

URBAN EVICTION IN BADIA, LAGOS: A LOOK AT EVICTEES WELLBEING AND ENVIRONMENTAL BURDEN

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ABSTRACT: *Forced eviction remains a contributory factor to urban poverty, loss of accommodation, and displacement among urban poor. By extension, these forcible displacement experiences result in a downward shift in their standard of living; thus, contributing to urban poverty within the urban space. This study examines forced Eviction in the Badia East community of Lagos State, Nigeria, from a human right angle. The study adopted a mixed-method approach. Primary data was obtained from quantitative (structured questionnaire), geospatial analysis, and qualitative data sources (interview), which was conducted with evictees and the Lagos State Physical Planning and Development Agency (LASPPDA) (evictor). The research outcome revealed that the evictees exhibited a nomadic lifestyle, which has, over the years, developed into resilience. The study identified the need for increased public access, location, and provision of some social amenities such as public toilets, bathrooms, and water points to ease the shock of eviction which indirectly translates into environmental degradation. It was concluded that the current and projected pace of urbanization necessitates new approaches to land governance, especially the regulation of informal settlements and forced evictions.*

Keywords: *Households; urban poverty; forced eviction; resilient livelihood*

INTRODUCTION

Limited livelihood capacity, unplanned urbanization, high rental cost, housing deficit, and urban land inequality have led to the increasing emergence and spread of informal settlements within Nigerian cities. These informal settlements and settlers are often subjected to the “rigid and harsh” formal planning regulatory tool. Forced evictions remains a contributory factor to urban poverty, loss of accommodation, and displacement among urban poor. By extension, these forceful displacement experiences result in a downward shift in their living standard, thus contributing to the high poverty within the urban space.

In urban renewal and development projects such as dam, and transport infrastructure construction and laying of gas and oil pipeline, compulsory land acquisition, and eviction may be necessary (Bugalski and Pred, 2013). In such an eviction process, human rights are usually violated, leading to increased impoverishment of the displaced, especially in developing countries of the world. Those impacted by forced evictions and displacement face several well-documented risks such as poverty vulnerability, livelihood shock, health stress, lack of

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access to quality food, psychosocial trauma, untimely death, and sociocultural exclusion (Afenah, 2009; Oye-fara and Alabi, 2016; Williamson, 2017). This was why Bugalski and Pred (2013) opined that forced evictions are inherently discriminatory. The view was that the urban marginalised and city poor are often required to relocate for new development projects for ‘temporary settlement’.

Studies have documented the human abuse that is associated with forced eviction (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), 2006; Abdo, 2015; Nelson and Dorsey, 2018). Yet, remains a common mechanism and approach among governments and its stakeholder agencies. The perpetual insecurity of people intimidated by this practice, coupled with the frequent use of physical violence during its operation, begins to reveal the personal and collective trauma invariably inflicted on those faced with the prospect of forced eviction (United Nations Centre for Human Rights (UHCHR), 1996). In many cities, forced evictors and eviction activities contribute to long-term livelihood loss, cultural and communal identity collapse and increased homelessness.

This phenomenon is not far-fetched from the experience of the evictees of Badia East community of Lagos State. Dwellings were forcefully bulldozed by the Lagos State Physical Planning and Development Agency (LASPPDA); countless residents were rendered homeless and abandoned to fend for themselves and protect their salvaged belongings through the night (International Alliance of Inhabitants (IAI), 2013). However, from available records of the various eviction programs which have taken place in Lagos State, it is essential to note that some of these evictions were done with justifiable reasons, amongst which include most of the shanty/slum areas being hide-out for crime and criminals, illegal occupation of urban land and urban improvement programs towards the expansion of road access.

Against this background, this study assesses the forced eviction in the Badia East community of Lagos State, Nigeria, to investigate the evictee’s resilient lifestyle and livelihood. The human face and institution approach which iterates right of evictees to housing and concern for environmental burden was used. The evictees’ socio-economic attributes, and building conditions were examined before and after the Eviction to achieve this aim. The study asked the research question if the informal Badia East site created an environmental burden through the land-use change and surface temperature analysis. This study further hypothesizes that eviction in Badia East does not affect access to suitable housing quality for the evictees. Eviction has no effect on access to good neighborhood facilities for the evictees of Badia East community.

Understanding the Concept of Urban Eviction

This research explored homelessness and tenure security theories’ ideas to conceptualize the challenges of urban Eviction in the Badia East of Nigeria. According to Burton’s Legal Thesaurus (2007), tenure is how lands or tenements are held. The capacity to hold a land can be by individuals and groups back by legal or customary by-laws that affirm ownership concerning the land (UN-Habitat, 2008). In other words, tenure entails land related dealings amongst individuals. Such tenure dealing among individual serves as a land right and protection (legal and social) against forced eviction process (UN, CESR, 1997). UN-Habitat (2004) avers that the tenure agreement on land or property can be regulated by a legal and administrative framework that can include customary and statutory systems. It dictates that a known set of rules governs the right to access and use the land and property and that this right has a legal basis and can be executed in the law courts.

The tenure on land can be affected in a variety of ways, depending on factors such as constitutional and legal framework, social norms, cultural values, and to some extent, individual preference (Feder and Feeny, 2009). In simple terms, an individual or group can be said to enjoy the security of tenure when protected from the illegality that is associated with ‘State and urban government’ sponsored evictions. Tenure security in such instance gives room for improved socio-economic and land right psychology (satisfaction or confidence) for owners and/or users (UN-Habitat, 2011).

Eviction (forced or otherwise) can be considered as the most prominent and detrimental manifestation of tenure insecurity for the urban poor. It also impacts access to services, access to credit, vulnerability to risks,

and other hazards. In a bid to more adequately protect against the risks of the impoverishment caused by forced evictions, residents must possess a good measure of tenure security. Payne and Durand-Lasserve (2012) recorded that between 30 and 50 per cent of urban dwellers in developing countries lack tenure security providing legal document. In many cases, most inhabitants live with informal (either illegal, quasi-legal, tolerated, or legitimized by customary or traditional laws) tenure systems. Many of which its (the so-called tenure document) acceptability, recognition or otherwise is subjective to the legal framing and interpretation of the public authorities (UN-Habitat, 2006).

Therefore, tenure legalization can promote efficient ownership of homes by the urban poor without the fear of forceful Eviction (Turner, 1968). By such legal recognition, people are extended support by the State and thus provided tenure security. Thereby enabling them to achieve more through stimulating housing investments and engendered community participation (Kool et al., 1988). Indeed, tenure's security is essential to improve or upgrade the living conditions in existing squatter areas and slums, allowing residents to capture assets, make home improvements and seek mortgage credit. In turn, legal/official recognition of residents in squatter settlements is pivotal to ensuring secure tenure and transforming the erstwhile illegal or marginal inhabitants into citizens with rights and responsibilities (World Bank, 2001). If this concept of ensuring secure tenure is adopted, the benefits are immense and will curtail homelessness in the city.

Furthermore, given the challenges occasioned by Tenure's insecurity, which often leads to homelessness, this research also examines the theory of homelessness and how urban eviction fuels homelessness. According to Wolch et al. (1988), homelessness is not an abrupt experience; instead, it is "the culmination of a long process of economic hardship, isolation, and social dislocation" that has affected an individual or family. There are debates about how homelessness should be defined (Pleace, Burrows, and Quilgars, 1997; Tipple and Speak, 2004). However, it can be summarized as the result of systemic or societal barriers, a lack of affordable and appropriate housing, the individual/household's financial, mental, cognitive, behavioural, physical challenges, and racism and discrimination.

There is no disputing the fact that forced evictions have exacerbated the problem of homelessness. In developing countries, eviction is characterised by use of force and coercion by city and municipal government against the vulnerable and marginalized informal and semi-formal space settlers. This urban experience is quite disheartening as city development policy is devoid of tangible plan for such displaced settlers after the eviction. However, what is more, disturbing is the practice of forced Eviction aimed at those whom the definitions of homelessness cover. In the first place, they inhabit inadequate dwellings, have no access to amenities, lack Tenure security, and are perceived as homeless in its true sense. Thus, they are doomed to be perpetually homeless, especially since there are no adequate or sufficient resettlement provisions. This continued, and unresolved condition creates an unending cycle of poverty.

However, there are some examples of good practice in squatters' participation in projects that would involve their displacement and eventual resettlement. For example, the Lagos State Government in 2011 initiated a residential development programme, which looks at the development of 54 units of the 11-story building in the Isale-gangan area of the Lagos Island Local Government. The 2,500-square metre property traversed Binuyo, Princess, Onala, and Isale-Agbede streets. The peculiarity of this project, however, is the fact that the State Government consulted with the families who owned the land which was pooled together for the Project and not only offered them funds for alternative accommodation during the Project but also assured them of allocation of some of these units when the project is completed. With the Government's support through the Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority (LASURA), the people helped plan their new settlement. They moved without forced Eviction and without the further impoverishment that usually accompanies such moves. Good practices such as this should be explored and incorporated whenever possible to ensure that no one is rendered homeless in the wake of developmental projects.

THE STUDY AREA

This section of the study shall introduce the setting of the study. The cleared site of Badia East (February 23, 2013) is located within the Apapa – Iganmu local council development area of Lagos State (See Figure 1). The Badia East covers a land area of 32,200 square meters. It is bordered to the North by an elevated light rail line, the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Government project in the West, another slum community in the East, and a surface railway in the South. The study site is the swamp characterized by illegal refuse dumping (Lagos State Government Technical committee on Badia, 2013).

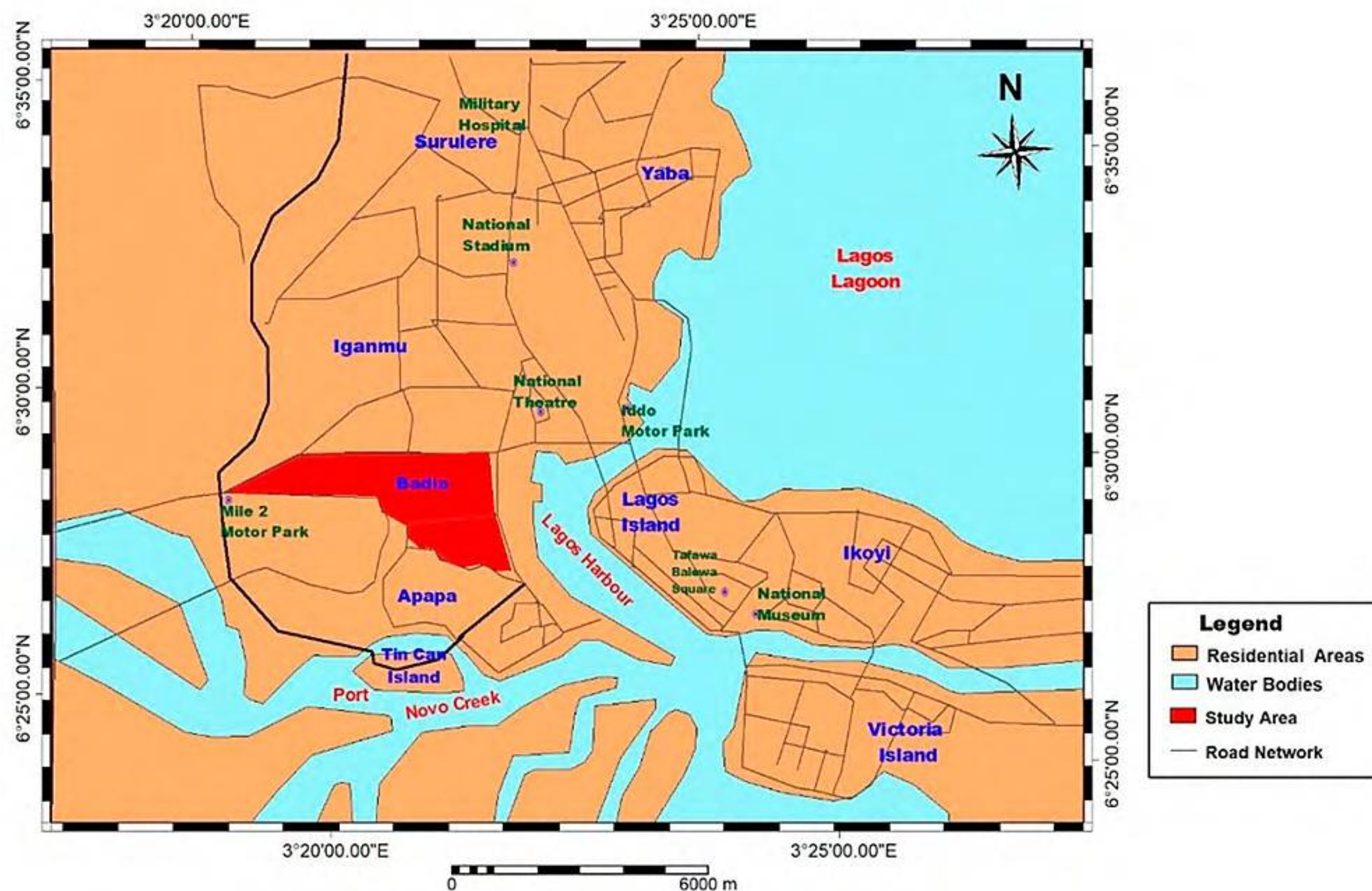


Figure 1. Badia Community highlighted in the Map of Central Lagos

Source: Authors' modification

History and the Development of Badia Community

This section seeks to present the historical antecedents and the evolution of the Badia slum settlement. The slum settlements of Badia East in Lagos State can be traced to 1971 when the State Brigadier-General Mobolaji Johnson displaced the inhabitants Ebute-Oniru, Ebute Oloko, and part of Ebute-Elefun to Obadiya, which is now referred to as Badia (Tribune, 2018). Owing to the proximity of the slum to military administrative headquarter (Dodan Barracks), the relocation of the slum communities of Badia was necessitated. In 1973, three years after the end of Nigeria's civil war, the Federal Military Government also acquired a large tract of land (within the area), including a sprawling old settlement known as Oluwole village in the Iganmu towards the erection National Arts Theatre to host the African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977 (Morka, 2007).

It was recorded that resident of Oluwole village were evicted (from their ancestral homes) and resettled in the Badia East community without adequate notice or consultation. Owing to continuous protest, under par compensation was paid by the Federal government to evictees. Other evictees that insisted on resettlement were allocated vacant land plots (of about 30 by 50 feet) in Ijora-Badia, less than one kilometre away (Morka, 2007). The plot allocation was without material or resource support. Many built sheds made mostly of stilts and corrugated iron sheets of various shapes and sizes as each family could afford. Amnesty International (2013) reported those that resettled to from the Badia East community engaged in Community Development Association to promote the community's welfare.

Over-crowding and inadequate housing in the old indigenous part of Lagos Island during the pre-independence period rapidly gave rise to what became designated by the British colonial town planners as a slum. The outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1924 led to the creation of the first town-planning institution of the federation, the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB), which was assigned the responsibility of implementing the city's first slum-clearance scheme, that is, the demolition of 400 unhealthy shacks and houses and the resettlement of a few thousand inhabitants of the mainland area (Olukoju, 1993). Since that time, the proliferation of slums and informal communities in Lagos has been met with various slum clearance schemes and forced evictions.

Reasons such as the need for urban development plans, drainage channelization, construction of the bridge, illegal land occupation, urban renewal and beautification, privatization, and ridding the communities of criminals are reported by eviction enforcer (Lagos State Governments and Federal Government of Nigeria) for Eviction (Agbola and Jinadu, 1997; Amnesty International, 2006). More often than not, these evictions have been carried out with great violence by the officials and with insufficient notice beforehand. The challenge of urban Eviction has been observed to span over forty years, as observed from the timelines on urban Eviction in the city. Literature evidence shows that from 1980 to 2006, about 728,766 people were evicted from different parts (Oworonshoki, Maroko, Ebute Meta, Iponri, Banana Island, Agege, Isheri, Badia East, Badia West, Ilubirin, Ebute, Ikate, Ijora, Badia, Ikeja, Ojo, Otodogbame and Lagos Island) of Lagos (COHRE, 1998; SER-AC, 1997; Bajulaiye, 2005 and Amnesty International, 2003 and 2006; Punch, 2017).

RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Capture Procedure

This study adopted a mixed-method approach using primary and secondary data. Data on evictees' socio-economic attributes before and after Eviction were collected using a structured questionnaire and slum evictees interviewed. The data collected through the structured questionnaires administered were corroborated with the interview findings conducted with the stakeholders.

As an extension of the study by Popoola et al. (2020), ten stakeholders that are part of the eviction process in Badia were interviewed. Seven were evictees and potential evictees; three were officials of the Ministry of Housing. The interview questions focused on the eviction process and experiences reported by both the evictees and government officials. The focus was on the evictees' Pre and Post-eviction experiences towards arriving at the livelihood sustenance. The evicted community's administrative map (Badia East community) was also acquired from the Lagos State Physical Planning Development Agency (LASPPDA).

The purposive and snowball sampling method was adopted for this study. Marshall (1996) allude that non-probabilistic sampling technique support the in-depth understanding of social events. Purposive sampling was adopted based on the study's peculiarity (that is, group with common attributes – evictees). To locate these evictees, purposive sampling was employed to obtain critical informants. These key informants include community heads and their representatives who would be instrumental in supplying information about some evictees' whereabouts. Subsequently, the snow-ball method was used to select respondents. The snow-ball method involves eliciting information about other suitable respondents from a person who has just been interviewed. The eviction process officers were selected purposively, while some of the evictees were identified through snow-ball sampling techniques.

This study, Amnesty International (2013) reported that about 10,000 evictees had been displaced in Badia. In addition to the information obtained from the media, the preliminary survey carried out indicates that most evictees are still occupying makeshift shelters on the site. Following the sample size calculation using the online sample size calculator at 95% confidence level, a sample size of 384 was arrived at. Thus, 384 evict-

ees were sampled for the study, and analysis was done using SPSS 16.0. The analysis provided the descriptive and inferential evidence of the data captured. The interview responses were now used as the basis of inference and explanation to the captured data. The interview was recorded in the native language and now transcribed thematically based on this study's focus and Popoola et al. (2020).

Geo-Spatial Data Capture Procedure

Four sets of Google earth imageries were downloaded to calculate the trends of spatial extents of built-up areas in Badia East between 2000 and 2020. The Google earth imageries downloaded were that of the year 2000, 2012, 2013, and 2020. In selecting the years of imageries to analyses, the pre-eviction period (2000, 2012), eviction year (2013) and post-eviction (2020) years were taking into consideration. The authors' believe this will provide a better analysis of the dynamics of the site. On each of the Google earth downloaded, Badia East's area of interest was clipped out. The respective years' areas of interest were imported to ArcGIS 10.2, where onscreen digitization was done.

Post Processing

The Landsat 7 imagery used for this study (2000) was post-processed to remove the scan marks. This task was done using the Gap mark that accompanied the imagery download from USGS, and the "Fill no data" operation found under the raster analysis of QGIS 3.14.16 software.

Estimation of Land Surface Temperature

The data set used to calculate the land surface temperature for Badia East was the enhanced thematic for the year 2000 and the operational land imager for 2012, 2013, and 2020. The imageries for the years 2000, 2013, and 2020 were downloaded from the United States Geological Survey (USGS). The imagery for the year 2012 was sourced from the National Centre for Remote Sensing, Jos, Plateau State (see Table 1). To calculate the land surface temperature for Badia East, thermal bands at different wavelengths were used. Bands 6 was used as the thermal bands for the year 2000. Bands 10 and 11 were used as the thermal bands for the operational land imager of the year 2012, 2013, and 2020. To estimate the land surface temperature for Badia East, digital numbers were converted to spectral radiance using the USGS's mathematical model at the first stage. The mathematical model can be expressed as $L_{\lambda} = M_L Q_{cal} + A_L$ where L_{λ} is top of atmosphere spectral radiance (Watts/(m² * srad * μm)), M_L is band-specific multiplicative rescaling factor from the metadata, Q_{cal} is quantized, and calibrated standard product pixel values (DN), and A_L is band-specific additive factors from the metadata.

Spectral radiance of the four sets of imageries was converted to "At-Satellite brightness temperature" in Kelvin (T_B) at the second stage by using the inverse of the Planck function (NASA, 2012). The Planck function was expressed as:

$$T_B = \frac{K_2}{\ln\left(\frac{K_1}{L_{\lambda}} + 1\right)}$$

Where: T_B is "At-Satellite brightness temperature," L_{λ} is top of atmosphere spectral radiance (Watts/(m² * srad * μm)), K_2 , and K_1 are band-specific thermal conversion constant from the metadata of the respective imageries used.

The land surface emissivity for Badia East was computed at the third stage. This computation was done using the mathematical expression of $E = 0.004 (\text{Proportion of Vegetation}) + 0.986$, where PV is $(\text{NDVI} - \text{NDVI}_{\text{min}}) / (\text{NDVI}_{\text{max}} - \text{NDVI}_{\text{min}})^2$.

The signal window algorithm, which is expressed as $LST = BT/1 + W * (BT/P) * \ln(e)$

BT is At Satellite temperature, W is the wavelength of emitted radiance (11.5 μ). P is $h * c / s$ ($1.438 * 10^{-2} \text{ m k}$)/14380 used at the final stage of the land surface temperature estimation for Badia East.

Table 1. Landsat Imageries Properties for Badia East

Sensor	Path & Row	Date of Imageries	Resolution	Source
Enhance Thematic Mapper	191_055	06/02/2000	30M	USGS
Operational Land Imager	191_055	01/02/2012	30M	NCRS
Operational Land Imager	191_055	18/12/2013	30M	USGS
Operational Land Imager	191_055	05/02/2020	30M	USGS

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-economic Attributes of Evictees

This section presents the evictees' socio-economic status and living conditions before and after the evictions. However, owing to the respondents' current dispersed and unstable housing condition and the snowball approach adopted, from the administered 384 questionnaires, only 303 was completely retrieved, representing a 78.91% response rate. According to Maxfield and Babbie (2015), a 60% response rate of the targeted sample size is sufficient to represent the sample population.

Table 2. Socio-Economic Characteristics of Evictees

Marital Status of Respondents			Highest Educational Qualification			Household Size of Respondents		
Status	No.	%	Qualification	No.	%	Size	No.	%
Single	18	5.9	Primary school	148	48.8	1 person	6	2.0
Married	261	86.1	SSCE	94	31.1	2 persons	23	7.6
Widow(er)	17	5.7	Degree	27	8.9	3 persons	62	20.4
Divorced	7	2.3	None	34	11.2	Above 4 persons	106	35.0
Total	303	100.0	Total	303	100.0	Total	303	100.0

Source: Authors' Data Processing

The erstwhile Badia East community was known for its multi-ethnic composition. The survey carried out further validates that claim. The community's family-centric and educational characteristic is evident from the data presented in Table 2, which shows that 86.1% of the respondents were married, 5.9 per cent single, divorced (2.3%), and the remaining 5.7% are widows or widowers. The highest qualification attained by a majority (48.8%) of the sample was primary six certificates, 11.2% had no formal education, with only a few 8.9% with tertiary education. The household size of many (70%) of the sample was four-person and above. Thus, it is deductible that the Badia East community residents possess sizeable households and are in dire need of suitable housing.

Building Type and Household Characteristics of Evictees

The study examines responses to questions based on respondents' building conditions before the Eviction and their current building conditions.

Table 3. Pre-eviction Household and Room Dwelling Ratio

Households in Building			The average number of persons per room		
Number of households in building before Eviction	No.	%	Average persons per room	No.	%
1	7	2.3	1	0	0.0
2	7	2.3	2	39	12.9
3	18	5.9	3	201	66.3
4	129	42.6	4	23	7.6
Above 4	142	46.9	Above 4	40	13.2
Total	303	100.0	Total	303	100.0
Building Type Before and After the Eviction					
Type of Building	Before		After		% Difference*
	No.	%	No.	%	
Boys' quarters	6	2.0	7	2.3	14.99
Brazilian type	297	98.0	106	35.0	-64.29
Temporary Shelter	0	0.0	190	62.7	Infinity
Total	303	100.0	303	100.0	

Source: Authors' Data Processing

Owing to the prevalence of Brazilian or tenement-type housing in the community, it was discovered that multiple households were living in single buildings. Table 3 shows that a high percentage of the population interviewed experienced more than four households occupying a building. This brings under thought the state government's plan to construct single-family dwelling units in the community. If, as promised, these housing units' intended beneficiaries include the evictees, consideration of their preferred housing types, and especially affordability issues must be considered beforehand. However, 66.3% of the evictee's households were observed to be an average of 3 persons per room against the maximum of two persons per room as suggested by the World Health Organisation (Tittensor et al., 2009). The high occurrence of three and above four persons in a room indicates a high level of overcrowding. The room's identified factor over-crowding was that Tenure's form was tenanted in a Brazilian housing typology (98%) before the Eviction.

Post-eviction, some of the evictees claimed to live in temporary shelters constructed with materials such as wood, hardboard, tarpaulin, or corrugated roofing sheets in the adjoining areas of the demolished Badia East community. Informal discussions with the evictees largely believed that the living condition before the Eviction was fair (characterized by pre-eviction engagement and warnings), although with a resilient-optimistic-opportunistic livelihood condition. The high number of positive ratings is attributed to the perception that the community provided both work and residential opportunities.

Some interviewees opined that the living condition was good because living and feeding were satisfying while others lauded the conditions because of neatness, unity, and closeness to work. From the survey, it was clear that they mostly did not find anything wrong with their previous living conditions, which, as they said, is better than their current living conditions. Evidence shows that evictees had earlier adapted to the slum living experiences pre-eviction from Badia. Many of the respondents have co-produced their spaces and reside by various livelihood survival activities such as petty trading and scrap collectors, many of which are distorted after the forced Eviction, thus creating a livelihood shock. Buttressing this, an evictee has this to say:

“...The Eviction affected my family. I deal in scraps mainly from close neighbourhoods and dumpsite; now I have to travel far to collection and sales. In the same regards, my wife’s petty trading within fellow informal settlers was disrupted due to displacement...”

He said this about building condition:

“... We now pay more for the shared apartment with another household now... more pressure on the shared outdoor bathroom and toilet...”

Material Used to Construct Respondents' Buildings Before and After the Eviction

This study compares the housing quality of the respondents before and after the evictions. Observation puts the two major types of buildings before Eviction as constructed with wood and concrete buildings. The site’s survey identified few wooden structures still standing behind the cleared areas shown in Figure 2- although there were also concrete structures on site before demolition. However, an official of the State Ministry of Housing argued that no concrete building was demolished. The predominant roof covering is a corrugated iron sheet. It is widely used as a roof covering for both blockhouses and wooden houses.



Figure 2. Rows of wooden shelter housing evictees

Source: Authors' Fieldwork, 2016

Evidence from the building facilities’ pre and post-eviction conditions shows that the sanitation facility access and evictees’ availability were negatively impacted due to the eviction process (Table 4). For example, an increase from 18.1% to 52.2% (34.1% increases) was now exposed to lack of toilet facility, and 32.7% more lacked access to bathroom(outdoor or indoor) facility after the Eviction. A general decline in the availability of other toilet types is also evident from the data retrieved, with pit latrine, water closet, squat, and bucket types recording 28.7%, 5.3%, 10.2%, and 3.6% availability, respectively. After the evictions, 65.3% of the respondents had no kitchen, while 15.8% and 17.2% had indoor and outdoor kitchen facilities, respectively.

Table 4. Type of Household Facilities Available Before and After the Evictions

Before Eviction Experience			After Eviction Experience		
Toilet Type	No.	%	No.	%	% Difference*
Pit	90	29.7	87	28.7	-3.37
Water closet	59	19.5	16	5.3	-72.82
Squat	99	32.7	31	10.2	-68.80
Bucket	0	0.0	11	3.6	Infinity
None	55	18.1	158	52.2	188.40
Total	303	100.0	303	100.0	
Kitchen type					
Indoor	70	23.1	48	15.8	-31.60
Outdoor	187	61.7	52	17.2	-72.12
None	39	12.9	198	65.3	406.20
Other	7	6.3	5	1.7	-73.01
Total	303	100	303	100	
Bathroom type					
Indoor	73	24.1	42	13.9	-42.32
Outdoor	185	61.1	117	38.6	-36.82
None	45	14.8	144	47.5	220.95
Total	303	100	303	100	

Source: Authors' Data Processing

The hypothesis was tested to establish if Eviction could be responsible for access to more inferior housing quality (wall, roof and floor materials, kitchen, toilet, and bathroom facilities). This was done for the before and after eviction situations, and a 2x2 contingency was created. McNemar's Test was then run on the table. Since the P-value for the McNemar's Test is 0.000, and as such $P < 0.05$, the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 5). Thus, the Eviction affected the quality of housing available to residents of Badia East. More evictees had access to better housing before the evictions than after the evictions.

Also, to consider whether the Eviction could be responsible for access to neighbourhood facilities of more inferior quality or not, neighbourhood facilities such as school, health centre and roads, drainage were scored and grouped into Good and Poor based on the scores obtained (1-5 for Good and 6-10 for Poor). This was done for the before and after eviction situations, and a 2x2 contingency was created. McNemar's Test was then run on Table 5. Since the P-value for the McNemar's Test is 0.000 and $P < 0.05$, the null hypothesis is rejected. Thus, the Eviction affected the access to good neighbourhood facilities for evictees of the Badia East Community. More evictees had access to good neighbourhood facilities before the evictions than after the evictions.

This inferential analysis aligns with the argument put off by Ocheje (2007). In his argument, he questioned the public interest rationale of forced Eviction. He argued that in almost all the cases, the evictees have emerged from evictions worse off in terms of living conditions than they were before their Eviction (Ocheje, 2007:176). This is exposed in the declining access to basic infrastructure by evictees after the eviction process. In iterating this, a woman states that while the land's occupation by the people (evictees) might be wrong, the process and post-eviction experience is not suitable for any citizen of Nigeria.

Table 5. Chi-Square Tests to Eviction, housing quality and access to neighbourhood facilities

Eviction and housing quality					
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.968	1	.003		
Continuity correction ^b	7.903	1	.005		
Likelihood Ratio	10.264	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.938	1	.003		
McNemar Test				.000	
N of Valid Cases	298				
Eviction and access to neighbourhood facilities					
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.142a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	12.159	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.885	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.099	1	.000		
McNemar Test				.000	
N of Valid Cases	303				

The Eviction Process in Badia East Community

Findings revealed that some of the evictees had not been formally resettled and thus have scattered to various parts of the city six years after the forced Eviction of February 2013. Several of the Badia East Evictees are still observed to be without a home of their own after six years. This is owing to the reason that the promised housing allocation by the Lagos State Government has not been actualized. This experience is also corroborated by the research undertaken by Salau (2019).

The contributory funding of US\$200 million through the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project (LMDGP) supported by the World Bank targeted at improving access to social amenities across some nine selected slum-settlement which includes Badia East. The Project has three components: i) infrastructure (including upgrading of infrastructure, drainage, and solid waste); ii) public governance and capacity building; and iii) urban policy and project coordination (World Bank, 2013). Badia East benefited from the Project by constructing the canal and roads that indirectly influence the eviction process.

This study further investigated if the eviction processes were by international practices. Commenting on whether the evictions resulted from the Bank's LMDGP, the inspection panel responded that evictions in Badia East were not directly caused by activities financed under the World Bank's LMDGP. The linkage between the evictions and the Project is essentially based on a provision in the Project's Financing Agreement requiring that all citywide upgrading projects in Lagos, regardless of their source of financing, be implemented in line with the principles of the Bank policy on Involuntary Resettlement.

However, the Bank states a fundamental discrepancy in the Bank's perception of affected people's entitlements and the Borrower's (Lagos State Government) perception. The Government of Lagos State considered slum dwellers and illegal squatters not entitled to any compensation under the law. Thus, the World Bank is aware of potential non-compliance and claims that the issues have 'not been simply ignored,' but the evictions were not part of the World Bank's LMDGP claims. It was confirmed by the Ministry of Housing that the Eviction of residents of the Badia East community took place on February 23, 2013, and that international organ-

izations and the media could be present. In describing how the evictions took place, the Ministry expatiated that:

“...Evictees were allowed to remove personal belongings and structural members of the buildings before demolition...”

The use of force was also confirmed and justified by reason. The reason given for the use of force was that some evictees refused to vacate the site for demolition to commence and, as such, had to be removed from the buildings by the police at the expiration of the deadline given. The police were used to enforce compliance during the evictions. Agreeing that there are legal guidelines to be followed as an agent of the Government in carrying out evictions or development-induced displacements, the Ministry outlined the processes involved. These include serving a notice of intention to demolish and quit notices with specified deadlines. However, there was a limited eviction consultation perception and quite a level (69.3%) eviction awareness (Table 6).

Table 6. Post-Eviction Modalities and Awareness of Future Evictions

	Compensation		State government consultation since Eviction		Awareness of future Eviction	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	118	38.9	74	24.4	93	30.7
No	185	61.1	229	75.6	210	69.3
Total	303	100.0	303	100.0	303	100.0
Sum Allotted to Evictees Based on Legal Status and Building Size						
	Legal Status			Amount (₦)		
	Landlord (Small Structures) 1-4 rooms			171, 725.00		
	Landlord (Medium-sized structures) 5-8 rooms			248, 740.00		
	Landlord (Big Structures) Over 8 rooms			309, 780.00		
	Tenants			90,000.00		

Source: Authors' Data Processing and Technical Committee on Badia East- Reviewed Resettlement Action Plan (2013)

The International Alliance of Inhabitants (IAI) (2013) and Salau (2019) claimed that the Lagos State Government failed to abide by the specified terms of the World Bank policies that mandate the Government to minimize involuntary resettlement and eviction process when she accepted the \$200M grant to upgrade Badia and others informal settlements within the State. Part of this mandate also states that when displacement is unavoidable before consultation, adequate notice, compensation, and resettlement should be made. These policies were not duly followed by the Government (IAI, 2013; Salau, 2019) in the Badia East community.

Responding, a potential evictee said:

“...I am aware, my family might still be chased (evicted) away from here, but what do you expect me to do? Presently my job (security man) cannot afford the house rent for a good place in town (LGA residential area). I hope that my wife does not give birth to our first child here and if it happens and we are then chased then... then it will not be only myself and wife chased but my entire family...” **Badia East Community Evictee**

This response reflects the lifestyle of survival and resilience-driven household. Investigation reveals that households have been able to absorb the shock of Eviction owing to lack of access to compensation fees. Those who had received compensation claimed that they were paid over a year (April 2014) after the Eviction. The payment offered varied between ₦90000 - ₦309780 with the legal status of the dwelling. This meant that landlords and tenants received varying amounts (see Table 6).

Public Agencies in the Pre-Eviction Modalities of Badia East Community Residents

When asked about the evictions' justification, the response gotten was that it was done to move the evictees to a healthier environment. Juxtaposing this response with what has been done since the evictions, such purpose has not been achieved. Instead, the majority are still squatting and living in worse conditions than they were before the evictions. A further reason given by the Ministry for the Eviction was that it (Badia East Community) was a health hazard to the residents. It was also claimed that a formal authorization was presented to the community before the evictions.

The Ministry has also quizzed whether its agents put any measures to minimize the traumatic effect on women, children, and infants. They answered affirmatively, stating that such measures included planned relocation and payment of compensation. Survey results show the contrary, as no respondent has claimed to benefit from any relocation. Most of them decry the sums paid as compensation and the timing between the evictions and the payment of said compensation.

An eviction impact assessment must be carried out before an eviction is intended and inevitable. Interestingly, through its representative, the Ministry answered that no eviction impact assessment was carried out before the evictions even though they notified the residents through their community heads about the Project and possible evictions. This notice was said to have been given 1-3 weeks before the evictions. The Ministry, through its representatives, added that it contained a justification for the evictions and information on compensation. The notice did not contain any explanation as to why there was no alternative to evictions neither did it contain any information on legal recourse. It was also gathered that structures identified before evictions included 'plywood/wooden structures, shanties, few concrete structures. It was also gathered that no inventory was drawn up to assess the properties of their worth before the evictions.

Essentially, the evictions took place to pave the way for the Lagos Home Ownership Mortgage Scheme 1008 Flats project. However, the Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development (MPPUD) is tasked with serving notices and overseeing the demolition exercise properly. The Ministry (MPPUD) was also responsible for explaining the reason for the Eviction as well as observing all the necessary pre-eviction modalities as spelled out in the Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law of 1992, which include genuinely consulting the threatened residents, as well as allowing the evictees an opportunity to object. If there were objections, the evictions would stay until all the cases are settled. The Ministry did not live up to its responsibility in this regard as only a 1-3-week notice was claimed to have been given, which did not contain the necessary information as mentioned previously.

Environmental Dimensions of Informality: The Badia East Eviction Site

Examining the trend of change in Badia, the study reveals that only a few buildings were found on Badia East of Lagos State's eviction site in 2000. This study's spatial analysis reveals that the built-up areas in Badia East of Lagos State cover a land area of 3,995 m². These findings refute the commissioner of physical planning and urban development, who opined that, as of 2005, there were no buildings on Badia East's eviction site (Amnesty International, 2013). Between 2000 and 2012 (before the Eviction), an urban invasion was experienced in Badia East. Within this period, the size of Badia East's built-up areas increased from 3,995 m² to 23,611 m² with a percentage of increase of 491.01%. Using the Al-Sharif et al. (2017) mathematical model of urban expansion intensity index, an index of 3.54 was recorded in 2012. The index of 3.54 recorded in Badia East between 2000 and 2012 indicates a very high-speed development, thus influencing urban blight proliferation (see figure 3).

Though the cleared site was supposed to be used to develop 1,008 housing Estates, as of 2020, the project was yet to be completed. The study reveals that 6,989 m² of built-up area and other impervious surfaces were recorded in 2021. This implies that the government's proposed redevelopment to address blighted areas in the Badia community are still ongoing.

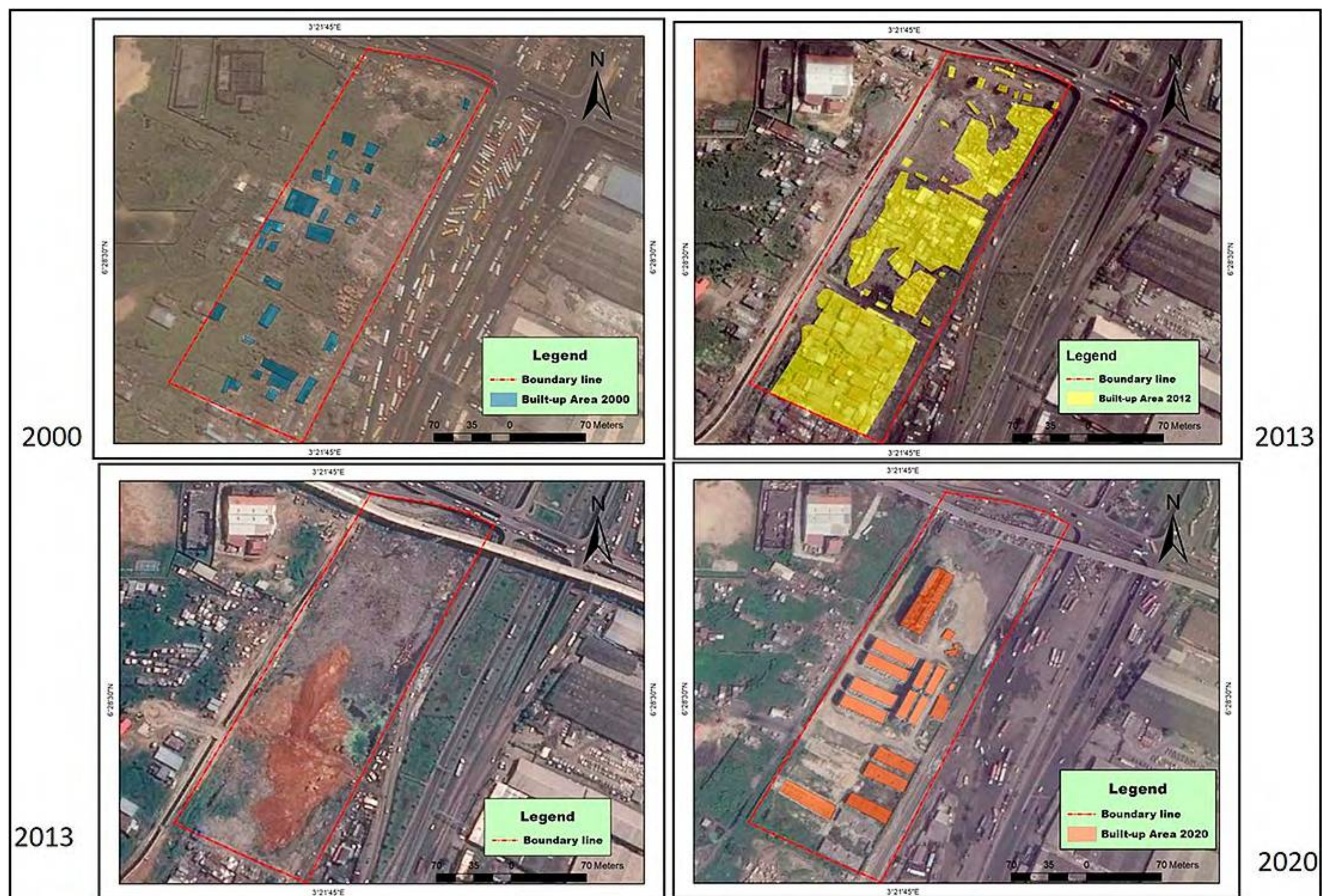


Figure 3: Badia between 2000 and 2021

Source: Authors' mapping

The Relationship between Built-up Area Land Surface Temperature for Badia East

Table 7: Built-up Area and Land Surface Temperature for Badia East

Year	Built-up Area m ²	Maximum Temperature (°C)
2000	3,995	28.32
2012	23,611	25.71
2013	-	32.06
2020	6,989	25.08

Source: Authors Data Analysis

In the study, Table 7 reveals that when the built-up area in Badia East was 3,995 m² the land surface temperature was 28.32°C. In 2012, the Badia East community's maximum land surface temperature dropped by 2.61°C while the built-up area increased 19,616 m². Despite not having any built-up area/impervious surface on the 2013 (year of Eviction) site, the bare Badia East community's maximum land surface temperature increased by 6.35°C (32.06°C). With the ongoing redevelopment in the Badia community, 25.08°C was recorded for the maximum land surface temperature in 2020.

As presented in Table 8, the regression analysis of the relationship between built-up area and the maximum land surface temperature of Badia East reveals that the built-up area influences 17% (Adjusted R-square = 0.1704) of the maximum land surface temperature in Badia East. This implies a weak relationship between the built-up area and maximum land surface temperature in the Badia East community. The regression analysis also shows a P value of 0.3315 as against an alpha value of 0.05. Furthermore, the study reveals no statistically significant relationship between the built-up area and maximum land surface temperature in Badia East.

The P-value recorded for this study is greater than the alpha value. This study evidence speaks to issue around the micro-climate of study are within the urbanized Lagos city.

Table 8: Linear Regression Analysis for Badia East

Model Summary						
Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	RMSE		
1	0.669	0.447	0.1704	2.889		
ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	P
1	Regression	13.491	1	13.491	1.616	0.331
	Residual	16.693	2	8.347		
	Total	30.184	3			
Coefficients						
Model		Unstandardized	Standard Error	Standardized	t	P
1	(Intercept)	29.560	2.005		14.745	0.005
	Built-up	-2.043e-4	1.607e-4	-0.669	-1.271	0.3315

Source: Authors Data Analysis

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The housing modernization for the wealthy and high-income earners at the detriment of the urban poor is one of the significant arguments this study seeks to discourage. From the demolition and forced Eviction of residents in Badia into the erection of 1,008 modern estates that remain unaffordable to the poor, the housing segregation and exclusion bias reflect the eviction process. This study recommends a more inclusive urban poor housing structure that is affordable for all. Studies (Popoola et al., 2015; Medayese et al., 2016; Adeleye et al., 2016, 2018) identified that urban poor, many reside in slums, squatter settlements, peri-urban spaces, are faced with environmental degradation owing to limited access to social infrastructure.

The same is the case in this study as there was variation, many of which declined in the number of social amenities enjoyed before and after the Eviction. This study avers that the nomadic lifestyle, which has developed into a resilient one over the years, continues to subject evicted households to the continuous limitation in infrastructure enjoyed. Identified is the need for increased public access, location, and provision of some social amenities such as public toilets, bathrooms, and water points to ease the shock of Eviction, which indirectly translates into environmental degradation.

This study identified that better legislation and effective enforcement are needed to counter impunity on the perpetrators of forced evictions. The current and projected pace of urbanization necessitates new approaches to land governance, incredibly informal settlements. Authorities ought to acknowledge informal settlements instead of insisting they are only temporary and must be demolished. Overlapping roles and responsibilities within government, insufficient resources, widespread corruption, lack of will-power, and weak urban governance structures have further impeded regulation efforts.

From the preceding, it has been observed that domestic law fails to establish the clear legal standards on eviction, or the procedural protections required by the international laws and covenants to which Nigeria is a state party. Here and in many other developing countries, evictions are planned and executed without genuine consultation, inadequate notice, no due process, or insufficient compensation. In most cases, evictees have no hope of relocating to adequate alternative housing, mainly because no relocation policy is in place. This re-

sults in a series of protection risks that prevents them from achieving long-term solutions and plunges them further into habitations with insecure Tenure and impoverishment.

To conclude this study, urban Eviction in Lagos state reflects the creation of a new slum from the historically evicted settlement settlers. The argument is made that while a location may be cleared (demolished and forcefully displaced), the evicted end-up relocation into another place or locality close or far away. During the data capturing process, snowballing techniques reflected the communal and collective relocation of the evicted from one location to a new place. There were instances where some of the sampled respondents were living together in a location (for example, Badia West) before they were forcefully displaced and located together again to Badia East before the households were forcefully evicted again. The study points to a research gap about evictees' colony and a household genealogical and historical documentation of eviction process over time and across family history.

The study believes that effective pre-eviction and post-eviction consultations geared at understanding the livelihood conditions and needs of these urban poor remain the route to curtailing the recreation of slum settlement or potential eviction zones. It is buttressed that until the needs (mainly housing and financial focused on affordability and accessibility) of the people are understood, urban Eviction might not be on sight any soon.

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