of forced evictions from the State government (Jimoh, Omole, et., 2013).

The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, has human right provisions, which asserts that every person is authorised to esteem the dignity of other persons. No person shall be subject to torture or inhuman treatment and also right to adequate standard of living which implies that the government has a legal right to respect the right of its citizens, protect the right of its citizens, promote the human rights of its citizens and fulfil the human right of its citizens. "The right to adequate housing should be understood as a right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity which includes the protection against forced evictions and the demolition of and destruction of people's properties" (COHRE, 2011p. 20).

The focus of the research is to know the extent at which the evictees have succeeded in using their social and political strategies to cope with the impact of forced evictions and claiming their right to live in the city.

The general characteristics of the evictees will be analysed to have a basic knowledge of their background which includes examining their level of education attainment and also their state of origin.

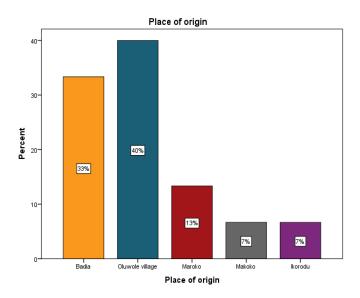
Graph 1: Educational Qualification



What is your educational qualification

From the above graph, slightly more than 50% of the respondents have not enjoyed higher education, as half of the evictees were primary and secondary school holders, this indicated a relatively low education among the respondents. Majority of the evictees only have a secondary school certificate of the total population of the evictees, followed by primary school holders. Few of the evictees have attended one higher institution or the other. This depicts that majority of the evictees do not have higher education.

Graph 2: place of origin



The Figure presented above shows the original location of the evictees before they were settled to Badia. It depicts that 40% of the evictees were from Oluwole village which happens to be their original location before they were moved to Badia East by the Federal Government, followed by 33% of evictees from Badia East. This means that the majority of the evictees were from Oluwole village and Badia East. Most of the evictees are the indigenes of Lagos State.

The 30 respondents came from Badia East and other slum areas in Lagos State. After people moved from Badia East due to the evictions, subsequently about 40% of the evictees started moving back to Badia East after 5 months of being evicted from the community while other evictees remained in other slum areas.

It was revealed that the evictees often assembled at Badia East every morning from their various locations to have a meeting and some of them also bring their goods to sell at Badia East. Evictees are still scattered to all other slums. Slums such as Makoko, Ijora Oloye, Ijora Olopa and some in Badia East.

Table 3: Evictees new location

Respondents	Community/ Location
10 evictees	Returned back to Badia East
8 evictees	Moved into Ijora Olopa
5 evictees	Moved into Makoko
7 evictees	Moved into Ijora Oloye

In order to answer the research question, the following three sub-questions will be analysed through SPSS frequency to evaluate the residents of Badia East and due to the small number of the interviews, Atlas.ti could not be used, the analysis was done manually to evaluate NGOs and the community leaders.

- What is the impact of forced evictions on the livelihood of the evicted households?
- To what extent have the social strategies helped them in coping with the losses in livelihood assets after forced eviction?
- To what extent have the political strategies helped them in claiming access to a new location and compensation?

4.3 Impact of forced evictions on the livelihood of the evictees

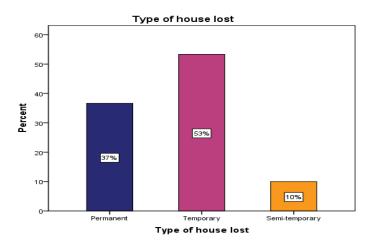
To answer this question, three of the livelihood assets of the evictees were examined which are the variables; physical capital, human capital and social capital. These are measured through the indicators, as depicted in the operationalization table.

The impact of physical capital on the livelihoods of the evictees can be answered by indicators: loss of house, loss of basic services (water, sanitation and health facilities) and loss of productive assets.

4.3.1 Impact of forced evictions on physical capital Housing

Housing plays a vital role and is a very important components of physical capital as it is considered as one of the greatest assets to the poor. One of the components considered as impact of forced evictions in this study was housing. There were three types of housing units present in Badia East before they were evicted; permanent, temporary and semi-temporary. Permanent buildings were built with roofs and walls. Temporary buildings were erected with planks and wooden materials while semi-temporary housing were constructed through bamboo. It was reviewed that few of the respondents had a permanent buildings while the remaining respondents built their houses with either wooden planks or iron sheet.

Graph 3: Type of house lost



From graph 3 above, all the evictees lost their houses during the eviction exercise and were rendered homeless. Large number of evictees lost their temporary houses. This reveals that it was a comprehensive demolition and none of them was able to recover any part of their building.

One of the Community leaders interviewed said: "we were all taken by surprise as the police official with their bulldozers arrived very early on February 23, 2013 at around 7am and started destroying our houses. All of the houses of the people were demolished, and the armed forces never allowed them to retrieve any of their building materials, and they ensured that the whole Badia East was turned into rubble. There was a woman that was beaten and arrested when she tried to pack out few of her building materials".

PRODUCTIVE ASSETS

Productive assets to the poor are essential assets. Due to the fact that the poor have no regular source of income to establish any income generating activities, they tend to engage in productive assets like buying of assets that can generate income for them in the nearest future such as television, sewing machine, refrigerator. Eviction do not only render the evictees homeless. But also, the people are forced to abandon their personal belongings since normally evictions happen without any notice or prior warning before the demolition team destroys communities. Most people in Badia East have spent close to 40 to 50 years there and have lived all their lives in Badia East, the majority of them were born in the community.

Table 4: Loss of productive assets

Total

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Television	7	23.3	25.9	25.9
	Sewing machine	6	20.0	22.2	48.1
	Freezer	8	26.7	29.6	77.8
	Jewellery	4	13.3	14.8	92.6
	Others	2	6.7	7.4	100.0
	Total	27	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	10.0		

30

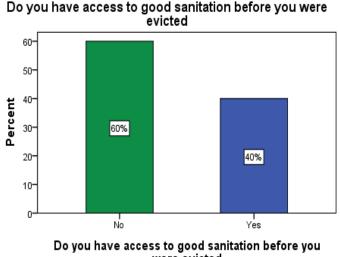
Type of productive assets lost

100.0

From the table 4 above, out of 30 respondents, 27 evictees which was 90% of the total population confirmed that they lost personal belongings. It was revealed that all their belongings were crumbled into rubble as the residents were unable to pack their possessions. Productive assets are very important to the poor, these can be used to improve their livelihood. It can be sold and used to start a new business and generate income, for instance the sewing machine, the freezer for selling perishable goods.

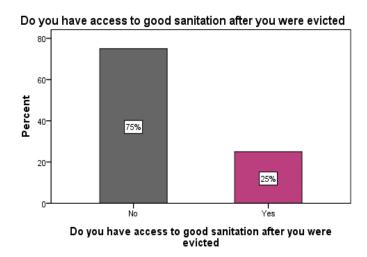
An expert working for one of the NGOs said: "we were contacted by the community and we moved straight to Badia East. Before we got there, a large percentage of the houses have been demolished and of course we were just helpless, watching while the demolition was going on and the residents were never allowed to pack any of their belongings".

Graph 4: Do you have access to good sanitation before you were evicted



Before they were forcefully evicted, most of them said they lacked access to good sanitation as Badia East was already a slum.

Graph 5: Do you have access to good sanitation after you were evicted



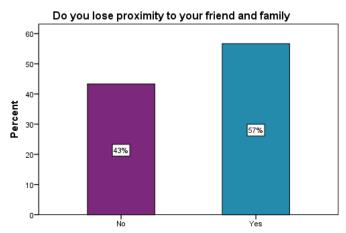
Above 70% of the evictees responded on their lack of access to sanitation after they have been evicted as they had no other alternative than to move into another slum. There was no proper provision of facilities and services such as sewage collection, waste water treatment plant. This has resulted to diverse forms of sickness as a result of that, most of the respondents suffer from sicknesses and diseases. This was compared to before they were evicted and it was shown that the situation was worse after the eviction.

One of the community leaders said: "before we were evicted the community lack good sanitation, however because of the association that was organized by us for proper sanitation management, this helped the people to clean up the community for themselves and everybody was mandatory to join, so we were able to manage it. But it is so severe now after the eviction, since some people have gone and because it is no longer our home, people are just squatting in fear of the government we can no longer organize sanitation cleaning. So sanitation in this community is very bad now".

4.3.2 Impact of forced eviction on social capital

As we know from other studies, evictees also often lose their complex mutual relationships which they have built for many years and this often provides them security in hard times. This network often provides relief in area of illness, loss of job, and decline in income. This relationship allows many responsibilities and burdens to be shared.

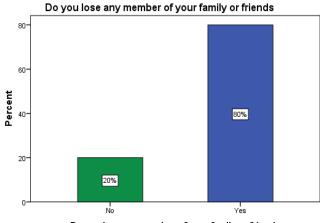
Graph 6: Proximity to family and friends



Do you lose proximity to your friend and family

As the graph 6 indicated, 43% of the respondents said they do not lose proximity to their loved ones while more than 50% of the people were distant from their friends and family after the evictions. This is as a result of the fact that some evictees returned back to Badia East while most of them moved to another community.

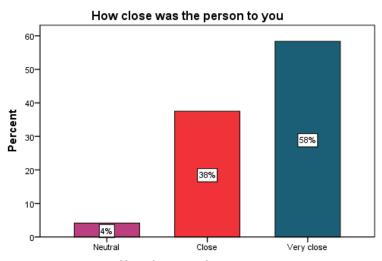
Graph 7: Do you lose any member of your family or friend



Do you lose any member of your family or friends

80% of the respondents affirmed that some of their friends or family died in the course of the eviction, especially after they were evicted as some of them could no longer withstand the pain and the trauma of losing home and livelihood.

Graph 8: How close was the person to you



How close was the person to you

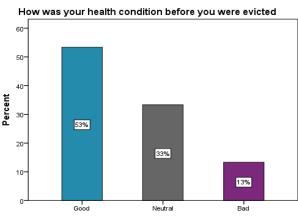
As a result of the inappropriate way the government carried out the eviction exercise, there was no adequate provisions for evictees needs, which is against the normal procedures set out by International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Almost every respondents loss a very close friend and family members after the incidence of the evictions.

One of the NGO experts said: "an average Nigerian would not be able to appreciate what the victims of forced evictions go through, they are only interested in ooh this people have been cleared, they are building a nice road here, no wonder, we thank God the government is working. Nobody is doing any aftermath to study the effects of the eviction on the evictees, but their lives has never be the same, the majority died ultimately, the majority of their aspirations and dreams were terminated".

4.3.3 Impact of forced evictions on Human capital

The aspect studied with regards to human capital are; loss of job, health condition and children education.

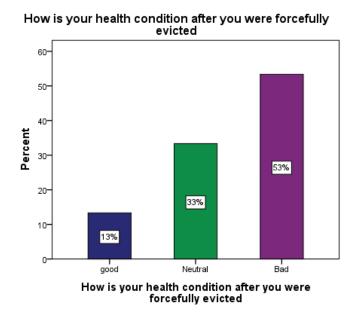
Graph 9: How was your health condition before you were evicted



How was your health condition before you were evicted

The majority of the respondents attest that they were not having challenges with their health before the evictions. While some never said they had a good nor bad health condition and a small percentage of the evictees confirmed of their deteriorated health condition.

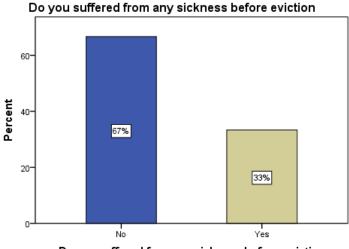
Graph 10: How is your health condition after you were evicted



The health condition has been the challenge of the evictees in Badia East. As shown in graph 10 above, an average number of the respondents confirmed that their health condition had become worse after the evictions, as many of them suffered from typhoid, cholera, fever and other water related diseases, due to their exposure to unhealthy environment. While few of them said they still have good health condition even after the eviction.

To support this, one of the experts from the NGOs explained the situation of the people: "after the demolition, the first thing was to address the immediate needs of the evictees because the demolition was like a war zone, people were confused, scattered, as most of them were all staying in the open with the effect of mosquito bites, no water, no place to sleep. Those who have relations came to pack their things and left the slum but those who had none remain in the open space there".

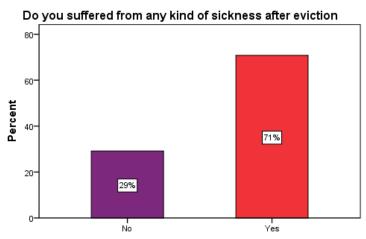
Graph 11: Did you suffer from any sickness before the evictions



Do you suffered from any sickness before eviction

67% of the evictees said they did not experience any form of health challenge before they were forcefully evicted while the 33% declared of their deteriorated health conditions before eviction.

Graph 12: Did you suffer from any kind of sickness after the evictions



Do you suffered from any kind of sickness after eviction

Graph 12 shows that large number of the evictees suffered from sickness after they were evicted, compared to when they were peacefully living in Badia East.

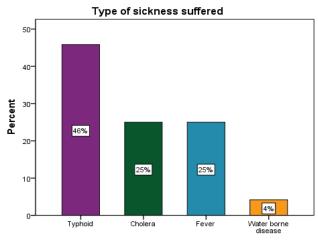
According to one of the evictees: "before I was evicted even though we lived in slum I was still able to keep my surroundings clean because it is my house and so my children and I barely suffered from sickness except mosquito bites which even affects people who are not living in a slum. But since we have been evicted my family have been suffering from typhoid and cholera, we live presently in Ijora Olopa a slum area, where we live in a very dirty environment, no good water, sewage system, no toilet. This made my family a victim of diverse sicknesses".

Table 5: One sample Test

	Test Val	Γest Value=0									
	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Differences	95% confidence Interval o the Differences						
					Lower	Upper					
Do you suffered from any sickness before and after	3.391	23	.003	.333	.13	.54					
evictions?	7.474	23	.000	.708	.51	.90					

Furthermore, to confirm graph 11 and 12, according to One sample test carried out, it can be concluded that there is statistically significant difference between evictees who suffer from sickness before and after. That reveals that the number of evictees who are victims of different forms of sicknesses increased after the eviction.

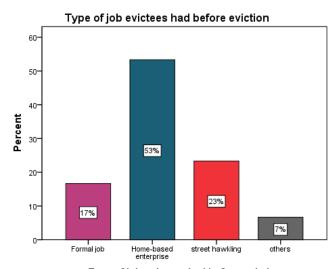
Graph 13: Type of sickness suffered after eviction



Type of sickness suffered

Due to lack of a healthy surroundings and sanitation facilities, almost all the evictees suffered from one disease or another. 46% of the evictees suffer from typhoid, 25% suffered from both cholera and fever while the other respondents suffered from water borne disease.

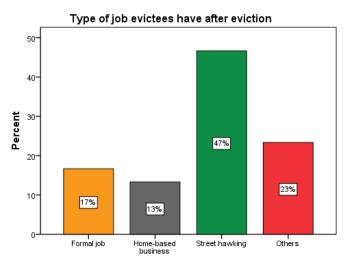
Graph 14: Type of job evictees had before eviction



Type of job evictees had before eviction

More than half of the evictees confirmed that home based business was the main business most of them engaged in before eviction. Almost every households do sell one goods or another due to the fact that home-based business is easy to start. Home based business is essential to the poor as this is the only business that does not require lot of capital to start.

Graph 15: Type of job evictees have after eviction



Type of job evictees have after eviction

Almost half of the respondents said that their business was shifted from home-based business to street hawking after the eviction. Losing their home based business was losing almost all they ever had. Due to the disruption of the business, they could no longer continue with their business again. This led them to street hawking business.

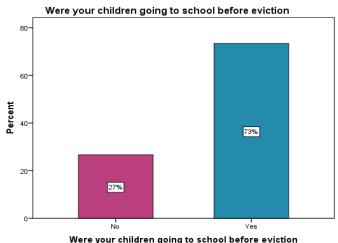
A respondent from one of the community leaders said: "home based business was the trade of most of the women in this community, many people have shops at the front of their houses where they sell provisions and petty goods, some used the doorway of their houses for businesses like repairing shoes and sewing but after we were evicted, most people could not continue with their business again"

Table 6: Kind of job had before and after eviction

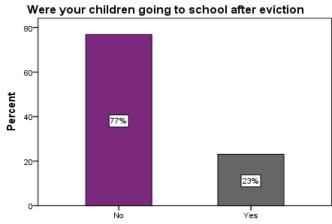
Kind of job evictees had before and		e's Test uality of ces	t-test	for Equ	ality of	Means			
after evictions	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig,(2- taile d)	Mean Differe nce	Std.Error Difference	95% Con Interval Difference	of the
					u)			Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	2.391	.551	471	7	.006	.200	.424	-1.203 -1.416	.803
Equal variances not assumed			440	4.42	.008	.200	.455		1.016

According to independent sample t-test, it shows that there is a statistically significant difference between the job they had before eviction and after eviction, which helped to affirmed the result generated from graph 14 and 15. This means evictees lose their major source of income which was their home based business after eviction. This established the impact of forced evictions on their human capital.

Graph 16: were your children going to school before eviction



Graph 17: Were your children going to school after eviction



Were your children going to school after eviction

One of the effects of forced evictions on human capital of the community was the disruption of their children's education. According to graph 16 and 17, it shows that before eviction most of evictees children attend school, but after the eviction the percentage of those who still attend school declined from 73% to 23%. The majority of evictees children could no longer continue their studies after they had been forcefully evicted. Most of the children needed to support in meeting family needs by hawking in the street.

To back up the result, respondent 3 said: "after the incidence of eviction, my children who were attending school have to stop because we did not even have a place to live and no more source of livelihood, not to talk of going to school. It was from what I was selling that I could sponsor them to school before, but now I cannot afford that, so they have to join me in hawking so we can eat". This show that most evictees children stopped their education as a result of the evictions.

Table 7: One sample test of

One sample Test

	Test Value	Test Value=0								
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% (Interval Difference	Confidence of the				
					Lower	Upper				
Were your children going to school before eviction	2.739	25	.011	.231	.06	.40				
Were your children going to school after eviction	8.930	29	.000	.733	.57	.90				

According to One sample test conducted, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between children going to school before and after which affirmed the result generated in graph 16 and 17. This shows that after the eviction, many of the evictees children could not continue their studies anymore.

To answer the research question, What is the impact of forced evictions on the livelihood assets of the evicted households?

From the findings it can be concluded that the impact of forced evictions comes in area of physical, social and human capital. Many of the evictees lost their homes and their personal belongings. They were exposed to an unhealthy environment, even though they had lived in a slum but then they were able to control the environment by taking proper care of their surroundings. After the evictions, that was impossible as they have no place to call their own again, and this resulted in the outbreak of sicknesses and diseases. A larger percentage of evictees lost their home based business which was an important assets to them. Most of the evictees loss their loved ones during and after the eviction exercise and most of their children were unable to further their studies any longer.

4.4 Extent of social strategies in coping with the losses in livelihood assets after forced eviction

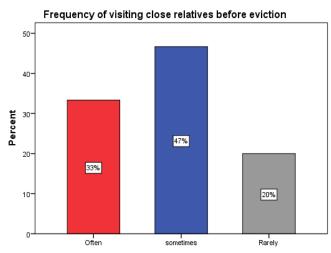
The coping strategies of most evictees can be explained through their ties which include, family ties, friendship ties and neighbour ties. From these, variables can be measured by indicators such as the increase number of family members in the workforce, supports from families, level of trust in terms of borrowing money, frequency of visiting close relatives, looking after each other's kids etc. Therefore, a close interaction with families and friends for the evictees is a valuable asset.

4.4.1 Family ties

One of the coping strategies of evictees is to rely on family ties. This serves as one of the most important assets to them. Indicators such as the increase number of family members in

workforce, support from families in providing food and other basic services and frequency of visiting family members were analysed.

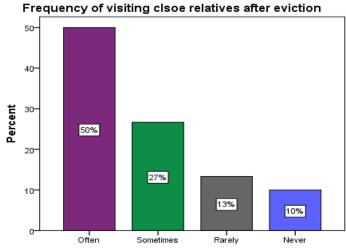
Graph 18: Frequency of visiting close relatives before eviction



Frequency of visiting close relatives before eviction

Graph 18 above depicts the frequency of evictees visits before the eviction, close to half of the respondents said that their visit to their family was not on a regular base and 33% of them said they always visit their family members regularly. This shows that most of them do not rely on close relatives for assistance before the eviction.

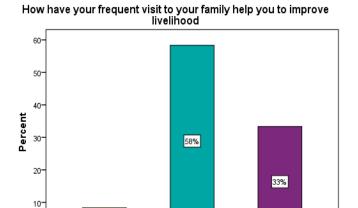
Graph 19: Frequency of visiting close relatives after eviction



Frequency of visiting clsoe relatives after eviction

After evictions, the number of respondents who visit close relatives increased to half of the total respondents, as they see their relatives as a means to recover from their losses and improve on their livelihood as compared to before evictions.

Graph 20: How have your frequent visits to your family after eviction helped you to improve on your livelihood



Moderately improve How have your frequent visit to your family help you to improve livelihood

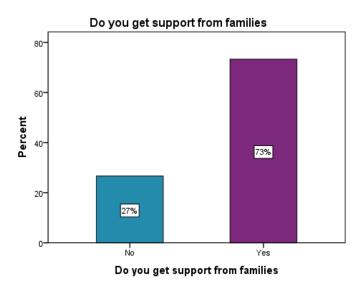
More than half of the respondents affirmed that their frequent visit to their family have helped them to improve their livelihood to a reasonable extent and some of them also argued that their visit have not been productive in the area of improvement of their assets at all. Those who visit their family often tends to be more comfortable than those who do not.

Not improved at all

One of the leaders interviewed, narrated her experience: "when we were evicted and all sources of my earnings was destroyed, it was my family that I ran to for help because some of my family members live in Lagos, I can easily go to them to ask for food and sometimes my sisters do call me anytime she has surplus. So it really helped me to get over the pain".

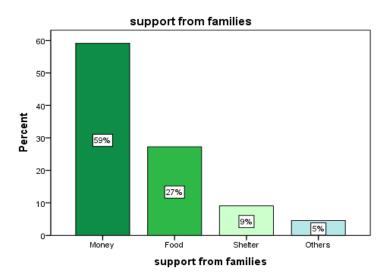
Graph 21: support from families

8% √ery improve



Most of the evictees were supported by their families after they had been forcefully evicted from their homes while few of them argued that they do not receive supports from family members, these are those whose families were not living close to them.

Graph 22: Kind of support received from families



Furthermore, graph 21 and 22 indicated the establishment of family ties as a coping strategy for the evictees. More than half of the evictees responded that they do get support from their families. One of the greatest assistance they often obtain from families is in monetary form, followed by support in terms of feeding.

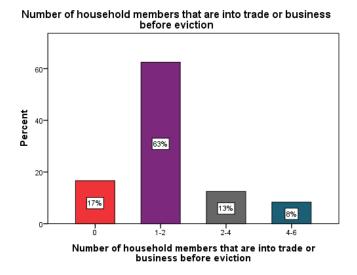
Table 8: Independent sample t-Test of support from families and frequency of visiting close relatives

	Levene	e's	t-test for Equality of Means								
Frequency	Test fo	r									
of visiting	Equali	ty of									
close	Varian	ces									
relatives	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-	Mean	Std. Error	95%Co	nfidence		
after					tailed)	Difference	Difference	Interval	of the		
evictions				Differences							
&Support								Lower	Upper		
received											
from											
families											
Equal	5.180	.036	1.261	17	.224	.372	.295	250	.994		
variances											
assumed											
Equal			1.502	15.155	.154	.372	.248	155	.899		
variances											
not											
assumed											

To established the result in graph 19 and 22, according to the independent sample t-test, it reveals that there is a significant difference (less than 0.05) between the frequency of visiting close relatives and the supports evictees received from families. It shows that those who visit family members often get more support from relatives than those who visit occasionally. The more evictees visit family members the better for them to improve on their livelihood. It can

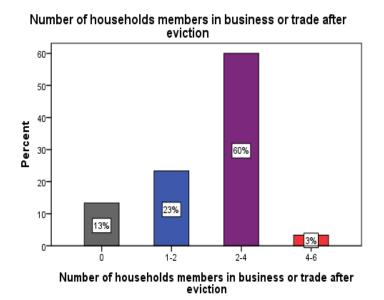
be established that frequency of visiting close relatives and the supports evictees received from family play a greater role in evictees coping strategies.

Graph 23: Number of household members that were into trade before evictions



It reveals that before the evictions two members in a family were the highest number of people that were into trade or business, this makes up 63% out of the total population. Only 8% have 4-6 household members who are in the workforce. This reveals that before the evictions, there was no reason for many households especially children to be involved in trade since the parents are financially stable and with their resources they can still meet their daily needs.

Graph 24: Number of household members in business or trade after eviction



The number of family members tend to increase in the workforce after they were evicted. This depict that 2-4 household members which is 60% of the total population have the highest category of households who are in one trade or the other unlike when they have not been evicted. Most families encouraged their children to join in their trade, by hawking in the street in the morning or later in the day after school time, this is so paramount to the evictees. To validate the result derived from graph 23 and 24, independent sample t-test was conducted.

Table 9: Independent sample test of number of household members in a trade before and after

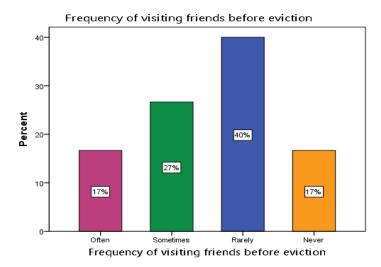
Number of	Leve	ne's	t-test f	or Equal	ity of M	eans			
households	Test	for							
member in	Equa	lity							
a trade	of								
before and	varia	nces							
after evictions	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig(2	Mean	Std Error	95%	
evictions					-	Differenc	Difference	Confide	ences
					tailed	es		interval	of the
)			Differe	nces
								Lower	Upper
Equal	5.75	.051	.261	16	.797	133	.510	-1.214	.948
variances	4								
assumed									
Equal			.336						
variances				3.919	.754	133	.397	-1.244	.977
not									
assumed									
assanica									

According to the table above, it shows that there is a statistically significant difference between number of households in a trade before evictions and after evictions. The more the number of people in an household that is involved in a trade, the better at which households would be able to cope and improve on their livelihoods. This established the increase number of households in a trade as a coping strategy for the evictees which was showed by the significant level above.

4.4.2 Friendship Ties

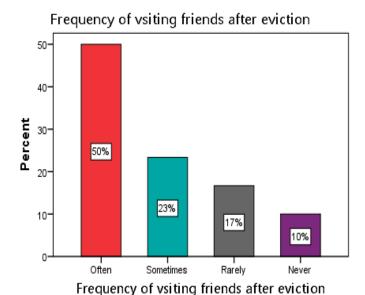
To be able to analyse the relationship of friendship ties as a coping strategy adopted by evictees, indicators such as frequency of getting help from close friends, frequency of visiting friends, number of friends who live close by and level of trust in term of borrowing or lending of money will help to answer the research question.

Graph 25: Frequency of visiting friends before eviction



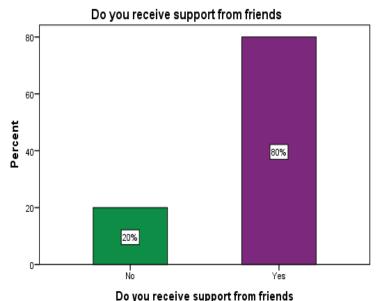
From the graph above, most evictees rarely visit their friends before eviction, only a few percentage of them attest of their visit to friends often. This was because as at that period, they had not been challenged with evictions and they tend to be living comfortably.

Graph 26: frequency of visiting friends after eviction



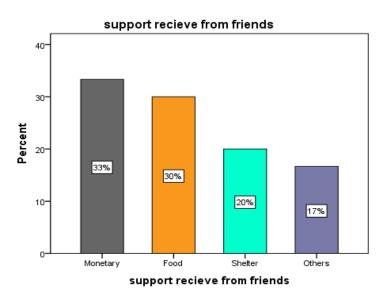
As depicted from the graph above, it was revealed that after the evictions, the intensity of evictees visiting their friends increased greatly, as evictees relied on friendship ties as a means to recover from loss of livelihood assets.

Graph 27: Support from friends



Respondents were asked if their friends have been of help to them, and from the graph above, it shows that majority of the respondents do receive assistance from their friends.

Graph 28: Kinds of support received from friends



Having friends goes beyond a mere interaction and communication within their communities, friendship ties is one of the strategies evictees adopt in coping with the impact of forced evictions. As shown in the previous graph above, 80% of the evictees said they do receive support from friends. Most of the support they secure from friends were basically in monetary form and in the area of feeding as this is very essential for their upkeep. Friendship ties contributes to essential role in improving access to food, housing and other basic services.

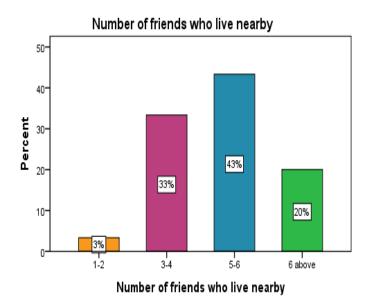
To ascertain the frequency of visiting friends and the support received from friends as a coping strategy, independent sample t-test was conducted to see the relationship.

Table 10: Independent sample t. Test of frequency of visiting friends and support received from friends

Frequency	Leven	e's	T-test for the Equality of Means							
of visiting	test	for								
friends	Equali	ity of								
after	varian	ces								
evictions	F	Sig	t	df	Sig.(Mean	Std.Erro	95%		
&					2-	Differen	r	Confide	ence	
Support					taile	ces	Differen	Interva	l of the	
received					d)		ces	Differe	nces	
from										
friends										
Equal variances	2.09	.166	-1.768	17	.054	.821	.464	158	1.799	
assume										
Equal			2.257	160	020	021	264	0.52	1.500	
variances			-2.257	16.8 57	.038	.821	.364	0.53	1.588	
not				31						
assumed										

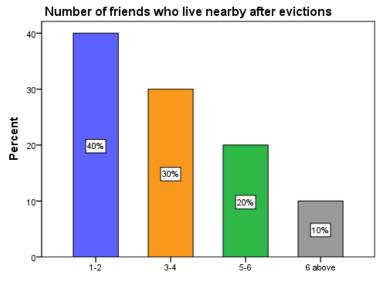
According to independent sample t-test of table 10, it reveals that there is statistically significant difference between frequency of visiting friends after evictions and support received from friends. This means that the more evictees visit their friends, the more support they received from them.

Graph 29: Number of friends who live nearby before evictions



It shows from graph 29 that 43% of the evictees have 5-6 friends who live close by before evictions. Since they have not been evicted they tend to have more friends within their neighbourhood and other communities.

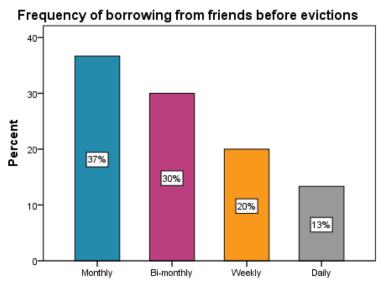
Graph 30: Number of friends who live nearby after evictions



Number of friends who live nearby after evictions

The number of friends evictees have living around was reduced after eviction, as they were displaced from their settlement. According to the graph, 30% of the evictees still have 3-4 friends living close by but majority of them lose proximity to their friends.

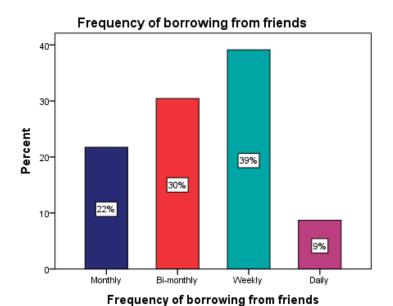
Graph 31: Frequency of borrowing from friends before evictions



Frequency of borrowing from friends before evictions

From the graph it shows that the highest borrowing level of evictees before evictions was monthly and bi- monthly. This indicates that evictees do borrow from friends once in a while if there is any urgent needs as their livelihood conditions was still adequate to cater for their needs.

Graph 32: Frequency of borrowing from friends after evictions



From graph 31 and 32, it shows that evictees highest level of borrowing changed from monthly to weekly and bi-monthly after evictions. This reveals that after the evictions, evictees seek more assistance from friends compared to before they were evicted. Independent sample t-test was conducted to verify if there is a relationship between frequency of visiting friends and the number of friends living nearby as a coping strategy.

Table 11: Independent t-Test sample of number of friends who live nearby and frequency of borrowing

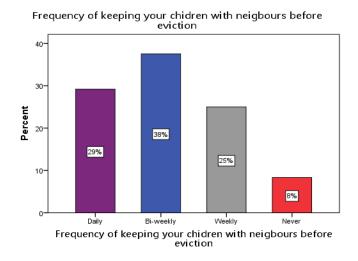
nearby	riends test for known live Equality of Variances								IS			
after evictions & Frequency	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2- taile d)	Mean Differe nce	Std. error Differenc e	95% Confide Interval Differer	of the			
of borrowing from friends after eviction								Lower	Upper			
Equal variances assumed Equal	2.72	.075	364	10	.723	.200	.549	-1.424	.991			
variances not assumed				9.6 38	.715	.200	.532					

After conducting the independent sample t-test, it reveals that there is no significant relationship between the number of friends who live nearby and the frequency of borrowing from friends, as it was not used by the evictees as a coping strategy. Even though the frequency of borrowing from friends increased after evictions, it was not adopted by evictees to improve on their livelihood. This can be as a result of the decrease in the number of friends who live nearby.

4.4.3 Neighbours Ties

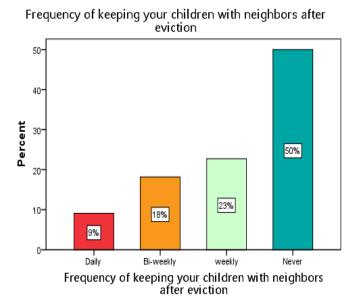
Similar to the indicators mentioned above, neighbours ties can be explained by indicators such as the frequency of borrowing kitchen utensils from neighbours, number of nearby neighbours, borrowing of money from neighbours, looking after each other's kids.

Graph 33: Frequency of keeping your children with neighbours before evictions



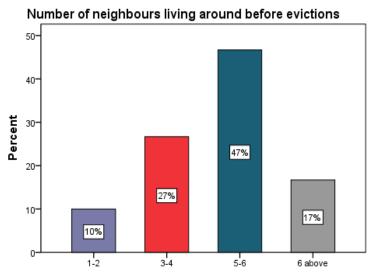
Frequency of keeping children with neighbours before eviction was relatively high, as most of them do keep their children with their neighbours two times in a week and also daily. Owing to the fact that they have been in the same community for years they have been able to develop trust in one another.

Graph 34: Keeping children with neighbours after evictions



From graph 34 above, after the evictions keeping of children with neighbours was not embraced as before the evictions, 50% of the respondents do not keep their children with neighbours. The highest frequency of keeping children with neighbours was once in a week. This can be traced to the fact that their frequent movement did not give them the privilege to have stable neighbours who they could develop relationship with and can trust with their children. Neighbours ties to them appears less important strategies in helping them to cope with the impact of forced eviction. This indicated that frequency of keeping children with neighbours was not adopted as a coping strategy.

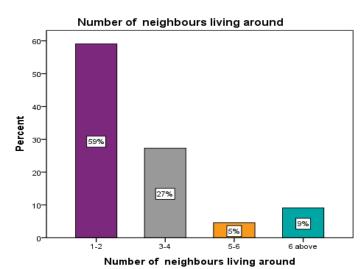
Graph 35: Number of neighbours living around before eviction



Number of neighbours living around before evictions

From graph 35, it reveals that evictees have more neighbours living around before the evictions, as the highest number of neighbours they had were 5-6 neighbours, which make up 47%.

Graph 36: Number of neighbours living around after evictions



The graph shows that evictees have 1-2 neighbours who are living around and who they can trust with their children as their highest number of neighbours which means that they do not have high percentage of neighbours around who could be of support to them in times of need. According to one of the evictees "we do not have stable neighbours whom we can trust with our children because most of the time we used to leave from one slum to another in search of

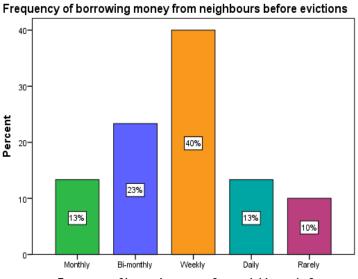
better life, this has made most of us not to have a good relationship with our neighbours because we keep moving about".

Table 12: Independent t-test sample of the frequency of keeping children with neighbours and number of neighbours living around

Number of neighbours living around after	Levene Test Equality	for ty of	t-test f	t-test for Equality of Means						
eviction & Frequency of keeping children with neighbours after eviction	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Differen ce	Std. Error Differen ce	95% Confide Interval Differen	of the	
Equal variance assumed Equal variance not assumed	.050	.826	-0.91 -0.89	5.375	.929	050 050	.549	-1.247 -1460	1.147	

According to independent sample t-test, it reveals that there is no statistically significant difference between the number of neighbours who live around and the frequency of keeping children with neighbours. The number of neighbours living around do not have any positive impact on evictees keeping children with neighbours.

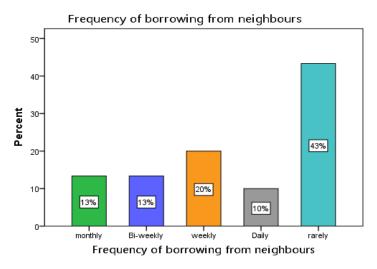
Graph 37: Frequency of borrowing money from neighbours before evictions



Frequency of borrowing money from neighbours before evictions

The highest frequency of borrowing money from neighbours was weekly and bi-monthly before they were evicted. This reveals that the respondents have lot of neighbours living around and they have good relationship with one another which increases their borrowing level.

Graph 38: Frequency of borrowing money from neighbours after evictions



From the graph above, the frequency of borrowing money from neighbours was low among the evictees. It reveals that most of the evictees do not make maximum use of borrowing from neighbours as their coping strategy. Close to half of the evictees rarely borrow from neighbours. This was because evictees rarely have a firm relationship with one another.

Table 13: Independent sample t-test of number of neighbours living around and frequency of borrowing from neighbours

Number of	Levene	e's	t-tes	t-test for Equality of Means							
neighbours	Test	for									
living	Equali	-									
around&	Varian	ces									
Frequency	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig(2-	Mean	Std error	95%			
of					tailed)	Difference	Difference	Confide	ence		
borrowing								Interval	of the		
from								Differe	nce		
neighbours								Lower	Upper		
								Lower			
Equal	1.235	.329	214	4	.841	250	1.166	-3.487	2.987		
variances											
assumed											
Equal											
variances			277	3.930	.795	250	.901	-2.770	2.270		
not			· ·								
assumed											
assumed											

From the independent sample t-test table above, it shows that the number of neighbours living around do not influence the frequency of borrowing from friends. The number of neighbours they have around was not of help to them in time of needs. From the two test conducted above, it can be established that neighbours ties was not used as a coping strategy by the evictees.

To answer the research question **To what extent have the social strategy helped in coping with the losses after forced evictions?**

To be able to survive the trauma of evictions, evictees sought support from relatives, friends and neighbours. From the findings, it shows that both family and friendship ties play a vital role in the livelihood outcome of the evictees. The more interaction with family and friends the more opportunities evictees had with coping with their losses. These two ties have been able to support them in term of monetary form and in feeding. Although, family ties tends to be more important as a coping strategy for them. Neighbour ties was not adopted as a coping strategy since they do not have time to build up relationships with their neighbours. In conclusion, family ties and friendship ties have been used by the evictees, and it has helped them to improve on their livelihood.

4.5 Extent of political capital in claiming access to new location and compensation

Non-Governmental Organizations as a political capital is used as one of the strategies urban poor utilizes in claiming their right to live in the city. It can be conceived as the community's ability via the assistance of human rights organization to negotiate and reach a consensus with the government on the appropriate way of handling forced evictions and anything related to human right violations. Political capital as a strategy helps in getting ahead unlike social capital that only help in getting by.

The extent of their political capital in claiming access to new location and compensation is basically analysed through interviews carried out with community leaders and two Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Social and Economic Right Action Centre (SERAC) was interviewed alongside with the other NGO called Spaces for Change (S4C). Badia East was one of the earliest community SERAC have been working with, as far back as the year 2000. Unlike any other organization, SERAC policy is to work, stay and monitor the progress of any community they are involved with and to know how their involvement has transformed the lives of the community. As a result of that there was a strong interaction between SERAC and the Badia East community.

In 2015, SERAC handed over the case of Badia East to another NGO, called Spaces for Change which is an organization that was established by the former director of operations in SERAC. This organization took over the case in 2015, and aimed at getting appropriate justice from the government for the Badia East community.

4.5.1 NGO involvement

Basically, SERAC's mission is gear towards achieving the fundamental rights of all Nigerians. They have been involved with the Badia East case since the year 2000, as this community was one of the earliest communities that SERAC has been working with. Their work in Badia East covers enlightenment, education and in the area of health, housing and other related issues. The involvement of the organization in the Badia East case was in two ways, as the evictees sought and looked for an organization who could help them fight for their right, on the other hand SERAC was looking for communities they could help.

According to one of the NGO expert: "well the involvement of SERAC in Badia East is in both ways, you know when SERAC started as an organization, one of our thematic area was CAP (Community Action Program), so when we started as an organization, we were planning to establish a community that we can work with and as that time there were lot of human rights issues, violation that were taking place, so as we were looking for these communities, some of these communities were also looking for us that we can help them out of their predicament".

Also, with regards to the other NGO, Spaces for Change in 2015 provides legal assistance to the Badia East community after the case had been handed over to them. The organization serves to achieve human right into public decision making. It makes human rights the centre of their corporate program policy and they work together with the community.

4.5.2 Human rights campaign

The people noticed some government officials in February 2013 inspecting the community and heard of the plan of the government to evict the community. The community leader immediately informed SERAC and the organization mobilized the residence of Badia East to appropriate office which was the Ministry of Housing and Lands to protest against the plans of the governments.

According to an expert of one of the NGOs: "we mobilized the people by organizing them through the help of the community leaders that same day they came to inspect and quickly moved to Alausa that is where the Ministry of Housing and Lands is and all other agencies that are related to housing issues. They denied knowledge of that eviction and they were assuring us that they were not informed of any eviction and that nothing is going to happen. But we were not still comfortable because the community informed us that during that period some government officers and the ministry visited that community and went back which portrays some fear, so we didn't take the government explanations as true".

After some weeks, the government officials arrived at the community again with some police men with their ammunition and the whole community was evicted. After they were evicted both SERAC and the community leaders again organized a campaign to express the grief of the people. They went to the governor's office and Ministry of Housing and Lands and promises were made for a compensation and resettlement of the affected communities.

4.5.3 Steps taking by NGOs after the evictions

The two NGOs explained the steps that was taken in helping the evictees to claim their right as a citizen of the country, after they were forcefully evicted.

The organizations revealed the most important steps that was taken immediately after the evictions. These steps are to relieve the people of their losses and to recover them from the trauma before any other legal steps would be taken like proceeding in a dialogue with the Government.

The NGO expert said: "after the demolition, the first step was to address the immediate needs of the evictees because the demolition was like a war zone, people were confused, loss proximity to their families, everybody was scattered. So we were there with them trying to calm them and then trying to see how we can make their life a little bit comfortable, because they were all staying in the open with the effect of mosquito bites, no water and no food. So we tried to appeal to other organizations who could provide water for them and the organizations came to supply water to the people".

Also, SERAC took it upon themselves to carry out a enumeration exercise which should have been carried out by the government before evictions. They were able to achieve this with the help of the youth leader, women leader, their king and other highly placed individuals in the community and mostly the landlords who were able to know the number of tenants in their houses. A large percentage of the people were covered in the enumeration exercise. This helped to know the number of people that were evicted and would also assist in knowing the total number of people that would need to be compensated or relocated. The enumeration would facilitate the identification of names and families that should be involved.

Also, one of the experts for Spaces for Change told us the steps that were taken immediately after the eviction. She said after the case was handed over to their organization in 2015, they proceeded with the case and the first thing was the documentation process; "we tried to document the expense of losses, establish whether there were violations, who actually are affected by the violence, what kind of people are living there, what kind of title do they have. Also on the spot, we did provide legal counselling, people needed to know exactly where to go to, because we have laws that should guide the eviction exercise, so those are the fact. We worked together with community and we engaged the actors involved, tried to put pressures on the government to provide resettlement or compensate the people who have been displaced, so at the general level we realized that the law are design in a way that it does not work for the poor, so we are primarily also involved in designing policy making".

After all these steps and after providing a bit of relief for the evictees, SERAC made series of plans to have a dialogue with the state government, to know what their plans for the people were and how the organization would step in to ascertain those plans in coming to reality.

4.5.4 Dialogue with Government

Having a dialogue with the government is one of the vital ways to know the intentions of the Government towards the affected population. This to the human rights activists appeared to be the most crucial step to take before proceeding to seek legal redress for the community. For most NGOs this approach is more active and effective.

One NGO expert, narrated on their experiences with the Government: "during the demolition you do not expect any dialogue because they were bent on achieving their goals, not ready to listen to anybody. It was after the demolition that we now started all over if we would get the Government to speak with us to know the aftermath of the demolition and the way forward but initially they were not ready to discuss with us. We had no option than to do what we know how to do, by relating with the international NGOs, international bodies, local bodies, other organizations to know what is going on in Badia East Nigeria and of course calls, mails started coming in, publications, national magazines were all carrying the news and international organizations came in immediately. We worked with international NGOs all through, so there was no way the Government could continue to avoid to have discussions with us and the discussion was now centred on compensation, because they never had any plan for relocation, arguing that the people were illegal settlers and since they did not have any legal entitlement to that land they were not entitled to any form of relocation or any alternative place."

Immediately after the demolition the government brought out the building plan, showing to the people of their intention in upgrading Badia East by building houses for the poor and that the eviction was for their benefit. As it was later revealed that there was no plan to build houses for the poor, that was just a mere cover-up and that the plan was meant for the middle and rich class to build them residential houses.

4.5.5 Access to claim Badia East

Badia East residents were formerly from Oluwole village in 1973 before the Federal Government demanded their land for the building of the Nigeria National Theatre. They were moved to Badia East by the Federal Government as the land is also the Federal government property. SERAC explained the history of their movement from Oluwole to Badia East and the reasons they have not been able to claim access to Badia East.

According to one of the NGO experts: "when the government wanted to build the National Theatre, the communities were relocated to the present Badia East. This portion of the land belongs to the Federal Government by virtue of the fact that the Nigeria Railway Corporation owned part of the land along the railway. So they did not find it difficult taking them there and

initially when they got there, they were paying some land charges and taxes to Nigeria Railway Corporation. They were not having any fear that the Lagos State government would one day rise up. Sometimes in 2005-2008, Badia East community were making efforts to regularize that land, made several visit to Abuja, met with the Minister in charge of Land and Housing to ensure that they regularize their position of that land but they were unable to do that".

There was a Badia East plan covering the whole of the area occupied by people of Badia East that was sent to the Federal Government for approval as at that time they were dealing with the Federal Government. The land belongs to the Federal Government so there was no need dealing with the Lagos State Government. But later the State Government started disturbing the peace of the people.

The people were not very active or organized enough to have demanded for the proper transfer of the title of the land to them. As the result of the improper documentation, there was no proof that could authenticate their ownership to the land and the NGOs were incapacitated in claiming the land for the evictees because the people failed to have the legal documents that would have helped the NGOs to proceeded to court or take the necessary legal steps. Although the Government never denied the fact that they moved some people to Badia East.

Evictees cannot use the temporary license to claim their right of ownership to the land. The allocation of the land was not properly instrumented and titled, none of the evictees had a Certificate of Occupancy or any other statutory title that would give them legal backings. The Federal Government indeed acknowledge that they moved people from that area and settled them in Badia East. The people only have different types of documents like temporary relocation licenses, different types of licenses issued by different agencies but they could not be used in claiming their legal right to access Badia East.

One of NGO experts added: "where the people got it wrong was that the people were eager for developmental projects, so when the news of building of the National Theatre came, they could not argue. The people were not forcefully enough. When they realized it, they began to take steps to ensure that they have the Certificate of Occupancy. That was when the committee for the regeneration of Badia was set up, you know government, that project did not see the light of the day because of the change of government. When the matter became so hot it was difficult for us to lay our hand on the Nigeria Railway Corporation because the problem was the Lagos State Government, it would have been a different issue if it was the federal Government trying to evict them. They rushed to the Federal Government seeking intervention, they were nowhere to be found, they ran to Nigeria Railway to explain to them but also they were nowhere to be found, we tried to meet with the Nigeria Railway director when the case was taken to court, but they did not show up, at a point we lost hope and we stopped the discussion".

All efforts to discus and talk with the Federal Government proved abortive, as both the Federal Government and Nigeria Railway Corporation were not helping the situation and did not offer any assistance to the evictees.

Also, one of the expert from Spaces for Change explained how they have been working to ensure the people are properly relocated. She said "we are still in court. If you look at our online document, we put those information before the court, telling them these people are not trees, they are not weeds they did not just happen on the land, and the people who put them on the land are not disputing that, so we are waiting for the court final judgement".

4.5.6 Access to a new location and compensation

In Badia East, during the interview with SERAC, questions were asked if the evictees have been resettled to a new location. According to one of the NGO experts: "the answer is no, as

we can see they are all scattered and gone to their different way, during the cause of the discussion, the issue of relocation never came up, there was no plan to relocate them. They said they were not going to relocate anybody that those that were in Badia East were illegal settlers. The only thing that could have come close to relocation was the building plan that the State Government drew just to camouflage and deceived them and they said after the building they are going to resettle them. Then we asked them, if they know how many people were affected because they did not carry out an enumeration plan, we also asked them, are you giving them the houses free or how much will they pay and now that they do not have any means of livelihood, how will they pay? Those questions remained unanswered and human being while they were in the mercy of the sun, rain and other natural factor, individual people started looking for way to find a place to live".

From the findings, the people were not relocated to any alternative settlement, as the State Government had no plan to resettle the evictees claiming they were illegal settlers. However, through the efforts of the NGOs, the people eventually were compensated.

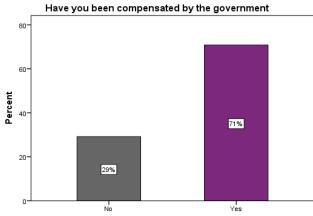
One of the NGO experts said: "the answer is yes, they were compensated but I will say they were not adequately compensated, because what are you compensated for, is it the physical structure that was demolished, other properties that were lost, are you compensating for the trauma, the torture, the embarrassment, the communal life, social relationship lost? They were only looking at the structure and they even attached the cost of each structure with compensation. Assuming there is relocation, that the same people will be moved to another place where they will continue with their life as it should to be. And even the so-called compensation did not come until after two years, it was after whole lot of debate, whole lot of intervention from SERAC and other international organization. SERAC went beyond the discussion when they discovered the discussion was not yielding, we petitioned the world bank to investigate the matter through inspection panel, to inform them of what the Lagos State was doing".

Before the evictions, nine communities were initially selected for slum upgrading, which was developed and promoted by the World Bank in which Badia East community was part of and under this plan demolition was strongly opposed. The only condition that evictions were allowed to take place was if it is become obviously impossible for the community to be upgraded, that the only possible solution was to move people, under the condition that they would be resettled and compensated. According to the World Bank safeguards when moving them, proper negotiation had to be put in place and they must be paid adequately. This was contrary to what happened in Badia East community, compensation was made to the people due to the pressure put on the Government.

One of the NGO experts stated: "if World Bank discovers that the funds given to the Lagos State were not used appropriately, the funding could be truncated. It was at that point that Lagos State started planning a way of paying, setting up a committee for the compensation. If nothing was at stake, they would not have done anything".

The NGO experts also added: "they have been compensated, though what the government gave was called assistance, drawing from the facility they draw from the world bank for slum upgrading. Also the World Bank has a resettlement guideline, their Operational Guideline requires them to resettled people who may be affected by World Bank finance program, they tried to provide assistance to some people who were affected by the demolition. They did not call it compensation, I think the word they used was assistance to mitigate the hardship that might be caused by the developmental programming happening around that area. Our finding is that some people did collect the sum of money ranging from 100,000 to 300,000 Naira(appropriately 235-788 Euro), so some people collected, some did not collect".

Table 14: Have you been compensated by the Government?



Have you been compensated by the government

71% of the evictees confirmed of their compensation by the government while a few number of them said they have not receive any compensation. From the NGOs and the evictees it can be established that the people of Badia East received a compensation ranging from 100,000 to 300,000 Naira (235-788 Euro) varying on the structure of the houses. This was made possible through the assistance of their political capital.

Findings revealed that the evictees are still in the open space moving from one slum to another in search of shelter. Through the fact sheet of Spaces for Change on the demolition and the responses from community leaders, it was found that some people received the compensation while others rejected it due to the change in agreement by the government on the initial amount of money promised to pay to the evictees and also the sum amount of money could not be commensurate with their losses. They were able to receive the compensation through some strategies adopted by both NGOs. SERAC informed international NGOs and other bodies about the demolition of Badia East and the plans of the Government not to resettle and compensate the evictees. This brought about Government series of meeting with the NGOs and other appropriate people in compensating the affected.

4.5.7 Awareness of political capital to evictees

The consciousness of evictees in accessing their right through the assistance of their political capital is on the increase. As the people are now well equipped on the appropriate steps to take in fighting for their right and the people that needed to be involved or to visit during and after the eviction. There has been diverse training from the two NGOs in area of enlightenment to educate them of their right to live anywhere in the city.

The people of Badia East have been experiencing series of demolitions, February 2013 was not the first eviction in Badia East. According to the NGO expert: "before that demolition, due to the way the government used to disturb the peace of the people, we decided to form an organization called the Lagos Marginalization Communities Forum (LMCF), we got an office for them at Ondo Street where all our slum communities come from time to time to discuss issues affecting them and Badia East community was a member". Also, there have been chains of programs concerning forced evictions that was organized for the people of Badia East community, ranging from educational, health and housing rights. The people of Badia East benefited a lot in terms of information, so by the time the demolition came, they knew what they were supposed to do.

According to one of the NGO experts "I will not tell you everybody is now a lawyer but now they know about their rights, they know exactly what to do. For instance, when they saw a notice in the community, within seconds somebody called our office and were asking what to

do, which office should they go. They now know signs, they know the different departments that are responsible for providing different kind of relief because constantly we do educate them on that. During the last demolition that happened some were arrested because they were telling the police officers that they had no right to come to their community to bulldozer without given notice. They now know when they needed to stand up and question them". Very large number of the evictees are well sensitized, they have developed their own rapid response mechanisms. Through diverse programmes and training put in place for them by NGOs, which mostly focus on education, health, human right which also include housing right, they had built up their self-confidence.

4.6 Community leaders in Badia East

Community leaders in Badia East play a vital role in ensuring that the evictees are well equipped and aware of their rights to live in the society. This group work hand in hand with SERAC and Spaces For Change as they serve as a representative of the people. They see to the social welfare of the people. Workshops were organized by the leaders where talks about health, social rights are often discussed.

4.6.1 Community protest

Immediately after the eviction on February 2013, considering the fact that the eviction happened very early in the morning before 7 am, the people were unable to stop the eviction. But the NGO was alerted through the community leaders and immediately SERAC arrived at the scene of the eviction. Through the NGO and the community leaders, a peaceful protest was organized and the people were mobilized to the Ministry of Housing and Lands and the governor's office.

One of the leaders in the community said: "there was a protest after the evictions, people felt cheated that the notice given to them was too short, not up to a week notice and it was only addressed to the leaders of Badia East. The people protested that the land was given to them by the Federal Government, when they were evicted from their original community (National Theatre) and since it was the Federal Government that settled them in Badia, Lagos State Government cannot just come one day and evict them. So we mobilized the people for the protest with the assistance of SERAC and we went to Alausa where their Ministry is". The people were excited about the protest, there were massive crowd for the protest from Badia to Alausa and were promised to be compensated after some time. A community leader also added: "we were welcomed by the governor when we got there and we were promised that they will see to it, that we will be adequately compensated". The landlords were promised a sum of 300,000 Naira and the tenants 100,000. Community protest served as a way of influencing the decision of the government.

4.6.3 Workshop programme

As earlier said by the two NGOs there was a series of programmes put in place for the evictees even before the eviction in 2013. This helped them to know the importance of being aware of their right and to also be well informed about their right as a citizen of Nigeria to live in any city of their choice. It was confirmed by the community leaders stating their awareness and that of the other residents of their right.

One of the community leaders said: "yes. We and the NGOs have really equipped our people in the area of knowing what they should do at a particular time. Even SERAC founded an organization for us in Lagos State called-Lagos Marginalization Community Forum (LMCF) where there were representatives from different slum areas and all these issues of eviction, compensation were often discussed. So in the area of people knowing their right, we have been able to transfer some information to them. But you see, even though they know their right, it

might not be too useful, as we are poor and we cannot fight the government, you know the way things happen in Nigeria, where the innocents are been prosecuted for what they are not involved in. So we keep hoping that our people will be relocated very soon".

One of the community leaders argued, "for a long time now, SERAC and other NGOs have been empowering the evictees by telling us what the laws says about every citizen having equal right to live in the city. We, the leaders always organized workshops for the people, because there is this saying that "knowledge is power". So with all these the people have been able to know that they have equal right in the city as any other person has".

With the information provided above, it is evident that most of the evictees are all aware of the role of a political capital and their duties in ensuring that they are duly compensated and have access to new location. Empowerment programs have always been a way of strengthening affected people.

To answer the research question, to what extent have the political strategies helped evictees in claiming access to new location and compensation?

From the semi- structured interviews conducted with the NGOs and the community leaders, it reveals that a large percentage of evictees are well informed of their rights and the importance of NGOs and community leaders in helping them in claiming their rights in the city. Through this enlightenment, evictees are able to challenge law enforcement agents and confront them of their rights impacted by their political capital. Findings also reviewed that the affected population has been compensated by the State Government, through the compensation some of the evictees have been able to secure an accommodation for their households. Also, Spaces for Change has presented the case in the court ensuring that the evictees claim their access to a new location and their rights are not infringed upon.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the conclusion of the research which was based on data collection and analysis. The research focused on the main research question formulated, followed by the three sub-questions. The results and findings are based on the existing literatures and theories reviewed. The main research question in this research centres on how social and political strategies of evicted families have helped them in coping with the impact of forced evictions. The research question is further divided into three sub-questions, the first sub-question is to know the impact of forced eviction in regards to livelihood of the evictees, second, is to know the extent at which their social strategies have helped with the losses after forced eviction and lastly, to know the extent at which their political strategies have helped them in claiming access to new location and compensation. These three sub-questions give an answer to the main research question.

The research is all about the utilization of social and political strategies of urban poor in coping with the impact of forced evictions: a case study from Badia East in Lagos, Nigeria. The government of Lagos State wanted to have access to Badia East for the sake of urban development, on February 2013, the State government forcefully evicted about 9000 of the inhabitants of Badia East. The main aim of evicting the people of Badia East was due to a World Bank project which was originally targeted in upgrading seven slum areas in Lagos State which Badia East was part of but due to lack of proper planning the Government rendered many people homeless which also had massive consequences for their livelihood. The government did not have a relocation plan for the evictees as they claim they were illegal squatters, as this made all the evictees to be dispersed to all nearby slums. So this study focus on the social and political strategies employed by evictees in coping and also getting ahead from the impact of forced eviction.

5.2 Impact of forced eviction on livelihood outcome

Livelihood outcome is the result of the strategies adopted by households. When there is an improve in income, increase in the well-being of the people, increase in food security which also reduces vulnerability, it can be said that the livelihood strategies adopted by evictees are positive (Rakodi, 2002). A livelihood can be said to be sustainable when it can withstand shocks and stress and can still have the capabilities to maintain its assets both now and in the future (Carney, 1998). It focuses on the way people attempt to alleviate or trying to make a living that is above mere survival.

The result of forced evictions in Badia East, Lagos has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the affected people. The 2013 forced evictions was one of the traumatizing eviction exercise, affecting more than 9000 persons, as this has left the people in the coping state till now. Most of all the evictees lost their houses, personal belongings which was their main physical assets as it was reviewed in the analysis. This was in line with (Ocheje, 2007) that says the impact of forced evictions in the life of the affected people can be characterized as a human tragedy. Due to forced eviction, people are often left homeless and destitute without no means of earning a livelihood which was the case of evictees from Badia East, as many of the evictees could not assessed a decent accommodation.

Moreover, most of the evictees health deteriorated due to the poor environment they were exposed to after they were forcefully evicted and most of them suffer from one diseases or the other like cholera, typhoid, water borne diseases. Also most of their children could no longer further on their education after the eviction because there was no more source of livelihood for

them. They also lost their home-based business, before eviction home based business was their main source of income, after the eviction, most of them could not start any other business due to lack of capital and this has made them to engage in daily wage labour force.

Lastly, evictees lost proximity to their family and friends due to distance caused by eviction and most of evictees friends and families died after they were forcefully evicted, due to emotional stress and loss of livelihood. Loss of families and friends lead to lose of their social asset. In accordance with Kothari (2015), social relationships and bonds play an important role in people's lives. They depend on the community and other social networks for practical support such as borrowing of money, taking care of children. The dislocation of this network could cause sense of insecurity, emotional stress and trauma on the lives of the people (Kothari, 2015). Hence, forced evictions in Badia East had a negative impact on the livelihood outcome of the evictees.

5.3 Social capital as a coping strategy

According to literature, it is commonly claimed that poor people, though they might lack material assets but they can call on friends, neighbours, close relations and family as a form of social security. Therefore, social capital generated by families is mostly used among the poor to insure themselves against shocks such as bad health, forced eviction and also to pool resources such as food, credit or childcare (Cleaver, 2005). Social strategies are a range of activities undertaken by both the poor and evictees in accessing and mobilizing resources lost. It assists individuals to reduce their economic insecurity likewise their vulnerability.

Social capital is often used by evictees so as to improve on their livelihood or in most cases, it helps to reduce the losses caused by forced eviction and to counter the erosion of assets. Evictees involve in social networks, networks of friends and families contributes to an essential role in improving access to food, housing and vital services. Families assist to provide a temporary shelter for evictees by living with them for a particular period of time in order to cope with and adapt with forced evictions, since all their properties and source of livelihood have been lost (Cleaver, 2005).

Based on the findings, it can be concluded that family ties play a significant role in coping with the losses caused by forced eviction. Although the number of family members decreased due to forced eviction owing to distance of houses. However, the people were able to get support from family members mostly in the area of monetary form and feeding. Also, due to the high number of family members in one trade or another after the eviction, it helped the evictees to mitigate the effect of eviction, as it was revealed from the analysis there were reliance on child labour where evictees involved their children in their businesses which makes the number of household engaged in a trade to increase. Lastly, due to the high level of evictees visit to families, it increased the supports they received from them.

Furthermore, according to the findings from the survey, it can be deduced that friendship ties also play an important role in the lives of the evictees. Friendship ties have a positive impact as a coping strategy for the evicted population. The evicted people have more friends living nearby after they were evicted and which served as an advantage to them and were able to get more support from them due to their frequent visiting. According to Esau (2009), the more the networks and relationships households or individuals have, the more access they have to social capital acquired. They regularly seek supports from their friends. It was revealed, just like family ties, that the evictees are also supported by friends in monetary form and feeding. Although family ties tends to be the greatest strategy for evictees in coping with the losses of eviction.

Lastly, from the results above, neighbours ties in Badia East do not serve as a coping strategy for the evictees unlike family and friendship ties. From the findings most of the evictees do not always keep their children with their neighbours due to their frequent movement from one slum to another and a large number of them also keep to themselves by not borrowing money from them. This was as a result of lack of good relationship that exist between neighbours in the community, which bring about low level of trust. It can be concluded that the result is contradictory to the explanation of (Cleaver, 2005) that says neighbour ties serve as a form of social security for the evictees.

5.4 Political capital as a coping strategy

The establishment of community organizations and the support from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is used as political strategies to prevent forced evictions. Programs initiated by NGOs such as mass mobilization, establishing human right campaigns, exposing and publicizing forced evictions and engaging the government in a dialogue are all strategies applied by NGO's sometimes in collaboration with CBOs of preventing forced evictions (COHRE, 2008). Also they are used to express the grief of evictees and to ensure that they receive proper justice from the government. According to Saxton and Benson (2005), political capital has high levels of relationship and connection with other people. Putnam (2000, p. 23) argues that "social capital is good for getting by but political capital is essential for getting ahead". This statement was confirmed by the political strategies adopted by evictees of Badia East.

Political capital of Badia East community has played a significant role in helping the evictees in retaining their right to live in the city, as they bring the concerns of the evictees to the government. Based on the findings, political capital through the NGOs and community leaders have enable the evictees to know and claim their right as a citizen of Nigeria. The people have an understanding of the responsibilities given to every State to protect its citizens from eviction and every state is bound by the law to comply to this law. According to (General Comment No.4, 1991) "every State has some form of legal obligation to respect, protect and fulfil the human right to adequate housing, and by inference not to sponsor, tolerate or carry out forced evictions". The government is expected to conform with the appropriate national and international legal guidelines that relate to the right to adequate housing and prevention of forced evictions. With these facts known by the community, they are knowledgeable that it is not expected of any government to forcefully evict its citizens.

Also, it can be concluded that the dialogue SERAC had with the government and the involvement of the international NGOs provided a platform for the evictees to be able to have access to compensation, as it was said that government had no intention of compensating the people.

Through political capital, the people have been able to know their rights in the city via a forum formed by SERAC for slum dwellers called Lagos Marginalization Communities Forum (LMCF), where slum communities come from time to time to discuss issues affecting them in area of compensation and relocation. In addition, SERAC and Spaces for Change often organize programs concerning forced evictions to educate them in the area of education, health and housing rights.

Furthermore, the involvement of political capital has helped the people to be well fortified and enlightened in knowing steps to take at any given point in time. Evictees are more capable in claiming their right in the city, they are exposed and know what is require to do, as reviewed in the analysis. Rapid response have been developed by them and they know where exactly to go for any assistance due to diverse workshops organized through their NGOs.

Moreover, through their political capital, evictees have been provided with relief materials from other organizations such as provision of water, mattress, drugs to prevent and cure diseases, these were all available to the affected population. Also, from the interview had with Spaces for Change, it reveals that the organization is still working hard in ensuring that the evictees have access to alternative place to live. There are some low cost housing built by the government that Spaces for Change has put before the state government to be used as a relocation site for the people and appropriate steps are taking in ensuring that evictees are all relocated.

The resistance to demolitions and evictions are closely linked and supported by NGOs. Cases of evictions are being presented in court so that justice and implementation of evictees rights can be achieved. The awareness of NGOs in the city have been of great importance in reducing human right violations as there are both international and national NGOs engaging in different ways in seeking remedy for any form of violation and they also serve to put pressure on the government to cease from activities that violate the human right of citizens. They also fight for evictees in providing legal assistance in claiming their rights. This has help to reduce human right violation considerably.

Final conclusion

This research contributes to the understanding of forced evictions and the impact of unplanned actions by the government in removing evictees from their communities without adequate provision of alternative relocation which have a huge effects on their livelihoods. Also, this study contribute to the existing body of knowledge in area of political capital. This is a new concept and an approach discovered and used in combating the effect of forced evictions and also used to stop forced evictions. Through the use of political capital the threat of forced evictions has been reduced in some countries. This study will contribute to the enlightenment to countries that are yet to discover political capital as a strong coping strategy in fighting against the threat and impact of forced evictions.

5.5 Recommendation

Recommendation for the Government

Although, Lagos State is a far growing city, rural to urban migration must be discouraged. Population growth rate is increasing every day and the land is more competing, there are lot of pressure on the land. If the Lagos State Government can extent other administrative duties to the neighbouring State like Ibadan or Ogun state, this will help to reduce the pressure on Lagos State land.

Building of low cost housing should be encouraged, this will help to accommodate a number of evictees. The government should see to it that no form of corruption is allowed and that the poor are considered first.

There should be political will rather than hijacking and forcefully evicting tenant in existing land. Government can look inward and creatively create opportunities that are already available such as the Eko Atlantic project and the green city wall of reclaiming land from the sea. This could be accomplished in partnership with the Federal Government.

The provision under the land use act of Nigeria which is equally applicable and enforced in Lagos state particularly in regards to taking over of land by government for overriding public interest must jealously be guarded from abuse and must only be utilized as a last result by the government. Only when other alternatives has failed, government can embark with other initiatives instead of evicting people from an occupied land.

There should also be sensitization both by the print and mass media, NGOs and human right activist on people's right and the positions of laws in relation to tenancy and evictions. The government must see the people as being part of the city, they must be seen as important citizen who is part of the society and appropriate policies and programs should be put in place to handle land and housing challenges.

The government should always involve the affected communities in the planning and organization of any plan of eviction exercise and all cost of relocation and compensation should be incurred to the party that is going to benefit from the development.

When eviction is unavoidable, government should provide urgent and appropriate compensation and alternative accommodation to the communities or persons affected which should be followed by a communal acceptable negotiations with the affected people.

Recommendation for further studies

Due to limited period for the research, much could not be covered on the aspect of political capital and also as a new topic more literature is yet to be developed within this field, therefore I recommend further studies in this area. Also, the study is a case study carried out by one researcher but more research from different part of the world on the area of coping strategy relating to political strategies can provide a better answer in terms of their political strategy. Moreover, further research should also be considered in knowing the reasons behind the Federal Government unwillingness in helping the evictees in providing them the necessary documents needed for claiming their land. Further studies can also be considered in comparing evictees who have been able to improve their livelihood through their political capital with other evictees that have no access to political capital.

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Annex 1: Semi-structured Interview guide

Semi-structured interview guide for NGOs and community leaders

This survey is part of a small scale research which is conducted by the master student of Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) Erasmus university Rotterdam in completion of her Master's programme. The goal of the research is to know how the evictees have used their political capital as a strategy to fight against forced eviction and its impacts. The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes and will be treated confidentially.

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Questions	IOI	NGUS

Coulc	I you tell me the mission of your organization?
	e read the reports of the director on the evictions of Badia East, can you tell me your organization got involved?
	I you tell me how you got to know about the forced eviction that happened in East in 2013?
Were	you approached by the community or you approached them?
Coulc	l you please tell me the role your organization played during the eviction exercise?
What	are the steps your organization took in helping the evictees claim their right?
Did y	you have any dialogue with the government and what was the outcome of the ng?
gover	they were initially moved from their village to Badia East by the Federal nment, they were given access to Badia east. Is there any proof of the fact that were given this access?
Coulc	I they use this to claim their right to Badia East legally?
	rou tell me if the evictees have been able to access a new location? and have they compensated for their losses?
How	did you handle the grievousness of the people?
	ou tell me the different approaches that your organization have taken in combating st the forced eviction of Badia east community?

•	Could you explain on the awareness of the evictees regarding their political capital in fighting against forced evictions.
•	In general, what is your opinion on the persistent rate of forced evictions in Lagos state
•	In your own opinion, how can frequent occurrence of forced evictions be reduced?
Questi	ions for Community leaders
•	Can you tell me the general living condition of the people after they were forcefully evicted?
•	Did you organize any community protest?
•	Can you tell me if the people were enthusiastic about it at the beginning
•	Who initiated it and what was the outcome of it?
•	Can you please tell me if there was any involvement of the NGOs during the forced eviction?
•	Do you think the involvement of NGOs has really help the evictees to claim a new location and been compensated?
•	Was there any community training, and workshops in empowering evictees.
•	Can you tell me if there were any workshop programmes organized for the evictees, to enlighten them of their right to live in the city?
•	Where there any training programmes put in place for the evictees to acquire new skills?
•	If yes, who organized it and what was its outcome?
•	Were they more organized and capable of claiming a new location?
•	In general, what can you say of the frequent evictions of slum dwellers in Lagos State and what measures can be put in place to reduce it?

Annex 2: QUESTIONNAIRE DRAFT

This survey is part of a small scale research which is conducted by the master student of Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) Erasmus university Rotterdam in completion of her Master's programme. The goal of the research is to gain more insights on eviction that took place in 2013 in this neighbourhood, and how the evictees have been able to cope with its impact. The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes and will be treated confidentially.

General Information SECTION A

1.How old are you									
2. Gender Ma			Male	Fer	male				
3. Place of 1	oirth								
4. Marital s	status								
Single		Mai	rried		Divorced	Widowed			
5. What is y	our religio	on							
Christianity	,	Mu	slim		Traditionalist				
6 What is y	our highes	t acad	demic qualificat	tion					
Primary edu	ication	Seco	ondary educatio	n	NCE	OND	HND		
BSc		Mas	ters		Others				
7. How long	g have you	been	living in Badia	a East'	? Years	/ Months			
8. Where w	ere you ori	iginal	ly	•••					
;	SECTION	В							
9. Did you	lose your h	ouse	after you were	forcef	fully evicted?	Yes ()	b. No ()		
10. If yes, v	what type o	f hou	ise do you lose?	?					
Permanent		Temporary			Semi-temporary				
11. Did you lose any personal belonging after eviction? Yes No							No		
12. If yes, what were the belongings you lost									
Television	Sewing machine		Freezer	Grinding machine		Jewellery	Others		
						· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			

SECTION C

13. Please read the following questions, and state how much you agree or disagree with the statements.

After eviction:	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	agree	Strongly Agree
I have access to good sanitation before eviction.					
I have access to good sanitation after eviction					
I have access to good drinking water					
I do have access to health facilities.					
My children's school is far from my house.					
My children's education is not affected negatively.					
My living condition improved after the eviction.					
My family have been supportive ever since I was evicted.					
I lost proximity to my friends and families.					

14. Did you lose you forced eviction/ busin		Yes	No			
15. If yes, what kind of job/ business						
Formal job	Home-based enterprise		Street hawking	Others		
16. Did you lose any member of your family/ friends during the eviction						

Yes No								
17. If yes, how close	Very	close Close Neutral					Not close	
18. Did your c	ommu	nity seel	k help a	after th	e eviction		Yes	No
19. If yes, from	n whor	n?						
NGOs		Media			From the chur	rch	others	
20. How was y	our he	alth cor	dition	before	you were force	fully evicted?)	
Good	Ave	ragely]	Bad			Very bad	
21. How is you	ır heal	th condi	tion af	ter you	were forcefull	y evicted		
Very good		Good			Averagely		Bad	Very bad
22. Did you us	ed to f	requent	ly fall s	sick bet	fore eviction	Yes	No	1
23. Do you fre	quentl	y fall sic	ck after	you w	ere evicted?		Yes	No
24. If yes, wha	t type	of sickn	ess?				1	-
Typhoid Cholera Fever						Water-borne disease		
25. If you hav were evicted?	e child	ren, are	your	childre	n going to scho	ool before you	ı Yes	No
26. Are your c	hildrer	ooing 1	o scho	ol after	evictions		Yes	No
26. If yes, wha					Government		Private	school
-				dren w	ith your neighb	mours?	Yes	No
					th neighbours b			110
- ·	Bi-wee		Wee		Never			
· ·						after eviction		
29. Frequency of keeping your children with neighbours after eviction Daily Bi-weekly Weekly Never								
Number of neighbours living 1-2			3-4 5-6		6 above	<u> </u>		
around 12 3 3					0 400 11			
30. Frequency of borrowing from neighbour								
Monthly Bi-monthly				Weekly		Daily	Never	
31. Frequency	of bor	rowing	kitchen	utensi	ls from neighbo	ours		
Daily		Bi-wee	ekly		Weekly		Never	
32. Are you the only principal earner in your family						Yes	No	

33. No of household	ds members th	hat are	0 1-2		1-2	2-4		4-6	
into trade before evic	ction		0 1-2		2-4		4-6		
34. Number of household member that are into trade after eviction									
35. How many o	•	sehold	0			1-2	2-4		4-6
members are gainful	ly employed								
36. Frequency of visi	iting close rela	tives be	efore e	evictio	n?				
Often	Sometimes		Rare	ely			Nev	er	
37. Frequency of viseviction?	siting close re	elatives	after	Ofter	n So	metimes	Rarely	Ne	ver
38. How have your livelihood	frequent visi	t to you	ır fan	nily at	ter e	viction he	elped to	impı	rove your
Very improved M	oderately imp	roved		N	ot im	proved at	all		
39. Do you get suppo	rt from your fa	amilies	Yes	•			No		
40. If yes, in what are	ea?						•		
Monetary	Food		Shelter			Othe	Others		
41. Frequency of visiting friends Often before eviction			Som	etimes	3	Rarely Never			
42. Frequency of visiting friends often after eviction			Sometimes Rarely		Nev	Never			
Monetary	Food		Shelter			Othe	Others		
43. How many friend	ls of yours wh	o live n	earby	or san	ne are	a with yo	u		
0 1-2	3-4		5-6				6 ab	ove	
44. What kind of sup	port do you re	ceive fr	om fr	iends					
Monetary	Food		Shelter			Othe	Others		
45. Do you borrow fr	rom your frien	ds?	Yes			No	No		
46. If yes, how often									
Monthly Bi-monthly			Weekly			daily	daily		
47. How much,							I		
48. Reasons for mov	ing to new loc	ation	Family is living there			Fried		are living	
Community leaders advised us	NGO advise	d us					•		

49. Are you aware of	Yes	NO	If yes, specify
the roles of NGOs in			
your community?			

50. We want to know how you have use your political capital through the help of NGOs and CBOs. How would you rate the involvement of NGOs and CBOs in helping you gain access to better living condition.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I am aware of the roles of NGOs in my community					
The NGOs have been active in helping me to access a new location					
I feel strengthens and helped by their involvement					
They help my children to access school					
The organization have helped me in getting employment opportunities					
I think the dialogue NGOs had with the governments has really helped to improve my living status					
I have been compensated by the government through the help of NGOs					

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am aware of the roles of CBO in my community					
The trainings organized by CBOs really help me to gain new skills to improve my living condition					
Through the help of CBOs I have able to access new location					
The workshops organized by CBOs help me to improve my knowledge on my right to live in the city.					
Do you still need help from the NGOs and the International organization					
If yes, what type of help	·	ı	1	1	'

[&]quot;Thank you for all of your help in responding to this anonymously questionnaire survey."

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