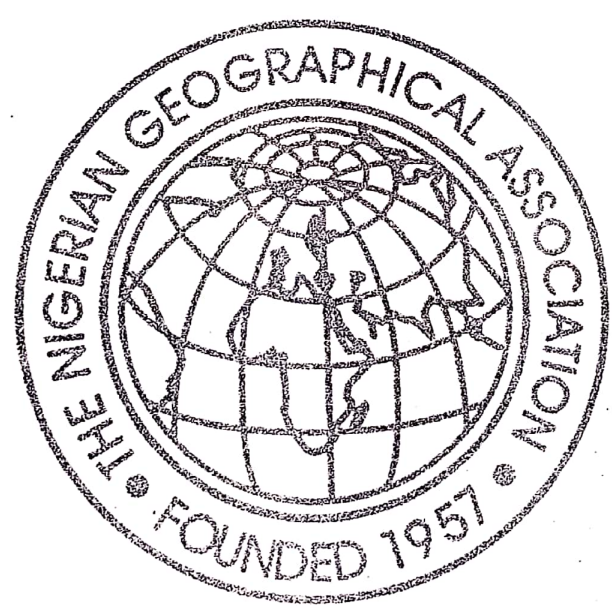


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Neighbourhood Disintegration, Economic Losses and the Perpetuation of Urban Poverty: An Appraisal of a Forced Relocation in Nigeria

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Introduction

Adequate housing is increasingly being recognized as a basic right without which there would be no personal security or community safety. This is recognized in Article 25(1) of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. According to the United Nations Commission on human Settlement (HABITAT), over one billion persons throughout the world lack adequate shelter, or live under unacceptable housing condition (Audefroy, 1994). This problem is observed to arise mainly from the progressive rate of urbanization being experienced in these countries. The trend, as noted by the United Nation's estimate and projections, is such that by the year 2010, majority of the world population especially those in the developing nations will be living in settlements classified as urban. Accordingly, urban population in the developing countries is expected to double from slightly over one billion in 1985 to well over two billion by the year 2000 while the African population is expected to grow from 136 million to 361 million between 1980 and the year 2000 (Habitat, 1986).

The above high urbanization rate is particularly characteristic of African countries where the cities grow at twice the rate of the general population growth while squatter settlements grow at four times the rate (SINA, 1986). Specific records show that Kenya's growth rate of 40% in 1987 was about the highest in the World (SINA, 1986) while in Seoul (South

Korea), about 300,000 poor rural people migrate into the city each year (ACHR, 1989). The same trend goes for Nigeria where the total population of urban residents show an increase from 3,340,000 in 1950 to 38,159,000 in 1990 with a projected rise of 64,768,000 in the year 2,000 and 173,135,000 in the year 2025 (Table 1). Amongst the Nigerian cities and as shown in Table 2, Lagos, whose population grew from 288,000 in 1950 to 7,706,000 in 1990 with a projection of 12,891,000 in the year 2,000, is by far the fastest growing Nigerian city.

The most visible consequences of this continued urbanization is the proliferation of slum and squatter settlements with its attendant problems and the process is a continuous one. This is because many African cities continue to receive streams of unskilled migrants who, according to Agbola (1986), have no foothold in the city and therefore, have to squat, illegally, on any available piece of land. Where the migrants are poor and have no means or find it difficult to secure property through legal means, they resort to survival outside the law by invading private or government's land on which they build shanty settlements, a phenomenon which is wide spread in Peru and many other developing countries.

Table 1: Nigeria's Urban Population, 1950-2025

| Year | Urban Population |
|------|------------------|
| 1950 | 3,340,000 |
| 1955 | 4,489,000 |
| 1960 | 6,058,000 |
| 1965 | 8,280,000 |
| 1970 | 11,319,000 |
| 1975 | 15,511,000 |
| 1980 | 21,242,000 |
| 1985 | 28,159,000 |
| 1990 | 38,159,000 |
| 1995 | 50,162,000 |
| 2000 | 64,768,000 |
| 2005 | 84,347,000 |
| 2010 | 102,831,000 |
| 2020 | 148,935,000 |
| 2025 | 173,135,000 |

Source: UN, 1991, pp 118-121.

Table 2: Population of Lagos and Ibadan Overtime

| Year | Lagos | Ibadan |
|------|------------|-----------|
| 1950 | 28,000 | 427,000 |
| 1960 | 763,000 | 570,000 |
| 1970 | 2,025,000 | 745,000 |
| 1980 | 4,385,000 | 975,000 |
| 1990 | 7,706,000 | 1,326,000 |
| 2025 | 12,891,000 | 1,954,000 |

Source: UNO, 1991, p.191.

Records of those living in slums and or squatter settlements abound all over the world and increasingly so in Africa. In South Africa for instance, housing survey carried out in 1950 estimated that there were 8,000 African shack dwellings housing some 67,500 persons in Durbar while in Cato Mano (South Africa) alone, some 6,000 of such shacks contain a population of 45,000 to 50,000. In Kenya, a slum neighbourhood in central Nairobi contained about 3,000 families living in shacks made of cardboard and tins in 1968. The Nigerian record has it that shacks housed over 120,000 people in Port Harcourt in 1957 while several thousands of families live in similar deplorable conditions. Chatterjee (1981) in his study of housing development in Nigeria summed up the situation when he concluded that for the majority of the urban poor, housing and related services are appalling, crowded, unsanitary, congested and polluted. In all the cases cited above, researches show that it is the inability of the city system to cope with the magnitude of the "city strangers" that lead to the emergence of slum settlements which are, in the main, deficient in all conditions of decent living. This is particularly true in Africa where urban authorities lack both financial and infrastructural facilities to cope with the pace, hence, between 30% and 80% of capital cities are unplanned and serviced (SINA, 1986).

Many of these unplanned development have become permanent features of most African and indeed Nigerian cities. Some of these slum neighbourhoods have been identified in Benin, Enugu, Ibadan and Lagos (See Onibokun, 1972; Jawando and Vander Zee, 1975; NISER, 1982; and Agbola, 1986). In Lagos metropolitan area alone, a 1981 World Bank assisted urban renewal project has identified forty-two blighted areas among which Maroko was rated the worst. Into these slum areas are crowded the urban poor thus creating urban poverty enclaves in the city's sea of relative affluence. The problems of these poverty enclaves have, therefore, continued to occupy center stages in the minds of planners and administrators alike.

But governments' response to the problems of blighted areas in most countries of the world has been by means of related urban renewal strategies of rehabilitation, conservation and complete redevelopment. While emphasis has shifted from the latter to the former in the developed countries, most developing countries employ a mixture of these strategies with emphasis on redevelopment.

In Nigeria for instance, apart from the few cases of upgrading like the Olaleye-Iponri scheme, most approaches have been outright demolition resulting in forced eviction and population relocation. Earlier experiences of slum demolition were first recorded under the aegis of the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) which was set up to clear Lagos of its slum due to the bubonic plague that broke out in Lagos between 1925 and 1928. Prior to Nigeria's independence, there was the celebrated Isale-Eko slum clearance of 1957/58 aimed at providing the invited Queen of England a pleasing view of the area from the Carter bridge (Marris, 1967). The resultant clearance in the Lagos Island marked off the series of eviction cases in Nigeria.

Since then, Nigeria has had her own share of accelerated eviction and forced relocation as ably portrayed in Table 3. For example, the pre-colonial and immediate post independent clearings in Nigeria were followed by more violent evictions in the 1980s which culminated into the devastating Maroko eviction in 1990. In many of the eviction incidents that have occurred, the general opinion is that forced eviction and or forced relocation represents a dimension of urban violence which inflicts severe hardship on the victims. Views are, however, dissenting as to the nature and because most analysis of the consequences of eviction and or forced relocations are, as rightly observed by Ephraim et al (1979), seldom based on longitudinal research which followed the evacuees from their original slum to their new locations.

This paper is the result of a year long study of the Maroko evacuees five years after their forced evacuation and forced relocation in different parts of the Lagos metropolis. The study followed the evacuees from Maroko to the public housing units rented by those not allocated to public housing. While various aspects of the evacuees' lives were examined in the study, this paper analyzes the effects of the eviction on the socio-economic lives of the evacuees especially the nature of the losses suffered or costs incurred by the evacuees. These are costs related to income, employment, family ties and neighbourhood cohesion. The rest of this paper is in five parts. The next section provides the theoretical basis for the growth, development and clearance of slums while sections three and four provide the setting and the methodological processes respectively. The details of research results are contained in section five before the recommendations and conclusions.

| No | Location | Date | No. of Persons Evicted | Appro. No. of Structures Demolished | Motive for Eviction | Eviction Agent | Compensation or alternative site |
|----|---------------------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Idiara, Apapa motor road, Lagos | Aug. 1973 | 500 | 50 | Road construction | Federal govt | N.A |
| 2 | Metropolitan Kano | May, 1975 | N.A. | 800 | Urban development | State Govt | N.A |
| 3 | Lorazo village, Oke-Ota, Ibadan | Dec. 1975 | N.A | N.A. | Road construction | Federal Govt | No Compensation |
| 4 | Adeniji Adele Street, Lagos | Oct. 1975 | 5,000 | 500 | Urban Renovation | State Govt | No Compensation |
| 5 | Iperri, Lagos | Dec. 1976 | 5,000 | 1,000 | Urban development | LSDPC, Lagos state | No alternative site |
| 6 | Oba Akaran, Ikeja, Lagos | Apr. 1976 | N.A. | 120 | Road construction/illegal occupation | State Govt | No compensation |
| 7 | Calabar | 1976 | 500 | 50 | Urban Renovation | State Govt | N.A |
| 8 | Eleware, Ibadan | Aug. 1976 | 10,000 | N.A. | Encroachment on school land | State Govt. | No resettlement |
| 9 | Central Lagos | Sept. 1976 | 10,000 | N.A. | Urban renovation | Federal Govt. | Resettled |
| 10 | Netu, Lagos | 1976 | 10,000 | N.A. | City clean up | State Govt | N.A. |
| 11 | Aperghon, Lagos | Nov. 1976 | N.A. | 200 | Road construction | State Govt | Not resettled |
| 12 | Alaba Market, Lagos | Aug. 1977 | 20,000 | N.A | Illegal occupation | State Govt | No compensation |
| 13 | Ifele Ngwa LGA, Lagos | Nov. 1978 | 7,000 | 800 | Illegal occupation | State Govt | N.A |
| 14 | Oba road, Port-Harcourt | Nov. 1978 | 60,000 | 400 | Road Construction | State Govt | N.A |
| 15 | Shasha village, Lagos | June, 1976 | 5,000 | 200 | Illegal occupation | N.A. | N.A |
| 16 | Onilekere, Lagos | June, 1979 | N.A. | 560 | Land dispute | Owner/authorities | No resettlement |
| 17 | Port Harcourt | Aug. 1979 | N.A | 3000 | Illegal occupation | State Govt | No compensation |

Table 3: Selected Eviction Cases in Nigeria (1973-1995)

| | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|---------|--------|---|----------------|------------------------------|
| 18 | Oworonshoki, Lagos | Apr. 1980 | 10,000 | 400 | urban development | State Govt | N.A. |
| 19 | Shomolu/Bariga, Lagos | Jan. 1981 | N.A. | 47 | Channelization programme | State Govt | N.A. |
| 20 | Maroko, Lagos | 1982 | N.A. | 500 | Road Construction | State Govt. | N.A. |
| 21 | Suleja, Lagos | Aug. 1982 | 5,000 | N.A. | N.A. | Local govt | N.A. |
| 22 | Maroko, Lagos | Oct. 1983 | 60,000 | 400 | Set back for Lagoon | State Govt | No compensation |
| 23 | Agboju/Amuwo Osofin, Lagos | Dec. 1984 | N.A. | 200 | Illegal occupation | State Govt | N.A. |
| 24 | Ebute Metta/Lagos Island | July, 1985 | 10,000 | N.A. | Illegal occupation | State Govt | No compensation |
| 25 | Along Badagry express, Lagos | Aug. 1985 | N.A. | 10,000 | Illegal occupation/structures under NEPA high tension | State Govt | No resettlement |
| 26 | Iponri, Lagos | Sept, 1985 | 5,000 | 500 | Urban renewal | State Govt | only 1,000 resettled |
| 27 | Shomolu, Lagos | March, 1986 | 10,000 | N.A. | Urban beautification | State Govt | N.A. |
| 28 | Igbo Erin, Lagos | Aug. 1986 | N.A. | 100 | Illegal occupation | State Govt | N.A. |
| 29 | Oworonshoki, Lagos | Feb, 1988 | 3,000 | N.A. | Bridge construction | Federal Govt | No alternative site |
| 30 | Maroko, Lagos | July, 1990 | 300,000 | 15,000 | Illegal occupation | State/Fed Govt | No compensation |
| 31 | Maitama Village, FCT | Aug. 1990 | 3,000 | N.A. | FCT Development | FCDA | Resettled/1,000 compensation |
| 32 | Central Lagos | Nov. 1990 | N.A. | 200 | Urban sanitation | State Govt | No Compensation |
| 33 | Mushin, Lagos | March, 1991 | N.A. | N.A. | Illegal occupation | Stat Govt | No. compensation |
| 34 | Lugbe (Garki) Abuja | May, 1993 | 30,000 | N.A. | FCT Development | FCDA | Resettled |
| 35 | Aboru village, Lagos | May, 1994 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | Federal Govt | N.A. |
| 36 | Bamisoro, Island, Lagos | Feb. 1995 | N.A. | N.A. | Illegal occupation | State Govt | No compensation |

Sources: *National Dailies Between 1973 and 1995*

2. **Classical and Neo-Classical Models of Neighbourhood Growth and Decay: A Theoretical Application**

Quite a significant number of theories, models and concepts in the literature attempted to capture the development of slum neighbourhoods. Among the earliest theories are the classical models of Burgess (1925) and Hoyt (1939). While Burgess presented the picture of urban slum in the transitional zone of his concentric zone model offering time and age as reasons for the trend, Hoyt's sector model focused much more on the localization of distinctive residential use. These two models, in their simplistic forms, capture the emergence and growth of residential slums in an urban setting.

The basic tenets of these classical models, were later advanced with micro and macroeconomic explanations of Alonso (1961,1964), Wingo (1961), Davis and Winston (1961), Kain (1962), Baumol (1963) and Muth (1969). These authors used neo-classical and economic trade-off models to explain the sorting process of market mechanisms in either allocating spaces to different levels of household or stimulating property up-keep or maintenance. The kernel of some of these trade-off/rent theories centres on the desirability of low income households to save commuting cost by locating near the city centres, accepting small residential spaces and qualitative dwelling units. The central idea of some other models are also well captured in the concept of household "filtering" which explains the location of low income people in certain blighted neighborhoods based on their rent paying abilities. The crux of these categories of economic models is that the poor tend to crowd themselves around the city centres or blighted areas due to their economic inadequacy, a situation which results in residential segregation in an urban space.

The kind of situation that arose in the above setting is further illustrated with the analysis of cumulative income decline in the core areas (Baumol, 1963) and Davies and Winston (1961)'s analysis of individual structures and behavior of individual property owners (Olaore and Adeniji, 1984). As supportive as these theories are, they are, however, deficient in their purely descriptive and economic approaches. Their failure to capture the socio-psychological web of relationships which are involved in neighborhood upkeep and maintenance necessitated the consideration of a more general theory of slum growth, maintenance and decay as developed by Olaore and Adeniji (1984).

The model advanced by Olaore and Adeniji (1984) and later developed by Olaore (1986) hypothesized that a neighborhood starts as a conscious act of government policy or as a result of individual's private actions in response to specific social, political and economic stimuli. At the onset, there is the natural tendency for inhabitants to be committed to their respective neighborhood. This brings about co-operation among all behaving units and this also brings about a wide range of urban services. The volume and quality

of these services are, however, predicated upon the existence of an efficient and specific social arrangements which produce social commitments. This social commitment is expressed as a linear function of time. The growing maintenance which is in turn higher than the level of urban life support services available for use.

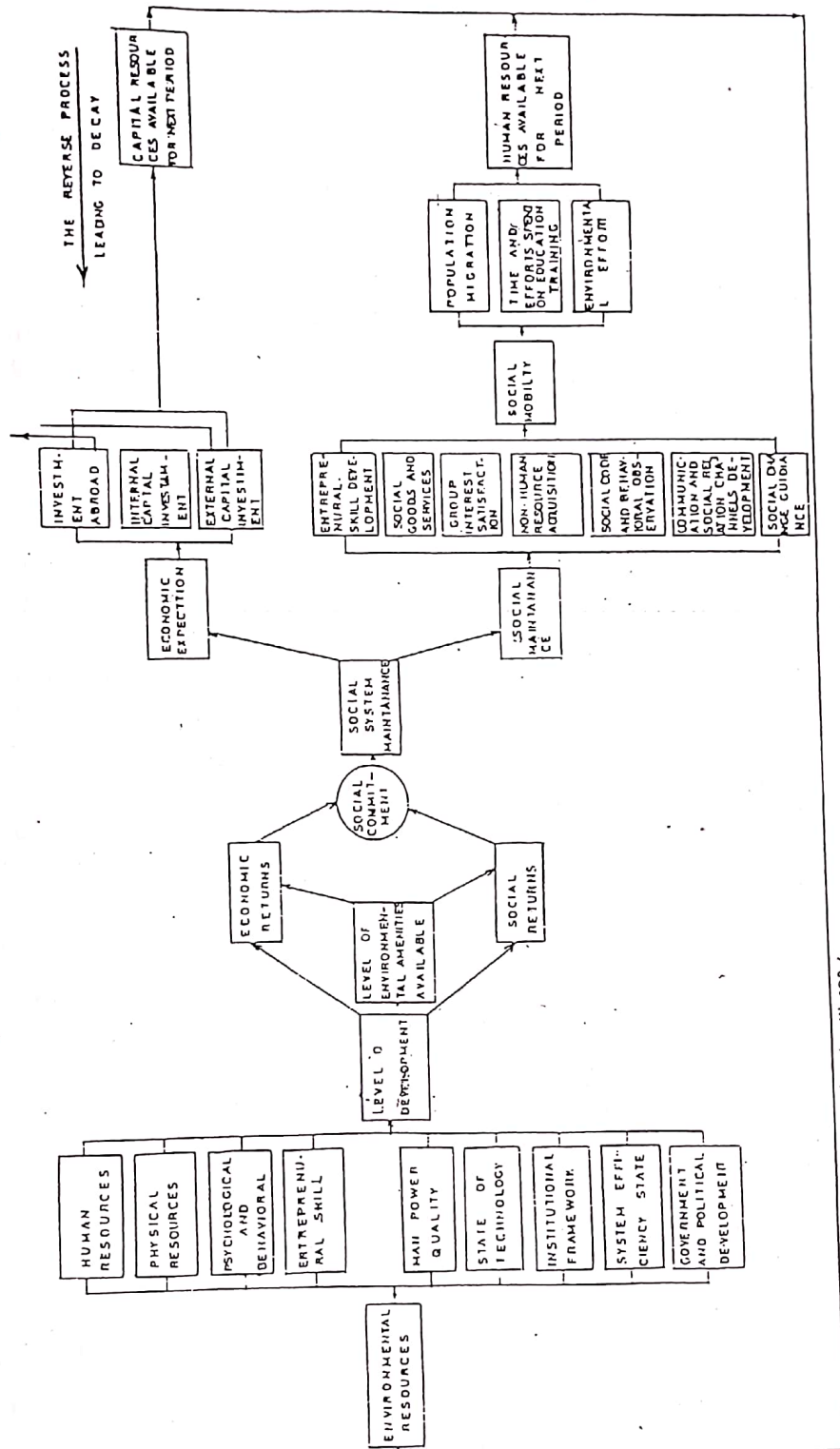
The high social commitment which engenders neighborhood maintenance further lead to rising economic and social expectations. This lead to further realization of the developmental potential of the area as well as social mobility. Thus, the neighborhood may take advantage of the established favourable economic and social system and devote more time to educational training and re-training which may further the development of entrepreneurial skill than before.

The system presented in fig. 1 is both complex and dynamic. With time, it is hypothesized that the level of social commitment which was initially higher than the rate of amenity use now grows at the same level with the latter. At this point, the optimum population for the area has been realized. At that equilibrium level, "the population size of the neighborhood, structure, density, aggregate investment returns, control structure and infrastructural maintenance are optimal". Beyond this point, however, the rate of amenity use tend to be faster than before due to change in the optimum arising from migration into the neighborhood. This starts off with a perceptible fall in social commitment level.

Consequently, a downward slid in the provision and maintenance of adequate level of services and private properties and structures set in. Eventually, the initial gap that exists between social commitment level and the use intensity of urban life supporting services now takes a reverse turn - a process of decay (see fig.1) while within the economic system, external and internal capital investment in the area take a downward turn. This creates a down turn in the entire systems maintenance mechanism causing all sorts of vices such as out-migration of best talents, in-migration of lower quality migrants, etc. As these problems get multiplied, deplorable housing conditions such as "illegal and undesirable structures multiply" and poor infrastructural and deplorable environmental conditions in the neighborhood become an acceptable way of life.

The application of these models to this paper do show that demographic and economic characteristics as well as the environmental conditions of slums play major roles in determining whether individuals will be subjected to involuntary life events (Duncan and Morgan, 1981). Thus, the susceptibility of crowded and low valued rental units to removal from the housing stock is an indication of potential displacement which is noted for its widespread disruption of the lives of the slum residents.

Fig. 1 A Model of Neighbourhood Growth and Decay



source: Olatore and Adeniji, 1984.

3. The Setting

This research covers five different locations in Eti-Osa and Ojo local government Areas (LGA's) of Lagos State (Fig. 2). Specific locations studied includes Aja, Ikota, Ilasan, Maroko-Beach in Eti-Osa LGA and Okokomaiko in Ojo LGA (Figs. 3 and 4). The selection of these neighborhoods was aided by a preliminary field survey which revealed the existence of a fairly large concentration of Maroko evictees in the identified areas.

The Ilasan and Ikota housing estates are government estates located 6 and 11 kilometers respectively along the Lagos-Epe expressway (Fig. 3). They contain 3 and 1 bedroom flats with poor housing and neighborhood services. On the other hand, Aja, Maroko-Beach and Okokomaiko are private neighborhoods also with old unserviced structures.

4. Methodology

Data collection on non-contemporary issues in most developing countries can be frustrating because of an enduring culture of lack of record keeping. There are few and often very scattered information on the subject for his paper. Initial insight into the subject were gleaned from journals, student dissertations, newspapers and magazines while pictures, maps checklist for urban blighted areas and crime statistics were collected from the Daily Times, Eti-Osa Local Government, Lagos State Urban Renewal Board and Maroko Police Station respectively.

The primary data were collected by means of two sets of questionnaires, oral interviews and personal observation. The first set of questionnaires was directed to the Lagos State Town Planning Officials on the growth and physical condition of Maroko; reason for its clearance, social and environmental consequences, the desirability of the demolition approach and the resettlement programme. The second set of questionnaire was directed at the Maroko evacuees in the five locations in the state as shown in Figures 2 to 4. The questionnaire aided the collection of data on the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, how they secured their properties or rent tenement housing in Maroko, problems associated with their former and present abode, as well as the effect of the eviction on their socio-economic lives.

4.1 Sample Frame and Sampling Procedure

The sampling procedure followed from a reconnaissance survey in which the locations where the evacuees settled were identified. The study revealed that a sizeable proportion of the Maroko evacuees were resettled at Ilasan (1,766), Ikota (917) and Epe (250) government housing estates. Ilasan and Ikota estates were then chosen based on the sizeable population of the evacuees in them.

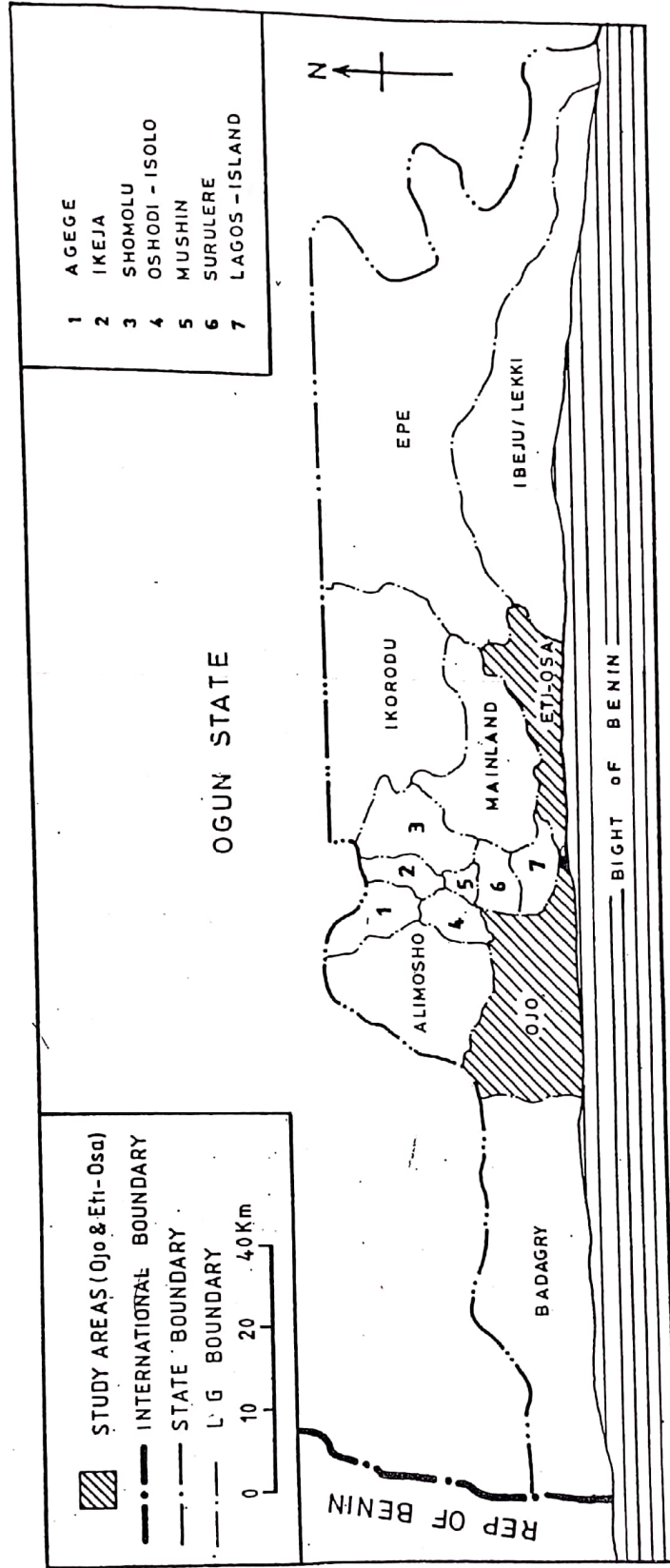


Fig. 2: Map of Lagos State Local Governments showing Study Areas (Ojo & Eti-Osa)

Sources: Department Geography and Regional Planning University of Lagos, 1995

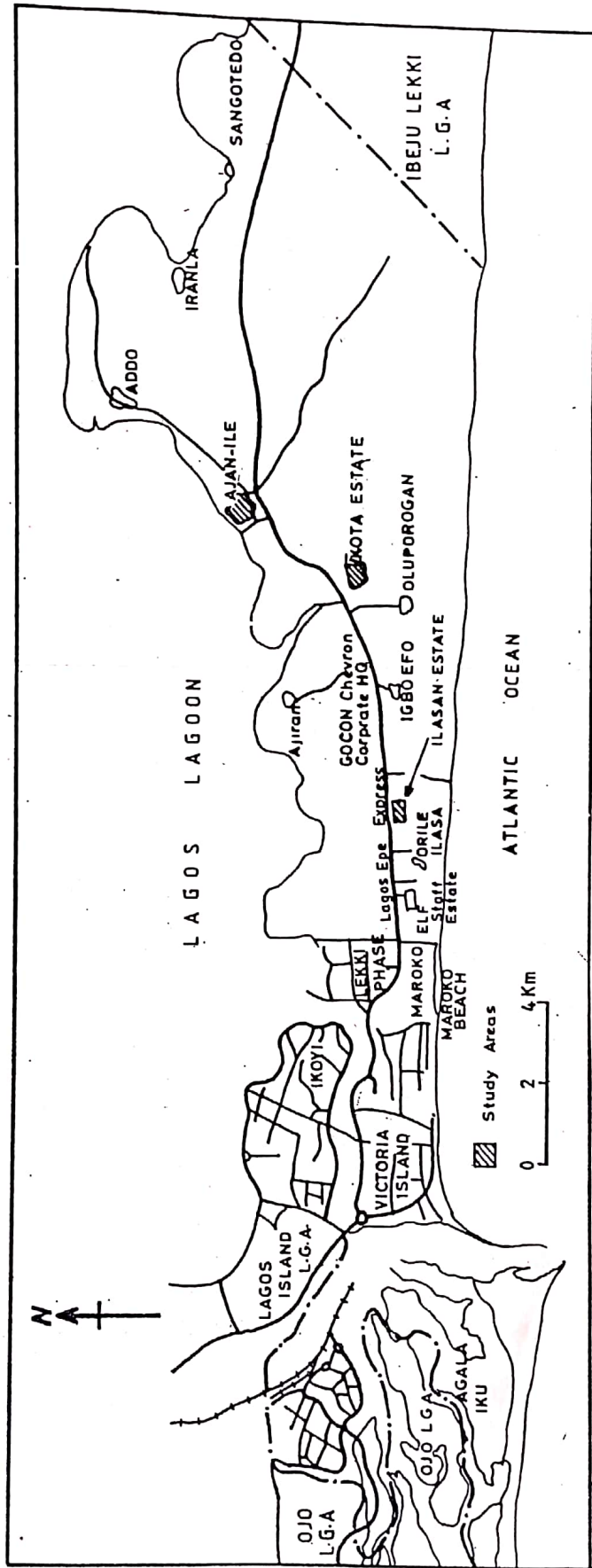


Fig. 3: Map of Eti-Osa LGA Showing the Study Area
Source: Eti-Osa Local Governments Secretariat Lagos 1995

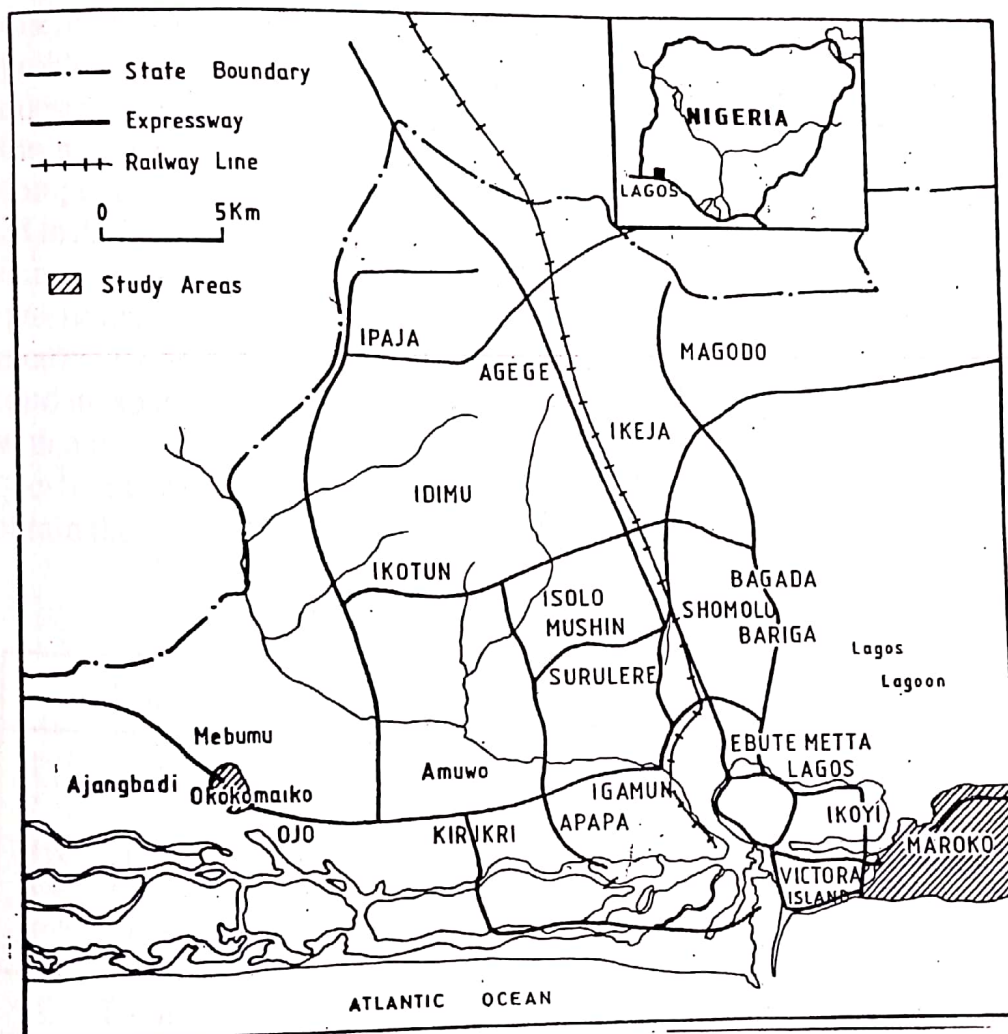


Fig. 4: Map of Lagos Metropolis Showing Study Areas

Source: Lagos State Regional Plan (1980-2000)

With regards to locations outside government housing estates, Aja, Igbo-Efon, Ajiran, Maroko-beach area, Ajangbadi, Okokomaiko, Abule Egba, Bariga, and Orile Iganmu (Fig. 3) were identified as neighborhoods of fairly large concentration of the evacuees. These areas were categorized into those within Eti-Osa Local Governments and those outside it. A random selection of two neighborhoods in each category was done. Thus, Aja and Maroko-Beach were selected in Eti-Osa LGA while Okokomaiko and Abule Egba were selected in the second category.

For the two housing estates where resettled population is available, a 10% sample size was chosen. Thus, 177 and 92 questionnaires were distributed in Ilasan and Ikota respectively. However, due to serious problem of identification in the areas outside the housing estates, only 40 questionnaires were distributed in each of the neighbourhoods. This brings the number of target population to 389. As shown in Table 3, only 150 completed copies of the questionnaire were retrieved at Ilasan, 81 in Ikota, 28 in Aja, 22 in Okokomaiko and 29 in Maroko-Beach. This brings the total number of the questionnaires administered to 310. The distribution of the questionnaire in each location was done through a random-systematic method using an interval of 3 houses. The distribution starts with a pure random selection of the first 5 houses to determine the starting point from which the research proceeds at the interval of 3. Seven other copies of the questionnaire were administered on the state town planning officials to obtain their views on the demolition exercises.

Table 4: *Sample Frame*

| | Locations | No. Distributed | No. Retrieved | % |
|---|--------------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 1 | Ilasan | 177 | 150 | 48.4 |
| 2 | Ikota | 92 | 81 | 26.1 |
| 3 | Maroko-Beach | 40 | 29 | 9.4 |
| 4 | Aja | 40 | 28 | 9.0 |
| 5 | Okokomaiko | 40 | 22 | 7.1 |
| | Total | 389 | 310 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, 1995.

5.0 Research Results

The forceful ejection of the residents of Maroko in the middle of the rains without ready alternative accommodation will no doubt have serious socio-economic consequences on the people. Available facts in the literature reveal that apart from the initial shock and psychological torture suffered by

victims of forced eviction, forceful displacement generates waves of consequences which spread through the victims' life time from which they might never recover. The view expressed by the Ecologist (1992) perhaps sums up the bitter experience that attend to victims of forced eviction when it wrote that:

"Involuntarily resettlement destroys local economies and productive assets, creating poverty and food insecurity. It tears apart families and breaks up traditional social safety nets, leading to acute psychological, social and cultural stress. And it causes disease ... And not only does it wrench people away from the environment they depend upon ... it also causes severe environmental effects and loss of valuable natural resources"
The Ecologist, March/April, 1992)

In the Maroko case, the evacuees who moved into the unprepared Ilasan and Ikota housing estates before the allocation suffered severe hardships. Some did not only live in uncompleted buildings, several others slept in the open for months. In Ilasan for instance, our study reveals that the situation was so terrible that children were packed inside wooden boxes and cans during the rains. This initial poor living condition in the estates elsewhere led to the outbreak of epidemics in which many children died. This and other initial problems such as hunger, grief etc., attracted the Catholic Mission under Pope John Paul who sent in food, clothes, blanket, drugs etc., and established a clinic - Kizito clinic, which was managed by international experts.

With these as the background, the rest of this paper examines the overall effect of the Maroko eviction on the socio-economic lives of the people. It considers the effects on such broad areas as life and property, rent and social ties.

5.1 Loss of Lives and Properties

Property loss is one of the commonest and easily identified effects of forced eviction. This is because eviction incidence all over the world are always short noticed, brutal and violent. In the redevelopment of Mok Dong (Seoul) for instance, residents were not only ruthlessly thrown out, but were also beaten by thugs and people trained in violence. The Maroko case was no less brutal and forceful as the demolition was aided by soldiers. Thus, people could not retrieve much of their properties.

Investigation conducted on property losses in Maroko eviction reveals that apart from the valuables crushed in the demolition, most others were stolen by thieves who cashed in on the situation. Out of the 310 respondents in our survey, 288 (93%) confirmed loss of physical properties. Items lost include houses, building materials, vehicles, electronics, household furniture, working implements, books and valuable documents, trade articles, food

stuffs, livestock and pets, amongst others. With respect to loss of human lives, 30 (9.7%) people reported cases of death while 2 others accounted for divorce, all in connection with the eviction. The death cases were reported to occur from accidents while trying to save properties, shocks and frustrations.

Estimates of property loss as given in table 5 below show that most victims (63.9%) lost between ₦1,000 and ₦200,000 to the eviction. It was also discovered that the Maroko landlords (some of whom owned up to 12-15 houses) were the most affected in terms of property loss. Hence they constitute the bulk of those who gave estimates of ₦201,000 and above.

5.2 Effects of Economic Activities

Khan (1994) in his study of eviction in Bangkok opined that when a community is forced to move away from its location, it experiences a range of hardship and costs. Accordingly, he identified loss of income, building investment and employment amongst other costs incurred by eviction victims. In the Maroko case, the economic activities of the evictees remain one of the areas seriously affected and the effects still bites on, five years after, as respondents complained of serious economic inactivity in their now locations. A total of 269 or 895 of the respondents who commented on the effects of the eviction on their economic activities agree that it suffered serious disruption, 31 (10.25) complained of minimal adverse effect with only 2 (0.7%) causes of no adverse effect (Table 6).

Table 5: Monetary Estimate of Property as at 1990

| Estimates ₦ | No. | % | Cum. % |
|---------------------|-----|------|--------|
| < 1,000 | 5 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| 1,000-100,000 | 148 | 51.4 | 53.1 |
| 101,000- 200,000 | 36 | 12.5 | 65.6 |
| 201-300,000 | 18 | 6.3 | 71.9 |
| 301-400,000 | 17 | 5.9 | 77.8 |
| 401-500,000 | 23 | 7.9 | 85.7 |
| <501,000 | 20 | 6.9 | 92.6 |
| No Response | 21 | 7.3 | 99.9 |
| Total | 288 | 99.9 | |

Source: Field Work, June, 1995

Table 6: *Effects of Eviction on Economic Activities*

| S/N | Degree of Effect | No | % |
|-----|------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1 | Serious adverse effect | 269 | 89.1 |
| 2 | Minimal adverse effect | 31 | 10.2 |
| 3 | No adverse effect | 2 | 0.7 |
| | Total | 302 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1995

Majority of these respondents complained of being cut away from their business base and that their present location does not favour any meaningful economic activity. For most respondents, loss of trade articles, tools, capital base, customers and locational disadvantage have reduced their economic activities to petty trading. As a result, some changed their jobs while others lost it completely as evidenced in table 7. It was also observed that most Maroko landlords who depended so much on house rent collection now have no concrete jobs (some now assist in their wives' petty trade) and are seriously under-employed.

Based on the foregoing poor economic situation, the effect of the new location and types of occupations now engaged in on the annual income of the residents was researched into. Table 8 shows that there is a change in the income profile for the old and new locations. The significant change is however in the direction of general fall in the income level.

Table 7: *Occupational Distribution in the Old and New Home of Evacuees*

| S/N | Type | Maroko | | Present Location | |
|-----|---------------|--------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1 | Trading | 105 | 33.9 | 100 | 32.26 |
| 2 | Civil Servant | 63 | 20.3 | 54 | 17.42 |
| 3 | Teaching | 24 | 7.7 | 24 | 7.74 |
| 4 | Farming | 0 | 0 | 7 | 2.26 |
| 5 | Artisans | 70 | 22.6 | 65 | 20.97 |
| 6 | Business | 32 | 10.3 | 32 | 10.32 |
| 7 | Retired | 16 | 5.2 | 19 | 6.13 |
| 8 | Unemployed | 0 | 0 | 9 | 2.90 |
| | Total | 310 | 100.0 | 310 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1999

Table 8: Income per Annum (Estimated)

| | Scale (₦) | Maroko | | Present Location | |
|---|---------------|--------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1 | 2,000 | 1 | 0.3 | 37 | 11.9 |
| 2 | 2,001-5,000 | 39 | 27.6 | 79 | 25.5 |
| 3 | 5,001-8,000 | 85 | 32.0 | 43 | 13.9 |
| 4 | 80001-11,000 | 99 | 32.0 | 43 | 13.9 |
| 5 | 11,001-14,000 | 63 | 30.3 | 36 | 11.6 |
| 6 | >15,000 | 23 | 7.4 | 21 | 6.8 |
| | Total | 310 | 100.0 | 310 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1995

A closer look at the state of income of the evacuees show some interesting observations which is not totally unexpected. It was discovered, for example, that 83 respondents (26.8%) experience income rise, 179 (57.7%) record a decline while 48 (15.5%) have constant income. A probe into the reason for the observed state of income yielded the results in Table 9 and 10.

Table 9: Reasons for increase in Income

| S/N | Reasons | No. | % |
|-----|----------------------|-----|-------|
| 1 | Business improvement | 14 | 17.5 |
| 2 | Salary increase | 59 | 73.75 |
| 3 | Fall in Naira value | 7 | 8.75 |
| | Total | 80 | 100 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1995

Table 10: Persons for Income Decline

| S/N | Reasons | No. | % |
|-----|----------------------|-----|-------|
| 1 | Business failure | 76 | 44.4 |
| 2 | Loss of housing rent | 67 | 39.2 |
| 3 | Loss of Job | 18 | 10.5 |
| 4 | Retirement | 10 | 5.9 |
| | Total | 171 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1995

Table 9 shows that out of the 80 respondents who gave reasons for income rise, 17.5% adduced it to business improvement, 73.75% as being due to salary increase while 8.75% attributed it to fall in Naira value. Also in Table 10, 44.4% of the 171 respondents associated the fall in their income to business failure, 39.2% tied it to loss of housing rent, 10.5% as due to loss of job while 5.9% blamed the fall on retirement from work. It therefore follows from the above analysis that the majority of respondents who have positive change in income do so for other new locations. Our assertion then still hold that most evacuees record a fall in their income and economic activities in their new homes. This is particularly true of the residents of Ilasan and Ikota housing estates.

5.3 Effects of Eviction on House Rent

It is ironic that people benefit from the misfortune of others in most cases of eviction. Usually, the problem of housing affordability has often been compounded by the usual sharp and abnormal increase in rental fees of alternative housing in nearby neighborhoods in times of sudden population displacement and relocation. In 1989 for instance, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) found that as the demolition time approached in the Mok Dong project, rent in near-by areas rose by 2-4 times. Likewise in the wake of the Maroko eviction, several newspapers reported rent increases in different parts of Lagos State.

Our research results on the effects of the eviction on housing rent show that all rent-paying respondents complain of high rent in their present location as compared with the level of services offered. In Aja for instance, respondents who were paying between ₦10-₦40.00 per room in Maroko immediately settled in for as high as between ₦70 - ₦120.00 in 1990 after the eviction. The artificial pressure created by the displacement has, ever since, continued to push up house rent such that tenants now (1995) pay as

much as between ₦350-500.00 per room with 2 years advance payment in Aja.

The situation in Ilasan estates is such that people pay between ₦80-₦150.00 per room for poor, uncompleted houses in the heat of the eviction. While rent in Maroko rose slowly from between ₦3 and ₦6.00 in 1972 to between ₦30 and ₦50.00 in 1990, it has risen so sharply to between ₦250.00 and ₦500.00 per room and between ₦1,000 and ₦1,500 per flat in Ilasan. In Ikota, residents who paid between ₦80-₦150.00 per one bedroom flat in 1990 now pay between ₦400-₦600.00, while others who built huts on concrete slab foundations pay between ₦200-₦300.00 per month. Residents in the two housing estates complain of rent not being commensurate with the services offered e.g. poor environment, poor facilities and unplastered rooms.

The problems of high rent is matched by scarcity of accommodation. As remote as Aja is (15kms) to Lagos, prospective tenants pay as much as 2-3 years down payment for uncompleted houses. In Maroko-Beach, squatters are still moving in on daily basis due to high availability and high rent and scarcity while in Ikota estate, the twin problems of non-availability and high rent left some residents with no other option than to build 1-2 rooms huts (within the government estate) which costs as much as ₦5,000-₦6000 per room to build.

5.4 Educational Costs

For the 8,000 pupils in 6 primary and secondary schools in Maroko (Guardian July 15, 1990, p.A9) who had their school programme disrupted, the effect of the eviction is no less devastating. In this respect, respondents were requested to comment on the effect of the displacement on the education of their children. Against the backdrop of poor technical and social infrastructural facilities which is rife in the new locations, 44 (14.2%) of the respondents reported cases of outright termination of their children's school while over 70% others gave evidences of disruption for a period ranging from 4 weeks to two years of termination.

One other area of serious problem affecting the education of the evacuees is transport availability and affordability. These twin-problems are particularly the case in Aja, Ikota and Ilasan where students now travel between 3-8kms to school daily while in Ikota and Ilasan estate, parents pay between ₦20-₦40.00 per day to keep their children and wards in school. At Maroko-Beach, students pay between ₦10-₦20.00 to and from school.

This problem of high transportation cost is being compounded by bus scarcity in the early hours of the morning. Student in Aja, Ikota and Ilasan in particular now spend longer hours in bus stops and also have to struggle for bus with other workers in the morning time. Hence parents reported high cases of lateness to school.

5.5. Effects on Family and Friendship ties

The cost of forced eviction on social ties as observed by the Ecologist (1992) above is further supported by the 1990 account of Nigerian Punch (newspaper) which observed that as the government destroys Maroko, the bulldozers will not only crush properties but will also crush close bonds which has grown among the 32 year old community. The paper further wrote that, "Land can be reclaimed, houses rebuilt, but never again would some broken bond mend." Based on this, the social aspect of the eviction cost was investigated.

Research findings confirm the different views above as most respondents agree that their family and friendship ties have been seriously affected. As presented in Table 11, most respondents experienced a decrease in the number of persons in their household. Reasons given for this change include deaths, divorce, financial and accommodation problems. The two latter problems bring about situations whereby members of the same family now reside with relatives in different parts of Lagos while others claim to have sent wife and/or children back to their hometown. It was discovered that some household heads now have a double home. The severity of this problem of broken family is adequately summed up in the words of Chief Olayinka Badmus - a former property owner in Maroko who agonized thus: "I have lost two of my children already. I can't see to the welfare of the rest. I don't see them often. They are all scattered". (The Guardian: July 15, 1991 pp. 15-17 and 21).

With regard to friendship ties, residents affirm that old allies and good neighbors are now hundreds of kilometers away. Some could not be reached due to high transport costs. Thus, some neighbors only meet by accident in buses or along the road in Lagos.

Table 11: Number of Persons in Households

| | Number | Maroko | | Present Location | |
|---|--------|--------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | | | | | |
| 1 | 1-5 | 78 | 25.2 | 67 | 21.61 |
| 2 | 6-10 | 139 | 44.8 | 190 | 61.29 |
| 3 | 11-15 | 58 | 18.7 | 34 | 10.97 |
| 4 | 16-20 | 20 | 6.5 | 18 | 5.81 |
| 5 | 21-25 | 9 | 2.9 | 1 | 0.32 |
| 6 | 26-30 | 4 | 1.3 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | 30+ | 2 | 0.6 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 310 | 100.0 | 310 | 100.0 |

Source: Fieldwork, June, 1995

Aside the broad areas of eviction costs considered above, this research also found out that cost of living has generally gone up in Aja, Ilasan and Ikota estates because of their relative distances from the commercial Centres of Obalende and CMS. Foodstuffs and other essential commodities sell at higher prices in these locations. A 4-liter container of kerosene which cost between ₦35.00 and ₦40.00 in other parts of Lagos metropolis, for instance now sell for ₦50.00. The rising prices of goods combine for most residents.

Based on the above analyses, it is apparent that most of the evacuees incur high financial, emotional and psychological costs as a result of this eviction and relocation. It is not surprising therefore, that 303 (97.7%) of the evacuees did not see any benefit accruing from the relocation while only 7 (2/3%) said they derive minimal benefit arising from improved living and economic conditions. On the aggregate, respondents make a general rating of their conditions after relocation. Table 12 shows that 40.3% of the respondents rate their condition as worse, 35.2%, as deteriorating, 15.5% saw no difference at all while 9.0% rate it as better. Thus majority of the evacuees saw their living standard as below what obtained in Maroko.

6. Conclusion

Providing adequate accommodation for the low income earners has been an overflogged issue in successive policies and programmes in Nigeria, starting from the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) to the most current 1990 National Housing Policy. However, successive government's programmes have not met the housing aspirations of the real urban poor due to poor articulation of the problem, an unresponsive planning process and a convoluted implementation system. Moreover, planners have retained their elitist posture, treating all levels of the society with the middle class value, a situation which moves them far away from the common man. The different earlier unsuccessful policy, administrative and professional lapses therefore call for an urgent redress to make planning people oriented.

Table 12: Rating of Living Conditions After Relocation

| | Rating | No | % | Cum.% |
|---|---------------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1 | Worse | 125 | 40.3 | 40.3 |
| 2 | Deteriorating | 109 | 35.2 | 75.5 |
| 3 | No difference | 48 | 15.5 | 91.0 |
| 4 | Better | 28 | 9.0 | 100 |
| | Total | 310 | 100.0 | - |

Source: Field, June, 1995

A look at the long list of eviction cases in Nigeria (Table 3) and our detailed study of the Maroko demolition reveal that the poor have been continuously marginalized in the nation's urban development process which displaces them (even from their rightful abode) in the "overriding public interest" without a planned resettlement programme, a situation which subjects them to further displacement. These displacement as we have seen, have not only inflicted serious psychological and socio-economic hardships on the poor but have since deprived them of their right to belong and aspire to the good life.

If we agree that urbanization is a dynamics process, an almost unavoidable accompaniment of contemporary development and that rural-urban movements are attempts at self social and economic fulfillment, then it is high time our city managers devised a coping strategy for both resident and incoming citizens. In this year of HABITAT II when solutions are being sought to the world's most nagging housing problems, it is time for Nigeria to have policy redirection from eviction. But for a country that does not know how many people there are, where and how they live, the problem could be enormous. These problems are, however, not insurmountable given professional re-orientation and re-education and especially political commitment to the housing course.

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