

Economic Deprivation and Willingness to Relocate among Urban Slum Dwellers in Lagos

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ABSTRACT In spite of deplorable conditions, slum dwellers have often been persistent in remaining in the so called urban hell holes. It has however been asserted that in many cases, the conditions in the slums are worse than those in the rural areas from which many migrated scholars have therefore been interested in the factors that motivate slum dwellers' willingness to remain in the slums or to relocate. In a survey (n = 383), this study explored the living conditions of the slum dwellers, their level of absolute deprivation, and the factors that motivate or impede their willingness to relocate from the slum. The results showed that deprivation and marginalization in the slum were very high. Curiously however, the results showed an insignificant negative correlation between willingness to relocate and the level of absolute deprivation. It was however shown that slum dwellers' willingness to relocate was contingent upon their social and demographic characteristics.

INTRODUCTION

The growth of slums and peripheral settlements in the Third World cities has received a lot of attention. Studies were premised on the borrowed theories which codified the then early migration experiences of western countries. Recent studies focused on depicting the objective conditions of the slum dwellers (Moffat and Finnis 2005; Somik et al. 2008; Nijman 2008; Takeuchi et al. 2008; Rana 2009). Studies have focused on urban renewal, incidences of evictions and slum relocation and the attendant impacts on slum dwellers as well as the factors that influence the post-relocation performance of projects. Such studies focused on pre-requisites for achieving success, including factors external to the community such as the location of the new settlements, compensation and other factors internal to the community such as unity, availability of strong leadership, active participation and the attitude of community members.

The slum has been of special attraction to scholars because of the assumption that increased poverty will make the poor to reject the status quo in favour of self-interested motivations (Davis 2006). Theorists suggested that mass agglomerations will provide the ground for the spread of radical political philosophies. Contrary to speculation, however, the urban poor

have been conservative, patriotic and system supportive (Perlman 2004), preferring incremental changes to fundamental change. While urban movements have had some successes in influencing governments, successive governments have had successes in suppressing demands and excluding them from political participation despite worsened conditions, playing groups against each other, using what is now referred to as the 'patron-client' tactics (Perlman et al. 2004; Davis 2006).

In spite of this evidence of passivity, the current levels of inequality in the Third World may yet bring the type of radicalism that analysts now think impossible. The resurgence of terrorism, nationalism and ethnic violence coupled with what Wacquant (1999) described as 'advanced marginality' around the world is enough evidence that the spatial concentration of idle, un-integrated, and malleable individuals next door to the wealthy may become a fertile ground for proponents of radical political philosophies. There is therefore the need for scholarly comprehension of the factors that keep these slums stable. Davis (2006) aptly set the tone when he asked rhetorically '*...what then are the factors responsible for the seeming legitimization of inequality that have made Marx's 'historical agency' impotent? Or are the slums volcanoes waiting to erupt as Victorian bourgeois-*

sies once imagined? Is there a point at which congestion, violence and poverty in the slums will overwhelm the clientistic politics and ad hoc survival networks and lead to combustion'?

What factors therefore keep people in the slums? Peil (1991) established that residence in a slum is not an indication of poverty. Mulwanda and Mutale (1994) argued that squatter settlements are not mere aggregations of dwelling units but 'systems'. This system of the settlements incorporates three components, namely the political, the social and the economic. Thus no meaningful discussion of their future can be conceived without an understanding of this system. For example, the concept of 'self-help', steeped in traditional society is reflected in slums and squatter settlements which, at the onset, were extensions of the rural setting.

In many parts of the Third World, the view of the slums and squatter settlements as abodes of social deviants has often resulted in the demolition of housing stocks in these peripheral settlements. Although this stereotype has been refuted by many past studies (Portes and Walton 1976; Rasid et al. 2007), the picture has continued to dominate the thinking of politicians and town planning authorities. Consequently, slum and squatter demolition has been pursued despite opposition from slum dwellers and the acute shortage of low cost housing that makes the slums an abode for all ordinary people in dire need of inexpensive housing. Often the slums are located and strategically placed in terms of access to cities' social and economic infrastructures. Despite the fact that in many instances, these houses were put up by the settlers themselves, governments have been tempted to forcefully evict slum dwellers, rendering them homeless whilst offering them no alternatives. In addition, evictions have been motivated by urban renewal and town planning imperatives that lead city authorities to jettison the interest of lower class slum dwellers in favour of the middle and upper classes. It is often argued that the prime land occupied by slum dwellers could be better utilized for more economically productive purposes. Resettlement and relocation have thus interested scholars recently (Rasid 1982; Rasid and Odemerho 1998; Rashid et al. 2007). Studies have been done on the impacts on re-settlers, showing acute socio-economic hardships. It has been shown that the sufferings of slum dwellers are due to changes

in their places of living and the livelihoods. Resettlement and relocation creates tremendous negative impacts on communities as well as the local economy of the area.

However, the attitude towards slum dwellers has changed from outright eviction to resettlement and relocation. In fact UN-Habitat has underscored the need for security of tenure in low-income housing (UNCHS 1991; UNHABITAT 2003). With the numbers of slum dwellers growing in many Third World cities and dictatorships giving way to democratic governments, government willingness to forcefully evict people is waning given the need of politicians for votes which are readily available among the poor if they are given palliatives. The democratic environments therefore require that authorities act with caution. This implies that the new Third World governments have to balance the imperatives of providing middle class housing in accessible locations with the needs to keep slum dwellers 'happy'. As a result, willing relocation is expected to be favoured as opposed to forced evictions.

Lagos: Housing and Slum Formation

Gandy (2006: 372) estimated that Lagos has over 200 slums. The growth of Lagos began from the small 'Lagos Island' and has expanded over a large megalopolis. The city expanded in a haphazard manner without co-ordination between employment opportunities and affordable housing (Ayeni 1977). The land use pattern was adjusted to suit the industrial location pattern. Adjacent to these industrial estates are the locations of some of the slums where low income workers of the now mostly defunct factories resided and where informal businesses arose to take advantage of the economic decline of the bigger enterprises that were soon to collapse. These houses, usually two or three-storey dwellings with as many as 10-15 occupants per room were hastily constructed often with no water or electricity (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978). They constitute the biggest slums in Lagos such as *Ajegunle*, *Mushin* and *Somolu* and *Badia*, representing the remnants of Lagos' failed industrialization. They are '*in effect, intense concentrations of human labour for which the promise of work and prosperity has never materialized*' (Gandy 2006: 381). Although the government has constructed houses ostensibly to house the

poor, housing stock delivered has never been able to meet the population surge.

The slums rather than the so-called few and far between government houses are thus the natural habitat of *Lagosians*. The rate of in-migration and population growth has exerted so much stress on already decaying infrastructure that the city had to extend its boundaries, leading to new settlements on the outskirts (Oyekanmi 1987). These outward settlements had grown quickly due to the activities of land speculators in buying out agricultural lands, and laying them out without provision for social amenities or recourse to approval of town planning authorities. Thus it can be seen that the low income areas of Lagos are not squatter settlements in that they are not built on illegally expropriated land, like is the case in most of Latin America, but are slums in that their development was carried out without proper plans and approval by city planning authorities. The Lagos State Government had earmarked 41 such slums for upgrading (Olanrewaju 2001). While some, like *Maroko*, have been demolished, and the land converted for upper class residential accommodation without erstwhile residents being resettled, Badia, otherwise known as *Ijora-Badia* or *Badiya*, the setting for the present study, is one of the longest survivors.

Living Conditions in Badia

Badia, otherwise known as *Ijora-Badia* or *Badiya*, is a low-income settlement within the coastal region of Lagos Metropolis. It is located on a coastal ridge within the swampy low-land area. Therefore, it experiences regular deposits of silt clays, organic materials, dense sand, clayed sand and gravel from the Lagos lagoon. The land is swampy with erratic distribution of sediments encountered on the surface. Its regular exposure to low ocean tides leaves it frequently flooded. It has a land area of about 80 hectares and a population of 120,000 people (NPC 1997). Badia, like other low-income settlements, is heavily built up, showing evidence of blight. The physical sight is of rusty buildings, flooded and smelly streets. The shanty housing is typically of low height and in many cases built on wooden piles, planks and bamboo, adapted to the swampy nature of the terrain. The streets are always wet thus planks are permanently arranged on the grounds for people to walk be-

tween buildings. When the rains get really bad, houses are flooded, lives and property are lost. Badia is however close to the Lagos ports, and *Iganmu* housing and industrial estates, and is thus nearby the sources of employment and consequently attracts the inflow of population.

The roads are not motorable (due to constant flooding) and waste is disposed in gutters or on the streets. Electricity connection is mostly illegal, its supply haphazard. In addition, there are no government educational and health institutions in Badia thus forcing residents to rely on a few privately owned schools and health-care centers mostly manned by quacks (Olanrewaju 2001). The overall living condition in the settlement is thus a direct threat to the health and safety of its inhabitants as well as the city. This is perhaps the motivating factor behind the government's recent upgrading proposals. These had included proposals for supply of potable water, road construction, drainage and channelization of water, refuse disposal as well as provision of health services. However, these grandiose plans have always remained what they are- plans.

Badia: The Economy and the People

Badia, as earlier mentioned, is strategically located near the main sources of employment in Lagos, that is, the city centre, the *Iganmu* Industrial area and the Lagos ports. This was the factor that stimulated its emergence. However, with the downturn in the Nigerian economy and consequent loss of jobs in industry, Olanrewaju (2001) estimated the average annual income for Badia to be USD 375 per annum. This compares poorly with the national figure of USD 1,120 and, for example, with USD 5,833 for South Africa or USD 81,111 for Norway (World Bank 2008). This area of town is perceived as the violent and dangerous abode of the never do wells, thus the middle classes who live barely five kilometers at the Apapa Government Reserve Area, will be quite unwilling to enter or even drive through it. Here the police are flexible as jungle justice prevails. Offenders are tried, sentenced and executed by mobs. An applicant applying for a job with a Badia address is unlikely to secure a job in a self-respecting enterprise. The rowdiness, poor infrastructure and most importantly, the high level of crime in the neighbourhood hugely limit the possibility of economic participation of

the local bourgeoisie or foreign investors in the Badia economy. Shops and warehouses would easily be looted and any persistent investor will have to expend hugely on security and pay-offs to local thugs in order to operate. Coupled with fleecing by corrupt officials, the prospect of attracting investments here is grim. Thus Badia is in a decay that is perhaps irreversible. Badia is a sight of squalor, perhaps worse than an urban village. Badia serves as a place of succor for the very poor. It also serves as a place of temporary abode for new migrants who may be unable to find better accommodation prior to securing employment in the city. Most importantly, the so called *bazaar* economy has provided employment for a growing number of people. These occupations require little or no skills or training, entrance is without barrier and quite often and businesses can be done from home. Thus people are rather underemployed than unemployed.

Urban Renewals, Evictions and Slum Relocations

Somik et al. (2008: 59) delineated factors that influence city dwellers' residential location choices in urban areas. These include; commuting costs, local public goods and individual preferences for neighborhood composition. Consequently, location choice models are estimated as functions of dwelling characteristics and local amenities. However, elitist governments in many Third World countries view slums as a drain on the economy and as criminally infested places deserving of destruction, rather than as positive and integral parts of the urban environment. Consequently, evictions are widespread as they symbolize the desperation of city planners to keep cities exclusive. The UNHABITAT (2006) however delineated guidelines to ameliorate consequences of evictions and forced relocations where these are inevitable. They proposed that sufficient resources should be allocated to ensure that evictees are compensated and rehabilitated to ensure that they are not worse off. Furthermore, evictees should be incorporated into the planning of the relocation. Needless to say, these guidelines are rarely adhered to. Evictions have accentuated individual and social impoverishment including homelessness and the growth of new slums. They have also led to psychological, medical and physical trauma. In addition, evictees have often experi-

enced loss of livelihoods and even death (Otiso 2008: 253). These are accompanied by higher transportation costs, worsened housing conditions, reduction of low-income housing stock, higher housing costs, absence of choice of alternative accommodation and tension with dwellers already at resettlement sites (Takeuchi et al. 2008; Rana 2009).

The Present Study

With the rapid growth of slums in African cities, urban practitioners have expressed concern (Gulyani and Bassett 2008: 858). Most studies on slums have focused on what has been conceptualized as a 'diamond' with four dimensions including living conditions, tenure and infrastructure, housing units and the neighborhood and what might be done to improve informal settlements (Gulyani and Bassett 2008). Scholars have also been interested in the consequences of forced relocations and evictions in Third World slums. What has often escaped the attention of scholars however is the fact that beside mere economic rationale, there are other factors that sustain slum dwellers' acceptance of their living conditions and consequently help maintain society-wide conditions of domination and inequality. There is therefore neglect in the literature of what forces motivate slum dwellers to be willing to relocate or not. This becomes important in view of the long-held assertion that slum residence is not a function of mere poverty (Peil 1991). Consequently, the framework for understanding slums needs to be broadened.

The present study therefore adopts a two-pronged approach that encompasses a retrospective insight from prior studies and a survey of actual conditions in a slum. On the basis of this, responses are elicited on the extent of absolute deprivation among slum dwellers in Badia. Responses were further elicited on the levels of willingness among respondents to relocate from the slum. The study is therefore an investigation of how the differential levels of the experience of absolute deprivation predict respondents' willingness to relocate from the slum. It was also an attempt to explore the relationship between slum dwellers' Social Economic Status (SES) and willingness to relocate from the slums. The following three hypotheses are tested:

- H₀:** Experience of Absolute deprivation has no significant relationship with socio-demographic factors.
- H₁:** Experience of Absolute deprivation correlates with socio-demographic factors.
- H₀:** Experience of Absolute deprivation has no relationship with respondents' willingness to relocate from the slum.
- H₂:** Experience of Absolute deprivation is correlated with willingness to relocate from the slum.
- H₀:** Respondents' Social Economic Status (SES) variables have no relationship with their willingness to relocate from the slum.
- H₃:** Willingness to relocate from the slum is correlated with respondents' Social Economic Status (SES)

METHODOLOGY

A total of 383 respondents were sampled. The sample size was determined using *Raosoft* sample size calculator online, and the sample was selected using a multi-stage sampling strategy. In the first stage of analysis, responses ($n = 383$) were reduced using Principal Components Analysis (PCA) to determine how questionnaire items contributed to variables under consideration. PCA revealed appropriate Kaiser Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (BTS) results for the sample. Subsequently the variable Absolute Deprivation (ABDEP) was extracted and saved in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme and used as a dependent variable in the analysis. Scale reliability was determined using the Cronbach's alpha. The effect of Social Economic Status (SES) variables on Absolute Deprivation (ABDEP) was discerned using a one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Results of accessibility to amenities and socio-demographics were

presented using simple percentages. Furthermore, the relationship between ABDEP and 'willingness to relocate' and the relationships between SES variables and 'willingness to relocate' were discerned using bivariate correlation.

RESULTS

Consistent with the literature on urban slums (Oyekanmi 1987; Aina 1990; Olanrewaju 2001; Moffat and Finns 2005; Huchzermeyer 2008), three factors, types of roof, wall and floor were used to assess the quality of dwelling places in Badia. Unlike in many slums and informal settlements, houses in Badia are made of durable materials although they are dilapidated and in dire need of refurbishment. The results from the study indicated that houses in Badia are of poor quality. Although Table 1 shows that 70.8% of respondents live in houses constructed with cement walls, most of these houses are in dire need of replacement. 19% of the respondents reported that their house floors were made of mere 'earth', indicating that while many houses were built with cement blocks many were not completed with cement. 4.2% and 15.9% of the respondents reported that their houses were roofed with bamboo/leaves and wood, respectively. In addition, 14.9% of houses have wooden walls and 5.2% had walls made of bamboo/leaves. As most houses were constructed with masonry, it can be concluded that despite evidence of blight, Badia is not a temporary place of abode like informal settlements and shacks prevalent in many Third World cities, but a permanent home for its people. However the structures are old and dilapidated, requiring upgrading or renewal.

In many of the houses, severe overcrowding abounds given the current persons per room ratio. As Table 2 shows, the occupancy rate or persons per room is akin to what exists in many

Table 1: Materials for housing construction

	Roof		Wall		Floor	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cement blocks	-	-	271	70.8	224	58.5
Wood	61	15.9	57	14.9	85	22.2
Bamboo/Leaves	16	4.2	20	5.2	-	-
Zinc	305	79.6	35	9.1	-	-
Earth	-	-	-	-	74	19.3

Source: Computer printout of a Table derived from the data and findings of this study

Table 2: Crowding level

	<i>Frequ- ency</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cumu- lative %</i>
1 Person per room	18	4.7	4.7
2 Persons per room	15	3.9	8.6
3 Persons per room	22	5.7	14.4
4 Persons and above	328	85.6	100.0
Total	383	100.0	

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study.

Third World slums (Huchzermeyer 2008). 85.6% of the residents live four persons or more per room.

Olanrewaju (2001) similarly reported an occupancy ratio of 1:5 for Badia. This occupancy ratio is glaringly in contrast with what obtains in many developed countries with occupancy ratio ranging from 1:1 to 1:1.5 (Hardoy et al. 1990). The implication of overcrowding for the spread of infectious respiratory diseases is glaring. As overcrowding endured, so were amenities and infrastructure over stretched.

The data shows (see Table 3) that waste disposal and drainage facilities were completely unavailable to the residents of Badia as none of the respondents reported access to these urban services. With the absence of these services, waste is disposed freely on the streets and the

Table 3: Access to amenities

<i>Amenity</i>	<i>% with access</i>
Toilet	27.4
Bathroom	26.9
Kitchen	40.2
Electricity	58.2
Piped water	0
Waste disposal facility	0
Drainage	0
Television	50.7
Radio	33.4
Washing machine	0
Refrigerator	25.6
Video/VCD/DVD	36.8
L8Telephone(land/mobile)	56.1
Air conditioner	3.7
Electric fan	55.6
Electric iron	34.5
Car	8.6
Motorbike	12.3
Computer	0
Stereo	21.9

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study

gutters that litter the streets of Badia serve as the alterative ducts for sewage and drainage. This represents a threat to the health of the inhabitants and serves as the prelude to the spread of diseases. The creation of an underground sewage for Lagos city had been attempted in 1902 and 1956 but abandoned each time while the state wasted huge funds on sporting jamborees (Gandy 2006). Low access to healthcare is one of the most generalized indicators of poverty (UNFPA 1996) and one of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). While the present study does not report the level of access to medical facilities in Badia, Olanrewaju (2001) earlier reported that hospitals are rare and that people often relied on traditional healers and quacks for treatment. This creates greater problems of health security. Equally tragic is the fact that none (0%) of the respondents had piped water supplied to their homes. Reliance for water supply is on water vendors popularly called 'mai ruwa' and the booming *pure water* industry that supplies sachet water from largely unknown sources and products that are mostly unlicensed. The spread of water-borne diseases in Lagos' slums has been widely attributed to the wide distribution of unclean 'pure water' (Aina 1990). Incidentally many residents of the slums are employed in the sale of 'pure water' inside Lagos' impossible traffic that takes motorists hours to navigate under the hot tropical sun. As Gandy (2006: 374) argued,

'...access to water provides one of the most poignant indicators of social inequality and also illustrates the scale of the challenge facing different governmental strategies to improve urban conditions.'

While huge funds have been expended on providing water for commercial buildings and high income areas like *Ikoyi* or *Victoria Island*, low income areas like *Badia* were neglected and have had to rely on stand pipes, wells and polluted creeks for water (Gandy 2006). Rather than treating issues of amenities as a human right concern, politicians have turned these into slogans for electioneering campaigns. For example, the erstwhile governor of Lagos State, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, extensively used water supply as a re-election campaign promise in 2004. While government reportedly increased water billing and revenue collection from less than 4% in 1999 to 30% in 2003 and appointed so-called technocrats to manage urban facilities, today the situa-

tion has barely changed (Gandy 2006). The creation of new bureaucracies and neo-liberal inspired private-public partnerships merely enhanced water supply to the affluent neighbourhoods whereas slum areas suffer. An attempted partnership with the International Financial Corporation (IFC) and the Lagos state government to enhance water supply failed to bear fruits despite huge optimism given that the economic reality on ground dictated that the urban poor could ill-afford the proposed high tariffs (Olanrewaju 2001).

Apart from common services, household amenities are in dire shortage in Badia. As the survey revealed (see Table 3), 27% and 26.9% of the respondents reported having toilets and bathrooms respectively. Often the kind of toilets available are pit latrines given that piped water is unavailable, therefore diminishing the possibility of using flush toilets or indoor baths. The implication of the above is grave. A community where 70% of residents have no bathrooms and toilets is an environmental disaster waiting to happen. In addition, the lack of access to modern home gadgets often taken for granted in more affluent neighbourhoods is another indicator of poverty. Notably, none (0%) of the respondents had access to a computer at home. Due to the nature of occupations, perhaps few have access to computers at work. Given recent debates about the bridging of the 'digital divide', lack of access to basic computers and the internet by residents in the city shows how much further such goals are to attainment. As data presented in this section shows, poverty is indicated by the dire shortage of urban and household amenities in Badia. The lack of attention to these services by the government is an indication of the neglect of neighbourhoods of the poor by many Third World governments. Often, pretensions of attention are made only when elections are near and quickly forgotten when the necessary votes are secured. Where funds are made available for these projects, the *clientistic* nature of politics ensures that local community leaders make away with these funds given the huge levels of corruption and non-accountability (Walton 1997).

Subjective Class Indicators

Whilst it has been argued that residence in a slum is not an indicator of poverty (Peil 1991),

evidence from the present study shows that in terms of subjective class indicators earlier used by Kluegel et al. (1977) and Jackman and Jackman (1973), Badia is preponderantly populated by people who can be described as belonging to the lower class. As Table 4 shows, educational attainment among Badia residents is significantly low. 43% had primary education or less. In fact a closer examination of the Table reveals that a cumulative 89.3% of the respondents have secondary/ high school level education or less. Only 8.6% proceeded to receive higher education training. This picture justifies the repeated claim by scholars that slum dwellers cannot partake in the urban economy because they do not possess the necessary skills and education that the modern economy demands (Perlman 1976). Many are thus trapped in precarious occupations that offer no chance of escape from poverty. Low level of education among Badia residents was earlier reported by Olanrewaju (2001). In addition, an analysis of respondents' income levels (taken as an estimate of what they earned in the preceding year) shows that the majority

Table 4: Subjective class variables

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Frequ- ency</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cumu- lative %</i>
<i>Education</i>			
Primary or less	168	43.9	43.9
Junior secondary	102	26.6	70.5
Senior secondary	80	20.9	91.4
Diploma/NCE	31	8.1	99.5
Degree	2	0.5	100
Post graduate	0	0	100
<i>Income</i>			
₦ 10,000 or less	97	25.3	25.3
₦ 10,001-20,000	132	34.5	59.8
₦ 20,001-30,000	94	24.5	84.3
₦ 30,001-40,000	34	8.9	93.2
₦ 40,001-50,000	20	5.2	98.4
Above 50,000	6	1.6	100
<i>Type of Work</i>			
Salaried job	131	34.2	
Self-employment	213	55.6	
Day labour	32	8.4	
Unemployed/retired	7	1.8	
<i>Position at Work</i>			
Owner/partner	237	61.9	
Manager/supervisor	16	4.2	
Worker	130	33.9	
<i>Status in House</i>			
Owners	6	1.6	
Tenants	377	98.4	
<i>Ownership of Land/House</i>			
Yes	50	13.9	

of the respondents (59.8%) reportedly earned less than ₦20, 000 Naira in the preceding year. 84.3% earned less than ₦ 30, 000. Olanrewaju (2001) estimated the average income in Badia to be ₦ 30, 000 per annum. However, results of this study show that income seem to have declined consequent upon the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies (HABITAT 2003). Marginally increased GNP per capita figures are seemingly not true reflections of people's earnings. Table 4 also shows that the respondents are preponderantly self-employed (55.6%), with only 34.2% in salaried employment. The kind of self-employment ranges from hawking of water and street goods, minor repairs to commercial motorcycle riding. Similarly, salaried jobs refer to a wide range of activities, from a domestic help to shop assistant or manning road-side phone call desks. It has been argued that a preponderance of urban slum dwellers are involved in the informal economy and that in fact most of those in formal employment also participate in the informal sector (Gandy 2006). The results of the study also showed that 61.9% of the respondents indicated that they were owners/partners of their businesses. Significantly, the kinds of businesses owned were precarious undertakings that merely served as sources of subsistence, given the income accrued to such entrepreneurs. Businesses owned include hawking, street trade outlets and other variants of activities in the 'tertiarized' informal sector which offer little prospects for capital accumulation. Lower class status is equally indicated by results related to ownership of houses or land. As ownership of land is an indicator of wealth in African society, vast proportions of incomes are often invested

in land holdings (Oyekanmi 1987). In many countries, the question of land is associated with the achievement of equality and fundamental freedoms. Thus access to land is often used as a measure of citizenship and true democratic freedom (Gutto et al. 2006: 5). Data from the present study showed that 98.4% of occupants were renters or tenants in the houses where they live. In the same vein, 86.9% of the residents do not own houses or plots of land anywhere else in Nigeria. The lack of access to land therefore is an indicator not only of poverty among Badia residents but huge inequality in access to commonly owned goods and consequently an indicator of their occupation of the lower rungs of the social ladder in terms of their access to wealth and their true value as citizens in a supposedly democratic country. The foregoing has shown that in terms of access to urban services, Badia is a poor community. Similarly, subjective class indicators showed that Badia residents are predominantly members of the lower class as signified by their characteristics in terms of education and income level among other factors. The subjective class status and poor living conditions render people deprived in their everyday life as indicated by their actual access to social goods.

Experience of Absolute Deprivation in Badia

Respondents rated questions eliciting the extent to which they experienced those facets of deprivation including affordability of rent, food and health-care among others, within the preceding twelve months of the time of this study. This sort of data provides a self-evaluation of

Table 5: Total variance explained for ABDEP

Component	Initial Eigen values			Extraction sums of squared loadings		
	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	6.962	69.620	69.620	6.962	69.620	69.620
2	.738	7.378	76.998			
3	.569	5.690	82.688			
4	.496	4.957	87.645			
5	.379	3.788	91.433			
6	.249	2.490	93.923			
7	.188	1.879	95.801			
8	.178	1.776	97.578			
9	.157	1.572	99.150			
10	.085	.850	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Source: Computer printout of a Table derived from the data and findings of this study

deprivation, which helps in the understanding of people’s well-being. Ten questionnaire items were used to elicit these experiences of deprivation and the responses were processed statistically to derive one variable for analysis. In order to determine mean rating of these items and the extent of the individual item’s contribution to extracted factor, factor reduction was conducted using Principal Components Analysis on the afore-mentioned ten items. The results of the test showed that PCA was appropriate for the items given KMO = .88, BTS, $\chi^2 = 3667.018$ (df = 45), $p < 0.01$. One factor, OBDEP, accounting for 69.6 % of variance in the outcome was extracted (see Table 5) bypassing rotation8. The contributions of other possible factors diminish significantly after ABDEP was extracted. The component matrix showing *eigen* contributions of each item is presented in Table 6. The scale’s reliability is excellent given a Cronbach alpha score of 0.95, mean = 26.9, Standard Deviation, SD = 11.02.

Table 6: Components, Mean and SD for ABDEP items

	Compo- nents	Mean	SD
Defaulted on rent	.823	2.35	1.439
Could not buy new clothes/ furniture	.883	2.51	1.234
Could not afford food	.840	2.54	1.225
Asked for financial help from friends/family	.822	2.52	1.085
Could not afford transport to work	.902	2.57	1.338
Sold property/belongings to raise money	.761	3.02	1.393
Defaulted on bill payments	.809	2.61	1.293
Experienced difficulty raising money in an emergency	.862	2.84	1.353
Could not pay children’s school fees	.761	3.06	1.523
Could not get medical treatment. due to lack of money	.867	2.79	1.358

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study

The results of the study in this section show that the item ‘could not pay children’s school fees’, mean = 3.06, SD = 1.52, is the most important item describing respondents experience of deprivation, while the item ‘could not buy new clothes/furniture’, mean = 2.51, SD = 1.23 is the least rated option. Detailed analysis of the response pattern (see Table 7) indicates that 46.3% of the respondents reported that they ‘very of-

ten’ defaulted on rent, (17.5% ‘a few times’). 22.7% ‘very often’ could not afford to buy new clothes/furniture (37.6% ‘a few times’). 25.8% ‘very often’ could not afford food (29.2% ‘a few times’). 21.1% reported asking for financial assistance from friends ‘very often’ in the preceding year (29.5 % a few times). 31.3% could not afford transportation to work ‘very often’ (19.8% ‘a few times’), while 8.9% of the respondents ‘very often’ sold their belongings to raise money (37.3% ‘a few times’).

Table 7: Cumulative experiences of ABDEP

Type of deprivation	Cumulative % (very often’, ‘a few times’ and ‘sometimes’)
Defaulted on rent	68.9
Could not afford clothes/furniture	66.6
Could not afford food	73.4
Asked for financial help	77
Could not afford transportation	67.4
Sold personal property/belongings	62.9
Defaulted on bills	74.4
Difficulty raising money in an emergency	62.1
Could not pay children’s school fees	49.3
Could not afford medical treatment	65.3

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study

The results of the study further showed that 24% ‘very often’ defaulted on payment of bills while 27.2% defaulted ‘a few time’. 20.1% ‘very often’ had difficulty raising money in an emergency, while 26.5% had such difficulties ‘a few times’. 21.9% ‘very often’ could not afford to pay children’s school fees (23.8% could not ‘a few times’). Similarly, in the preceding year, 17.5% could not get medical treatment due to lack of money ‘very often’, whilst 36.8% faced the same problem ‘a few times’.

An examination of cumulative responses to deprivation categories (see Table 7) shows that in the preceding year, a whopping 77% of the respondents sought financial help from friends and relations, while 74.4% defaulted on paying bills. These results show that ‘lack’ is prevalent in the everyday lives of people in Badia, indicating that along with poor access to infrastructure and lower class status, Badia residents can be said to be deprived in terms of their everyday life experiences. These experiences can be understandable with respect to the socio-demographic characteristics of the people. On the

basis of the above, results of experience of deprivation were analyzed according to respondents' social-demographic characteristics.

Correlates of ABDEP

The variable ABDEP was saved in SPSS after PCA for further analysis to determine how ABDEP correlates with other variables. The new scale (n = 10) has an 'excellent' Cronbach's alpha of .95, mean = 26.9, SD = 11.02. A one way ANOVA was conducted to determine how respondents differed in their levels of objective deprivation by socio-demographic factors. The results of the study reflected on Table 8 show that except for ethnicity, $F = 85$, $p < 0.05$ and religion, $F = 140.5$, $p < 0.05$, all other variables examined showed statistically significant relationships with ABDEP at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. This implies that differences in deprivation experience are unexplainable in terms of religious and ethnic differences. In line with these findings, it can be concluded that gender, age and the subjective class factors of income, education as well as work type and position at work predict actual experience of deprivation. The null hypothesis (H_0) is therefore rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) is accepted. Absolute experiences of deprivation correlate with socio-demographic factors. A large body of knowledge supports the assertion that objective injustice lays the foundation for feelings of frustration and anger (Mikula 2003). In addition, this supports the futility version of Relative Deprivation and its assertion that increasing objective deprivation enhances feelings of subjective deprivation (Martins 1986). However, Relative Deprivation research has shown that it is the subjective perception of unjustness rather than objective deprivation that triggers action. The mechanism for the conversion of feel-

ings into action has been conceptualized to operate through frustration (Dollard et al. 1939).

Willingness to Relocate from Slums

Given the extent of experiences of absolute deprivation among residents and poor access to urban services, Badia can be described as a slum of despair (Waquant 1999). The hope of a better life that perhaps motivated migration to this community has been dashed by the circumstances in the harsh urban milieu. Given these conditions, the study proceeded to find out if residents were willing to relocate from Badia. This was the prelude to an analysis of factors that motivate or impede the willingness of slum dwellers to relocate.

The results of the study (see Tables 9 and 9.1) showed that 42% of the respondents were

Table 9: Willingness to relocate

	Frequency	%
Very willing	75	19.6
Willing	161	42.0
Don't know	95	24.8
Not willing	33	8.6
Not at all willing	19	5.0
Total	383	100.0

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study

Table 9.1: Preferred place of relocation

	Frequency	%
None	51	13.3
Home village	34	8.9
Apapa GRA	51	13.3
Other parts of Lagos	247	64.5
Total	383	100.0

Source: Computer printout of a table derived from the data and findings of this study

Table 8: Correlates of ABDEP using ANOVA

	Sum of square	df.	Mean square	F	Sig.
Gender	88.2	52	1.7	105.2	.000
Age	84.7	51	1.7	103.1	.000
Education	351.1	52	6.8	18.1	.000
Income	520.9	52	10	137.3	.000
Work type	166.8	52	3.2	199.1	.000
Position at work	306.1	52	5.9	62.6	.000
Ethnicity	322.3	52	6.2	85	.355
Religion	88.5	52	1.7	140.5	.136

Source: Computer printout of a Table derived from the data and findings of this study

‘willing’ to relocate from Badia, while 19.6% were ‘very willing’. A cumulative 13.6% did not wish (not willing or not at all willing) to leave Badia. Most (64.5%) of those ‘willing’ to relocate preferred to relocate to other parts of Lagos. Despite harsh conditions, only 8.9 % wished to relocate to the rural areas from which many may originally migrated. In previous studies, slum dwellers have more been reported to be conservative, patriotic and system supportive, mostly given to the fatalistic perception that life would be better if they do not offend the governments and that their children would have better chances for upward mobility. In this way, it has been argued, the urban poor have served to reinforce the powers of the upper classes in reproducing their own domination and are therefore the architects of their own doom (Perlman 1976).

Social Economic determinants of WILREL

One of the objectives of the present study was to determine why slum dwellers remain in the slums despite conditions of deprivation and marginality. This is more noteworthy given the presupposition that often, the conditions in the slums are worse than those in the rural areas from which people have migrated. The study therefore attempted to unravel the importance of the level of absolute deprivation and Social Economic Statues (SES) as motivators or impediments to the willingness of slums dwellers to relocate.

Bivariate zero-order correlations were obtained for willingness to relocate (WILREL) and social-demographics. Results shown in Table 10

indicates that WILREL is correlated with gender, $r = 0.129, p < 0.01$ (1- tailed). However, WILREL is negatively correlated with age, $r = -0.172, P < 0.05$ (2- tailed). The results imply that while willingness to relocate depends on gender, it is negatively correlated to age. This implies that the older respondents are, the less wiling they are to relocate. The results further showed that WILREL is positively correlated with education, $r = 0.122, p < 0.01$ (1-tailed), income, $r = 0.493, p < 0.01$ (1- tailed). Education and income are variable that have been shown to indicate possibility of social mobility (Jackman and Jackman 1973). It is therefore plausible that slum dwellers with the higher potentials for upward social mobility are more willing to relocate from the slums.

Furthermore, the results showed that WILREL is correlated with work type, $r = .419, p < 0.01$ (1- tailed); birth place, $123 p < 0.01$ (1- tailed); family size, $r = .208 p < 0.01$ (2- tailed). Furthermore, the results showed that WILREL is correlated with home ownership, $r = -.166, p < 0.01$ (2-tailed). All other relationships were insignificant. The results thus showed that possession of larger families correlated with WILREL. On the contrary however, ownership of the place of dwelling correlated negatively with willingness to relocate.

Absolute Deprivation and Willingness to Relocate

Willingness of slum dwellers to relocate and choices for relocation have been construed to be the function of economic incentives for relo-

Table 10: Zero-order correlations for socio-demographic factors and willingness to relocate

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
(1) Gender	-											
(2) Age	-.064	-										
(3) Education	.027	-.140**	-									
(4) Income	.062	-.295**	.551**	-								
(5) Work	-.197**	.232**	-.398**	-.147**	-							
(6) Birth	-.235**	.122*	.048	-.055	-.028	-						
(7) Family size	-.061	-.158**	-.255**	-.044	.268**	.225**	-					
(8) Religion	-.030	-.086	-.212**	-.018	.442*	.101	.225**	-				
(9) Duration	-.186**	.170**	.041	.302**	.029	-.111*	-.070	-.111	-			
(10) Occupancy	-.89	.416**	-.421**	-.485**	.445**	.358**	.282**	.358**	0	-		
(11) Ownership	.279**	.121*	.215**	.095	-.439**	-.353**	.181**	-.353**	0	0	-	
(12) WILREL	.129*	-.173**	.122*	.493	.419**	.123*	.208**	.120	-.059	.075	-.166**	

** . $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed), * . $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed)

cation or considerations of environmental amenities, better land, such as flood-free lands, among other factors. In a study of slum residents' choice of relocation in Dhakar, Bangladesh, Rashid et al. (2007) reported that many residents found that certain configurations of economic incentives were not attractive enough for slum dwellers to relocate. They concluded that incentives that would enhance voluntary relocation of residents included free land, non-repayable grants and long-term employment opportunities. Furthermore, differences in geographic location, income levels, and membership in neighbourhood communities were linked with residents' willingness to relocate from slums.

The results from the bivariate correlations between levels of absolute deprivation and willingness to relocate (WILREL) are shown in Table 11. The results indicate that the relationship between levels of absolute deprivation (ABDEP) and WILREL is not significant, $p = .729$. Curiously however, the results indicate a weak negative correlation $-.018$, indicating that ABDEP and WILREL have a negative relationship. This implies that potentially, the more deprived people are, the less willing they are to relocate from the slums. The implication of this is meaningful within the context of the assertion that slums and peripheral settlements have remained abodes for people of lower economic status who have fewer choices of residential locations within the urban milieu. It is therefore plausible that the poorer and the more deprived people are, the less willing they are to relocate from slums.

The tendency in many Third World cities has been to demolish 'offending' slums and squatter settlements, an approach which is not only costly, but is also vehemently opposed by the slum and squatter dwellers. The alternative has been simply to ignore the presence of these set-

tlements. Regardless of which approaches have been adopted, the reality is that slums and squatter settlements have become a permanent feature of the Third World city landscape. The rational approach would therefore be to divert resources to the improvement of these settlements or for political authorities to conceptualise measure that will make slum dwellers voluntarily evacuate these abodes.

DISCUSSION

The data and findings of this study provide a prognosis of deprivation through a portrayal of the extent to which people in Badia experience 'lack' or 'want' with respect to access to the basic needs of everyday life. The basics herein considered include affordability of rent, food and health-care among others. Respondents rated questions eliciting the extent to which they experienced those facets of deprivation within the preceding twelve months of the time of this study. This sort of data provides a self-evaluation of deprivation, which helps in the understanding of people's well-being. Furthermore, subjective class analysis using guidelines prescribed by Kluegel et al. (1977) and Jackman and Jackman (1973) reveals that Badia residents predominantly belong to the lower classes. Education attainments are low as the majority of the respondents possess high school education which hampers their ability to effectively compete in the urban economy. In addition, reported average annual income of between ₦20000 and ₦30000 (approximately \$125-\$188 US Dollars) is significantly lower than earlier estimates (\$220; Olanrewaju 2001) and the national average (\$1,092; World Bank 2009). The occupation profile reveals that majority of residents, though self-employed, are engaged in the precarious

Table 11: Correlations for ABDEP and WILREL

		<i>ABDEP</i>	<i>Willingness to move out of Badia</i>
ABDEP	Pearson Correlation	1	-.018
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.729
Willingness to move out of Badia	N	383	383
	Pearson Correlation	-.018	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.729	
	N	383	383

Source: Computer printout of a Table derived from the data and findings of this study

informal distributive trades that offer little prospects for advancement.

The ABDEP subscale constructed using items on the research instrument revealed important relationships with respondents' demographics. Statistical analysis revealed that the experience of ABDEP is unexplainable in terms of religious and ethnic differences, but in terms of gender, age and the subjective class factors of income, education, work type and position at work. Most of the respondents are frustrated with slum life; thus Badia can be described as a slum of despair. A cumulative majority of the respondents indicated that they were 'willing' or 'very willing' to move out of Badia. However, as the results of the bivariate analyses showed, willingness to relocate from the slum is contingent upon respondents' SES. The results showed that willingness to relocate is correlated with the social status variables of income and education. These results are plausible given the fact that people with higher education and income levels have higher potentials for upward mobility and are therefore more likely to possess higher ambitions to participate better in the city's economy and enjoy a better life.

However while the results of the study showed that willingness to relocate relates to socio-demographic differences, curiously, the results showed that the relationship between levels of absolute deprivation and willingness to relocate falls short of statistical significance. Perhaps more instructive is the fact that the statistical tool revealed that the correlation between these two variables was weak and negative ($r = -.018$). This correlation can be interpreted to imply that as the level of absolute deprivation increases, the willingness of respondents to relocate from the slum diminishes (and vice versa). The implication of these results is that the poorer people are, the more they will remain in the slums. Consequently, rather than evictions and relocations, efforts to end slums living must be directed at improving the lives of people and rescuing them from marginalization and deprivation.

Former IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus, warned '*... Poverty is the ultimate systemic threat facing humanity. The widening gaps between rich and poor nations ... are ... potentially socially explosive ... If the poor are left hopeless, poverty will undermine societies through confrontation, violence and civil dis-*

order' (Camdessus 2000). Perlman (1976) reported that the urban poor were integrated and conservative, and in fact 'grateful' to be in cities where they felt better-off than their counterparts in the rural areas. However, the reference groups for the urban poor seem dynamic. In her subsequent study of the same sample, Perlman et al. (2004) found that rather than an atmosphere of cordial integration, the next generation of *faveloados* had been anything but integrative. There was a pervading atmosphere of fear, higher unemployment and despair. The erstwhile peaceful *favelas* had metamorphosed into dangerous grounds taken over by drugs and arms dealers who had formed a community exclusive of the main society, within which the organ of the larger society has no control. In these new terrains, misery, homicide, crime and apathy had taken over; life had become dangerous. Perlman et al. (2004) had to admit that her assumed 'myth' had turned into reality. It is noteworthy therefore, that the current levels of inequality in the Third World may bring the type of radicalism that analysts now think impossible. The spatial concentration of idle, un-integrated, and malleable individuals next door to the rich and affluent may indeed become a fertile ground for proponents of radical political philosophies.

CONCLUSION

Badia is a sight of squalor, perhaps worse than an urban village. However, it serves some useful purposes. People find ways to stay happy. Recreation is in the local beer parlors called 'joints'. With high costs of accommodation in many parts of the city, Badia serves as a place of succor for the very poor. It also serves as a place of temporary abode for new migrants who may be unable to find better accommodation prior to securing employment in the city. Most importantly, the so called *bazaar* economy has provided employment for a growing number of people. These occupations require little or no skills or training, entrance is without barrier and quite often, businesses can be done from home. Thus people are rather underemployed than unemployed.

Data from the study showed that poverty and deprivation in the community is understandable in terms of lack of access to items of urban collective consumption often taken for granted in more affluent neighbourhoods. In addition,

the results of the study showed that Badia residents could be classified as members of the lower class and as marginalized masses on the basis of the subjective indicators of income, education and occupation. Furthermore, the results showed that community members consistently experienced everyday deprivation in the preceding year, ranging from inability to pay rent to inability to pay for medical treatment. It was also shown that these experiences of deprivation varied according to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Community members' willingness to relocate from Badia has been shown to depend upon their social economic status. In addition, the more deprived the people are, the more unwilling they were to relocate from Badia.

While it may be said that the urban poor are not a threat to the political system for now, in future, the society may not be so safe with such an expanding pool of the poor and unemployed living in the cities next door to the rich and affluent, with governments that largely do not care. Already, problems associated with inequality have begun to rear their heads. Terrorism, insecurity, and ethnic clashes are on the rise. Violent conflagrations have erupted in Nigeria's oil-rich Niger-Delta ostensibly due to the growing realization that rather than improve people's lives, oil exploration had worsened it. This kind of crisis is gradually spreading to other parts of the country with the expanding activities of the *Boko Haram* sect.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Within thirty years, cities in the Third World will increase their urban built up areas, generating the same amount of urban areas the world has cumulatively generated. If local and national policies do not change, much of the imminent urbanization will be characterized by slums. Hundreds of millions of new urban dwellers will suffer from the relentlessly inhuman conditions that suffocate the already very large populations living in slums. Third World governments have made attempts to deal with the slum problems. This has been motivated by the need to give their cities a better look. Policies to stem rural-urban migration have not worked yet fertility levels and natural increases remain unabated. Now the international community needs to take the slum problems as its priority. Despite the

foregoing, the international development community has not focused on the fundamental issue of planning ahead. This is reflected in the dearth of published research and literature. Where such studies exist they are mere descriptions of the situation rather than concrete analyses of the nature of the problems, why they persist, and what is to be done. Disappointingly the millennium development goals focus on improving the lives of existing slum dwellers as against the millions that will surely come.

The government of Lagos has shown tremendous restraint from displacing slum dwellers. Rather, for some time, it has been persuaded by the arguments for slum upgrading. The durability of this policy cannot be ascertained given the inconsistencies and discontinuities of government policies in Nigeria. Recently, the incumbent Governor of Lagos State, Raji Fashola hinted of what might be the new thinking of the politicians, citing the need to move people out of the slums and relocating them to 'better houses'. Given that in the past, slum dwellers have been displaced without relocation, this promise has to be taken with the necessary 'pinch of salt'. Whilst something definitely has to be done about the squatter settlements, the rampant demolition of the housing stock constructed by the squatters without support from formal housing agencies is inhumane. Thus indiscriminate demolition of structures must be avoided at all costs especially in the present political dispensation. Any viable attempt to tackle the problem of housing the urban poor must incorporate the point of view of the participants. This entails working with them to improve their environment whilst mobilizing support from other sections of the society

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