Forced Evictions and the Creation of the Lagos Mega-City: Estimating the Room for Manoeuvre

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc Urban Economic Development

10,780 words

Aderoju John-Phillips

MSc Urban Economic Development

Supervisor: Catalina Ortiz

Development Planning Unit, University College London

2020

Table of Contents

Abstract

On the 9th of October 2016, the Lagos State government announced plans to demolish all waterfront informal settlements in Lagos within 7 days. While forced evictions are not a new mechanism in the states toolbox, the new wave of evictions of waterfront settlements have been influenced by the government's aim to transform Lagos into a model megacity. These evictions reflect the deep socio-spatial inequalities present in urban society and are a gross violation of human rights, particularly the right to adequate housing. Despite the frequency and scale of these evictions in Lagos there is a lack of research and theorisation of practices of evictions and more broadly, dispossession. Thus, while evictions are commonly viewed as the state engaging in accumulation by dispossession, I argue that evictions in cities like Lagos where there is a large presence of informality also serve as a means to resolve the problems posed by slum and informal communities to the preservation and reproduction of capital. This dissertation examines the series of forced evictions enacted on Makoko, an informal waterfront settlement in Lagos and the mechanisms the people have employed in facing these evictions and protecting their community. Based on an in-depth review of the available literature, policy documents and news articles as well as interviews with key informants from the state government, civil society and NGOs, I argue that the case of Makoko provides a unique opportunity for the government to employ alternative, adequate solutions to the housing question by estimating the 'room for manoeuvre' in the areas of community participation, reprioritising the goals and strategies of urban development and redevelopment of institutional frameworks.

Chapter 1 Introduction

On the 9th of October 2016, the Lagos State government re-stated its intentions to demolish all waterfront settlements in the city. While forced evictions have been re-produced over time as a planning mechanism in Lagos since the colonial period, the current waterfront settlement evictions are part of a wider strategy to develop Lagos into Africa's model mega-city. This neoliberal project seeks not only to attract global capital but to sell a new cosmopolitan experience (Paul, 2004). Despite the frequency and scale of forced evictions in Lagos, detailed studies and city-level analyses of forced evictions and displacements are lacking (Onyebueke, et al., 2020). There is also an insufficient amount or level of theorisation on the process of dispossession in African cities in the literature. Understanding of this process requires theorising the nature of how capital encloses, and requires a critical analysis of the spatial mechanisms of dispossession (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015). In this dissertation, I view dispossession not only as a means to accrue capital but to resolve the problems posed by the urban commons to the preservation and reproduction of capital (De Angelis, 2007). In particular, I focus on the process of forced evictions and the social conflicts inherent in them with the aim of opening the 'room for manoeuvre' in creating and implementing anti-eviction strategies.

As such, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the discourse on the topic of forced evictions in the Global South through a case study of forced evictions of the Makoko waterfront community. Creating the Lagos mega city requires opening up urban space to create profitable opportunities for capital. However, this process is hindered as cities are the site of intense contestation with various actors seeking to appropriate space for their own needs. In response to this, the state employs extra-economic means to enclose urban space and to achieve its aims of urban (re)development (Gillespie, 2015). In Lagos, the enclosure of urban space takes the form of forced evictions, demolition and clearance, the removal of hawkers from the streets and the subsequent displacement of these communities (Emordi & Osiki, 2008) (Badmos , et al., 2018) (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997) (Ezema, et al., 2016). The recent scale of forced evictions, however, despite the worsening state of housing conditions and biased provision necessitates an assessment of this urban process.

A review of forced evictions across Nigeria from 1973-1995 revealed that two-thirds of the 36 cases had occurred in Lagos, affecting an estimate of 460,000 people. (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997) owing to urban redevelopment and beautification projects as well as the clearing of illegal settlements. Furthermore, Lagos is short of approximately 5-9 million houses with demand in areas such as Lagos Island exceeding supply by a multiple of 18 (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2016; World Bank, 2015). Forced evictions of waterfront communities are a gross violation of human rights and deprive many urban dwellers of the right to adequate housing. Thus, exacerbating the housing crisis in Lagos. In many instances, evictions are enacted without applications of adequate guidelines including consultation and reasonable prior warning resulting in the displacement of communities. The UN pledge to 'leave no one behind' reinforces the importance of housing, not as a tool for commodification but as a right. Slater (2009) argues that housing be reframed as a question of social justice – with adequate and affordable housing being a human right and basic human need. The need to re-frame housing in terms of basic human rights stems from the denial of housing rights to people on the basis of race, sex, class, income. In addition, it provides an opportunity to re-assess the response to the inadequacies of housing provision and policy.

Makoko, a waterfront settlement has been the subject of evictions and demolitions since 2005 – a process which seeks to homogenise urban space by creating a unitary identity of a clean and modern mega city. These evictions seek to undermine the strategies which the residents employ to reproduce themselves by expropriating the land and spaces they occupy. In line with this, I argue that the case of Makoko provides a unique opportunity for the government to employ alternative and adequate solutions to the housing question and to estimate the 'room for manoeuvre'. With regards to Makoko, these possibilities lie in the areas of participation and collaboration of state institutions and local residents which can enable the development of context-specific and in re-prioritising the goals and strategies of urban development. This is in line with axis 3 and 4 of the UCLG cities for housing declaration which identify the role of anti-eviction strategies and the co-production of urban planning tools as key to developing inclusive and sustainable cities.

The analytical framework of this dissertation is based upon Safier (2002) four-dimensional model of the "action space" of practitioners and planning agencies in promoting sustainable

and equitable planning practices. Safier identifies these four areas as concerning extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms, 'Improving technical-professional; extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms; expanding social interaction and mobilization and enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical response to the dynamics of urban development in time and place. The methodology adopted in this dissertation consists of a case study approach to situate the practice of forced evictions within the political economy of Lagos as well as semi-structured interviews with two key informants to gain more insight into the practice of forced evictions and planning and to identify the 'room for manoeuvre' where possible and how this can advance the development of anti-eviction strategies in Lagos. In addition to this, an analysis of secondary data, publications and reports will be carried out.

This dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature on forced evictions, how forced evictions impact the right to adequate housing, the use of forced eviction as planning, the justifications for this act and how it is framed, as well as alternatives to evictions. Chapter 3 introduces the analytical framework for this study which is then applied to the case of the Makoko settlement in Chapter 4. Finally, chapter 5 includes the discussion and recommendations for the government of Lagos.

Chapter 2 Literature review

The State of Things

Across many cities of the Global South, systems and institutions of urban governance are being restructured to better respond to the needs of capital as opposed to the needs of their citizens (Purcell, 2006). This restructuring has also become a driving force for many governments in pursuing the (re)development of urban space (Fields, 2017). This is evident in the processes of urban regeneration and redevelopment, many of which are mechanisms to create profitable opportunities for the creation of profit through system driven by accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003).

A worrisome aspect of these urban processes is the financialisation of housing. The financialisation of housing refers to a phenomenon whereby housing is treated as a commodity – a vehicle for the accumulation of wealth and investment – rather than as a social good (OHCHR, 2019). This phenomenon has great ramifications for the enjoyment of the right to housing across the world (Rolink, 2013). In a report on rights-based national housing strategies, the UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, Leilani Farha, denounces the portrayal and use of housing as a tool for capital accumulation and subject of speculative activity and emphasises the need to reframe housing as a human right[1]. Owing to the varied nature of housing markets across the globe, the financialisation of housing is "inherently variegated, path dependent and uneven" (Aalbers, 2017). As (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2020) argue, rather than being a global process, the financialisation of housing is a multifaceted process. Furthermore, they argue that the defining feature of the financialisation of housing is the transformation of residential real estate into a financial asset as opposed to the dominance of financial systems such as developed mortgage markets or securitisation (Ibid, 2020). The financialisation of housing in the cities across Africa is strongly linked to the subversion of the social use value of housing and land in favour of their exchange value as

---

[1] United Nations, General Assembly (A/HRC/37/53), January 2018

Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context

commodities for wealth accumulation[2]. This process has major implications for the consumption and provision of housing. According to (De Angelis, 2007), capital makes the world through commodification and enclosures. Thus, the financialisation of housing and processes of enclosure to reproduce capital, can be viewed as characteristic of 'capital logic'.

Informal Urbanism

Slum and informal settlement are a part of the fabric of many cities of the global South. These settlements are a physical manifestation of the social and spatial inequality in cities, and reflect the inadequacies of planning and housing policies. These settlements are regarded as the 'other' of the formal city whose planning practices are embedded in restoring orderliness, beauty and structure. However, as Porter (2011) argues, slums and informal settlements are not 'outside' or the 'other' to the formal but a product of formal structures. Beyond the formal, informal dichotomy, informality should be understood as a feature of the production of space resulting from contestation and negotiation strategies between various actors. Roy (2011, p. 233) describes informality as being in a changing state of legality and "an expression of variability in what is regarded as legal or illegal" while Roy & AlSayyad (2004) state that "informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and the un-mapping of space". This changing state of legality or illegality means informal settlements often exist as temporal structures in space and time pending the decision of the state to enact action. As such, informality should instead as an ongoing process and through the politics of space in relation to or vis-à-vis the state. (Lund, 2016) posits that "the ability to entitle and disenfranchise people with regard to property, to establish the conditions under which they hold that property – together with the ability to define who belongs and who does not…. - is constitutive of state power". As such, forced evictions serve not only as a tool for the city to (re)-produce itself (Baker, 2020), but to determine who and what constitute the urban fabric, and the rights of access to resources such as land (Lund, 2016).

Geographies of forced eviction and dispossession

[2] United Nations, General Assembly (A/HRC/34/51) 18th January 2017
Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context

Forced evictions remain a central mechanism for the control and mediation of space, and have formed a dominant approach to informal settlements (Molotch, 1993). The occurrence, threat of and subsequent demolition of these settlements reveal the competing claims to urban space and its production (Paller, 2020). From Lagos to Phnom Penh, forced evictions are enacted under the guise of urban planning as a mechanism to promote the elitist vision and anti-poor urbanism of the city (Onyebueke, et al., 2020). (Soederberg, 2018) locates evictions within the broader political economy of capitalist development. A process of dispossessing and dismantling the 'other' to make way for the new urban. In this case, the 'other' refer to informal settlements which by nature of their physical state are reduced to, and become synonymous with crime, illegality, disorderliness and chaos (Bhan, 2009)**.** Thus, urban planning serves to restore orderliness, beauty and structure.

In describing the restructuring of urban space in Vietnam, (Harms, 2012) points to the use of forced evictions as a means to create a beautiful city which signifies orderliness in contrast with squatter settlements which represent chaos and a lack of planning. While in Indonesia, the cultivation and creation of an 'exemplary centre' which represents political order is based on narrow capital-centric and modernist visions of the city (Padawangi, 2019). In Johannesburg evictions were described as a 'gradual cleansing' of the city (Langford & du Plessis, 2006)**.** (Samara, et al., 2013) argues that these processes of transformation go beyond the development of sites of attraction and are also "markers of territory and points of reference" (Samara, et al., 2013, p. 7) with the government and more affluent groups seeking to create and mark off their cosmopolitan enclaves from the disorder around them. Thus, the use of forced evictions as planning represents one facet of the contestation of space and resulting increasing socio-spatial inequalities.

According to Harvey, the geographical expansion of capital requires 'spatio-temporal fixes' (Harvey, 2004, p. 64) to resolve the crisis of over accumulation by relocating surplus capital. These 'spatio-temporal fixes' of capital are created through the enclosure of urban space to create profitable opportunities for capital. Harvey views 'accumulation by dispossession' as a dominant form of capitalist accumulation under the neoliberal era which the state used to create profitable opportunities for capital accumulation. Harvey further identifies the role of the state through its politics and policies, in "defining both the intensity and the paths for

new forms of capital accumulation" (Harvey, 2004, p. 74) (Glassman, 2006).

However, an understanding of this process requires theorising the process and nature of how capital encloses, and requires a critical analysis of the spatial mechanisms of dispossession (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015). While the premise of 'accumulation by dispossession' expands on the nature of dispossession and the role of capital, we must take care in applying it in borders beyond the Global North – particularly in areas with a large presence of informality. In this dissertation, I view dispossession not only as a means to accrue capital, but to resolve the problems posed by the urban commons to the preservation and reproduction of capital (De Angelis, 2007) (Gillespie, 2015) .

Despite the harmful and criminal nature of forced evictions, they are often described as being in 'the public interest' and an inevitable consequence of urban development (Langford & du Plessis, 2006) (Durand-Lasserve, 2006) (Leckie, 1994). (Audefroy, 1994) review of 40 eviction cases across different localities revealed that urban development undertaken for the "public good" is, in reality, profitable private investment benefitting a few. Countering the public interest stance (Ocheje, 2007) puts forward three alternative explanations and argues that governments carry out forced evictions due to inapplicable planning laws which are often of colonial origin, corruption and the anti-poor or inequitable development and land policies. Forced evictions are also multifaceted in nature and can be re-produced over time. For example, (Rhoads, 2018) describes forced evictions in Yangon as a planning mechanism which is re-produced across various political regimes for various reasons including the claiming of territory, control over resources and the 'renewal' and 'development' of the city. In India, (Bhan, 2009) argues that forced evictions have changed both in degree and kind owing to the criminalisation of poverty and the representation of the poor as 'economically unviable and environmentally harmful'. Forced evictions and the subsequent displacement of communities severs the relationships between people and place. According to (Cabannes, et al., 2010), this process does not only concern the destruction of housing made of bricks and mortar but concerns the destruction of the city built by people and made up of their homes, and the removal of the memories and souls which made up these homes, some extending through generations. (Elliot-Cooper, et al., 2020) conceptualises this as a process of un-homing. A

process which directly or indirectly reinforces spatial uncertainty for the evicted and creates new sites of exclusion across the city.

Forced evictions and the right to adequate housing

A forced eviction under international law is defined as the "permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection." This process of removal most time does not exist in isolation and can be attributed directly or indirectly to urban renewal, planning and development, planning purposes, civil unrest, slum clearance, large infrastructure or development projects and international events such as the Olympics (Olds, 1998) (Davis, 2011) (COHRE, 2006). The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant 1991 provides "the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions". This Covenant outlines the centrality of the right to adequate housing as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity. It also set the precedent for General Comment No. 7 which makes reference once again to the issue of tenure security and forced evictions, stating that: "all persons should possess a degree of security of tenure which guarantees legal protection against forced eviction, harassment and other threats."

Identifying and re-affirming the right to adequate housing for all, Paragraph 1 of the Human Rights Resolution also identifies forced evictions as a gross violation of human rights and *prima facie*, incompatible with international law. Despite years of advocacy at international, national and municipal levels for the right to adequate housing to be institutionalised and respected as a basic human right, evictions continue to occur within very diverse contexts, at varying scales and for multiple explicit and hidden motives (IDRC, 1998). For this reason, this dissertation seeks to explore the use of forced evictions as a tool for planning as this is crucial for understanding the city that is and the city that is to be (Bhan, 2009).

Alternatives to Evictions

Slum upgrading, consists of the construction of new housing to home improvements (Jones, 2012). It is a process which involves the gradual improvement, formalisation and incorporation of informal areas into the city through the extension and provision of land, basic services and citizenship to slum dwellers (CitiesAlliance, 2014). Slum upgrading is a crucial part of city (re)development as the process is meant to reduce socio-spatial inequalities and foster social and economic inclusion (Olthuis, et al., 2015). Furthermore, the slum upgrading process has been argued to be an important in promoting spatial justice and tenure security (Uwayezu & de Vries, 2018). According to (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007) the two major goals of slum upgrading are enhancing tenure security and improving infrastructure.

Payne (2002) describes squatter (or slum) tenants as the tenure category with the lowest tenure security in law, next to pavement dwellers. While the process of slum upgrading is not new and has been implemented across many countries and scales, contentions still exist as to how best to carry out slum upgrading programmes, if at all. In particular, it is often questioned if the provision of secure land tenure is a necessary condition for slum upgrading or if this should be done incrementally and after the provision or extension of basic services and infrastructure which are often argued to provide equally adequate de-facto tenure security. Much of the earlier research and support for tenure security is associated with John Tuner who called for the formalisation informal settlements. Turner emphasised the concept of 'aided self-help' and tenure regularisation with the view that providing secure tenure would encourage residents to improve their communities over time (Pugh, 2001) (Werlin, 1999). Brakarz & Aduan (2010) view regularization and formalisation as the creation of policies which provide legitimate infrastructure and regularise land tenure. Despite the popularity of this approach, the literature and practical evidence are unclear as to the impact of land tenure formalisation on housing improvement due to the methodological challenges and the lack of adequate empirical data. This approach has also be criticised for the potential impact of formalisation on property prices and the emphasis which it places on physical and structural improvements without adequate or even greater focus on social or political issues (Andavarapu & Edelman, 2013).

Slum upgrading strategies are also linked to calls for a counter-politics to urban processes. This new urban politics which (Purcell, 2003) refers to as the "urban politics of the inhabitant" are based on practices of spatial justice, participation, equity and sustainability. The city is seen as a means, rather than an end, to unite and advance the voice of the marginalised, as well as to bring people closer to institutions (Russell, 2019). Thus, highlighting the significance of a "locally" grounded politics. (Hirsh, et al., 2020) identify power as being relational, and discuss how displaced communities operate and position their own power. (Samara, et al., 2013) describe this politics resulting from struggles to survive as an expression of governance and counter-governance.

Asking "whose rights and whose city?" (Harvey, 2003) leads us to question the validity of any given actor or party to determine not only the design of the city but to imagine it. A further assessment of this question highlights the political tension and power struggles inherent in (re)producing the city. It is these practices of contestation and resistance that reveal the potential for an urban politics and transformation which the city the focus of. In particular, what the existing and predominant exclusionary mechanisms present in Lagos mean for the development of this new urban politics. In engaging in a reading of the right to the city in divided cities, (Samara, et al., 2013) posit that we "reconsider the parameters of possibility" and question the meaning of this concept in the Global South as this will inform the engagement with the right to the city as an intervention into urban politics and how we re-imagine these cities. As such, participatory process much be understood in their local context. The process of developing a transformative counter-politics to the urban processes predicated on dispossession and othering requires a critical assessment of the action space and the possible 'room for manoeuvre' required to realise a form of planning that is instead built on practices of sustainability, justice and inclusive participation. However, this is not a one off process and requires an ongoing assessment of the 'room for manoeuvre'. In line with this, (Olthuis, et al., 2015) criticise the generic approach to slum upgrading which focuses on improving basic conditions while aspects such as the environment are attributed lesser or no importance.

Despite these shortcomings, informal settlement upgrading can overcome the problems resulting from the further deterioration of these settlements, relocation of these settlement

to peripheral locations as well as the problem of forced evictions. Employing a critical approach to this issue, (Frediani, et al., 2017) argue for a renewed and 'strategic' approach to informal settlement upgrading. They assert that strategic informal upgrading involves the 'construction of a certain level of collective intent, mobilising communities…towards a shared vision (Ibid, 437). Thus, this dissertation employs an analytical framework to assess and open up the *action space* for strategic manoeuvre in slum upgrading practice in Lagos.

Chapter 3 Analytical Framework

In this dissertation, I employ the 'room for manoeuvre' as an analytical lens to read the case of forced evictions in Makoko, Lagos and to assess the degrees for manoeuvrability in developing anti-eviction strategies (Safier, 2002). This chapter lays out the four-dimensional model...

Estimating the room for manoeuvre

If we view forced evictions as a means to enclose on informal settlements and dispossess people of the resources they hold in common, then the counter-politics to this urban process requires a strategic approach. Safier (2002) is concerned with the disjuncture between the state of affairs and the prospects for progressive planning to contribute to achieving social justice as well as the approaches to identifying the potentials and limits of planning activities in contributing to the realisation of social justice. To address the latter, Safier (2002) proposes the 'room for manoeuvre' as a starting point. The room for manoeuvre consists of the possibilities open to agents or actors in in promoting progressive interventions in urban affairs. To estimate the room for manoeuvre, Safier (2002) builds on Abrams classification of social theory and transforms it into a '...four dimensional model of the "action space" of practitioners and planning agencies. Safier identifies these four areas as:

- 'Improving technical-professional (in the broadest sense) innovations and individual or group ethics and behaviours;
- Extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms—of goals, roles, priorities, procedures and resource allocations;
- Expanding social interaction and mobilization—involvement in modes of inclusive, participative and collaborative bargaining and negotiation;
- Enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical response to the dynamics of urban development in time and place.'
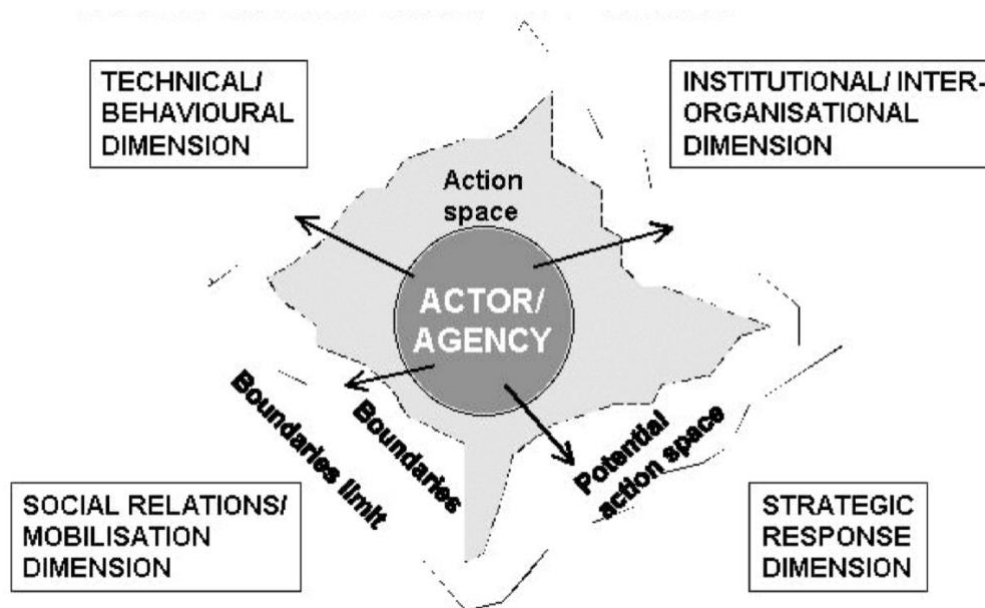
Figure 1 Safier's Four Dimensional Action Space of 'Room for Manoeuvre' in Planning

Source: (Safier, 2002)

The four dimensions have "different but intersecting boundaries which define the likely limits (imposed by various sources of opposing) to action by planners in support of progressive interventions intended to help bring about greater equality, inclusiveness, democratic process and social justice" (Safier, 2002, p. 128). The conditions shaping the action space and possibilities for action will be dependent on the context and should be factored (and re-assessed) when developing potential strategies.

Employing this concept as an analytical lens provides the opportunity to assess the possibilities open to various actors – in this case, the government in opening up and expanding the room for manoeuvre in developing progressive anti-eviction strategies. In Lagos, the action space has been largely diminished owing to the unequal dispersal of power across various actors. However, this framework offers a chance to strategically approach the topic of forced evictions. Furthermore, enhancing the room for manoeuvre re-orientates power relations between different stakeholders towards more socially and spatially just interventions to address urban conflicts.

Chapter 4 Methodology and Relevance of the Study

The previous chapter introduced the analytical framework being employed in this study. However, opening up the room for manoeuvre requires us to understand the dynamics behind the process of forced evictions in Lagos. As noted in (Onyebueke, et al., 2020), detailed studies and city-level analyses of forced evictions and displacements are lacking. As such, this dissertation also seeks to contribute to the production of knowledge and application of urban theory beyond cities of the Global North (Parnell & Robinson, 2012; Roy, 2009; Gillespie, 2015)). Like Gillespie (2015), I seek to go beyond the readings of accumulation by dispossession in the Global North and to contribute to the understanding of the form which this process takes in Lagos. Finally, this analysis is relevant as it not only provides an analysis of forced evictions in Lagos but assesses the implication of this process for developing a contextually relevant counter-politics to forced evictions.

The main research method applied in this dissertation is a case study. This approach will be used to answer the "how/what" question;

> "What is the room for manoeuvre open to the Lagos State government in developing anti-eviction strategies? And how can this room for manoeuvre be opened up and expanded upon in order to develop and implement anti-eviction strategies"

A case study is an "in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena" (Gerring, 2004, p. 341). This method is also in line with my framework of analysis as the conditions shaping the action space and possibilities for proactive planning are context specific. The case study will focus on the Makoko waterfront settlement located in Lagos, Nigeria. Makoko was chosen as the unit of analysis as it is one of the largest slum settlements in Lagos with a shifting population of about 85,000 to 300,000 people. Furthermore, Makoko has been the subject of a series of evictions and demolitions since 2005 as part of the government's goal to upgrade the Lagos waterfront. Equally, the community has been the subject of upgrading activities in 2013, and another between 2006-2013 – both with limited impact. However, the

community has remained resilient in challenging the various mechanisms employed by the government through protests, litigations and the continued appropriation of public spaces. Makoko also serves as a safe haven for other slum and informal communities that have been forcefully evicted such as the Badia evictions, the Otodo-Gbame eviction in 2017 and the recent Tarkwa Bay evictions. However, this approach is not without its limitations as case study research is open to variation and it is often difficult to generalise case research findings.

To confirm the validity of the process and findings, I sourced and complemented the study with primary qualitative data through in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted between July and August 2020 with six informants including a government representation, members of civil society and NGO representatives. The questions and discussions are intended to substantiate the analysis and to offer insight into the practice of forced evictions in Lagos, the motivations and possible room for manoeuvre, as well as the current strategies – if any - being operationalised by the government and members of civil society. Secondary data will be sourced mainly from newspaper articles and reports given the limited amount of research into the topic of forced evictions in Lagos as well as the fact that the Lagos State government does not provide any information on the evictions of slum and informal communities or make any provision for the protection of the rights of these individuals.

Data Sources and Collection Methods

All data sources analysed in this dissertation are publicly available and were collected through online searches with the exception of the interviews and a media clip obtained from one of the interview informants. A thematic analysis of the interviews was conducted to elucidate recurrent themes with particular relation to the topic of forced evictions and to understand what the right to the city means and what demands are being made in Lagos.

Chapter 5. Context

Eko for Show: The Creation of the Lagos Mega City

In a promotional video titled 'Lagos, Africa's Big Apple' released in 2013, the Fashola administration discussed its plans to transform Lagos into a model mega city of the 21st century [3]. All through the video, the slogan "Eko o ni baje o" which in English means "Lagos must not spoil" is repeated to signify a new chapter in the city's course. According to Olawepo (2010), the mega city project would gradually turn Lagos into a "modern environment that would comparable with any other city in the world" (Ibid 2010, pg. 286). The Lagos Mega-City Project was birthed out of the realisation that the state of the city's infrastructure and services did not conform to its new mega city status – n either did it capture the modernist ideal of global cities elsewhere. (Adama, 2018) (Olawepo, 2010). The project ushered in a new wave of private investment as evidenced in the development of the Eko Atlantic City, a multi-billion-dollar project financed through private investments (Adama, 2018). The project, dubbed the "Dubai of Africa" – a new city built on reclaimed land – which was developed through a private-public partnership. This venture aimed to consolidate the new cosmopolitan experience and house 250,000 people (Olawepo, 2010). Despite the depiction of this project as the much needed facelift the city was in need of, it raised a lot of speculation. According to Lukacs (2014);

> "Eko Atlantic is where you can begin to see a possible future – a vision of privatised green enclaves for the ultra-rich ringed by slums lacking water and electricity…"
>
> (Ibid, 2014).

The average prices within this planned city average as high as US$853,750 (N168,188,750) (Uwaegbulam, 2015). This is in a city where average incomes are falling and two-thirds of the population are said to live in slums. The Lagos State Investor Handbook[4] which lays down the

---

[3] 'Lagos, Africa's Big Apple' YouTube Video

[4] Lagos State Investor Handbook. A guide to business and investment in Lagos State, 2012

states plans to turn Lagos into 'Africa's Model Megacity and Global Economic and Financial Hub', outlines the opportunities for profitable investments in housing, stating that "The housing deficit in Lagos translates into vast investment opportunities in residential, commercial as well as mixed development" (pg. 25). Thus, the reach of the financialisation of the urban economy was also extended to housing, a process which affects the way housing is provided and consumed. (Agunbiade, et al., 2013) associates the popularity of the commodification of housing with the increased demands for housing due to the high rates of urbanisation as well as the disengagement of government from direct housing provision. However, the financialisation of housing is also reflective of the national economy and unstable markets. As such, housing and real estate are selected as "commodities of choice"[5]. Nevertheless, the shift in the role of the state from "provider" to enabler, promoter and facilitator" (Buckley, et al., 1993), as well as the inadequacies in public housing delivery, and rising housing prices relative to income have further contributed to the exclusion of low-income earners from the formal housing market and the expansion of secondary housing markets, namely informal and slum settlements which accommodate two-thirds of the Lagos population (Morka, 2007). Thus, the financialisation of urban space, and of housing, create a vicious cycle where resources – in this case, land – is expropriated for the development of new residential estates which in turn leads those excluded from the formal housing market to appropriate vacant public land and public space to fulfil their housing needs.

---

[5] United Nations, General Assembly (A/HRC/34/51) 18th January 2017
Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context

Forced Evictions in Lagos

The history of Lagos is replete with indiscriminate practices of forced evictions against its citizens as evidenced in table 1. Joel (2017) posits that majority of the informal settlements in Lagos existed prior to current planning and development frameworks making it harder to rationalise urban spaces. However, rather than pursue sustainable and inclusive planning practices, the state uses forced evictions to plan and regulate urban space in Lagos. The Lagos Mega-City project ushered in a new wave of evictions of slum and informal settlements as many of these communities were in occupation of prime land earmarked for regeneration and expansion (Watson, 2014). On the 9th of October 2016, the Lagos State government announced plans to demolish all waterfront informal settlements in Lagos within 7 days in order to upgrade the waterfront. So far, the waterfront evictions have affected the communities of Ilubirin, parts of Makoko, Otodo Gbame and most recently, the Tarkwa Bay community. Thus, it appears that there is a disconnect between the urban development policies of the city and the realities of majority of the citizens (Olajide, et al., 2018).

Location	Date	No. of persons evicted	Motive given for eviction	Compensation
Maroko	July 1990	300,000	Health/Sanitation	No compensation
Central Lagos	Nov.' 1990	-	Urban Sanitation	No Compensation
Banana Island	Jan 1995	15,000	-	-
Bamisoro, Island	Feb.' 1995	-	Illegal Occupation	No Compensation
Ilubirin	Jan 1997	15,000	-	-
Badia East	Oct, 2003	5,000	-	-
Ogudu Ori-Oke	July 2008	5,000	-	-
Bar Beach	August, 2008	80,000	-	-
Makoko	2012	-	Removal of source of nuisance	-

Badia East	2013	-	Government Building Project/Reclamation of Family Land	-
Badia East	2015	-	-	-
Ilubirin	2016		House Building Project	-
Otodo Gbame	April, 2017	30,000	Security/Sanitation	No Compensation
Tarkwa Bay	Jan, 2020	4500	Illegal Tapping of Oil Pipelines	No Compensation

Table 1 History of Forced Evictions in Lagos (1990-2020)

Source: (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Quartz, 2020; Onwuanyi, 2018)

Makoko

The Makoko waterfront community is located on the Lagos lagoon and developed as a fishing 'village' in the 18th. The settlement consists of six 'villages', four of which are built on water and the rest on land[6]. Makoko is home to an increasingly diverse set of people in need of housing – some of who were residents of other informal communities that have been destroyed. The settlement has a shifting population of 100,000 to 400,000 people based on various reports. most of its inhabitants derive their livelihood from the water through fishing, trade and dredging activities. The occupation of the Makoko area places limits on capital's ability to valorise urban fabric (Gillespie, 2015). As such, state-led accumulation by urban dispossession is a strategic response that employs a range of mechanisms to overcome these limits through the forceful eviction of those occupying the area (Ibid, 2015). While Makoko has been in existence for over a decade, majority of its residents lack access to basic amenities such as drainage and waste disposal. Furthermore, the houses built on the natural waterway continue to exacerbate the flooding problem, as they impede the flow of water (COHRE, 2014). The lack of environmental sanitation, precarious state of land rights in the settlement and illegal occupation of the waterfront have made this settlement an easy prey for evictions.

---

[6] Ogunlesi, Tolu. "Inside Makoko: Danger and Ingenuity in the world's biggest floating slum." The Guardian, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/feb/23/makoko-lagos-danger-ingenuity-floating-slum

Figure 2. Evolution of Makoko slum in Lagos, Nigeria

(Above: 2000 Below: 2014)

Source: (Olthuis, et al., 2015)

Stages of Evictions

Over a three-day period in April 2005, an estimate of 3,000 residents were forcibly evicted from Makoko following ongoing legal contestation between the residents of the land and a private family claiming ownership to the land (COHRE, 2006). This was alongside the destruction of houses, two churches, a mosque and medical clinic and the physical harm brought to members of the community, including children. Seven years later, in July 2012, The Lagos state government issued a 72-hour eviction notice to the residents of the Makoko. The removal of the Makoko community was meant to open up space for upgrading activities to "protect life, restore security, improve navigation and make the Lagos coast-line more attractive" (Osuoka & Aremu, 2020, p. 198). All of which underlined the mega-city status of Lagos. However, the Baale[7] and other local leaders claimed the land was apportioned to their forefathers by the Yaba Local Government in the 17th century (Vanguard, 2012).

The eviction was carried out by police and state government personnel who used machetes to destroy the homes located on water (Udo-Udoma, 2014). This eviction was carried out without prior consultation, compensation or alternative accommodation. However, the demolition process was halted five-days later due to the killing of a community leader by a police man. Alongside, the use of force, discourse was also used as a mechanism to justify the evictions and reinforce the 'mega-city' ideology. The quit notice served to the community described them as "environmental nuisances" that "undermined the megacity status" of Lagos and detrimental to the beautification of the Lagos waterfront (Nwanna, 2018).By labelling these residents as outsiders, the state uses discourse to justify forced evictions and to advance its pursuits of the world class city.

These evictions took place despite the upgrading project which was in place and begs the question – why was eviction pursued as opposed to upgrading? In the instance that evictions were inevitable owing to environmental concerns, why did the government not engage and negotiate with the community? Following these series of events, as well as the forceful eviction of the Badia community in 2013, the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project (LMDGP), a project coordinated by the World Bank and Lagos State

---

[7] Baale, a title for Yoruba leaders, which means chief in English

Government to upgrade nine slums in Lagos, of which Makoko was one, was closed (Udo-Udoma, 2014). The failure of the project was also attributed to poor implementation by state institutions, poor community engagement and participation and poor data collection, as well as the narrow focus of the world bank on infrastructure rather than "place-based needs" (Adama, 2020).

Following the destruction of parts of Makoko and the Badia evictions, the Lagos State government came under heavy criticism. In response to this, the state called for proposals to upgrade Makoko.

A proposal titled "Makoko/Iwaya Waterfront Regeneration Plan"[8], developed by the residents of Makoko, Heinrich Boell Foundation and with the support of other NGOs, was submitted to the Ministry of Physical Planning in October 2013. The plan provided an alternative to forced evictions and responded to the reasons the government put forward as justification of the 2012 evictions (Osuoka & Aremu, 2020, p. 198). The project centred on the development of 'neighbourhood hotspots' such as the Makoko floating school, floating markets. Like the previous attempt at upgrading Makoko, however, this project did not yield much success. Despite these evictions, the community has remained largely successful in protecting the Makoko area. However, the community is forced to live in fear pending when the conditions are ripe for eviction.

Estimating the Room for Manoeuver

In developing alternatives to evictions in Makoko, it is imperative that the government understands the inadequacies of forced eviction as planning, and the need for "appropriate urbanism" which is contextually relevant and "addresses the particular conditions of irregularity and informality in the city" Fiori & Brandão (2010, p. 182). In this section, I read the case of forced evictions in Makoko using Safier's four-dimensional model to estimate the 'room for manoeuvre' in securing the right to adequate housing for the residents of Makoko.

Extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms

According to Safier, estimating the room for manoeuvre includes extending institutional and inter-organisational reforms – 'of goals, roles, priorities, procedures and resource allocations' (Safier, 2002, p. 127). Highlighted in the cases of evictions in Makoko are the goal of the government to develop a model mega-city and the priority which capital takes ahead of the needs of the urban poor in Lagos. This position is also reinforced by the current administration. The Special Adviser to the Governor of Lagos State on housing stated in an interview that:

> "…my line of thought is if you don't have business in DC you do not have to be in DC. The government has had challenges with the United Nations, UN-Habitat, saying Lagos is trying to rid informal settlements. My question is - do we have informal settlements on Pennsylvania Avenue or 15th Street? No, we do not. So we cannot have informal settlements at the heart of the city"
> (Interview, 23.08.2020)

Thus, opening up the room for manoeuvre requires re-assessing the goals of the city and re-prioritising its strategies. Goal 11 of the Sustainable Development Goals concerns making cities inclusive safe, resilient and sustainable [9]. The mega-city project makes mention of its goal to make Lagos into Africa's model city that is 'sustainable, organised, liveable, and business tourism friendly' (Lagos State Government Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban

---

[9] United Nations, Sustainable Development Goals – Goal 11

Development 2012, cited in (Adama, 2020)). However, the practices of the government are in direct contradiction with this goal. As such, it is crucial that the government focuses on enhancing its political, legal and institutional frameworks in order to address the deficiency in its approach to developing a sustainable city. A first step in this direction is the protection of residents against forced evictions, and following due process in the case that eviction is inevitable as laid out in the CESCR General Comment No. 7. An equally important system which is relevant to opening up the room for manoeuvre is in assessing the use and impact of the Land Use Act of 1978 – an act which vests all proprietary land rights in the state - in enabling forced evictions and accumulation of land by those in positions of power (Aluko, 2012). Thus, the government, under the façade of legality is able to evict residents of informal settlements in the 'public interest' (Berrisford & Kihato, 2006).

In an interview with a state representative, it was revealed that the government is looking to develop of a model foreclosure law. It was stated that;

"Everywhere else in the West, there's a process you have to go through – the foreclosure notice, where the months or weeks are specified for you to regularize and when you have defaulted in your regularization and you have payment of your mortgage or your rent there are processes that will take place. After that has been completed, the house or property goes up for foreclosure and it's going to be a very transparent process - we are keeping in mind that we have to protect the investment and the tenants or the mortgagees and we also need to protect the investments of people in the housing industry…... So right now in Lagos, we do not have the model foreclosure law, so it has become a problem for investments to come into the housing sector in Lagos. We want the law to regularize that sector by bringing in this law which will be fair to both the tenants, and the landlords and the investment participants." (Interviewed on 23.08.20)

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary[10], a foreclosure is a "legal proceeding that bars or extinguishes a mortgagor's rights of redeeming a mortgaged estate". It is unclear whether this is an act of opening up the room for manoeuvre as the above statement does not make direct reference to informal settlements which do not work based on the principles of the

10 Merriam-Webster Dictionary definition of foreclosure

formal market. Rather, it refers the commitment of the state to the interest of "investment participants". Furthermore, in response to a question on the state's stance on informal settlements, the government representative stated that they are looking to develop transit 'villages' and homes which would be leased for a number of months, following which the persons can transit to their destination. Ultimately, these developments reflect the transfer of models and rhetoric's of planning which do not adequately respond to the prevalence of informality. As such, there is still a need to re-assess the room for manoeuvre.

Improving technical-professional innovations

Opening up the room for manoeuvre with regards to improving technical-professional innovations entails 'supporting innovations that can facilitate the co-production of local knowledge and practice' (Safier, 2002). The use of forced evictions as planning signifies a disjuncture between the implementation and aims of sustainable planning practices and the realities of the people of Makoko.

Agency	Role
The Ministry of Physical Planning	Responsible for processing and issuing building permits
The Lagos State Office of Physical Planning and Urban Development	Formulates and initiates housing development plans and policies in accordance with regional laws on housing
The Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency (LASURA)	Responsible for identifying, preparing and implementing areas approved for upgrading and redevelopment
Ministry of Environment	This ministry is mandated to secure a clean, healthier and sustainable environment conducive for tourism, economic growth and the well-being of people
Ministry of Waterfront Infrastructure Development	Charged with providing infrastructure and services at the Lagos waterfronts by harnessing resources to ensure well-protected environment that is attractive to tourists and observers

Figure 3. Agencies involved in planning in Lagos

Source: (Adama, 2020) (Aluko, 2011)

The agencies identified in figure 3 are the relevant institutions that manage the process of urban planning and waterfront management in Lagos. While their roles lay out the strategies which they must carry out with regards to implementing sustainable planning practices, the reality does not correspond to these laws. Makoko has been allowed to degenerate over the years which poses a risk not only to the residents of Makoko but to the communities bordering the area. Furthermore,

The act of de-legitimising this community ensures that the people of Makoko cannot make a claim to the space which they occupy, neither can they adjudicate responsibility of the poor state of the settlement to the government. In response to the exclusionary practices employed by these institutions, the people of Makoko have employed a range of devices to not only improve their state of living, but to set a precedent for the state. These practices range from mapping, story-telling, The Makoko mapping project for instance seeks to put the slum on the digital map in a bid to drive financial and social inclusion (CNN, 2020). Thus, a lot of potential lies in embracing the practice of the co-production of knowledge in advancing the understanding of these settlements and how best to respond to their needs. Estimating the room for manoeuvre requires addressing the technical capabilities and the ability of these planning agencies to contribute to a Lagos that is socially just.

Expanding social interaction and mobilization

The third dimension of Safier's framework entails 'Expanding social interaction and mobilisation – involvement in modes of inclusive, participative and collaborative bargaining and negotiation' (Safier: 127-128). Despite these evictions, and the constant threat of them, the people of Makoko have remained resilient and continue to reclaim Makoko as a living space, and their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996). They have been able to open up and expand their room for manoeuvre through protests, appropriation and survival. According to Osuoka & Aremu (2020), resistance to the 2012 evictions in Makoko took the form of mass protests and litigation, which succeeded in halting further demolition of the community. They further posit that the knowledge of resistance developed since the Maroko evictions in 1990 has endured and enabled the residents of Makoko challenge the stance of authorities. This

resistance has also been supported by NGOs such as Social and Economic Action Rights Centre (SERAC), the Justice and Empowerment Initiate (JEI), who support informal settlements in Lagos in developing anti-eviction strategies, and often broker the relationship between civil society and the state (Osuoka & Aremu, 2020).

Figure 4: Members of the Iwaya/Makoko waterfront community at the Lagos State Secretariat in Alausa, Ikeja

Source: (Osuoka & Aremu, 2020)

The people of Makoko have revealed their willingness to work with the government in developing anti-eviction strategies. Some have also revealed their willingness to accept resettlement and compensation in the instance that resettlement is inevitable. The Baale stated that;

"We are not afraid of demolition; we're ready to relocate provided the government makes alternative accommodation arrangement for us; but we want to be close to the water"
(Vanguard, 2012)

A similar stance was taken by a representative of the Nigerian Slum/Informal Settlement Federation who called for the government to plan with the people rather than against them. The informant stated that;

"The government should not plan for people…It is not making sense for the government to plan for people and not plan with them. You do not know what we are going through, you do not know what we are facing. So if you are planning for us, you are planning against us."

(Interview, 17.08.20)

Demands made by the people of Makoko often border around human rights provisions and the need for the state to respect their human rights. This is also noted by (Okonofua , 2016) who writes with regards to the place of a radical politics such as the right to the city that;

"In the case of Lagos, this approach finds hardly any reflection in the demands of SERAC and JEI, and had little resonance with the interview partners during field research, who were more interested in practical urban management questions than a visionary idea"

(Ibid, pg. 66)

Beyond these forms of resistance, survival is often the overarching strategy adopted by the residents of Makoko, and often involves the continued appropriation of these spaces as the people of Makoko "continuously reassemble alternative ways of living that are at one fragile and resilient in the face of capitalist disassemblage" (Acey, 2018). As Lees, et al., (2018, p. 347) write, in the face of urban restructuring, survivability is often the first instinct as "individuals need to focus foremost on their individual survival and welfare, in addition to that of their families". Following the evictions, some residents resorted to sleeping in their canoes, while other squatted in open spaces – rebuilding what was left from the evictions – and some relocated to other settlements. These everyday practices of survival and appropriation point to the need to shift the gaze away from conventional practices of resistance such as protest, and the need to understand how communities faced with the indiscriminate use of power and violence navigate these spaces. Furthermore, it reinforces the need to consider the "parameters of possibility" when engaging with these theories (Samara, et al., 2013).

In estimating the room for manoeuvre, the action space of these actors must be studied in relation to the oppositional forces which seek to enclose this space through the use of forced

evictions. The lack of engagement with local communities before and after evictions, as well as the use of force greatly impact the ability of the Makoko community to rally against evictions. (Isokpan & Durojaye, 2018) argue for 'meaningful engagement' with evicted persons following evictions. However, meaningful engagement is also needed as a precursor in identifying anti-eviction strategies. Community participation was established as a mandatory component of the LMGDP slum upgrading of Makoko in 2006, and linked to its sustainability (Adama, 2020). However, gaps such as the "failure to address poverty reduction, capacity building and land ownership" undermined the effectiveness of community inclusion (Udo-Udoma, 2014, p. 7).

Similarly, interviews conducted with the evicted residents of Makoko in 2006 by Amnesty International revealed that no prior notice was provided to the residents, neither were they provided with alternative housing[11]. A representative of the Nigeria Slum/Informal Settlement Federation, an NGO that works with local communities in developing anti-eviction strategies stated that;

"We've used so many strategies to end these forced evictions, to make sure forced evictions are not happening in Lagos but the government is proving stubborn"
(Interview, 17.08.2020)

Recognising the community of Makoko; engaging the local community; developing and building on local alliances within the Makoko community; are all crucial in opening up the room for manoeuvre.

Shittu & Musbaudeen (2015) identified the structure for public participation in the Makoko/Iwaya community following their research as shown in figure 5. They also found that town hall meetings are a popular form of engagement which allow public participation between residents, their leaders and experts (Ibid, 2015). However, they noted that despite

---

[11] Amnesty International, Nigeria: Making the destitute homeless – forced evictions in Makoko, Lagos State, (24 Jan. 2006)

these meetings, several decisions emanating from them are not implemented. Thus, affecting the legitimacy of these meetings. They also note the struggle for power between tenants and landlords, poor cooperation among the Heads of the Traditional Council. The latter often stemming from tribal differences.
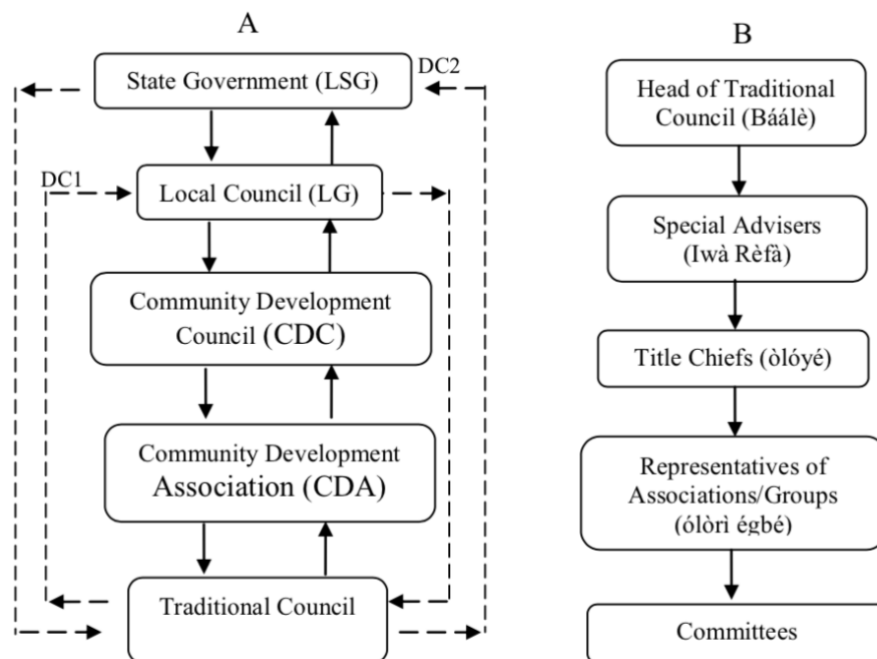

Figure 5: The Structure for Public Participation in Makoko/Iwaya

Source: (Shittu & Musbaudeen, 2015)

The image on the left represents the structure for local communities to engage with local authorities. Whereas the one on the right represents the relationships within the community which provides an avenue for the exchange of information, community mobilization and ensuring equal representation of input, particularly in matters pertaining to the welfare of the local people (Shittu & Musbaudeen, 2015). However, the process of meaningful engagement and negotiation is often undermined by certain factors. Firstly, while CDA officers are meant to be elected by the community, it is often the Lagos State Government officials and politicians close to the community who select the CDAs (Osuoka & Aremu, 2020). Furthermore, *Baales* who are meant to work in the best interest of the community, tend to work in their personal interest as they seek government recognition and approval (Ibid, 2020). Furthermore, the diverse landscape in Makoko often impacts their ability to negotiate as a community as certain groups such as the Egun who have ancestral claims to Makoko often seek to advance their interests. Osuoka & Aremu (2020) notes that only those whose

ancestors come from Makoko or Lagos State become Baales. They further state that this division was capitalised on in the preparation of the Makoko-Iwaya Waterfront Regeneration Plan as the design of the floating school did not draw on the knowledge of the local community (Ibid, 2020).

Enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical response

This aspect of the framework involves "analysis and tactical response to the dynamics of urban development in time and place". This dimension further reinforces the need for an "appropriate urbanism" and contextually relevant strategies. The mega-city project aims to transform Lagos into Africa's model city that is 'sustainable, organised, liveable, and business tourism friendly' (Lagos State Government Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development 2012, cited in (Adama, 2020)). However, it appears that there is no place for the city's poor in this model mega-city. The current 'capital logic' creates systems which reward the owners and managers of capital and leaves the poor to bear the grunt of the resulting spatial and social inequalities (Aalbers, 2008). Thus, when the government argues that land is limited and thus, evictions are needed for reclamation activities, and the expansion of the city, the question is – for whose benefit?

These evictions benefit the developers who provide 'fortified enclaves'[12] to the middle and high-income class residents of Lagos; royal families such as the Olotu family that received the land which some Makoko residents were evicted from in 2005. The expropriation of land and other urban commons from the poor is not the answer to the unplanned growth of the city, rather it further exacerbates this condition. As at 2019, the population in Nigeria was put at 200,000,000[13], with a poverty rate of 40.1%[14]. The main urban areas such as Lagos are facing intense pressures owing from urban growth, financial and institutional decay and a declining national economy. As such, enlarging the scope of strategic analysis requires firstly, an

---

[12] Fortified enclaves refer to the gated residencies prevalent across Lagos and many cities as discussed by Caldeira, Teresa P. R, 1996

[13] World Bank Data

[14] Statista

understanding and acknowledgement of the harsh relatives of many urban residents and how forced evictions compound these problems. Given the limited availability of resources – financial, institutional, economic - a strategic approach to securing the right to adequate housing requires implementing integrated solutions through a multi-sectoral approach which does not view the provision of adequate housing as an isolated problem but a facet of the wider problem that requires coordination among various departments (Brakarz & Engel, 2004). An instance of a strategic approach to developing an anti-eviction strategy for the people of Makoko involves recognising that waterfront evictions do not only sever the relationships between people and place, but people and their livelihoods.

In 2012, a proposal to relocate the residents to Agbowa, Ikorodu – a peripheral area of the city – was rejected as they believed they had to be close to water due to the nature of their trade (Udo-Udoma, 2014). This point was also echoed by the Baale who asserted that;

"We are not afraid of demolition; we're ready to relocate provided the government makes alternative accommodation arrangement for us; but we want to be close to the water"

(Vanguard, 2012)

While the government views the waterfront as valuable to its mega city project, the water also contributes to the lives of the residents of the Makoko community.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this dissertation was to strategically assess the room for manoeuvre open to the Lagos State government in developing anti-eviction strategies, and how this room for manoeuvre can be opened up and expanded in order to develop and implement anti-eviction strategies. To answer this question, a case study approach of the Makoko waterfront community was selected given the series of evictions the community has been subjected to and the recent decision of the government to upgrade the community through a private developer. This case study revealed how the state government engages in practices of accumulation by dispossession in order to fulfil the goal of transforming Lagos into a model mega-city. Furthermore, it displayed how the government carries out these evictions through the use of force and discourse. The latter was intended the reinforce the mega-city ideology and paint the people of Makoko as an obstruction. Thus, justifying the use of forced evictions as a response to the housing question.

Guided by Safier's four-dimensional analytical framework, this dissertation aimed to assess the room for manoeuvre and identify the means through which anti-eviction strategies could be developed. The first dimension concerns extending institutional and inter-organizational reforms which in the case of Makoko entails re-assessing the states goal of transforming Lagos into a sustainable and liveable mega-city as the approach employed has revealed that rather than in creating this city, the city seeks to completely erode the urban fabric of slum and informal settlements through forced evictions rather than through the use of context-specific alternative solutions. It also concerns enhancing the political, legal and institutional frameworks which not only enable the practices of forced evictions but limit the accessibility of resources such as land to the urban poor.

The second dimension concerns improving technical-professional innovations. The evictions of Makoko residents highlight how forced evictions have been re-produced as a planning tool over time and accordingly, the need for technical innovation as a precursor to the development of anti-eviction strategies. Furthermore, the exclusion of Makoko from city planning activities, and general disregard for the area point to the need to need to overhaul current planning activities. This is compounded by the use of force rather than official

engagement in addressing land disputes. The third dimension concerns expanding social interaction and mobilization. The people of Makoko have employed various means in resisting evictions – however, it appears that the room for manoeuvre remains largely constrained given the inadequate avenues for engagement, collaboration and participation in the development of the area. Thus, it is imperative that the government addresses the aforementioned as they are crucial to opening up and expanding the room for manoeuvre in developing anti-eviction strategies. The final dimension concerns Enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical response. The current approach to the housing question has encouraged the accumulation of resources in the hands of the elite through the dispossession of the Makoko community. In opening up the room for manoeuvre for developing anti-eviction strategies, it is imperative that the governments re-strategises and questions the premise of scarcity and land allocation in Lagos which privileges the elite at the expense of the poor. This, however, also requires identifying the current capabilities with regards to finance, institutions and policies. The dimensions discussed above are interrelated and as such have overlapping themes – some of which are mutually reinforcing as such, approaching the development of anti-eviction strategies requires a holistic and multi-sectoral approach.

Based on the four dimensions discussed, the development of anti-eviction strategies can be approached through;

Encouraging Participation through meaningful engagement

Local authorities should encourage the active participation and collaboration of the Makoko residents through meaningful engagement. This is necessary as it ensures that whatever resolve is arrived is beneficial to both parties. To achieve this, the government should look partner with NGOs such as JEI and SERAC who can broker the relationship between both parties. Furthermore, although Nigeria operates a three-tier system of governance, the role of the local government in the areas of planning and housing issues is largely confined. This is because local governments can only exercise their authority in line with the enabling legislation passed by the state government. Thus, there is scope for local governments to play a more dominant role in engaging these communities as access to the state is often barred.

Considering alternatives such as slum upgrading and or secure tenure

The provision of secure tenure partly responds to the problems of vulnerability and destitution as it provides legal protection of communities against forced evictions or expropriation by the government or other parties. However, in Lagos, land titles do not necessarily protect people from expropriation or eviction. Thus, the matter of 'perception' becomes particularly crucial as it is assumed that legal or formal documentation provides the highest or most effective form of security. As stated by (GLTN, 2017), "secure tenure is, in part, a matter of perception and relationships of trust…". As such, it is important that the government in dealing with the Makoko community prioritises building a trust-worthy and mutually reinforcing relationship. Furthermore, secure tenure can be achieved through various mechanisms which provide different rights, and varying degrees of security (GLTN, 2017). As such, secure tenure is not just 'legal documentation or title' but lies along a continuum. However, the effective provision of secure tenure also borders on implementing good land management and resolving the ambiguities with regards to land ownership.

Good land management practices

An important aspect which is often ignored is the role of good governance and land administration practices. The current land administration practices in Lagos privilege the owners of real estate and capital over the urban poor and as such exclude them from securing their right to adequate housing. Thus, while the provision of secure tenure or the implementation of upgrading projects might hold great value, it needs to be framed within a wider practice of good governance and land administration practices that recognise the right to housing for all and the role of land in realising this goal. Furthermore, it is important that these practices be tailored to the local context rather than replicated. . This also enlarges the scope of strategic analyses as it is a step towards improving restructuring the unequal land system.

Bibliography

Arimah, B. C., 2001. *Slums as Expressions of Social Exclusiom: Explaining the Prevalence of Slums in African Countries.* Paris, OECD, pp. 1-16.

Arimah, B. C., 2001. *Slums as Expressions of Social Exclusiom: Explaining the Prevalence of Slums in African Countries.* Paris, OECD, pp. 1-16.

Glassman, J., 2006. Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by 'extra-economic' means. *Progress in Human Geography ,* 30(5), pp. 608-625.

Aalbers, M. B., 2008. The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis. *Competition & Change,* June, 12(2), pp. 148-166.

Aalbers, M. B., 2017. The variegated financialization of housing. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* Volume 41.

Abiodun, J. O., 1997. The challenges of growth and development in metropolitan Lagos. In: C. Rakodi, ed. *The urban challenge in Africa: growth and management of its large cities.* Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 192-222.

Abiodun, J. O., 1997. The challenges of growth and development in metropolitan Lagos. In: C. Rakodi, ed. *The urban challenge in Africa: growth and management of its large cities.* Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 192-222.

Acey, C., 2018. Rise of the synthetc city: Eko Atlantic and practices of dispossession and repossession in Nigeria. In: E. L. Sweet, ed. *Disassembled Cities: Social and Spatial Strategies to Reassemble Communities.* s.l.:s.n.

Adama, O., 2018. Urban imaginaries: funding mega infrastructure projects in Lagos, Nigeria. *GeoJournal,* Volume 83, pp. 257-274.

Adama, . O., 2020. Slum upgrading in the era of World-Class city construction: the case of Lagos, Nigeria. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development,* 12(2), pp. 219-235.

Adelekan, I. O., 2009. Vulnerability of poor urban coastal communities to climate change in Lagos, Nigeria.. *Environment and Urbanization,* Volume 22, pp. 433-450.

Agbola, T. & Jinadu, A. M., 1997. Forced eviction and forced relocation in Nigeria: the experience of those evicted from Maroko in 1990. *Environment and Urbanization,* 9(2), pp. 271-288.

Agunbiade, M., Rajabifard, A. & Bennett, R., 2013. Modes of housing production in developing countries: the contemporary role of land, labour, and capital in Lagos, Nigeria. *Policy and Practice,* Volume 28, pp. 363-379.

Aina, T. A., 1989. "Many routes enter the market place": housing submarkets for the urban poor in Metropolitan Lagos, Nigeria. *Environment and Urbanisation,* October, 1(2), pp. 38-49.

AlSayyad, N., 2004. Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life. In: R. Ananya & N. AlSayyad, eds. *Urban Informallity: transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia.* s.l.:Lexington Books, pp. 7-32.

Aluko, O., 2011. Development Control in Lagos State: an Assessment of Public Compliance to Space Standards for Urban Development. *International Multidisciplinary Journal,* 5(5), pp. 169-184.

Aluko, O., 2012. The Effects of Land Use Act on Sustainable Housing Provision in Nigeria: The Lagos State Experience. *Journal of Sustainable Development,* 5(1), pp. 114-122.

Aluko, O. E., 2010. The Impact of Urbanization on Housing Development: The Lagos Experience, Nigeria.. *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management,* 3(3), pp. 64-74.

Amnesty, 2011. *Human rights live here – stopping forced evictions worldwide.* [Online] Available at: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2011/10/human-rights-live-

here-stopping-forced-evictions-worldwide/

[Accessed 5 August 2020].

Andavarapu, D. & Edelman, D. J., 2013. Evolution of Slum Redevelopment Policy. *Current Urban Studies,* 1(4), pp. 185-192.

Asojo, A., 2010. Sustainable strategies for housing the urban poor: A case study of Lagos.. *The Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA): Policy and the Environment,* Volume 41, pp. 90-95.

Audefroy, J., 1994. Eviction trends worldwide - and the role of local authorities in implementing the right to housing. *Environment and Urbanisation,* April, 6(1), pp. 8-24.

Awotona, A., 1990. Nigerian government participation in housing: 1970–1980. *Habitat International,* 14(1), pp. 17-40.

Babalola, Y., 2009. *Nigeria: Makoko Residents And Their Unwanted Guest.* [Online].

Badmos , O. S. et al., 2018. Urban Development in West Africa—Monitoring and Intensity Analysis of Slum Growth in Lagos: Linking Pattern and Process. *Remote Sensing,* Volume 10.

Baker, A., 2020. Eviction as infrastructure. *City,* 24(1-2), pp. 143-150.

Banerjee-Ghua, S., 2012. Nonadanga Eviction: Questioning the Right to the City. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 28 April, 47(17), pp. 13-15.

BBC, 2020. *Nigeria housing: 'I live in a floating slum' in Lagos.* [Online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-51677371 [Accessed 6 September 2020].

Berrisford, S. & Kihato, M., 2006. The role of planning law in evictions in sub- Saharan Africa. *South African Review of Sociology,* 37(1), pp. 20-34.

Bhan, G., 2009. "This is no longer the city I once knew". Evictions, the urban poor and the right to the city in millennial Delhi. *Environment & Urbanization,* 21(1), pp. 127-142.

Blomley, N. K., 2008. Enclosure, common-right and the property of the poor. *Social Legal Studies,* Volume 17, pp. 311-331.

Brakarz, J. A. & Engel, W., 2004. *Favela-Barrio - scaled-up urban development in Brazil,* s.l.: World Bank.

Brickell, K., 2014. 'The Whole World Is Watching': Intimate Geopolitics of Forced Eviction and Women's Activism in Cambodia. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 104(6), pp. 1256-1272.

Buckley, R. M., Faulk, D. & Olajide, L., 1993. *Private Sector Participation, Structural Adjustment and Nigeria's New National Housing Policy: Lessons from Foreign Experience,* Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Butcher, S. & Frediani, A. A., 2014. Insurgent citizenship practices: The case of Muungano wa Wanavijiji in Nairobi, Kenya. *City,* 18(2), pp. 119-133.

Cabannes, Y., Yafai, S. G. & Johnson, C. eds., 2010. *How People Face Evictions.* s.l.:Development Planning Unit/ University College London.

ChannelsTelevision, 2012. *Lagos: One killed as Makoko residents fight to save their homes.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A1zDPzYHGFg
[Accessed 13 September 2020].

CitiesAlliance, 2014. *About Slum Upgrading,* Washington, D.C.: CitiesAlliance.

CNN, 2020. *CNN.* [Online]
Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/26/africa/nigeria-makoko-mapping-intl/index.html
[Accessed 14 September 2020].

CNN, 2020. *How Makoko, Nigeria's floating slum went digital with new mapping project.* [Online]

Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/26/africa/nigeria-makoko-mapping-intl/index.html

[Accessed 9 September 2020].

COHRE, 1998. *Forced Eviction, Violation of Human Rights,* Geneva: COHRE.

COHRE, 2005. *Any Room for the Poor? Forced Evictions in Johannesburg, South Africa: Draft for discussion,* s.l.: COHRE.

COHRE, 2006. *Global Survey on Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights 2003-2006,* s.l.: COHRE.

COHRE, 2014. *Housing Rights in West Africa: Report of Four Fact-Finding Missions,* s.l.: (COHRE) .

Commins, S., 2018. *Africa Center for Strategic Studies.* [Online]

Available at: https://africacenter.org/publication/from-urban-fragility-to-urban-stability/

[Accessed 12 July 2020].

Davis, L. K., 2011. International Events and Mass Evictions: A Longer View. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* May, 35(3), p. 582–599.

De Angelis, M., 2000. *Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation: A Suggested Reinterpretation,* s.l.: University of East London, May 1999.

De Angelis, M., 2007. *The beginning of history: value struggles and global capital.* London: Pluto Press.

De Soto, H., 2000. *The Mystery fo Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else.* s.l.:Civitas Books.

Desai, V. & Loftus, A., 2012. Speculating on Slums: Infrastructural Fixes in Informl Housing in the Global South. *Antipode,* 45(4), pp. 789-808.

Durand-Lasserve, A., 2006. Informal settlements and the Millennium Development Goals: Global Policy Debates on Property Ownership and Security of Tenure. *Global Urban Development ,* March .2(1).

Durand-Lasserve, A., 2006. Market-Driven Evictions and Displacements: Implications for the Perpetuation of Informal Settlements in Developing Cities. In: M. Huchzermeyer & A. Karam, eds. *Informal Settlements: A Perpetual Challenge?.* s.l.:Juta and Company Ltd, pp. 208-230.

Durand-Lasserve, A. & Clerc, V., 1996. *Regularization and integration of irregular settlements: lessons from experience,* s.l.: s.n.

Durand-Lasserve, A. & Royston, L., 2002. *Holding Their Ground: Secure Land Tenure for the Urban Poor in Developing Countries.* 1st ed. s.l.:Routledge.

Eizenberg, E., 2011. Actually Existing Commons: Three Moments of Space of Community Gardens in New York City. *Antipode,* 44(3), pp. 764-782.

Elden, S., 2007. There is a Politics of Space because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space. *Radical Philosophy Review,* 10(2), pp. 101-116.

Elliot-Cooper, A., Hubbard, P. & Lees, L., 2020. Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, displacement and the violence of un-homing. *Progress in Human Geography,* 44(3), pp. 492-509.

Emordi, E. C. & Osiki, O. M., 2008. Lagos: The 'Villagized' City. *Information, Society and Justice,* 2(1), pp. 95-109.

Ezema, I. . C., Opoko, P. A. & Oluwatayo, . A. A., 2016. Urban Regeneration through State-led, New-Build Gentrification in Lagos Inner City, Nigeria. *International Journal of Applied Environmental Sciences,* 11(1), pp. 135-146.

Fainstein, S. S., 2000. New Directions in Planning Theory. *Urban Affairs Review,* 35(4), pp. 451-478.

Fernandez, . R. & Aalbers, M. . B., 2020. Housing Financialization in the Global South: In Search of a Comparative Framework. *Housing Policy Debate,* 30(4), pp. 680-701.

Fields, D., 2017. Urban Struggles with Financialization. *Geography Compass,* Volume 11, pp. 1-13.

Fourchard, L., 2011. Lagos, Koolhaas and Partisan Politics in Nigeria. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 35(1), pp. 40-56.

Fowler, D., 2008. Urban Planning Hypocrisy in the ́City of Unitý – Forced Evictions in Abuja, Nigeria. *Forced Evictions - Vertreibungen,* Volume 3, pp. 10-16.

Frediani, A. A., Lipietz, B. & Butcher, S., 2017. Strategic upgrading: Lessons from international critical practices . In: L. R. Cirolia, et al. eds. *Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: Pursuing a partnership-based approach.* s.l.:Juta and Company (Pty) Ltd, pp. 433-452.

Friedmann, J. & Wolff, G., 1982. World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 6(3), pp. 1-36.

Funsho , S. R., 2013. Slum Settlements Regeneration in Lagos Mega-city: an Overview of a Waterfront Makoko Community. *International Journal of Education and Research,* March, 1(3), pp. 1-16.

Gandy , M., 2006. Planning, Anti-Planning, and the Infrastructure Crisis Facing Metropolitan Lagos. In: M. J. Murray & G. A. Myers, eds. *Cities in Contemporary Africa.* New York: s.n., pp. 247-264.

Gbadeyan, R. A., 2011. Private Sector's Contributions to the Development of the Nigerian Housing Market.. *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences,* 3(2), pp. 104-113.

Gerring, J., 2004. What is a case study and what is it good for?. *The American Political Science Review,* 98(2), pp. 341-354.

Gillespie, T., 2015. Accumulation by urban dispossession: struggles over urban space in Accra, Ghana. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 41(1), pp. 66-77.

GLTN, 2017. *Monitoring Tenure Security, Data Collection Questionnaire Modules and Manual: Cameroon, Nigeria and Kenya ,* Kenya: UN-Habitat.

Gulyani, S. & Bassett, E. M., 2007. Retrieving the Baby from the Bathwater: Slum Upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy,* Volume 25, pp. 486-515.

Handzic, K., 2010. Is Legalized Land Tenure Necessary in Slum Upgrading? Learning from Rio's Land Tenure Policies in the Favela Bairro Program. *Habitat International,* Volume 34, pp. 11-17.

Harms, E., 2012. Beauty as control in the new Saigon: Eviction, new urban zones, and atomized dissent in a Southeast Asian city. *American Ethnologist,* 39(4), pp. 735-750.

Harvey, D., 1978. The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 2(1-4), pp. 101-131.

Harvey, D., 2000. *Spaces of Hope.* s.l.:Edinburgh University Press.

Harvey, D., 2003. Debates and Developments: The Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* December.27(4).

Harvey, D., 2003. *The New Imperialism.* s.l.:Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D., 2004. The 'new' imperialism: accumulation by dispossession. *Socialist Register ,* 40(1), pp. 63-87.

Harvey, D., 2006a. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development.* s.l.:Verso.

Harvey, D., 2006b. Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction. *Geografiska Annaler,* 88(2), pp. 145-158.

Harvey, D., 2008. The right to the city. *New Left Review,* 53(8), pp. 23-40.

Heinrich Boell Foundation, 2014. *Makoko-Iwaya Waterfront.* [Online] Available at: https://ng.boell.org/sites/default/files/makoko_iwaya_waterfront_economic_opportunities.pdf

Hirsh, H., Eizenberg, E. & Jabareen, Y., 2020. A New Conceptual Framework for Understanding Displacement: Bridging the Gaps in Displacement Literature between the Global South and the Global North. *Journal of Planning Literature,* 35(4), pp. 391-407.

HRW, 2004. China: Forced Evictions Spur Protests. 16(4).

HRW, 2006. Condemned Communities: Forced Evictions in Jakarta. September, 18(10), pp. 1-111.

Ibem, E. O., 2010. An Assessment of the Role of Government Agencies in Public-Private Partnerships in Housing Delivery in Nigeria. *Journal of Construction in Developing Countries,* 15(2), pp. 23-48.

Ibem, E. O., 2011. Public-Private Partnership (PPP) in Housing Provision in Lagos Megacity Region, Nigeria. *International Journal of Housing Policy,* 11(2), pp. 133-154.

Ibem, E. O., 2013. Bad Memories and Good Prospects For Housing-Led Urban Regeneration Projects in Nigeria. In: M. E. Leary & J. McCarthy, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration.* Abingdon: Routledge.

IDRC, 1998. *Evictions and the Right to Housing: Experience from Canada, Chile, the Dominican Republic, South Africa, and South Korea.* s.l.:International Development Research Centre (Canada).

Ilesanmi, A. O., 2010. Urban sustainability in the context of Lagos mega-city. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning,* 3(10), pp. 240-252.

Islam, M. R. & Mungai, N. w., 2016. Forced eviction in Bangladesh: A human rights issue. *International Social Work,* 59(4), p. 494–507.

Isokpan, A. & Durojaye, E., 2018. Eviction process in Nigeria: the need for meaningful engagement. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin,* 44(1), pp. 3-25.

Iweka, A. C. & Adebayo, A. K., 2015. GLOBAL SLUM UPGRADING PRACTICES: IDENTIFYING THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES. *Journal of Construction Project Management and Innovation,* 5(1), pp. 1034-1044.

Jimoh , H. O., Omole, F. K. & Omosulu, S. B., 2013. An examination of urban renewal exercise of Badia East of Lagos State, Nigeria.. *International Journal of Education and Research,* 1(5), pp. 1-14.

Jones, B. G., 2012. 'Bankable Slums': The Global Politics of Slum Upgrading. *Third World Quarterly,* 33(5), pp. 769-789.

Kamete, A. Y., 2006. Revisiting the Urban Housing Crisis in Zimbabwe: Some Forgotten Dimensions. *Habitat International,* 30(4), pp. 981-995.

Kamete, A. Y., 2018. Of good plants and useless weeds: Planning as a technology of the gardening state. *Planning Theory,* 17(2), pp. 253-273.

Lagos State, 2012. *Lagos State Investor Handbook: A guide to business and investment in Lagos State, 2012.* [Online]
Available at: https://nairametrics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/LagosStateInvestorHandbook.pdf
[Accessed 9 September 2020].

Lall, S. V., Henderson, J. V. & Venables, A. J., 2017. *Africa's Cities : Opening Doors to the World.* Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Langford, M. & du Plessis, J., 2006. *Dignity in the Rubble? Forced Evictions and Human Rights Law,* s.l.: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions.

Leckie, S., 1994. Forced Evictions. *Environment and Urbanisation ,* 6(1), pp. 131-146.

Lees, L., Annunziata, S. & Rivas-Alonso, C., 2018. Resisting Planetary Gentrification: The Value of Survivability in the Fight to Stay Put. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers,* 108(2), pp. 346-355.

Lefebvre, H., 1992. *The production of space (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.).* Oxford, UK: Wiley-BlackwelL.

Lefebvre, H., 1996. *Writings on cities (E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds.).* Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Leitner, . H. & Sheppard, E., 2018. From Kampungs to Condos? Contested accumulations through displacement in Jakarta. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space,* 50(2), pp. 437-456.

lirsgovng, 2013. *LAGOS, AFRICA'S BIG APPLE,* s.l.: s.n.

Lukacs, M., 2014. *New, privatized African city heralds climate apartheid.* [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/true-north/2014/jan/21/new-privatized-african-city-heralds-climate-apartheid
[Accessed 12 September 2020].

Lund, C., 2016. Rule and Rupture: State Formation through the Production of Property and Citizenship. *Development and Change,* 47(6), pp. 1199-1228.

Lund, C., 2016. Rule and Rupture: State Formation through theProduction of Property and Citizenship. *Development and Change,* 47(6), pp. 1199-1228.

Marcuse, P., 2009. From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City,* 13(2-3), pp. 185-197.

Marx, K., (1976[1867]). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.* Chicago: C.H. Kerr & Company.

McGinn, C., 2013. *"Every day is difficult for my body and my heart." Forced evictions in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Women's narratives of risk and resilience.,* New York: Columbia University.

Meehan, J., 2014. Reinventing Real Estate: The Community Land Trust As a Social Invention in Affordable Housing. *Journal of Applied Social Science,* 8(2), pp. 113-133.

Molotch, H., 1993. The Space of Lefebvre. *Theory and Society,* Volume 22, pp. 887-895.

Morka, F., 2007. *A place to live: a case study of the Ijora-Badia community in Lagos, Nigeria. Case Study prepared for Global Report on Human Settlements,* s.l.: s.n.

Murphy, D. & Anana, T., 1994. Evictions and fear of evictions in the Philippines. *Environment and Urbanisation,* April, 6(1), pp. 40-49.

Nakamura, S., 2014. Impact of Slum Formalisation on Self-Help Housing Construction: A Case of Slum Notification in India. *Urban Studies,* 51(16), pp. 3420-3444.

Nakamura, S., 2017. Does Slum Formalisation Without Title Provision Stimulate Housing Imporvement? A Case of Slum Declaration in Pune, India. *Urban Studies ,* 54(7), pp. 1715-1735.

Ndubueze, O. J., 2009. *URBAN HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND HOUSING POLICY DILEMMAS IN NIGERIA,* s.l.: University of Birmingham.

NLE, 2012. *NLE.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.nleworks.com/about/
[Accessed 14 September 2020].

Nwanna, C. R., 2018. Right To The City: Lagos, An Emerging Revanchist City In Nigeria?. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal ,* 5(4), pp. 59-69.

Obono, O., 2007. A Lagos Thing: Rules and Realities in the Nigerian Megacity. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs,* 8(2), pp. 31-37.

Ocheje, P. D., 2007. "In the Public Interest": Forced Evictions, Land Rights and Human Development in Africa. *Journal of African Law,* 51(2), pp. 173-214.

OHCHR, 2019. *Financialisation of Housing.* [Online] Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Housing/Pages/FinancializationHousing.aspx [Accessed 24 April 2020].

O'Keeffe , A., 2011. Media and discourse analysis. In: J. Gee & M. Handford , eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis.* London: Routledge, pp. 441-454.

Okonofua , E.-M., 2016. *Everyday Urban Practices Surrounding a Series of Evictions Across Lagos, Nigeria,* s.l.: Wien University .

Olajide, . O. A., Agunbiade, M. E. & Bishi, H. B., 2018. The realities of Lagos urban development vision on livelihoods ofthe urban poor. *Journal of Urban Management,* Volume 7, pp. 21-31.

Olapade, D. T., Ayodele, T. O. & Olaleye, A., 2018. Impediments to foreign real estate investment in an emerging market: A tripartite characterisation of the Lagos, Nigeria property market. *Journal of Property Investment & Finance,* 36(5), pp. 47--494.

Olawepo, R., 2010. Perspectives on Urban Renewal and Transportation Development in Lagos: Implications for Urban Development in Nigeria. *African Research Review,* 4(1), pp. 273-287.

Olawepo, R. A., 2010. Perspectives on Urban Renewal and Transportation Development in Lagos: Implications for Urban Development in Nigeria. *African Research Review,* 4(1), pp. 273-287.

Olds, K., 1998. Urban Mega-Events, Evictions and Housing Rights: The Canadian Case. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 11(6), pp. 2-46.

Olthuis, K., Benni, J., Eichwede, K. & Zevenbergen, C., 2015. Slum Upgrading: Assessing the Importance of Location and a plea for a spatial approach. *Habitat International,* pp. 270-288.

Olufemi, O. A. & W., A. P., 2018. Regeneration - A Pragmatic Approach to Informal Settlement Development of Abesan Lagos, Nigeria. *Sociology and Anthropology,* 6(9), pp. 717-728.

Onwuanyi, N., 2018. Broken Lives and Broken Limbs: An Evaluation of Slum Clearances and Forced Evictions in Metropolitan Lagos. In: *Inclusive City Growth and the Poor: Policies, Challenges and Prospects.* s.l.:s.n., pp. 309-333.

Onyebueke, V. U. et al., 2020. Evicting the poor in the 'overriding public interest': Crisis of rights and interests, and contestations in Nigerian cities. *Cities,* June, Volume 101, pp. 1-12.

Open Democracy, 2018. *Radical democracy and municipal movements.* [Online] Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/radical-democracy-and-municipal-movements/#

Osuoka, I. A. & Aremu, A., 2020. What shall we do with Makoko? Solidarity, struggles and visions of social change in the slums of Lagos (Nigeria). In: M. M'barek, G. Velegrakis, R. Hoetmer & A. Rodríguez, eds. *Cities of Dignity: Urban Transformation Around the World.* s.l.:s.n., pp. 181-210.

Otiso, K. M., 2002. Forced Evictions in Kenyan Cities. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography,* 23(3), pp. 252-267.

Oyinloye, M. A., Olamiju, I. O. & Popoola, O. O., 2017. Urban renewal strategies in developing nations: A focus on Makoko, Lagos State, Nigeria. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning,* 10(8), pp. 229-241.

Oyinloye, M. A., Olamiju, I. O. & Popoola, O. O., 2017. Urban renewal strategies in developing nations: A focus on Makoko, Lagos State, Nigeria. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning,* 10(8), pp. 229-241.

Padawangi, R., 2019. Forced evictions, spatial (un)certainties and the making of exemplary centres in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint,* 60(1).

Paller, . J. W., 2020. THE CONTENTIOUS POLITICS OF URBANIZATION: Insights from Africa. *APSA-CP Newsletter,* 30(1), pp. 57-65.

Parneiter, C., 2002. Mexico; The Making of a Global City . In: S. Sassen & R. S. Lynd , eds. *Global Networks, Linked Cities.* s.l.:s.n., pp. 145-182.

Parnell, S., Pieterse, E. & Watson, V., 2009. Planning for cities in the global South: an African research agenda for sustainable human settlements. *Progress in Planning,* 72(2), pp. 233-241.

Parnell, S. & Robinson, J., 2012. (Re)theorizing Cities from the Global South: Looking Beyond Neoliberalism. *Urban Geography,* 33(4), pp. 593-617.

Paul, D. E., 2004. World cities as hegemonic projects: The politics of global imagineering in Montreal. *Political Geography,* 23(5), pp. 571-596.

Payne, G., 2002. Tenure and Shelter in Urban Livelihoods. In: . T. Lloyd-Jones & C. Rakodi, eds. *Urban Livelihoods: A People-centred Approach to Reducing Poverty.* s.l.:Routledge.

Payne, G., Durand-Lasserve, A. & Rakodi, C., 2009. The Limits of Land Titling and Home Ownership. *Environment & Urbanisation,* 21(2), pp. 443-461.

Plessis, J. D., 2005. The Growing Problem of Forced Evictions and the Crucial Importance of Community-Based, Locally Appropriate Alternatives. *Environment and Urbanization,* 17(1), pp. 123-134.

Porter, L., 2011. Informality, the Commons and the Paradoxes for Planning: Concepts and Debates for Informality and Planning. *Planning Theory & Practices,* 12(1), pp. 115-153.

Pugh, C., 2001. The Theory and Practice of Housing Sector Development for Developing Countries, 1950-99. *Housing Studies,* 16(4), pp. 399-423.

Purcell, . M., 2003. Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal,* Volume 58, pp. 99-108.

Purcell, M., 2006. Urban Democracy and the Local Trap. *Urban Studies,* 43(11), pp. 1921-1941.

Purcell, M., 2014. Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs,* 36(1), pp. 141-154.

Quartz, 2020. *Eko for Show: Africa's largest city has a habit of kicking out its poor to make room for the rich.* [Online] Available at: https://qz.com/africa/1793811/lagos-evicts-tarkwa-bay-okun-ayo-slums/ [Accessed 2 August 2020].

QuartzAfrica, 2017. *Lagos is Doubling Down on Kicking Out Thousands of Waterfront Slum Dwellers.* [Online] Available at: https://qz.com/africa/954040/nigerias-otodo-gbame-evictions-demolitions-by-lagos-state-task-force-leave-one-dead-and-thousands-homeless/ [Accessed 24 April 2020].

Rhoads, E., 2018. Forced Evictions as Urban Planning? Traces of Colonial Land Control Practices in Yangon, Myanmar. *State Crime,* 7(2), pp. 278-305.

Roberts , R. E. & Okanya , . O., 2020. Measuring the socio–economic impact of forced evictions and illegal demolition; A comparative study between displaced and existing informal settlements. *The Social Science Journal,* pp. 1-20.

Rolink, R., 2013. Late Neoliberalism: The Financialization of Homeownership and Housing Rights. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* May, 37(3), pp. 1058-1066.

Roy, A., 2009. The 21st-century Metropolis: new geographies of theory. *Regional Studies ,* Volume 43, pp. 819-883.

Roy, A., 2011. Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 35(2), pp. 223-238.

Roy, A., 2011. The Blockade of the World-Class City: Dialectical Images of Indian Urbanism. In: A. Roy & A. Ong, eds. *Worlding cities Asian experiments and the art of being glo- bal.* West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 259-278.

Russell, B., 2019. Beyond the Local Trap: New Municipalism and the Rise of the Fearless Cities. *Antipode,* 51(3), pp. 989-1010.

Safier, M., 2002. On estimating 'room for manoeuvre'. *City,* 6(1), pp. 117-132.

Samara, T. R., He, S. & Chen, G., 2013. *Locating Right to the City in the Global South.* s.l.:Routledge.

Sassen, S., 1991. The Global City. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs,* 11(2), pp. 27-43.

Sevilla-Buitrago, A., 2015. Capitalist Formations of Enclosure: Space and the Extinction of the Commons. *Antipode,* pp. 1-22.

Shatkin, G., 2004. Planning to Forget: Informal Settlements as 'Forgotten Places' in Globalising Metro Manila. *Urban Studies,* 41(12), p. 2469–2484.

Shittu, A. I. & Musbaudeen, A. M., 2015. Public Participation in Local Government Planning and Development: Evidence from Lagos State, Nigeria. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs,* 3(2), pp. 20-42.

Shodipe, M., 2017. Urban Spaces and Human Livelihoods: Language Use in Makoko Slum Settlement, Lagos Mainland. In: T. Falola & B. Falola, eds. *The African Metropolis: Struggles over Urban Space, Citizenship, and Rights to the City.* s.l.:Routledge.

Slater, T., 2009. Missing Marcuse: On gentrification and displacement. *City,* 13(2-3), pp. 292-311.

Soederberg, S., 2018. Evictions: A Global Capitalist Phenomenon. *Development and Change,* 49(2), pp. 286-301.

Syagga, P*.,* 2011. Land Tenure in Slum Upgrading Projects. pp. 103-113.

Thompson, M., 2015. Between Boundaries: From Commoning and Guerrilla Gardening to Community Land Trust Development in Liverpool. *Antipode,* 47(4), pp. 1021-1042.

TuftsUniversity, 2008. *DISCOURSE,* s.l.: Tufts University.

UCLG, 2019. *Right to the City.* Durban, s.n.

Udo-Udoma, O., 2014. *January 2014 University of Cape Town World Bank Public Participation Policies and Processes in relation to the Lives of Beneficiaries in Slum Upgrading Projects Case Study: Makoko, Lagos, Nigeria,* s.l.: University of Cape Town.

UN, 2018. *A/HRC/37/53,* s.l.: United Nations.

UN-Habitat, 2003. *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements,* Nairobi: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat, 2005. *Forced Evictions – Towards Solutions? First Report of the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions to the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT,* Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions,* nairobi: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat, 2018. *ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS TO FORCED EVICTIONS AND SLUM DEMOLITIONS Case studies from Africa, Asia, North and South America,* Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat, 2019. *Issue Brief: Slum Upgrading and Land,* Washington, DC: UN-Habitat.

Uwaegbulam, C., 2015. *Lead Story Low supply, demand in Eko Atlantic scheme drive land prices higher.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ekoatlantic.com/latestnews/lead-_story-low-supply-demand-eko-atlantic-scheme-drive-land-prices-_ higher/
[Accessed 12 September 2020].

Uwayezu, E. & de Vries, W. T., 2018. Indicators for Measuring Spatial Justice and Land Tenure Security for Poor and Low Income Urban Dwellers. *Land,* 7(3), pp. 1-34.

Vanguard, 2012. *Demolition caught us unawares – Makoko residents.* [Online] Available at: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/07/demolition-caught-us-unawares-makoko-residents/ [Accessed 12 September 2020].

Vols, M., Belloir, A. & Zuidema, A., 2019. Common Trends in Eviction Research: a Systematic Literature Review. In: M. Vols & C. U. Schmid, eds. *Houses, Homes and the Law.* s.l.:Eleven Publishing, pp. 1-78.

Watson, V., 2009. Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues. *Urban Studies,* October, 46(11), pp. 2259-2275.

Watson, V., 2014. African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares?. *Environment & Urbanization,* 26(1).

Weber, R., 2002. Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment. *Antipode,* pp. 519-540.

Weinstein, L., 2014. Urban Cleansing: Evictions, Insecurity, and Intolerance in Global Perspective. *The Cities Papers.*

Werlin, H., 1999. The Slum Upgrading Myth. *Urban Studies ,* 36(9), pp. 1523-1534.

Williamson, T., 2018. *Could Community Land Trusts in Informal Settlements Help Solve the World's Affordable Housing Crisis?,* s.l.: s.n.

Wizor, C. H. & Emerueh, C. A., 2020. Perceived Impact of Urban Waterfront Dwellers' Forced Eviction on Housing, Security and Social Support System in Njemanze and Otodo-Gbame Informal Settlements, Nigeria. *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences,* 10(2), pp. 43-56.

Zainal, Z., 2007. Case study as a research method. *Jurnal Kemanusiaan,* Volume 9, pp. 1-6.