

A Socio-Economic Profiling of Households Livelihood and Vulnerability at Urban Slum/Blighted Communities in Lagos: A Case Study of Makoko

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Abstract:The advent of crude oil in Nigeria led to an unprecedented rate of urbanization and rural-urban translocational activities; this coupled with massive macro-economic wealth leakages, poor urban land-use management systems, population explosion and the endemic nature of widespread poverty. Given these effect slums have become major spatial manifestations of urbanization and poverty in most Nigerian urban spaces with Lagos not being an exception. This study profiles the socio-economic attributes of households with particular reference to their vulnerability status to slum conditions in Makoko community, data was sourced primarily via the administration of questionnaires to 294 households, wherein a combination of quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques were utilized. The results of this study results revealed that the proportion of households headed by females (31.7% >25.5%) was greater than the State average, Based on the constructed study wealth quintile, 32.2% of households were situated in the poorest quintile with a sum estimate of 70.6% of households termed as poor and socially disadvantaged, findings based on the umbrella methodology revealed that vulnerability indices of socio-economic factors scores of households ranged between 0.06-0.91(0-1scale), economic vulnerability was the most prevalent source of household vulnerability given that an estimated 21.1% of households surveyed were categorized as extremely vulnerable and 63.6% of households were grouped as vulnerable . Based on the findings from this study we recommend; the need for strengthened public-private partnership in terms of regeneration of land use system, improved flood management, Provision of social utilities, income generating and food security projects, improved accessibility to start-up capital. The Lagos State Government should relocate occupants of buildings situated in the most vulnerable location in Makoko to other habitable parts of the State.

Keywords: Socio-economic, Vulnerability, Resilience, Umbrella model, Makoko, Lagos State

I. INTRODUCTION

In many parts of the world, millions of people live in informal urban settlements especially in developing countries where lack of resources, social amenities, and basic infrastructural facilities result in environmental degradation. In Lagos for example, it is estimated that about 70% of the city's population live in slums or blighted communities. (World Bank, 2006; Lanrewaju 2012; FRN,2012).

A slum is a heavily populated urban informal settlement characterized by substandard housing and squalor. While slums differ in size and other characteristics from country to country, most lack reliable sanitation services, supply of clean water, reliable electricity, timely law enforcement and other basic services. Slum residences vary from shanty houses to professionally-built dwellings that because of poor-quality design or construction have deteriorated into slums. (UN-Habitat, 2007) Slums were common in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the United States and Europe. (Lawrence,2007). More recently slums have been predominantly found in urban regions of developing and undeveloped parts of the world, but are also found in developed economies. (UN-Habitat, 2007; Braimoh and Onishi, 2007)

According to the United Nations Habitat report of 2012, around 33 % (863 million people) of the urban population in the developing world live in slums. In the same year also, the proportion of urban population living in slums was highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (61.7%), followed by South Asia (35%), Southeast Asia (31%), East Asia (28.2%), West Asia (24.6%), Oceania (24.1%), Latin America and the Caribbean (23.5%), and North Africa (13.3%). Among individual countries, the proportion of urban residents living in slum areas in 2009 was highest in the Central African Republic (95.9%). Between 1990 and 2010 the percentage of people living in slums dropped, even as the total urban population increased. The world's largest slum city is in Mexico City. (UN-Habitat 2003; IB Times, 2011), Slums form and grow in many different parts of the world for many different reasons. Some causes include rapid rural-to-urban migration, economic stagnation and depression, high unemployment, poverty, informal economy, poor planning, politics, natural disasters and social conflicts (Patton, 1988).

As women make up the majority of slum residents, they find it challenging to get work and single mothers are stigmatized, on top of being excluded from the formal economy because of their religious beliefs or lack of secure assets. (Andre, 2009; Dulani et al., 2013). The women residents of slums are in exponentially worse conditions because of the lack of clean and sanitary water. Without good water and sanitation, maternal and baby mortality rates rise and diseases thrive. The

lack of hospitals and funding for proper hospital staff and supplies is a contributing factor (Bipasha, 2008).

Women and girls often bear the brunt of problems associated with living in slums. They are burdened with fetching and carrying water over long distances, and caring for sick family members, leaving them little time for education or to make a living. In city slums where sanitation facilities are poor or non-existent, going to the toilet at night or in the early morning puts women at risk as they could be sexually harassed.

In Lagos metropolis, Makoko is apparently one of the largest low income communities with half of its population on water and half on land. It is a slum spread out beneath the most travelled bridge in West Africa's megalopolis. It was founded as a fishing village in the late 19th century by immigrants from the Egun ethnic group. To make a living in Makoko slum, many residents operate boat shops which float through the neighborhood, selling a variety of domestic items such as food, snacks, and cooking oil. Residents travel through the neighborhood by canoes, boats, or over a few wooden bridges and walkways.

It is noteworthy that the community is self-governed with little or no influence of security forces; this thereby poses a security challenge. Also, the community is characterized by a very high rate of fertility because they do not believe in the use of contraceptives and birth control pills. If a woman gives

birth to only two children, she will be socially stigmatized as not productive enough.

This study assesses the socio-economic profile of women in households livelihood and their level of vulnerability to associated socio-environmental externalities, amongst which are health related risks, general social insecurity, and substandard living conditions.

The Umbrella Model

The umbrella model for measuring household livelihood vulnerability was developed in 2010 by the Livelihood and Food Security Trust Fund, in an attempt to introduce a more robust and measureable selection criteria, this ensures that the right interventions reaches the most disadvantaged sub-population. The model is so called because of its application to plot household vulnerability in a user-friendly umbrella style radar plot to illustrate the relative degree of 'protection' which a household has against shocks and hazards. The tool draws on Moser's Asset vulnerability framework to measure household economic vulnerability according to ten (10) factors (indebtedness, productive income, livelihood diversity, dependency ratio, asset profile, water & sanitation, food security, health, social capital and decision making power) (Moser, 1998) and was developed according to a livelihood and vulnerability framework developed by the Livelihood and Food Security Trust Fund as utilized in Myanmar). The full list of factors and linked indicators is included (Table 1).

Table 1: Vulnerability factors, Contributions to vulnerability, Indicators and sources

Factor	Contribution to vulnerability	Indicator	Source of validation
Indebtedness	High levels of non-productive debt put livelihood assets at risk (collateral); repayments may reduce essential expenditure; high levels of existing debt can reduce ability to access additional credit	Debt repayment as proportion of income Repayment: income ratio >30% is usually risky	World Bank 1997vii, adapted
Income	Low or negative income: expenditure ratio can lead to reduction in essential spending, increase risk of debt or negative coping responses. High proportion of income spent on non-productive items can lead to underinvestment in livelihood, leading to higher risk	Proportion of income expended on nonproductive items (food, health, rent, fines)	World Bank 1997, adapted
Food Security	Current and prior experience of food insecurity is strongly linked with increased vulnerability to future food insecurity. Likewise, food insecurity leading to malnutrition can affect human capital, and put livelihoods at risk.	Food Security Index	UNDPix, modified
Health	Chronic or frequent illness in primary earner OR one requiring care threatens livelihood security and reduces income, as well as increasing health expenditure; unplanned health expenditure is a common cause of negative coping (e.g. conversion of livelihood assets to cash)	Income generating household member days per year lost work through illness	UNDP modified
Water & Sanitation	Water is an essential for health and many livelihoods; more time taken to draw water reduces time for other activities; unsafe water sources increase risk of ill health which reduce livelihood effectiveness; unreliable water supplies increase resource expenditure	Average time to collect water	DHS (2006)x
Dependents	Household members requiring high levels of social or medical care divert human, physical and financial resources away from potentially productive livelihood activities	Household Dependency scale	TLMIxi adapted

Social Participation	Persons with higher levels of social participation build up social capital, which can increase the likelihood of relief and assistance in times of difficulty	Participation index	TLMI, adapted from p-scale (KIT)
Decision making	Persons with more influence in decision making can have stronger negotiating position for livelihood related factors.	Proximity to power scale	Adapted UNDP

Source: Adopted from Griffiths and Woods(2009)

Makoko is the largest of the 42 slum areas in Lagos, Nigeria. The lagoon side settlement of Makoko is located in Lagos Mainland Local Government Area (Yaba Local Development Area) of Lagos metropolis. Its coordinates are 6°25'44" N and 3°27'19" E in DMS (Degrees Minutes Seconds) or 6.42889 and 3.45528 (in decimal degrees). Its UTM position is EH51 and its Joint Operation Graphics reference is NB31-07. Makoko rests in structures constructed on stilts above Lagos Lagoon. As at 2006, the area was essentially self-governing with a very limited government presence in the community and local security being provided by vigilantes and area boys.

The residents of the area are confronted with severe flooding especially during the wet season. The settlement which is partly on water and land has a shifting population varying from 40,000 to as much as 300,000 by estimation, as the population has not been officially counted. The community is

occupied by migrants, majorly from the coastal communities of the Niger Delta, Benin, Togo and Ghana. The settlement remote location around the lagoon coupled with the poor status of its inhabitants have made the community suffer from serious environmental and infrastructural deficiencies, including inadequate access roads, schools, health care facilities and housing. Most of the houses are made up of planks and other weak materials (Lagos State bureau of statistic, 2011).

The settlement’s major problem is linked to inadequate shelter and services, lack of a safe water supply, sanitation, and drainage; inadequate solid waste management; use of low-grade domestic fuels; health risk from overcrowding and the occupation and degradation of the environment. This range of urban environmental problems is also being experienced in many other places in Lagos.

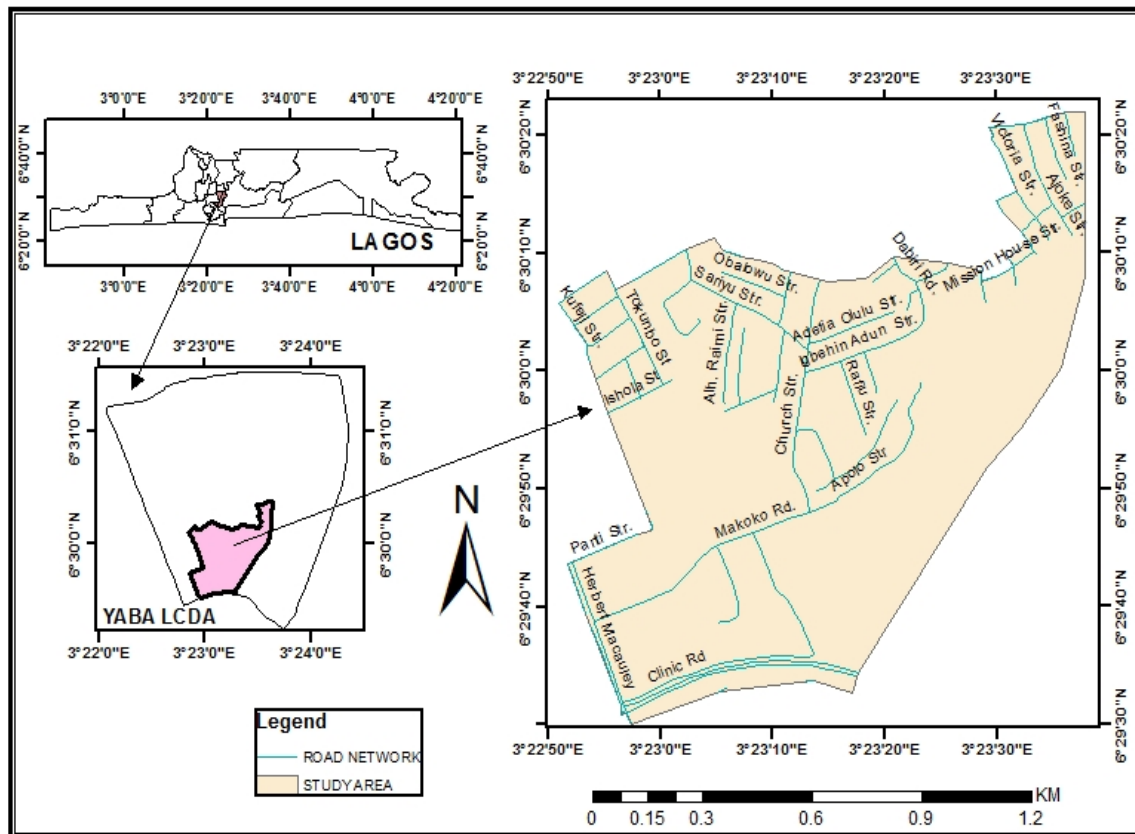


Fig 1: Makoko slum in Lagos State

Source: Lagos administrative map

Study Design

This study is a descriptive cross-sectional study of the socio-economic profiling of households in Makoko, Lagos Mainland Local Government Area of Lagos State, Nigeria.

Inclusion criteria

Only female were selected as respondents, a female respondent must have lived in Makoko community for a minimum duration of six (6) months prior to the survey; must also be aged eighteen (18) years and above.

Study Population

The population of Lagos Mainland Local Government Area was estimated as 629,469 persons (NPC, 2009), the provision for this demographic differential was factored into our sampled population. Thus, a total of 294 (Two hundred and ninety four) women (aged 18 and above) were interviewed in this study.

Sample Size

Simple random sampling technique was utilized in this study, a sample of women (aged 18 and above) proportionate to population size were systematically selected from the sampled Local Government Areas, sample size was attained using Cochran (1979) technique. It was calculated via the use of an online software platform (Creative Research System).

Data Collection and Instruments Used

Field survey (questionnaire) was used for data collection; in order to reduce the impact of recall on data collection, it was performed over a 1-month period (January to February 2019). The questionnaire was pretested to ensure that the content therein is easily identifiable by individuals from various backgrounds and corresponded with the items also described in the text format.

II. RESULTS

This study assessed the socio-economic profile of households in Makoko with respect to vulnerability and resilience. A total of 294 Questionnaire's (response rate=98%) were collected, cleaned and coded for analyses.

Socio-demographic attributes of respondents

Majority of women interviewed were aged between 26-40 years (34.7%) while in terms of ethnic composition of persons, Egun, Awori and Yoruba descents made up about 77.9%, i.e. seven (7) out of every ten (10) persons resident in Makoko were from this ethnic grouping. In addition, the significant amounts of foreigners (17%) from neighboring countries were also resident in Makoko. Most of the women (92.5%) surveyed were married (Table 1).

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Attributes of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age		
18-25years	66	22.4
26-40years	102	34.7
41-55years	90	30.6
<56 above	36	12.3
Ethnic		
Yoruba	113	38.4
Egun Awori	116	39.5
Igbo	2	0.7
Hausa	1	0.3
Others	62	21.1
Nationality		
Nigeria	232	78.9
Togo	21	7.1
Rep.Benin	26	8.8
Ghana	3	1.1
Others	12	4.1
Religion		
Christian	186	63.3
Muslim	90	30.6
Animists(Traditional)	18	6.1
Marital Status		
Single	8	2.7
Married	272	92.5
Widowed	11	3.7
Divorced	3	1.1
Total	294	100

Source: Authors Computation (2017)

(Table 2) Literacy rate (98%) was high, with primary level educational attainment (52%) being the most prominent, women in Makoko were found to be more fecund, given that about 72.2% have given birth to between 1-8 live children, 19.7% (9-12 children) and 8.1% are yet to give birth to live children. Occupationally, most women involved in

trade based activities (55.1%) with those domiciled in the fishing sector (22.4%) being the second largest employer of female labour in Makoko, also of importance is the fact that women headed 31.7% of households survey which is significantly higher than the state wise estimate of 25.5% (Lagos State Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

Table 2: Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Educational Attainment		
No-education	6	2
Primary Education	153	52
Secondary Education	111	37.8
Tertiary Education	24	8.2
Total Fertility Rate (Per Woman)		
1-4 child	133	45.2
5-8 child	79	27
9-12 child	58	19.7
None	24	8.1
Occupation		
Artisan	44	15
Fisher woman	66	22.4
Trading	162	55.1
Civil-servant	15	4.1
Others	7	2.4
Household Median monthly income		
<₦ 10,000	94	32
₦10,000-25,000	139	47.3
₦ 26,000-49,000	34	11.6
₦ 50,000-100,000	15	5.1
Above ₦ 100,000	12	4
Head of Household		
Male	201	68.3
Female	93	31.7
Total	294	100

Source: Authors Computation, 2019

In this study we made the assumption that resources are distributed according to need within a household, thus imputing the overall household vulnerability onto its members, bearing this in mind, the model measured the relative resilience of households in Makoko. The results revealed that the vulnerability indices of the major factors ranged from 0.06-0.91 space as shown in Figure 2. The vulnerability index of economic components shows households vulnerability to indebtedness (0.40) and income insufficiency (0.06) which partly explains why majority of the slum dwellers are presently resident in Makoko, this economic

reality trickle-down to household's food security status (0.38). The second major component was the socio-demographic which consisted of three (3) components. Households in Makoko showed vulnerability to these factors, social participation (0.54), dependents (0.43) and decision making (0.49) though there were less vulnerable to these factors when compared to the economic components. Thirdly, the environmental components were assessed and they include relative vulnerability to malaria incidence (0.67) and the supply of clean water (0.91).

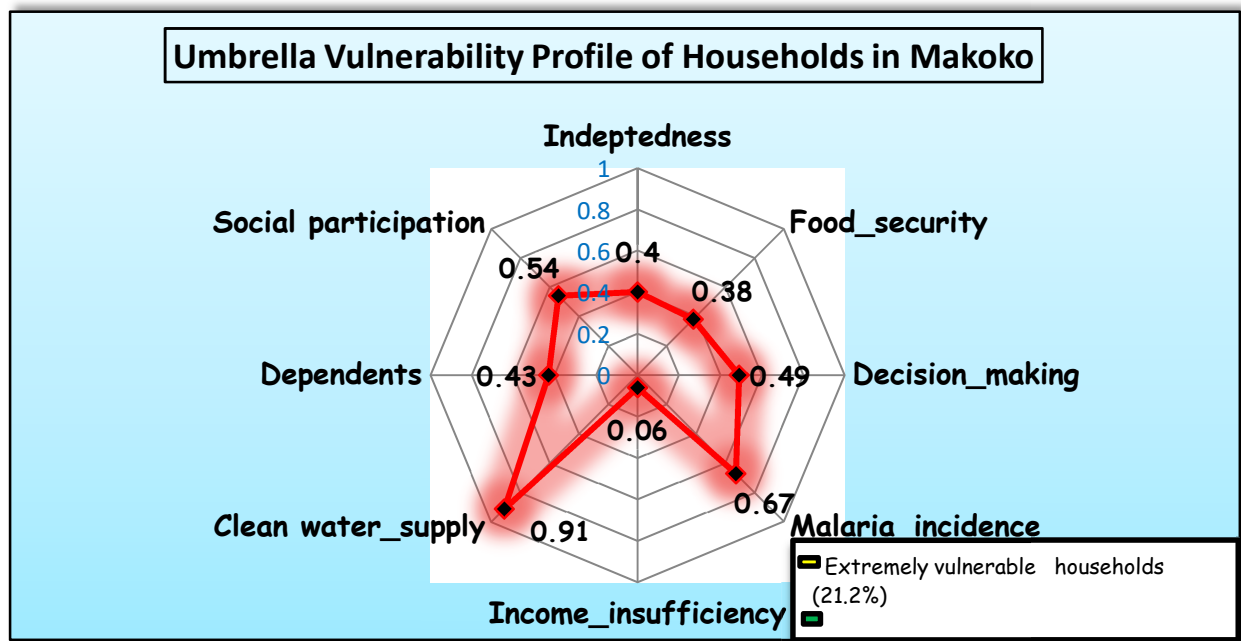


Figure 2: Umbrella vulnerability profile for Makoko

Source: Authors Computation, 2019

21.2% of all households were classified as extremely vulnerable and 63.6% were classified as vulnerable households, when compared with the population sample of 294 households (see in Fig 2). Using a standard measure (wealth ranking in the lowest quintile) 32.2% of households could be classified as poor, and of these, 70.6% were also considered vulnerable (Fig 3). This finding suggests that of all the people identified as vulnerable, around half (50%) will be classified as poor by using wealth ranking, and half will not.

Likewise, of all households identified as poor by using wealth ranking, around half would be considered vulnerable, and half would not. This result demonstrates that by using the umbrella model, a significant proportion of the poor households were captured, but in addition, a significant number of non-poor households were also identified, and a proportion of poor households (as classified using conventional methods) were not classified as vulnerable.

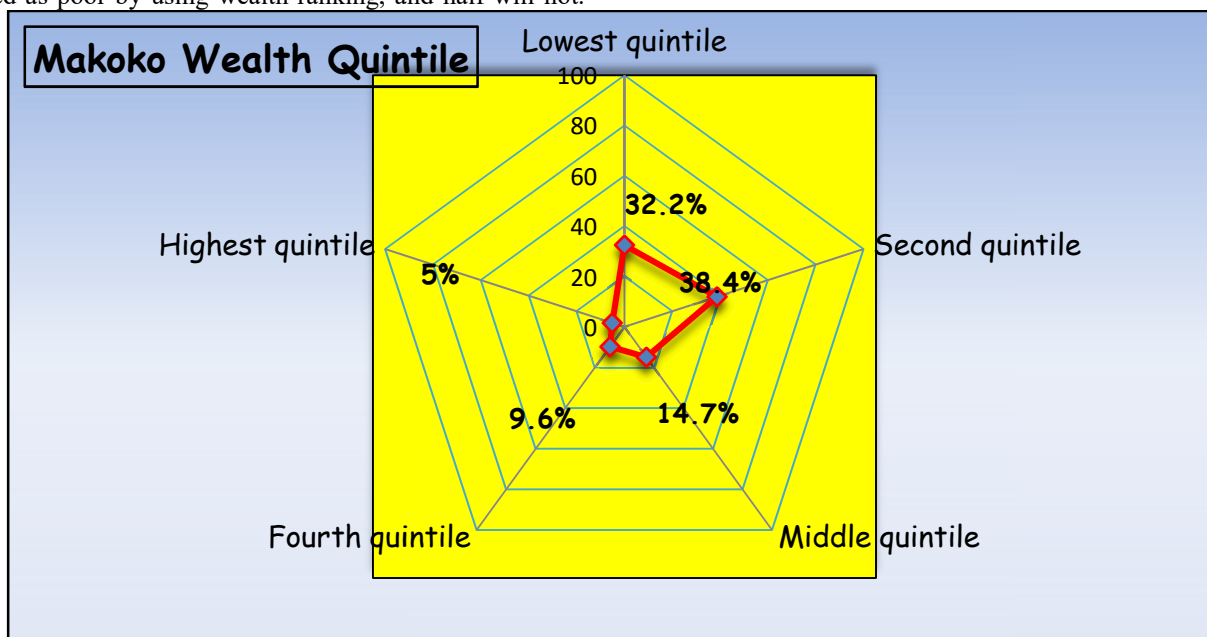


Figure 3: Umbrella Household wealth profile for Makoko

Source: Authors Computation, 2019

The outcome of the regression model suggests that, there is reasonable ‘goodness of fit’ with Nagelkerke R square-coefficient estimate of 0.59. The explanatory variables (predictors) explained 85.7% of variance in the outcome variable, three (3) explanatory variables (Social Participation

(β 0.202), Water supply (β 0.146) and Malaria incidence (β 0.164) were found to be statistically insignificant, while the remaining five (5) explanatory variables were statistical significant (see in Table 3).

Table 3: Relative influence of different factors on overall vulnerability, using linear estimates in a Multifactor regression model

Variable	Point of change required to influence overall status	Statistical Significance
1-Indebtedness	-0.424	<0.001
2-Food Security	-0.407	<0.001
3-Decision making	-0.056	<0.001
4-Malaria incidence	0.164	>0.001
5-Income insufficiency	-1.403	<0.001
6-Water supply	0.146	>0.001
7-Dependents	-0.200	<0.001
8-Social Participation	0.202	>0.001
Constant	-4.641	<0.001

Source: Authors Computation, 2019

This shows that a reduction in score associated with an increased likelihood of a household being considered vulnerable, for instance reduction indebtedness (β -0.424) would increase the vulnerability status of a household (\uparrow 0.424), food security (β -0.407 \rightarrow \uparrow 0.407 V_{status}), dependents (β -0.200 \rightarrow \uparrow 0.200 V_{status}), decision making (β -0.506 \rightarrow \uparrow 0.506 V_{status}), all these variables have limited significant impact on the changes in household vulnerability status as compared to income insufficiency (β -1.403 \rightarrow \uparrow 1.403 V_{status}) which was found to be the main determinant of households vulnerability status in Makoko area (Table 3).

The vulnerability triangle of households in Makoko (Fig 4), revealed that residents in Makoko were potentially more exposed (0.65) to natural disaster like flash flood, rising lagoon water level and pollution. Vulnerability in terms of the household adaptation capacity (0.41) taking into account the household status based on socio-demographic, social networks and livelihood of households in the locality further revealed vulnerability of households to socio-economic shocks. Taking into consideration the contribution of vulnerability of water, health and food security status households in Makoko were also vulnerable with reduced level of sensitivity (0.21).

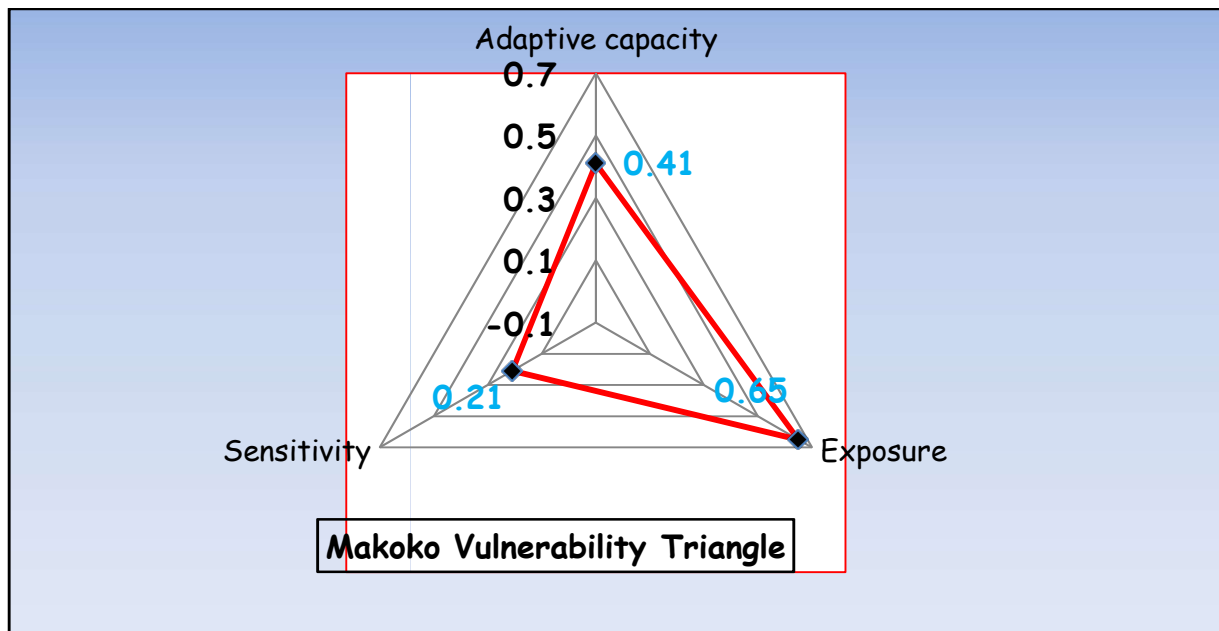


Figure 4: Vulnerability Triangle for Makoko

Source: Authors Computation (2019)

III. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

The current study examined the socio-economic profile of households with particular emphasis on their vulnerability status in Makoko community of Lagos Mainland Local Government Area of Lagos State. The study was descriptive based; primary sourced data was obtained via the survey of 294 households. The empirical results revealed that the proportion of households headed by females (31.7% > 25.5%) was greater than the stated average, Makoko was found to have a heterogeneous ethnocentric make-up with a significant population of non-Nigerians. This statistics is comparable with figures reported in other studies (Babalola & Akor 2013; Gayawan & Adebayo 2015; NDHS 2014; Adu et al., 2017). Results from analyses using the umbrella methodology revealed that vulnerability indices of socio-economic factor scores of households ranged between 0.06-0.91 (0-1 scale), economic vulnerability was the most prevalent source of household vulnerability given that an estimated 21.1% of households surveyed were categorized as houses riddled with extremely vulnerable and 63.6% of households were grouped as vulnerable to economic, socio and environmental factors. These statistics correlate with findings of previous studies in Nigeria (NBS 2012a; NBS 2012b; Amao 2012; NBS 2013; Funsho et al 2013). Given the prevailing state of widening income inequalities and inequities in Nigeria, this phenomenon has been exacerbated over the years by massive economic leakages and poor urban governance across space and time (Rigon et al., 2015).

Based on the constructed study wealth quintile classification, 32.2% of households were situated in the poorest quintile and a total of 70.6% of households in Makoko were considered as being poor and socially disadvantaged. This result mirrors findings from previous national surveys (NDHS 2009; NDHS 2014; Oduh 2012; Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, 2014). The vulnerability triangle of households in Makoko revealed that residents in Makoko were potentially more exposed to natural hazard like flash flood, rising lagoon water level and pollution (ecological vulnerable). Vulnerability in terms of the household's adaptation capacity, taking into account the household status based on socio-demographic, social networks and livelihood of households in the locality further revealed vulnerability of households to

socio-economic shocks. Taking into consideration the criteria of accessible water supply, health and food security status, households in Makoko were also vulnerable with reduced level of sensitivity.

Conclusion

Makoko being one of the most populous informal settlements in Lagos State, Nigeria. This community is more than just a place to live, it is also a working place for home-based enterprises and it involves a complex mixture of social, economic and cultural considerations. Thus, this settlements serve as one of the incubators for the expansion of the national poverty profile (Vicious cycle of poverty) the demand for basic amenities and infrastructural facilities continues to increase geometrically as its population explodes despite the present economic realities and prevailing infrastructural deficits. Vulnerability is prevalent and widespread within the houses ranging from economic (poverty) to social (social disadvantage) vulnerabilities and increasing ecological hazards leading to poor living situations, environmental conditions and is also a ticking epidemiological time bomb within its boundary.

There is no universal "quick-fix" solution that can solve all the problems of emergence of urban informal settlements in urban centres globally. One such approach that has been receiving considerable attention from various government and public authorities has been the "enabling" approach, where instead of taking a confrontationist attitude, governments have strived to create an enabling environment, under which people, using and generating their own resources, could find unique local solutions for their housing and shelter problems. **Recommendation;** based on the findings in this study the following recommendations are suggested; Firstly, the need for strengthened public-private partnership in terms of the regeneration of land use system, improved flood management, Provision of social utilities, income generating and food security projects, improved accessibility to start-up capital. Secondly, Government should review the national urban development policy (2012) and implement it in cooperation with other tiers of government. The Lagos State Government should relocate occupants of buildings situated in the most vulnerable location in Makoko to other habitable part of the State.

Photographic Illustrations of Present Situation of Makoko Slum settlements, Lagos, Nigeria



*Plate 1 showing (fish processing) one of the prominent commercial activities in Makoko.

*Plate 2 showing Drainage system which depicts the precarious and deplorable living conditions of the urban poor.

*Plate 3 captures the slum dwellers environment littered with waste and sewage.

*Plate 4 depicts the unhealthy living conditions of the slum dwellers in one of the sub-standard buildings constructed with Zinc Sheets.

*Plate 5 showing the poor road facilities within the slum environment as a result of lack of proper drainage, thereby causing water to stay on the road for a long period of time.

*Plate 6 reveals the deteriorated condition of the slum environment and children loitering on the street.

Source: Plate 1-Plate 6 (Author's Field Survey, 2019)

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors listed have contributed significantly to this study, and their contributions are listed as follows; Uriri, Alex and Makanju, Adebayo both developed the key ideas, methods as well as undertook data collection, analysis and interpretation, Ikpe, Regina assisted in proof reading the final manuscript. All authors have read and agreed to the final version of this manuscript and have equally contributed to its content and to the management of the case.

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