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Urban Renewal and the Livelihoods of the Urban Poor in the Slum Community of Makoko, Lagos Nigeria

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B.Tech.(Hons.), PgD, M.Sc.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy in Urban Studies

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Abstract

In Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, repeated state-led urban renewal interventions have generated increasing debates and discourse in the urban renewal field. Current approaches and studies on urban renewal interventions focus on justifications, motivations, ideologies, strategies, and outcomes. Fewer studies and research have somewhat linked urban renewal interventions to people's livelihood, but with gaps in how the interventions impact lives and livelihood. This thesis aims to generate insights into the impact of state-led urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of people living in the slum community of Makoko, Lagos, Nigeria. To address the gaps, I ask, in what ways have formal and informal institutions combined to shape the environment within which the people pursue livelihoods? Also, I ask what factors enable and constrain access to different livelihood pathways, including the opportunities open to people, the strategies they employ, and the outcomes they achieve? Also, how do collective responses to urban renewal interventions help people safeguard and maintain their livelihoods? I adopt the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) to address and analyse these questions. The thesis embraces a social constructivist position and uses a qualitative case study approach with multiple data collection methods. A total of 25 Semi-structured interviews were conducted remotely and in situ between May 2021 and May 2022 with 28 participants. Within this, five follow-up interviews were stimulated through the adapted photo-elicitation method in place of participant observation to elicit responses. In addition to the SLF, thematic, document, and photo-elicitation analyses were used.The analysis shows that the environment within which the government pursues urban renewal interventions, and people pursue livelihoods is one where there is a lack of shared understanding between the two stakeholders, reinforcing the argument around the clash of rationalities. Also, the study recognises the significance of interconnectedness among people. Nevertheless, any disruption(s) caused by the interventions is/are capable of bringing down or even destroying the precariously constructed livelihood portfolios that depend on lives in water and social ties with family, friends, and neighbours, reinforcing the argument around the clash of rationalities. The analysis further reveals the effective community responses of informal leadership and cultural institutions, which promote collectivism instead of individualism. This suggests that collective responses

through protest and resistance to the interventions to protect, safeguard, maintain, and secure established livelihood portfolios reinforce the argument of the right to the city and reclaiming it. The combined findings strongly suggest that urban renewal interventions are practically challenging, significantly contributing to the existing empirical literature in the field. In broader terms, the significance of the thesis contributes to the understanding of how actors, i.e., the people and state, exploit their milieu of institutions to protect vested interests, thus perpetuating inevitable conflicts in urban renewal interventions.s Therefore, the study suggests striking a fine balance in designing collaborative and bottom-up urban renewal intervention(s) that would consider the people's realities, i.e., lives and livelihoods, and accommodate the government's interest in ensuring a modern and functional city.

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I dedicate this thesis to my late father, a trained educationist and lover of education.

Authors Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Ganiyu Olalekan Bakare

Signature: G. O. Bakare:

Definitions/Abbreviations

ABA: Area Based Approach

AHT: Adapted Hybrid Thematic

Ajo: local contributory rotating credit /cooperative society

Alajeseku: The loan provided by through “Ajo” by the credit society

DA: Decomposition Analysis

GSM: Global System for Mobile Communication

LAPO: Lift Above Poverty Organisation

LASURA: Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency

LEDB: Lagos Executive Development Board

LSDPC: Lagos State Development and Property Corporation

LASEMA: Lagos State Environmental Management Agency

LEDB: Lagos Executive Development Board

LSURPD: Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Development

PPT: Pro-Poor Tourism

SLF: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

RA: Research Assistant

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

"They are just multiplying those shacks, those structures, and they are multiplying, and they are almost getting to the third mainland bridge, which is not even healthy for them. If we have a tsunami or something close to a tsunami, they are all going to be submerged" (Officer Deb, 19-07-21)

As a registered town planner in Nigeria with a couple of years of experience in urban and regional planning, I have always been interested in understanding the complexities and controversies involved in urban renewal interventions. In particular, making sense of all the socio-economic, political and spatial/physical processes involved in urban renewal interventions and the impacts on people in cities, especially those living in poor and vulnerable communities, have always attracted my inquisitiveness. Furthermore, my experience in academia and my time as a field officer in Nigeria showed that people see urban renewal intervention differently, depending on which side of the divides they belong to.

Also, my philosophical and personal ideology of embracing pro-poor urban interventions, with which all rights should be respected and considered with the scope of a fairer city, is shaped by the work of Jane Jacobs, Thomas Harvey, and Sussan Fainstein and Vanessa Watson. Through numerous academic works, these scholars advocate equal rights, justice, a just society and human decency in urban intervention. My ideology, whilst some of the choices made in this research, particularly my research methodology and empirical arguments, are influenced by the ideals of these scholars. First, through my *ontology* experience of living among people in need and belonging to a relatively well-off group, I understand and construct the realities of what it means to be rejected or discriminated against based on one economic status. Two, having worked as a town planning field officer and in academia dealing with issues related to urban renewal interventions, my experience has shown how much such intervention can impact people. These two experiences, personal and professional, shaped the construction of my epistemological knowledge of pro-poor ideology regarding

what reality is like, and relating this to the research shaped the methodology adopted and research arguments.

Similarly, implementing urban renewal interventions has always been viewed with suspicions by the public, particularly those in targeted or vulnerable communities. Even where successful urban renewal interventions are implemented, remnants of unresolved issues are often identified. Studies have shown that controversies have accompanied urban renewal interventions since pre-independent Nigeria, particularly slum clearance in Lagos (Bigon, 2008, 2016; Adama, 2020). Nevertheless, despite the record of urban renewal interventions in Nigerian cities, the spread of slums and informal and squatter settlements, which necessitate the interventions, is yet to be abated. Studies have also identified approaches, concepts, strategies, motivations, and justifications for urban renewal interventions, yet numerous problems continue to plague the interventions. Therefore, understanding these problems requires a deeper study of urban renewal as a field of study and intervention, hence the research.

1.2. Research Problem

The challenges and problems of slums' growth and the spread of informal and squatter settlements in Nigerian cities have proven intractable, not minding the few successes recorded at eliminating this urban malaise through urban renewal interventions. Major cities in Nigeria, particularly Lagos, have been confronting the problems since colonial times, even up to the present time. In Lagos, continuous population growth, the high cost of land/rent, and increased pressure on available land space push the low-income urban residents to the poor and vulnerable locations of the city with inadequate infrastructure and services supply, thus leading to these unplanned and unregulated settlements (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). Also, Lagos, the former capital city, the commercial headquarters, and the most populated city with the most slums, informal, and squatter settlements in Nigeria, constantly sees urban renewal interventions to handle the urban problem. Conversely, these poor and vulnerable settlements represent homes and sometimes locations for livelihood

activities for low-income urban residents, making it difficult to eliminate the settlements through urban renewal intervention.

Due to socio-political, economic and spatial considerations and justifications, the government targets these poor and vulnerable settlements for urban renewal interventions. For example, in Lagos, Nigeria, studies reveal that the government attempts to provide modern housing (O. Olajide & Lawanson, 2021) and rid cities of urban sprawl and blights (Ocheje, 2007; Wapwera, 2013; Adekola et al., 2019). Furthermore, the need to prevent public health disasters (Nwaka, 1992; Faleye, 2017) and people from potential natural disasters (Adelekan, 2010; Ajibade & McBean, 2014) are some of the justifications given for urban renewal interventions. Others include building modern/global cities (Ilesanmi, 2015; Adama, 2020) and enhancing economic growth/development (Olajide & Lawanson, 2021). Also included is ensuring the safety of lives and properties (Onyebueke et al., 2020) in cities, representing some of the reasons argued to legitimise urban renewal interventions. However, other studies, for example, have noted that persistent incidents related to land grabs (Davies, 2022) in these settlements formed part of the failure and effectiveness of urban renewal interventions. Also of note are the fear of forced eviction and homelessness (Amnesty-International, 2006, 2010), Severe displacement (S4C, 2018), relocation problems (Ocheje, 2007), and inadequate compensation (Omotosho, 2015) of the victims. Other issues militating against the interventions include the susceptibility to job and livelihood losses (Olajide & Lawanson, 2021), accommodation and housing problems (Omotosho, 2015), destroy social networks (Olajide & Lawanson, 2021) and increased hopelessness (Davies, 2022) of the impacted people.

These studies and the various contexts underscore fundamental concepts such as forced eviction, displacement, relocation, redevelopment, regeneration, rehabilitation, gentrification, in-situ upgrading, and even conservation in urban renewal. However, these concepts impose social, economic, and health impacts and outcomes on the poor and vulnerable populations. For example, urban renewal of different interventions in Lagos has been successful in Maroko (Sule, 1990; Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Akhigbe, 2015), Banana Island (Ajibade, 2019; Akoni, 2021), and Badia East communities (Amnesty International, 2013;

Akinwotu, 2015; Olajide & Lawanson, 2021). These communities were redeveloped through urban renewal interventions, where the poor settlements were replaced with luxury houses, modern infrastructure and services, thus enhancing the values of the once poorly valued communities. However, controversies and complications trailed these interventions, notwithstanding the successes recorded, such that stakeholders learned lessons that would shape future interventions. Recent developments regarding urban renewal intervention have taken a new dimension with a particular case in Makoko community. A state-backed private-led intervention where dredging and sand filling is ongoing has resulted in the people recalibrating their responses to the intervention to safeguard the community. Therefore, the highlighted studies, contexts and concepts mentioned, and the background provided to urban renewal interventions in Nigeria and Lagos, necessitate further studies in this field.

1.3. Research Justification

Many studies and research have been conducted on urban renewal interventions, particularly in Lagos, Nigeria. Some studies and research in the city focused on urban renewal intervention approaches, strategies, outcomes and effects. For instance, in different studies, Agbiboa (2018) and Olajide et al. (2018) focus on the impact of urban renewal/redevelopment policies on the livelihoods of poor communities in Lagos. However, the studies fell short of contextualising livelihoods and how specific urban renewal/redevelopment interventions influence livelihoods. Also, little is known about how urban renewal interventions of slum clearance impact the livelihoods of the people living in the slum communities and the strategies employed by the people and the community to sustain lives and livelihoods. Therefore, this research focuses on filling the gaps, as identified, using Makoko community in Lagos as a case study.

The choice of Makoko community is rooted in its uniqueness. The community is chosen as a case study for the research because it has consistently been subjected to and targeted for urban renewal interventions of slum clearance since 2005. Since the date mentioned, successful government administration in

the state has attempted to carry out one urban renewal intervention. Despite these attempts and the threat of slum clearance and other forms of urban renewal interventions by the government, the community's residents have remained resilient in resisting these attempted interventions. The people of the community have devised different means to protect themselves, their community and their livelihoods against the various interventions since 2005.

In a recent development, sometime around December 2021, the Lagos state government changed the usual approach/strategy of state-led slum clearance interventions to a state-backed, private-led slum clearance intervention. The state-backed private-led slum clearance intervention mainly targeted the part of the community located on the water with proximity to the highly valued properties in Banana Highland. Again, residents of Makoko community resisted the strategy when writing this thesis with an ongoing protest plan against the state government. Again, the strategy is being collectively resisted when writing this thesis. Using Makoko as a case study for the research helps provide empirical, methodological contributions to knowledge in policy-making and urban studies.

On the empirical contributions to knowledge, through the case study, the research provides empirical understanding by contributing the case study to the current knowledge regarding the relationship between formal and informal institutions- thus strengthening the ongoing empirical discourse and argument around the clash of rationalities. Also, the case study helps understand what individuals can do to protect their lives and their precariously constructed livelihoods against government interventions- thus contributing to the empirical discourse around precarious livelihoods. Additionally, the collective resolve and resilience of the people not to give in to the continual threats posed by urban renewal interventions to the community and their livelihoods contribute to the debate around the collective response to protect established livelihoods. Thus, findings around the collective responses provide an empirical understanding of the right to the city, reclaiming the city and sense of place discourse.

On the methodological contribution to knowledge, the research contributes to the application and usefulness of creative methods by which research data can be collected and used when in-situ fieldwork appears impossible due to unexpected and unforeseen circumstances. In the case of my research, a combination of in-situ and remote data collection methods proved effective in collecting the data needed for the research. Additionally, the adaptation of the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis (Swain, 2018) in analysing the transcribed data in the research helps as an alternative to the more automated computer software analytical tools. Hence, adopting an improvised data collection method of photo-elicitation and the adapted hybrid thematic analysis provide credible and reliable methodological alternatives for future researchers.

On the broader benefit of the research to urban renewal policy-making and practice, the research findings provide resources to help. Findings from the perspectives and positions expressed by the people of Makoko and other stakeholders regarding urban renewal interventions indicate that fruitful and honest community engagement is fundamental. Therefore, a participatory bottom-up approach to urban renewal appears to be favoured by the stakeholders, where honest conversation and compromises from all stakeholders can be attained, as opposed to the usual top-down approach. Therefore, policy-makers, professionals, and practitioners can use the research outcomes to design plans and new policies or even review existing urban renewal intervention laws and strategies that are mutually responsive to the needs of all stakeholders.

1.4. Aim and Research Questions

The overall research aim is to generate insights into the impact of state-led urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of people living in the slum community of Makoko, Lagos, Nigeria. The research revolves around three core research questions that help to achieve the research aim. The research questions underpin the empirical and methodological frames of the research, and the questions are as follows.

i. In what ways have formal and informal institutions combined to shape the environment within which the people pursue livelihoods?

ii. What factors enable and constrain access to different livelihood pathways, including the opportunities open to individuals, the strategies they employ, and the outcomes they achieve?

iii. How do collective responses at the community level to urban renewal interventions help the people safeguard, maintain and secure their livelihoods?

1.5. Thesis Structure and Theoretical Claims

In order to answer the above research questions, the thesis is structured as follows. Firstly, chapter 2 reviews the existing literature on urban renewal. The review examines the broader contexts and meanings of urban renewal. Related concepts and definitions are contextualised to understand the multidimensional perspectives of urban renewal within urban studies. The chapter expands further to understand the debates, theories and ideologies underpinning urban renewal discourse. Two main leading and contrasting theoretical/ideological divides of economic and critical urban theories are examined. Also, discourse and debates on different but similarly related strategies and approaches are examined.

Additionally, positions and perspectives on the outcomes and impacts of urban renewal as interventions are examined. The chapter concludes by summarising the current discourse, debates, positions, perspectives, theories and ideologies regarding urban renewal. Within the summary, I argue that a multidimensional framework is favoured to understand the impacts of urban renewal interventions, focusing on people's livelihoods.

Chapter 3 presents and discusses the conceptual framework underpinning the analysis of the study. The chapter adopts the Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF for its analysis; within the framework, the thesis examines and discusses livelihoods and sustainable (urban) livelihoods since these underpin the analytical framework and the focus of the thesis. The chapter recognises that the original design of the framework is focused on rural livelihoods;

nevertheless, its adoption in the analyses of urban livelihood studies is documented, hence its adoption in the thesis. The chapter, therefore, contextualises the Sustainable Livelihood Framework’s components in the broad analysis of urban renewal interventions' impact on the lives and livelihoods of urban dwellers living in poor and vulnerable communities. The chapter summarises the analytical framework's relevance and importance, which help shift focus from traditional economic considerations to a people-centred understanding of public interventions.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed methodological approach embraced in the research. Since the research relies primarily on a qualitative approach, the chapter first discusses the philosophical (ontological and epistemological) foundations and considerations underpinning the research. Then, I justify the social constructivist/constructivism position embraced in the research based on the previously enunciated philosophical assumptions. Also, I explain my adoption and justification of a case study approach and the choice of Makoko community in Lagos for the study. Given the circumstances and the timing of the research, data are collected both remotely and in situ. Then, the chapter discusses the methods of data collection, types of data collected, and participants selected for the research. The chapter explains the choice of thematic (inductive and deductive hybrid thematic) analysis and the document and photo-elicitation analysis methods employed in the research. Also, the chapter identifies and discusses the ethical considerations and reflects on the strengths and limitations of the methodological approach embraced. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the methodological approach adopted since this informed the analytical and interpretation of the empirical chapters.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide a detailed analysis of the three research questions. Chapter 5 analyses and discusses research question one by contextualising how policies/interventions develop as formal institutions, mainly urban renewal interventions. The chapter further contextualises types of institutions (formal and informal) and situates each within the contexts of urban renewal interventions as formal institutions and informal institutions as peoples' cultures, traditions, norms and shared memories. The chapter thus analyses the data and discusses how formal and informal institutions combine to shape the

environment in which people operate and pursue livelihoods. Finally, the chapter pulls together the contexts, positions, and analyses to make a case for and contribute to the clash of rationalities' arguments.

Chapter 6 provides the analyses and discussions of research question two by examining the strategies individuals employ in the face of urban renewal interventions, which either facilitate or limit access to livelihood pathways and opportunities. The chapter provides analyses and discussions of the outcomes of strategies employed by individuals in Makoko and the extent to which their livelihood pathways and opportunities are facilitated or constrained by the impact of urban renewal intervention in the community. Therefore, the chapter pulls together these strategies and outcomes within the environment created by urban renewal interventions and uses the analysis to make a case for and contribute to precarious livelihoods discourse.

Finally, chapter 7 analyses and discusses research question three on how collective responses at the community level play out, the type(s) of collective responses, and how effectively the collective responses help to protect already constructed and established livelihood portfolios. The chapter establishes the importance of institutions, particularly informal institutions, and the role that institutions play in the idea of collectivism. The chapter analyses and discusses further how collective responses play out in Makoko community through protests and resistance to urban renewal interventions to protect the precariously constructed livelihood portfolios of the people. The analyses discuss mobilisation, planning, organisation and funding of collective responses. Finally, the chapter combines these analyses and discussions to underpin critical urban theory and make a case for and contribute to the debate on the right to the city.

Finally, chapter 8 provides the concluding summary of the research to present the study's contributions to knowledge. The chapter summarises the key findings of empirical research from the case study and relates these findings to the initial research questions. The chapter then discusses the key findings as contributions to knowledge and the implications for urban renewal interventions, particularly concerning the livelihoods of the people living in poor and vulnerable communities. The chapter ends based on the key findings, highlighting the

research limitations, thoughts on urban renewal interventions vis-à-vis people's livelihoods, and recommendations for future research. I then address the theoretical Claims as follows.

1.6. Theoretical claims

The thesis ties the multiple urban renewal theoretical debates and studies in chapter 2 with discourse regarding the dynamics of institutions and the empirical analysis/findings in chapters 5, 6, and 7 in their broader sense to make the theoretical claims. The thesis finds from the theoretical discourse and empirical findings that state-led urban renewal interventions, particularly slum clearance regarding Makoko since 2005, have taken top-down interventional approaches, which fail to recognise the bottom-up realities of people in the community.

The thesis finds in the theoretical debates, studies and empirical findings that the top-down state-led urban renewal slum clearance interventions are motivated by issues around the protection of public interest, the need to build mega/world-class cities, and engaging the private property developers in infrastructure development. In contrast, the thesis also finds that the top-down state-led interventions failed to recognise the physical properties, lives, social networks, and livelihoods bottom-up realities of the people in the community in the interventions.

The thesis establishes that laws, regulations, norms, traditions and memories as institutions interact to influence and provide the understanding of the state-led urban renewal slum clearance interventions. Therefore, formal and informal institutional interactions and dynamics become relevant to actors, i.e., the people and the government, in shaping responses to urban renewal interventions. Given that institutions intertwine the theoretical positions with the empirical analysis/findings, I situate my theoretical claims around the dynamism of institutions in providing insights into the understanding of urban renewal from the perspectives of fairness, justice and equity.

Therefore, my thesis's theoretical claims provide the understanding that the vigours with which actors (people/communities and governments/states) exploit their milieu and knowledge of institutions (formal and informal) to protect/push vested interests perpetuate what my thesis theorises as inevitable conflicts in urban renewal interventions. The theoretical contribution is novel and vital to the broader context of the ongoing critical urban theory from the lens of institutions to understand the emphasis on fairness, justice and equity to access urban land space as demonstrated in Jacobs (1961), Fainstein (2005, 2010, 2014, 2016), Harvey (2009), Marcuse (2009, 2014) and Watson (2003).

Also, the theoretical contribution is significant because it provides a new understanding of how actors, i.e., the people/communities and government/state, consciously or unconsciously take advantage of institutions to shape their response to urban renewal interventions. Additionally, the theoretical claims provide novel grounds for practitioners and policymakers with processes and understanding to initiate meaningful engagement to bargain, negotiate, and broker compromise and trade-offs to achieving workable interventions with little or no impact on people's interests. In contrast, the government's interests are accommodated.

1.7. Summary

The chapter ties together the chapters in the thesis to achieve the overall research aim. The chapter discusses the research problem aim and highlights the research questions and justifications. The chapter then summarises the outcomes and highlights each chapter to inform the research's empirical, theoretical, methodological and policy contributions. The next chapter contextualises urban renewal and institutions literature.

2. Urban Renewal and Institutions: A Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The chapter reviews the general literature in the urban renewal field of study. I divide the chapter into four main sections, and each addresses specific areas of literature debates, discourse, perspectives, and positions in urban renewal. The review covers conceptualising urban renewal's main theories that informed the various ideological perspectives. The review chapter helped shape my understanding and build my research argument in urban study. The following section introduces perspectives regarding the concept of urban renewal.

In the second section of the chapter, I review the literature debates and perspectives that contextualise urban renewal. The section examines perspectives regarding urban renewal at the global, African, Asian, and Nigerian levels among scholars. The section establishes that perspectives of urban renewal concept at the international level, mainly in the global North, are conceptualized around economic growth and infrastructural and service provision. Additionally, perspectives and positions regarding the concept at the global South, particularly at Nigerian levels, revolve around slum/informal communities upgrading, infrastructural provision, and, lately, economic growth and development. The section engages with literature to examine the concept of urban renewal from these diverse perspectives and positions. I mainly focused on perspectives of debates on how the concept is captured in Nigeria to inform and shape my views, positions and understanding of the concept of urban renewal. Fundamentally, my knowledge of the concept thus informed the need to explore and examine debates around the main theories and ideological arguments in urban renewal. The following section introduces theories and ideological positions in urban renewal.

The third section identifies the main theories that underpin different ideological positions in urban renewal. Notably, the section examines the economic and critical urban theories as the two central theories that formed the ideological foundations of the argument for urban renewal intervention. Fundamentally,

economic theories provide the foundation for capitalist-driven positions of neo-liberalisation, commodification, financialization, and accumulation through the dispossession of urban space. On the other hand, critical urban theories offer the ground with which the urban social movements-driven ideological positions of the right to the city, the just city, place attachment and sense of a place are built. The section further builds general empirical literature arguments around these two central theories and ideological positions, mainly focusing on such applications in the Nigerian context. The following section introduces debates and perspectives regarding strategies for urban renewal.

The fourth section examines urban renewal strategies and literature discourse regarding each strategy. In this section, I examine various strategies for discourse in the field of urban renewal study. Literature debates have examined the redevelopment, regeneration, upgrading, rehabilitation, renovation, and revitalization strategies. The section establishes similarities in the focus of some of the strategies with different names, while differences in approach to other strategies are based on the literature. The section explores literature discourse that emphasises redevelopment, regeneration, and upgrading as fundamental strategies in urban renewal interventions. Literature debates associate these fundamental strategies with housing- and infrastructure-led approaches; some are pro-poor strategies. At best, some combine all the approaches as urban renewal intervention. The section further establishes that these strategies are underpinned by the two leading theoretical/ideological positions discussed in section three of this chapter. The section explores global discourse on these strategies and mainly focuses on theoretical and empirical literature on Nigeria. The following section introduces literature discourse on the impacts and outcomes of urban renewal.

In the fifth and sixth sections of the chapter, I identify literature debates around the impacts and outcomes of urban renewal. In this section, I identify discourse on outcomes of urban renewal interventions, including demolition, displacement, relocation, forced eviction, violent demonstration and protest. Notably, the debates around the impacts of urban renewal interventions are often followed by the impacts of these mentioned outcomes. I explore broader discourse around the impacts of urban renewal intervention on social, economic,

physical, and health/mental issues, focusing on empirical literature on Nigerian experiences.

2.2. Conceptualising Urban Renewal

Urban renewal is conceptualised as an attempt to alter the urban space by extensively redesigning the existing parts or whole of the city to accommodate immediate and future urban needs and functions (Grebler, 1962, 1964). Similarly, Alonso (1964) interprets urban renewal as a unique and great opportunity to redesign and transform cities. The definition of urban renewal, according to Grebler, underscores how city space can be re-ordered to provide spatial space for public needs as such needs arise. The definition underpins the idea of the city reproducing itself through redesigning. However, the definition does not sound cautious regarding the needs of those displaced or relocated during the redesign. The situation tends to render the process of redesigning and transformation difficult, if not impossible.

Urban renewal is conceptualised as exchanging thoughts and ideas dating back to the end of the 19th century, and the unfolding of urban renewal started in the mid-20th century (Zipp, 2013). In their contextual meanings, thoughts relate to what people think about an event (Jeshion, 2008), and ides relate to concepts, proposals, theories and plans (Bunge, 1996). Therefore, within the context of thoughts and ideas, Zipp's position can be looked at as the conceptual or theoretical thinking of individuals put together with focused interests to provide solutions to urban problems of the time. However, empirical evidence suggests that urban renewal has no general definition and meaning because of its complex, challenging, broad and multidimensional nature (Chen et al., 2012; Donaldson et al., 2013). In shared agreement with Chen et al. and Donaldson et al.'s positions, Leary & McCarthy (2013) also said that what binds the multi-dimensional natures together are the fundamental political interests of the state to solve urban social problems instead of the peoples' needs and concerns. This argument underscores the position of Zipp (2013) that urban renewal is about thoughts and ideas to solve socio-political-economic problems confronting cities.

Fundamentally, what the authors put forward in their argument points to the fact that political interests often embody thoughts and ideas, which translate into policy choices and interests. On a different note, Avila & Rose (2009) argue that urban renewal cannot be described as a policy; they insist that it involves conceptualising ideas to address specific urban socio-spatial problems. Fundamentally, these scholars shared the same conceptualization of urban renewal that ideas and thoughts informed political interests, shaping urban renewal as policies to solve socio-economic problems in the city.

Understandably, thoughts and ideas, as previously noted, seem two words in one, which revolves around knowledge gained through thinking on issues of concern, requiring actions, particularly in the case of urban renewal, to find solutions to social problems. For example, (Couch, 1990, p. 8) points out that the “industrial revolution and the imperatives of capitalism” may have influenced the conceptualisation of urban renewal. Studies have demonstrated shared agreement that the conceptualisation of urban renewal informed the need for reconstruction, refurbishment, and renovation brought about by World War II (Meller, 1995; Carmon, 1999; Bonneville, 2005; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008; Couch et al., 2011). The point here remains that the conceptualisation of urban renewal revolves around strategies employed to bring back to life ruinations caused by the world war to enable growth and development.

Urban renewal adopts "all redevelopment, or all rehabilitation, or a combination of the two" strategies to carry out interventions (Ford & Fefferman, 1966, p. 97). Within the combination of the two, urban renewal aims "to cure the city" of blight, decay and informality (von Hoffman, 2008, p. 282). The process is considered an attempt to reverse the deteriorating conditions of slums and blighted communities, reduce decay and improve the prospects of property values (Collins & Shester, 2013). Urban renewal revolves around how large-scale clearance of derelict buildings can benefit and improve urban land utilization (Short, 1982). Similar positions further include the conceptualization of demolishing poor housing units that can be replaced with modern housing units (Gibson & Langstaff, 1982; Carmon, 1999), thus kickstarting the "ethic of city rebuilding" (Zipp, 2012, p. 367). Essentially, the concept of replacing poor housing with modern ones appears popular. However, who bears the cost and, in

most cases, does the concept produce the intended outcomes? Has such replacement not confounded homelessness and destruction of the seemingly owned properties of the urban poor? Nevertheless, positions here translate to how cities can better be transformed physically and spatially to achieve growth and development. Hence, I imply from the different perspectives that there is a shared understanding of the urban renewal concept essential to seeking the transformation and redesigning of cities through ideas and thoughts exchanged to address urban socio-spatial problems to promote growth and development in cities.

Also, other conceptual positions on urban renewal with different contexts centre on reconstruction and improving economic and industrial growth (McDonald et al., 2009; Couch et al., 2011). The focus of contextualising urban renewal here points to strategies that can improve physical development and the economic activities that appear to drive the urban economy, such as industrial activities. Fundamentally, the positions of urban renewal conceptualisation here centre on physical and economic growth. Put differently, (Talen, 2014) argued that city managers' efforts at urban renewal aimed to reorder and redesign the city to provide space for modern housing, commercial/shopping outlets, and public parks. However, recent literature, He & Gebhardt (2014) and Massey & Gunter (2020), builds on the concept of redesigning and further discusses the evolving knowledge-based economy concept.

Within the knowledge-based economy discourse, the inner city represents a centre of attraction for growth and development where urban renewal attentions are focused on the city centre and formal industrial land spaces. Inner cities are converted into centres for economic activities, where urban transformations are redesigned, and buildings are re-engineered into administrative offices to serve as the headquarters of these knowledge-based creative economic activities to enhance growth (Hutton, 2004). Although the focus here may appear to be on a knowledge-based economy in conceptualizing urban renewal, the positions still demonstrate a concept around the activities that promote economic interest.

Urban renewal is defined broadly as tackling cities' slums through reconstruction/redevelopment and infrastructure modernisation to encourage urban economic investment and growth to enhance the needs of the urban poor (Couch et al., 2011; Murray, 2011). The point here underscores the views encouraging the participation and partnership between the government and private property investors in urban renewal interventions. Couch (1990, p. 49) based his understanding of urban renewal on "economic theory" and argues that such partnership is a process and procedure where city managers plan to enhance the city's investments by reducing unemployment and increasing cities' economic growth. Similarly, within the partnership with private sector participation, Lee (2007) notes that such collaboration and partnership reduce public expenditure spending on providing public infrastructure while the government concentrates more on regulatory roles. Fundamentally, the point being demonstrated here revolves around how urban renewal interventions can be used to enable development, focusing on financial gains accruable through government and private property investors' partnerships.

Also, partnership between the private sector and government in urban renewal is emphasised as a driving force for economic development (Avila & Rose, 2009; Zipp & Carriere, 2012; Zipp, 2013). Similarly, Collins & Shester (2013) see the private sector partnership with the government as an ambitious and deliberate attempt to make the city an investment-driving place, which creates opportunities for all. Also, given the paucity of finance availability for public infrastructure in cities, Massey & Gunter (2020) argue that the involvement and collaboration of the government with the private sector in funding urban renewal interventions have become expedient. However, as noted previously, positions here on private sector partnership suggest that the government should act as a regulator instead of an active participant in urban renewal. But in a different position, Peck et al. (2013) fault the government's regulatory role and consider it ineffective since the people do not visibly experience the impacts of the role.

Fundamentally, the point here remains that urban renewal is considered from the free and unregulated market, focusing on profits. In contrast, less attention is concentrated on the people. The idea of a free and unregulated market is elaborated on in a subsequent section of the chapter. However, I must recognise that shared literature positions here acknowledge and establish how a partnership between the government and private property investors in urban renewal could drive city growth and development.

Also, a considerable amount and strands of literature see urban renewal in a broader sense as a concept aimed at redesigning, transforming, driving economic growth, building infrastructure, promoting partnerships with private sectors and enhancing city aesthetics. Some pieces of study differ from these broader views or concepts. In particular, Jacobs (1961) viewed the more comprehensive conceptualisation of urban renewal as an anti-urban concept for not considering the social nature of cities since the incidence of urban renewal often caused people to lose properties and social relationships built over time. Zukin (2009, p. 31) notes that the social loss suffered is "not just diversity of buildings and uses" but essential a social diversity "that gives the city its soul". In a somewhat similar but different context of the argument, Avila & Rose (2009) and Zipp & Carriere (2012) note that the destruction caused by urban renewal often eliminates working-class communities and reduction in industrial activities, which represent some of the footprints of the concept of urban renewal. There appears to be shared agreement among the views here opposing the positions emphasizing the broader opinions of urban renewal as a concept to bring growth and development, as well as the acknowledgement that such development destroyed the essence of urban social life.

Essentially, the point being stressed here revolves around how urban renewal destroyed the social fabric of cities by removing or phasing out the poor urban residents from the city through developments and interventions that do not recognise social cohesion among people as an essential fabric of the society. Also, the point brings to the fore the interest of the labour union with which industrial activities are being replaced with other land uses, thus exacerbating the incidences of job loss, particularly among the low-income category of urban

residents. I reasoned and pointed out from the views here that the scholars are advocating the interest of the poor urban residents, thus considering the concept of urban renewal, taking all the belongings of this group of people from them at the expense of city growth and development.

Other scholars contrast urban renewal as previously defined and conceptualized in the earlier sections because they see it as racially profiling urban residents based on their race and ethnic affiliation (Hirsch, 2006; Ansfield, 2018) (Hirsch, 2006; Ansfield, 2018). Urban renewal is an effort to "remove a racially identified subgroup of poor away from land that has become ripe for investment and a new round of profit-making" (Goetz, 2011, p. 283). Notably recognized is that the issue of "race was absolutely central to understanding the dynamics of urban renewal" (Sammartino, 2013, p. 121). Other studies note that urban renewal emboldens racism and class struggle (Avila & Rose, 2009; Zipp & Carriere, 2012). There is shared agreement here among scholars regarding their views about how urban renewal has been conceptualized as a weapon of segregation and exclusion instead of encouraging the co-habitation of people from different races and ethnic backgrounds. I agree that urban renewal is being used not only to segregate and racialise urban residents. Also, the point underpins the previous argument on the attempt to destroy the working class and annihilate the social fabric of urban life.

In other contrasting perspectives of urban renewal, Carmon (1999, p. 146) sees the concept through the lens of "the bulldozer" used in destroying the properties deemed unwanted in cities. Similarly, Zipp & Carriere (2012, p 359) view urban renewal "as an unfortunate and background attempt to remake cities as bulldozed, lifeless towers and plaza moonscape". The position reinforces that of Jacobs' who sees urban renewal as destroying the social fabric of urban life, of which the bulldozer concept and reconstruction of skyscrapers turn cities into lifeless urban centres. Arguing the position further, White (2016, p. 5) notes that urban renewal demonstrates "not only a substantial scale but also a cold-hearted machine-like force, which is found to be somewhat wide of the mark" in destroying and rupturing lives. The shared agreement contrasts the notion that urban renewal is all about city redesigning and transformation. The perspective within this body of argument sees urban renewal as a concept representing

brutality and employing the instrumentality of force to achieve its goal at the expense of the poor urban residents. Although I partially agree with the point here, the brutality of urban renewal through bulldozers needs to be properly contextualised and situated. Generalising it to present the concept of urban renewal as brutish may not be a true representative.

Scholars also emphasised urban renewal as a concept that targets the livelihood of the urban poor. For example, Popkin et al. (2004) questioned the potential of urban renewal as a concept capable of enhancing the quality of lives of the urban poor. Olajide et al. (2018) argued that implementing an urban renewal intervention inhibits the reduction in the livelihood opportunities accessible to the urban poor and increases their susceptibility to poverty. While Raco et al. (2008, p. 2654) argue that urban renewal intervention is not carried out in the interest of people with low incomes, nor is it in the interest of the city itself, but "on the short-term commercial needs of the developers and of state agencies".

The point reinforces the earlier arguments favouring a partnership between the government and private investors. Here, Raco et al. establish that urban renewal's primary drive as a concept is about profit accumulation instead of people’s interest.

In similar and broader perspectives to the earlier position, the concept of urban renewal is argued to "de-capitalise the affected population, imposing opportunity costs in the forms of lost natural capital, man-made physical capital, and human capital, and lost social capital" (Cernea & Mathur, 2008, p. 5-6). Fundamental to the research are these capitals (Scoones, 1998) because they are the building block on which poor urban residents build their livelihoods and employ them to sustain livelihood strategies. Notably, Cernea & Mathur’s perspectives provide the ground for the idea that capitals formed the basis on which the livelihoods of the urban poor depend. Therefore, any attempt to de-capitalise capital through urban renewal can disrupt and destroy the livelihoods of people experiencing poverty and signal that people with low incomes are unwanted in the urban space.

Additionally, it can be implied from Cernea & Mathur's perspective that opportunity cost (Buchanan, 1991), as an economic term, represents or symbolises alternative items valued over what is/are traded off as least valued. Within the definition of opportunity cost, concerning Cernea & Mathur's perspective, all the decapitalised capitals represent the loss the poor urban residents suffered through urban renewal interventions. The issues here present fundamental concerns around urban renewal and the livelihood of the people experiencing poverty. This concern revolves around the point that would make the poor urban resident in the city ready to let go of easily these capitals/assets which they used in supporting their lives in place of urban renewal interventions.

The perspective brings to the fore contexts around the two fundamental theories enunciated later in a section of the chapter. Essentially, discourse in urban renewal revolves mainly around the economics theory driven by capitalist ideologies and critical urban theory driven by an urban social movement. The two theoretical and ideological divides become handy regarding Cernea & Mathur's perspective to situate the ground with which the capital available for the poor is traded as opportunity cost by the government. Also, it involves how people can protect these assets/capitals to sustain their lives and livelihoods. Therefore, I found Cernea & Mathur's perspective relevant to the research because it raises issues around the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. It also provides a perspective to examine the two main theoretical/ideological divides in urban renewal, thus providing an entry point for pro-poor-led debates.

Urban renewal is under-researched in the global South, especially in Africa (Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016). The meaning is characterised by conflict, protestation and contestation in global South cities against the neoliberal ideology of urban governance (Karaman, 2014). Nevertheless, most African scholars situate the concept of urban renewal as essentially interested in tackling slums, providing public infrastructure, and redesigning the spatial urban landscape (Olanrewaju, 2001; Gbadegesin & Aluko, 2010). For example, urban renewal is employed in Africa to address slums, informal and squatter settlement growth, and urban socio-economic problems (Kayizzi-Mugerwa et al., 2014). Also, urban renewal is employed as a concept to tackle crimes and criminalities in cities (Samara, 2010). At the same time, Timalsina (2011) viewed

urban renewal as a concept employed to control the deteriorating urban environment and regulate informal economic activities such as street vending.

Additionally, urban renewal can be conceived as a concept in transportation, particularly in revitalising roads to favour the construction of Bus Rapid Transit services lanes in African and Nigerian cities (Olawepo, 2010). Essentially, the perspectives here are divergent; some see urban renewal as a concept providing urban infrastructure. At the same time, others see the concept as an instrument employed to tackle urban malaise. I agree with these conceptualizations, but it must be noted that the concept deploys various strategies and approaches in urban renewal intervention.

In Nigerian cities, urban renewal has been used as a concept for slum clearance schemes in Lagos (Bigon, 2008). Other scholars in Nigeria view urban renewal as a concept that can be utilised for eviction of people or communities from locations deemed unfit for human habitation, slum clearance and urban redevelopment to housing-led regeneration (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009; Ibem, 2013; Roelofs, 2021). Agbola (1987) sees the concept of urban renewal as a tool to orderly upgrade decayed parts of the city that have suffered neglect due to a lack of land use planning. Sule (1990) sees urban renewal as a process to halt the growth of decayed and poor communities in cities by replacing such with modern and new development. Akinyode (1998) relate urban renewal as a combination of strategies to upgrade and restore specific degenerated and decayed part(s) of the city. In agreement with the focus on the upgrade as argued by Agbola, Olanrewaju (2001) emphasis urban renewal as an upgrade and provision of public infrastructure to improve city growth and development. There is shared agreement among scholars regarding the focus and target of urban renewal concept, which emphasises its use in halting urban decay and slum growth and city upgrade. Nevertheless, the point of disagreeing with the scholars' perception and use of the urban renewal concept is that they fell short in detailing the drawback of the conceptualization, like slum clearance and city upgrade.

Gbadegesin & Aluko (2010, p. 251) consider urban renewal as a “useful tool” with which city centres can be transformed to embrace the multiple needs of

residents, such transformations that have capacities to bring life and vigour to cities. In a shared agreement with Gbadegesin & Aluko, Jelili et al. (2020) recognize the concept of urban renewal “as the most viable tool” to handle the challenges posed by the dilapidated conditions in cities. Within the scope of understanding urban renewal here, the main share point of the agreement concerns the conceptualization of urban renewal as having the capacity as a tool for city transformation, which reinforces earlier points regarding urban redesigning and transformation. However, it must be noted that prices must be paid for this transformation to take place; fundamentally, the poor urban residents who are caught up amid the transformation often pay the ultimate prices. As I argued in the previous section, redesigning and transformation must be contextualized to determine whether, in the true sense, the transformation that fulfils everyone's needs makes sense or not.

Olawepo (2010) considers urban renewal an attempt to redesign and upgrade the poor state of public infrastructure to engender city modernity. Olabisi (2013) sees urban renewal as bringing back the physical aesthetics of cities through the removal of decayed buildings in order to enhance city activities. In what seems a shared agreement with Olabisi, Ibem et al. (2013) see urban renewal as seeking the enhancement of cities’ socio-economic, environmental, and physical development, reversing the rise of obsolescence and incidence of decay. In agreement with Ibem et al. position, Oyinloye et al. (2017) suggest that urban renewal adopts combined strategies to develop and improve cities' spatial-environmental to enhance aesthetic appeals in cities.

2.3. Theories and Debates in Urban Renewal

In this section, I draw out, examine and criticise theories and debates that directly or indirectly underpin urban renewal discourse. Fundamentally, I examine two central theories that underpin two significant literature divides in urban renewal policy and political debates. The leading theoretical ideologies in the political economy discourse are economic theories (Dalton, 1961; Ball, 1979; Blaug, 1997) and critical urban theories (Brenner, 2009; Brenner et al., 2011). Here, the focus is on the two opposing political economy theories and debates in urban renewal with contrasting ideological views and beliefs in literature.

Economic theory attempts to explain urban society scientifically (Dalton, 1961), where the economy, market system, and different institutional activities and organisations interact (Ekelund & Hebert, 2014). Ball (1979, p. 316) argues that economic theory concerns “urban economics” activities. Therefore, within the interactions between urban activities, Ball’s theory is premised on the argument that the location of homes of urban residents, family units, and places of work have connections, such that some economic interrelationships exist among these functional urban activities. Hence, Blaug (1997, p.5) establishes that there are some "economic thoughts" (Blaug, 1997, p. 5) within the interrelationships, an idea similar to Ball’s. In a related argument, Glass (1964) emphasized issues around the rent gap in economic theory, which often changes the character and form of such urban space. Building on the rent gap theory, Smith (1979) demonstrates that the rent gap depreciates in the inner city. However, when renewal-led interventions occur in these parts of the city, capital would go to where returns on investment can be recouped. Fundamentally, these social scientific assumptions provide the ground for economic theory for capitalist-driven ideologies to hold sway in dealing with urban renewal interventions.

Fundamentally, the structure of the interrelationships and interconnections of the urban economic activities is argued to depend on "the workings of an economy based on market transactions and market economies" (Blaug, 1997, p. 6). These economic theories provide the foundation of capitalist (David Harvey, 1989, 2003, 2006) development and support neo-liberalisation, commodification, financialisation, and accumulation by dispossession ideological arguments. These ideologies support privatisation, liberalisation, and competitive and unregulated market economic policies (Bob Jessop, 2002).

From the scholars' positions, I reasoned that economic theories focus mainly on promoting thoughts and knowledge of economic and market ideas to drive the political, social and economic policies through the ideological arguments mentioned previously. However, I explore debates around these ideologies to situate the different ideological perspectives and positions of neo-liberalisation, commodification, financialisation, and accumulation by dispossession in urban renewal. The debates fundamentally rest on the idea that cities are seen and

treated as the sites for the production of space (Lefebvre, 1976, 1991; Harvey, 1982). I set out with the understanding of neo-liberalism and ideology.

Neo-liberalism ideologies have taken over the socio-political economy globally in recent decades (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Brand & Sekler, 2009; Brown, 2020), and the ideologies are "being pursued on many different and often tangled scales" (Jessop, 2002, p. 452). The ideologies focus on institutional and social restructuring (Brenner & Theodore, 2005) rooted in "competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 350). According to Peck et al. (2009), the ideologies recognise the state as a regulatory entity with non-interference and meddlesome in the free market system, whose primary intention is to promote individual and societal entrepreneurial growth and development that neo-liberalism promotes.

The sole intent of neo-liberalism is to encourage the government to scale back the state's welfarist approaches to the political economy policies and programmes (Harvey, 2005; Peck., 2018) and promote entrepreneurship through the free and unregulated market. Neo-liberal ideologies take a path that opposes the state's interventions in an urban market economy as an active participant; instead, the ideologies confine the government's role to that of enabler and regulator (Sager, 2011). Despite the taunted benefits of a free and unregulated urban market economy, neo-liberalism ideologies, Peck et al. (2012, p. 265) insist that the ideologies "have repeatedly failed to trickle down as promised" with "mounting evidence of serial policy failure" (Peck et al., 2013, p. 1091). The failure establishes an environment with a "creature of crisis" (Peck, 2006, p. 731). Fundamentally, the point here remains that neo-liberalism ideologies have some benefits. However, the record of such benefits not reaching those who need them the most renders the adoption of the ideologies inconsequential.

Many literature discourses have examined the link between neo-liberalism and urban space, e.g., neo-liberalizing space (Peck & Tickell, 2002), neo-liberalism, and redefining urban redevelopment (Mele, 2013). Others include neo-liberalism as creative destruction (Harvey, 2006), neo-liberalism and the city (Harvey, 2007), contesting the neo-liberalisation of urban governance (Mayer, 2007) and

the politics of roll with-it neo-liberalisation (Keil, 2009). Some studies on neoliberalism include the urban condition (Brenner & Theodore, 2005) and neo-liberal urbanism redux (Peck et al., 2013). Other studies include the state's role in commodifying urban space (Serin et al., 2020) and banishing people with low incomes from public spaces (Brown, 2020).

In Nigeria, few other studies on urban space neo-liberalisation include urban paradox and the rise of the neoliberal city (Olajide & Lawanson, 2021), urban renewal in Ibadan, Nigeria, world-class but essentially Yoruba (Roelofs, 2021). Fundamental issues shared or common among the listed studies include how neo-liberalisation ideologies have changed and shaped the urban space and landscape, mainly through different urban renewal intervention strategies and approaches. Therefore, it is within the structure of neo-liberalism and urban space that neo-liberalisation in urban renewal interventions is contextualised and examined here.

Lefebvre (1991) emphasized the importance of the production of space in cities, while Keil (2009) notes that the neo-liberalisation of urban space turns the cities into massive multi-billion infrastructure projects sites funded through private sector participation. Keil (2009, p. 234) notes that "the social and spatial conditions of urban regions in advanced capitalist economies continue to undergo dramatic changes". The reforms and changes thus promote aggressive forms of neo-liberalisation of urban space through urban renewal interventions and transformation in urban development projects. The city as an urban space and how neo-liberalisation policies have taken over the socio-spatial landscape of cities. Evidence of neo-liberal ideologies is noted in urban spatial-related issues, including “infrastructure provision, management of commercial areas, housing and neighbourhood renewal, and other aspects of urban living” (Sager, 2011, p. 147).

The point here establishes a link between the city as urban space and neoliberalism ideologies- which helps the political administration of urban space to shift the responsibility of financing public infrastructure from the state to the private investors (Peck et al., 2009; Sager, 2011). Smith (2002) describes the neo-liberalisation of urban space as the reclamation of the city from the poor

residents and provides the same as consumption space for the affluent members of the city, a situation which presents a "regulationist account" of the city (Lovering, 2007, p. 354). The neo-liberalisation process of urban space through urban renewal interventions primarily involves profiling unwanted poor residents from acquired and renewed locations (Becker & Müller, 2013).

So, within the socio-spatial and economic points argued in Brenner & Theodore (2002) and Peck et al. (2012), neo-liberalism provides the grounds upon which city space is considered an arena for market-based economic activities, where the elites and property investors see the opportunities of active participation to invest in public infrastructural projects (Sager, 2011). In most cases, the opportunities of such investments for the elites and private property investors are through the urban renewal interventions of the state, in which case, Peck & Tickell (2002) note that these interventions as socio-economic problems can be solved through a free market system.

Other scholars who contest the neo-liberalisation of urban space through urban renewal intervention include Lees (2014), who insists that the real purpose is to redevelop and privatise poor neighbourhood properties to promote higher values. Roy (2009, p. 826) critiques the neo-liberalisation of space ideologies as a means to "privatised and monetised" urban space and subsequently phase out low-income and poor urban residents. Pain (2019, p. 387) notes that the neo-liberalisation of urban space is "the destructive effect of capitalism", which works in favour of the elite group and the upper class in cities at the peril of the poor urban residents. Jones & Popke (2010) note that the neo-liberalisation of urban space significantly impacts the cause of spatial landscape change and urban growth, a situation that Glassman (2006) had earlier pointed out as the transformation of cities.

Supporting previous views on private investors' interest, Ruming (2018) notes that the state's reliance on private property investors to decide the forms and structure of urban space during intervention offers the private investors substantial power, which they use to target prime locations for the wealthy while the poor are socially segregated. Ruming’s position reinforces and agrees with the previous perspectives of Jones & Popke, and Glassman, who submit that

the involvement of private property investors in urban renewal interventions significantly alters the city's landscape to favour the investors' interest. Their positions suggest that governments used neo-liberalisation as a political weapon to change the spatial landscape of cities, cleanse and rid the city of undesirable poor residents.

Fundamentally, it is evident from the scholars who contrast the neo-liberalisation of urban space through urban renewal interventions. Their misgivings about the ideologies are weaved around exploiting the poor urban residents by competing for this group of urban residents out of the free market system. Again, scholars oppose the ideologies because they provide the means through which the wealthy group accumulate properties and turn the urban space into an arena for the affluent group alone. Scholars here acknowledged that the neo-liberalisation of urban space encourages access to the city through opportunities for the highest bidders. I sensed and reasoned that the neo-liberalisation of urban space through urban renewal interventions seems to be an ideology that promotes access to the urban space for those who can acquire such space. In this sense, the poor urban residents are potentially schemed out because of their socio-economic status, hence opposing the ideology because of its pro-the wealthy urban residents.

In another similar perspective but a different context of capitalist-driven ideologies, Harvey (2003) noted the involvement of private investors in urban renewal interventions as a means of accumulation by dispossession- which embodies the dispossession of poor urban dwellers' properties. Purcell (2014) notes that when poor urban dwellers are dispossessed of their properties or their properties are accumulated or expropriated from them out of their free will, it is rare to see the state's intervention as the regulator in safeguarding the interests of this group of the urban resident. The situation implies that the idea of a free and unregulated market is only good at its face value. However, in a real sense, it provides an avenue for poor urban residents to be exploited and dispossessed of their properties in the cities.

Essentially, Harvey and Purcell's perspectives symbolize hopelessness on the part of the poor urban residents because of their inability to muscle the financial

power to at least participate or even own properties from the outcomes of the urban renewal interventions coordinated by the government and funded by the private property investors. Again, on the other hand, the state, as a regulator whose responsibility is to protect the interests of all, particularly the poor urban residents, looks the other way. When the state as a regulator failed the poor urban residents as argued, the situation thus reinforces Peck (2006) and Peck et al. (2013) stance, which described the entire neo-liberalisation of urban space through urban renewal interventions as crisis-ridden and policy failure, all at the same time. However, examples of related studies are considered.

For example, in the global North, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) studied thirteen large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) favouring neo-liberalisation ideologies in European Union -EU states. The study found that UDPs are characterised by project imposition, with less consultation and participation of the people at the grassroots while elevating and promoting the interests of elite-driven needs. Also, the involvement of the people from the bottom up was not encouraged nor embraced; instead, the projects adopted an elitist top-down in project execution, thus elevating the power of the wealthy class against the deprived group. The study further found that the UDPs are poorly coordinated into the broader urban processes, thus exacerbating project ambiguities. The study further found that the execution of UDPs exhibits and promotes socioeconomic stratification between the low and high incomes in the real estate market, thus subjecting the low-income earners to an unfair competitive market. Lastly, the study reveals that UDPs exemplify processes that alter these cities' spatial landscape and urbanisation.

In the global South, particularly in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the trade deficit experienced from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s resulting from the drop in the international crude oil price brought about a downward reduction in foreign earnings from crude oil sales and a subsequent high level of indebtedness and trade deficit (CBN, 1990). Thus, the Nigerian government turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for financial interventions and bailouts, and subsequent responses from these international financial bodies brought about the introduction of neoliberal reforms through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the economy (Ogunyankin, 2019).

The SAP neoliberal reforms saw the removal of government investment and "interference" (Peck et al., 2009, p. 50) in public infrastructure provision, privatisation of public assets, trade liberalisation and currency devaluation in Nigeria (Adewunmi, 2012). These reforms and policies are called the "roll-back" of the government's full involvement in driving economic policies and reforms (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 391). In the neoliberal reforms, cities have become a critical focus for restructuring through projects (Peck et al., 2009). In Nigeria, such neoliberal projects are reflected in the ideological drive for urban development and urban renewal interventions in cities (Ogunyankin, 2019; Adama, 2020; Olajide & Lawanson, 2021; Roelofs, 2021)

Other studies detailed a perspective similar to the previous ones but with a different ideological context. The financialisation of urban space lies within the economic theories that embody the capitalist ideology (Harvey, 1978, 1989). Financialisation is evidenced in the national and global public governance policy, in which urban renewal-led interventions and the property market depend(Weber, 2010; Aveline-dubach, 2022). The global shift from government-provided public infrastructure decades ago to privatised, market-driven infrastructure provision underpins the importance of financialization ideology in urban renewal-led interventions (O'Neill, 2010). The shift has made the financialisation of urban renewal, property and housing market a global trend in the Global North and South (Aalbers, 2017; Fields, 2017; Migozzi, 2020; Mosciaro et al., 2019). Both the urban process and financial capital mutually depend on each other (Moreno, 2014), while "finance holds an integral position within economic geographies and reveals some of the socio-spatial relations" that exist in cities (Pike & Pollard, 2010, p. 31).

The point and shared agreement here argue the importance of finance in the current world. The scholars emphasized that the finance needed for infrastructure essentially domiciles within the private sector. Therefore, providing public infrastructure through urban renewal interventions depends on access to this finance. This process revolves around capitalist-driven ideologies with a private investor whose interest is profit-making. So, it becomes apparent that funding urban renewal interventions, particularly on a large scale, requires

the participation and involvement of the finance providers. Essentially, scholars here emphasized that the only avenue for such funding is for cities to become part of this global player to access such finance.

Moreno (2014, p. 247) points out that "the financial system working within the production of built environments could find ways to extract profits from the income circulating through wealth incorporated in, social space" (Moreno, 2014, p. 247). Within the financialization ideology, the source(s) of financing urban renewal interventions remain crucial and form an integral factor in city management and governance to ensure economic growth and development within the global market (Moreno, 2014; Ward, 2017). Fundamentally, urban renewal-led interventions within the urban space are gravitating towards being financialised and equally treated as financial assets worthy of investment from private investors (Orhangazi, 2008; Guironnet et al., 2016). Financial capital is essential in urban management and development in housing, commercial real estate, and infrastructure financing, thus drawing relationships between urban renewal-led interventions, financialisation and urban land space (O'Neill, 2010; Rutland, 2010) (O'Neill, 2010; Rutland, 2010).

The financialisation argument raised some fundamental issues around urban renewal intervention funding. One previous argument in the opening section of this chapter has established that urban renewal interventions extensively deal with infrastructure and city transformation. The two require massive funding for the interventions to be realistic; hence, turning to private financial investors who have the finances becomes an option for the initiators of such interventions. Nevertheless, private investors would not provide the finances without certain conditions being spelt out.

Essentially, finance thus becomes crucial in urban renewal interventions. When provided, the poor urban residents caught up in the process remain vulnerable to being edged out as beneficiaries when finance for urban renewal intervention is sourced. One of the most apparent reasons for being edged out remains the potential inability of this group of urban dwellers to meet up with the loan or finance repayment secured to fund the intervention. An example of such instance was the case of the World Bank finance Project in Badia East, Lagos

(S4C, 2018), where the former traditional landowners were edged out of owning property out of the newly financed intervention due to the cost of loan repayment.

However, some contrasting arguments draw attention to the de-financialisation of urban space, especially in the housing market and urban renewal-led interventions (Karwowski, 2019; Wijburg, 2021). Fields (2017) notes that financialisation increases the incidents of eviction, homelessness, and dispossession among the people living in poverty and poor communities in the city. Wijburg (2021) emphasises that attention should focus more on government-financed housing and improved housing policy that reflects reasonably priced housing instead of the finance provided by private investors, which ultimately puts the reach of the market out of reach of people experiencing poverty. The perspectives of scholars here sharply contrast the positions of those who advocate the financialisation of urban space through urban renewal interventions because, to the scholars, it encourages every act and outcome that discourage the participation of the urban poor. Also, their arguments bring to the fore that despite the attributes of financialization of urban space of making funding available for urban renewal interventions, cities should encourage urban renewal interventions structured to allow the interest of the poor urban residents.

Secondly is the critical urban theories that contrast the economic theory and its ideological arguments and advocate more socially-democratic ideologies (Brenner 2009). Fundamentally, critical urban theories debates criticise the urban free market-based economy that promotes exploitation through capitalist-driven ideologies as unfair and exploitative (Jessop, 2002). The critical theory advocates base their criticisms also on an excessive capital accumulation of capitalist ideologies (Jessop, 2002). The critical theory advocates for equitable urban practices where every resident is treated equally (Brenner et al., 2011).

Essentially, the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1967) provides ground upon which other scholars started advocating for the poor urban residents to access the city. The 'right to the city' was coined by the Marxist geographers, led by Henri Lefebvre between 1967 and 1968 and later embraced by the poor and youth

groups who experienced exclusion in some areas of life (Harvey, 2008). Fundamentally, the right to the city "is not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city more in accord with our heart's desires, and to remake ourselves there in a different image" (Harvey, 2004, p. 239).

However, during the peak of the capitalist-driven free market system on the global stage, the phrase' right to the city' eventually became a term embraced by the urban social movements' advocates to protest that "free markets are not necessarily fair" (Harvey, 2003, p. 940). Fundamentally, it was the need to contest the unfair capitalist market system that the radical left came up with the idea of social movements-inclined scholars and urban geographers (Kipfer et al., 2013). Right to the city emphasises the right of the most deprived and poor to the city/urban space (Harvey, 2004, 2008; Kipfer et al., 2013; Purcell, 2014; Marcuse, 2014). The main focus of the right to the city "is not about inclusion in a structurally unequal and exploitative system, but about democratising cities and their decision-making processes" (Mayer, 2009, p. 371), but it provides means expression and inclusion to people experiencing poverty. Fundamentally, scholars have embraced the right to the city to examine power, equality, democracy and equity in cities, particularly among poor urban dwellers (Purcell, 2002; 2014; Marcuse, 2009, 2014).

Purcell (2002) right to the city is aimed at challenging the capitalist-driven ideology of neoliberalism because of the tendencies of those ideologies to deny poor urban residents their rights. In pursuant of rights, Harvey (2003, p. 941) noted that "those that now have the rights will not surrender them willingly". However, he emphasized that his position "does not necessarily mean violence though, sadly, it often come down to that". Havey's position implies that the capitalist-driven ideology derives some satisfaction from their ideologies, which they are unwilling to let go of quickly. Nevertheless, there are still some issues in consensus regarding debates and the contextual meaning of' right to the city' among scholars, social advocates and protesters (Harvey, 2004; 2008; Kipfer et al., 2013).

Fundamentally, the position that "the right to the city is not just merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire" (Harvey, 2003, p. 939). It is taken further as a "call for a radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations, both in the city and beyond" (Purcell, 2002, p.101). However, some criticism of the right to the city, one of which is its use and application on diverse issues, could sometimes not reflect its actual context (Marcuse, 2014).

For example, in Nigeria, few studies have touched on the right to the city. However, among the few is Agbiboa (2018), which focused on the world-class/mega city drive of Lagos state and the claim of right to the city by the Okada riders, i.e., commercial motorcycle riders, who use the motorcycles as sources of livelihood in Lagos. The study found persistent disturbance to motorcycle activities through enforcing Lagos State road transport law, which limits what parts of the city they can use for commercial activities. The enforcement was driven by the State ideology of a world-class city (Adama, 2020; Roelofs, 2021; Radicati, 2022) to rid the state of informalities in all its forms. However, the commercial motorcyclists protested. They took their grievances to the court of law to seek redress from what appeared to them as an enforcement law that threatened and seemed to be an affront to their right to the city space. The singular action of approaching the court to seek redress for their right to the city underpins ‘justice’ emphasized in Fainstein (2014).

Also, it was based on the contest and protest regarding the free-market economy that Castells (1977, 1983) developed the urban social movements, providing the ground for other advocates. Notably, it is implied from Castells’ position that his idea of urban social movement pulls together the ambiguities in the capitalist free market to provide the platform for the political and labour associations to come forward and effect underlying changes in the social-political activities. Castells (1983) defined urban social movements as “rather normative; only when they combine activism around collective consumption with struggles for community culture and political self-management, could they be classified as urban meanings, and to produce a city organized on the basis of values, autonomous local cultures and decentralized participatory democracy” (Castells, 1983, p. 319-320). Here activism and collective consumption are

indicative of collective action backed by collective protest and contest against "entrenched interests" (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1985, p. 189) of the capitalist ideologies. The definition reinforces the relationships between formal and informal institutions (North, 1990; North, 1991) discussed in chapter five of the thesis.

Fundamentally, some of the fundamental ideals of urban social movements are grounded in "collectivities with a communal base and with the local state as their target of action" (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1985). I imply form idea of collectivities as something fundamental to a people, particularly when a group of people are involved in some common vested interests, where their everyday existence or rights are being threatened. Collective action becomes imperative to protest or contest such threats. Significantly, the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1967; Harvey, 2003), the just city (Fainstein, 2010; Fainstein, 2014), place attachment (Relph, 1976) and sense of place (Hummon, 1992) thus picked up their grounds from the Castell's urban renewal movements to build their ideologies and arguments.

The Just City ideology (Fainstein, 2010; Fainstein,2014) is inspired by urban social movements. The ideology is grounded on three central social justice approaches: diversity, democracy, and equity. The term just city and how it is phrased remain contested; however, Dlabac et al. (2020) emphasized the three approaches of just city in Fainstein (2010) and implied the following. They emphasized that a just city dwells on social justice, which rests on equity-where the sharing of public material goods should benefit every member of society. On the other hand, diversity follows respect for differences among groups of people, while democracy should be seen to promote the complete representation of every member of society.

Nevertheless, Fainstein (2010) recognizes that oftentimes, democracy does not live up to its name; instead, it promotes the interest of the few. Essentially, the just city becomes relevant in urban renewal interventions, and this research is relevant because of its emphasis on equity, diversity, and democracy, upon which the urban poor in cities can fight or negotiate for their access to the city. Notably, the ideology is not about the world's 'just city' in its literary form but

essentially about its ideals regarding social justice, which remain essential for the urban social movement.

For example, Fainstein (2016) said that just city seeks and “calls for rectifying injustices in a world where control of investment resources by a small stratum constantly re-creates and reinforces subordination, thus resisting attempts at reform”. Therefore, based on views on a just city, I reasoned and implied from Fainstein’s that the capitalist ideologies are motivated by self and competition- not equity, free market system- not justice or rationality, segregation- not diversity. A just city is rooted in the social justice system and democracy (Fainstein, 2016), unlike the free and unregulated market rooted in competition and capital accumulation. In another example of diversity and urban renewal, which reinforces the ideal of diversity, Zukin (1998) had earlier maintained that cities which experienced a reduction in the number of mid-income urban dwellers have come to terms with the importance of diversity in urban space. This position underscores Jacobs (1961) conceptualization of urban renewal, discussed in an earlier section of the chapter, where she positioned that urban renewal destroys the social fabric of cities.

In place attachment, many different ‘place’ concepts make the term challenging to define (van der Graaf, 2009). Place attachment (Corcoran, 2002) and sense of place emphasized the importance of ‘place’ during urban renewal interventions. There are many theories on the "place" (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Fincher et al., 2016). A 'place' concept contextualises and expresses the same issue, including community attachment (Fried, 1963; Kasarda, J. D. & Janowitz, 1974; Egan et al., 2015), place attachment (Relp, 1976; Low & Altman, 1992 Ujan & Zakariya, 2015), sense of community (Sarason, 1997), and sense of place (Hummon, 1992). The place attachment has no agreed definition, names or even methodological approaches, but it is measured spatially through the spatial means of housing, community and city space (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001).

The “feelings of place attachment resonate as a significant marker of identity and community” (Corcoran, 2002, p. 48). Place attachment deals with the emotional connection between humans and places within the context of the space. In this section, I review debates and how urban renewal-led interventions

impact the peoples' 'place(s)'. Place attachment links the social psychology of preferred human location in a social space and environment (Hewitt, 1991) where human bonding exists (Low & Altman, 1992) to form a place. John (2010) argues that place attachment becomes imperative when substantial importance is attached to what it means to live in a particular place. Kearns & Mason (2013) found a link between relocation/displacement from the former housing and a sense of attachment to a new (location) place. Ujang & Zakariya (2015) suggest that urban renewal-led interventions must recognise the significance and extent of how attached people are linked to their places and the meanings they attach to these places for a successful intervention. Bonaiuto et al. (2016) describe the link as the "emotional and cognitive experience linking people to places". The emotional connection enables residents in the same place to know whom to contact for a specific need(s) when they have issues because of their attachment to such a community or neighbourhood (Bari, 2016).

The sense of a place, like a place attachment, relates to the perception and emotional connection people have about their community, where they derive and enjoy satisfaction with fellow community members (Tan et al., 2018). One fundamental issue here is the emotional connection between homes and the people, and any attempt at separating the two is often resisted. Jorgensen & Stedman (2006, p. 320) see the connection “of positive feelings about one’s property” Here, the concern is the connection between place attachment/sense of place people have with their community, particularly the poor urban residents. In a sense, urban renewal intervention outcomes caused people to lose emotional connection with their community.

2.4. Strategies and Approaches of Urban Renewal

Different strategies and approaches to urban renewal as an intervention have been advocated and studied in many discourses and studies globally, particularly in Nigeria. These strategies and approaches are identified and discussed in the following paragraphs in no particular order.

2.4.1. Redevelopment, Regeneration, Rehabilitation and Upgrading

Alonso (1964) referred to redevelopment as the production of brand-new buildings on formerly occupied land as redevelopment. Urban redevelopment as one of the renewal strategies is seen as "the process of re-establishing the profitability of devalorised and declining urban districts using a mix of residential, commercial, office, or entertainment-related land uses" (August & Walks, 2017, p. 1). Redevelopment removes decayed buildings in cities deemed unfit for habitation and replaces them with modern buildings (Lai et al., 2018) to encourage investment. At the same time, August & Walks (2017) argued that it is employed to reactivate the declining economy of cities by providing an environment for new investment and enhanced mid-income growth. The authors here agreed that redevelopment is a strategy used to remove old buildings or properties, and devalorisation implies a building that has lost value. So, in order to make economic sense, such things have to be removed to pave the way for the building that will not only increase in value but also increase the value of the particular location.

For example, in the United States, "urban renewal begins with a legislative determination that a particular area is 'blighted'" and the government authority follows up with "a 'redevelopment plan' for the blighted area" (O'Flaherty, 1994, p. 290). Redevelopment seeks to eliminate decayed buildings and, at worst, remove blights and conduct slum clearance on a large-scale (Carmon, 1999; von Hoffman, 2008; Zipp, 2012; Ansfield, 2018). In Nigeria, Onibokun (1970) argued that redevelopment strategy subscribes to renewal interventions that enhance the urban residents' living conditions and purchasing power. Onibokun (1990) further suggested a partnership and cooperation among the state urban dwellers, the community organisation and other relevant stakeholders. Such partnerships allow the government to provide the needed infrastructure for the people through redevelopment strategies, reducing urban poverty.

Some criticisms trailed the urban renewal strategy. For example, Fincher et al. (2016) found that redevelopment encourages affluent urban residents to invest in cities to enhance economic development but cautions such investment on

issues around social fairness. In another example, the strategy is argued as two-pronged; first, it causes mass displacement of the vulnerable on the one hand and increases economic growth on the other (He & Wu, 2007). Also, there is "no common redevelopment and no uniform experience that reverberated down through the urban hierarchy" in urban renewal (Page & Ross, 2017, p. 1295). Fundamentally, what appears from the initial position is that what determines redevelopment is the situation and political interest.

Positions here highlight the setbacks noted with redevelopment. For example, a study in Otodo Gbame, Lagos, Nigeria, S4C (2018) echoes what the authors here are saying. In the study, when the initial occupiers of the community were forcefully evicted, an undisclosed number of residents became “displaced” (He & Wu, 2007; Fincher et al., 2016) and “dispossessed” (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008) of their community. The redevelopment wholly phased out the poor urban residents who were former occupiers of the community because of the intimidating cost of owning a place in the newly redeveloped area funded by a private property developer with the support of the Lagos government. Essentially, the case of Oto-Gbame reflects a redevelopment strategy that can be situated within the economic theory debate, while the motivations embody the capitalist ideologies of “neo-liberalisation” (Harvey, 2007; Pain, 2019) and “accumulation by dispossession” of the urban space (Harvey, 2003; Mbiba, 2017) through urban renewal.

Similarly, in Nigeria, for instance, Onibokun (1970) noted that for redevelopment to be effective and successful, the urban area(s) where the strategy is to be deployed must be economically viable and socially attractive to encourage investment in commercial activities from other sources. The point being argued here is that redevelopment strategy in urban areas is seen as an economic investment that should be able to bring financial returns and profits to enhance growth and development. As enunciated earlier in the section, Rutland (2010) notes that finance is strategic to carrying out redevelopment; it is critical to the people and private property investors.

Essentially, two things are essential in Onibokun’s study and argument. One is finance, which is critical and significant in funding redevelopment interventions.

Two, redevelopment interventions must bring financial returns to the state or investors. Therefore, the point that reinforces Onibokun's earlier argument in the study is that the economic potential of the properties can bring returns to their investment, as this forms part of what encourages private property investors to engage in such urban renewal intervention. Considering economic interests and sourcing for finance to fund urban renewal interventions made me submit that redevelopment strategy can be located within economic theories and capitalist-driven ideological positions. Lovering (2007) and Zheng et al. (2014) noted that redevelopment and regeneration have often been used interchangeably; redevelopment, in a sense, relates to a much smaller or more extensive scale and targets specific interventions, while regeneration concentrates and focuses more on large-scale and detailed interventions.

Regeneration conveys a deliberate representation of the political ideology of governments (Healey, 1991) and aims to improve the quality of life and investment in the urban future (Alpopi & Manole, 2013). The strategy "implies that any approach to tackling the problems encountered in towns and cities should be constructed with a longer-term, more strategic purpose in mind" (Roberts and Sykes, 2008, p. 18). Regeneration is all-encompassing in dealing with cities' economic, physical, social, and environmental problems (Davies, 2003; Couch et al., 2003). At the same time, (2002) argues that regeneration encourages competition to provide a suitable and attractive investment environment that aids urban growth and development. The strategy is used for neighbourhood and physical and commercial regeneration to promote urban economic development (Cochrane, 2007).

Another body of scholars argues that regeneration is used to drive urban change. For instance, Robert & Sykes (2008, p. 21) suggest that regeneration strategy is an "interventionist" approach that addresses "institutional and organisational dynamics of the management of urban change". Lovering (2007) noted regeneration as a helpful strategy employed to convert old industrial buildings and sites into residential and commercial units, recreational utilities, and the construction of high-rise residential blocs in cities. However, the processes of carrying out urban changes through regeneration are complicated and

challenging, given the multiple interests involved (Ruming, 2018) (Kritain Ruming, 2018).

Some authors and scholars argued regeneration from the private sector-driven perspectives. For instance, Healey (1991) and Tallon (2020) positions reflect that urban regeneration centres on private sector investment in the property market, particularly to enhance development and address urban socio-economic problems. (Porter & Shaw, 2009) argued that such strategy through the private sector enables economic growth and development and changes city dynamics, but sound cautious that the strategy also promotes social unfairness of producing winners and losers. For example, Hodkinson (2011) notes while researching the Private Finance Initiatives {PFI} in public housing-led regeneration that presents complex contractual procedures and is costly to adopt in public housing. An earlier study (Porter & Shaw, 2009) has also suggested that private involvement in regeneration strategy could exclude and eliminate the poor-income social group from the inner city to more urban space for the affluent group. Such a position reinforces the complexity of PFI as a funding approach in regeneration, one of the critical factors why the urban poor are permanently excluded (Porter & Shaw, 2009) in urban regeneration intervention, particularly in the housing sector.

Also, in another similar housing-led approach, with different outcomes, Egan et al. (2015) used a poor neighbourhood in Glasgow to conduct housing-led urban redevelopment research employing a qualitative longitudinal method to understand how the strategy led to the demolition and relocation of their houses. The research showed that some poor urban residents who relocated expressed satisfaction with the regeneration strategy. At the same time, the study recognises that the anxiety of the regeneration project complicates the health of residents with pre-existing health challenges. Nevertheless, the study's outcome and takeaway demonstrate the approach's usefulness in housing provision for the most deprived urban residents.

Similarly, in Nigeria, Ibem (2013) conducted a study in Ogun State, using secondary data to understand how a housing-led urban regeneration strategy of urban renewal is employed to halt the growth of slums. The study found

considerable evidence of public-private partnerships between the government and private property investors that enable the eradication of slums and provide quality and better housing for the people. However, the study's outcome fell short of highlighting the cost involved in the housing-led regeneration strategy and whether the initial landowners of slums were reallocated units in the newly regenerated housing. Nevertheless, given the cited cases, the regeneration strategy can be situated within the capitalist-driven ideology because it allows and enables private property investors. However, such success depends on contextualising PFI in a broad sense. Similarly, the strategy can also be located within the urban social movement ideologies because it offered decent housing opportunities to the most deprived in the city through a housing-led approach.

As another urban renewal strategy, rehabilitation deals with the old structure (Alonso, 1964) abandoned and neglected (Smith, 1982) to new homes. Alonso and Smith’s argument indicates that rehabilitation seems a viable strategy to enhance the quality and value of these old and abandoned properties. However, Smith (1982) suggests that for such a strategy to become successful, finance must be invested in the form of capital. Smith (1982) cited an example of the inner and city centre, where buildings are primarily in decayed condition and that the only strategy to bring value to these properties is through rehabilitation strategy.

Smith (1982, p. 149) suggests a rehabilitation strategy will enhance “profitable prospect, and capital begins to flow back into the inner-city market”. Two critical points are established from Alonso and Smith’s arguments. One, rehabilitation mainly deals with the renewal of old and abandoned property, which suggests that the strategy is essentially about enhancement and improvement. Two, finance is critical in funding the rehabilitation of the abandoned structure, as such investments can bring back capital flow into the rehabilitated properties. Then, theoretically, the success of rehabilitation strategy tied around finance and capital flow are two critical segments of emphasis in economic theories of capitalist-driven ideologies.

For example, in Lagos, Nigeria, rehabilitation is recognised in the institutionalised LSURPD law 2010 and detailed in part IV, thus empowering

LASURA to identify the part of the city that requires such an intervention strategy (Hoelzel et al., 2018). So, within the institutional powers, the state agency has been able to carry out interventions through the strategy. For instance, Onibokun (1970), in his study of housing in the core of Ibadan, Nigeria, notes specifically socio-cultural, ecological, political and economic factors working against the rehabilitation strategy targeted at the challenges of decayed buildings and environment. Thus, the study suggests careful and multi-dimensional planning approaches that embrace technology and provide housing finance sources to successfully rehabilitate the Ibadan urban area. Essentially, Onibokun's study implies that rehabilitation could only be helpful in urban renewal if related political and economic issues are carefully considered. Additionally, deploying technology with working equipment that can enable the "readaptation of the existing buildings" is essential (Onibokun, 1970, p. 302) to reduce associated costs and encourage rehabilitation strategy.

The study also suggests the inclusion of all the critical stakeholders for urban rehabilitation to be effective and successful while also stressing the presence of government in providing other complementing infrastructural services to enable the expected outcomes of rehabilitation. Onibokun's study acknowledges the need for further comprehensive studies of rehabilitation strategies that will not be based only on the environment and housing. However, the study further noted all the socio-spatial problems of Ibadan as an urban area since environment and housing cannot be studied in isolation from the urban problems. So essentially, Onibokun implies that only a detailed analytical study can inform the effectiveness of rehabilitation strategy. The key points here are that rehabilitation strategy is cost-intensive, mostly favouring capitalist-driven ideologies rather than social urban movements-favoured ideologies.

Slum/in-situ upgrading, like rehabilitation, is one of the urban renewal strategies widely used in housing, infrastructure and public service upgrading in the slums, squatters and informal settlements in cities (Dovey, 2014). Upgrading provides slum communities with the security of tenure and improved public service delivery, enhancing the people's social, physical and financial capabilities (Gulyani & Connors, 2002). Also, it is argued that upgrading encourages the collaboration of slum communities, the government, private

sectors and non-governmental organisations to improve the capacities of slum dwellers in employment creation for economic growth (Majale, 2008) (Majale, 2008).

In Africa, literature discourse centred on the beneficiaries of upgrading strategy if the poor urban residents are correctly and adequately targeted (Gulyani & Connors, 2002). For example, in Windhoek city council, Namibia, Gulyani & Connors (2002) noted that upgrading interventions are targeted at specific infrastructural services in up to three informal communities based on the affordability capacities of the communities. However, the study found that the choice of a community upgrade is based on politicians' political interference. They decide which communities to be chosen instead of using criteria based on needs and urgency.

So essentially, despite the strategy's popularity, political manoeuvring on the part of the people in power remains a stumbling block, which may skew the interventions to favour the communities that may not be in immediate need of their infrastructural service upgrade. Additionally, the communities collaborating with the politicians to ensure the upgrade intervention remains a good approach since this could bring some sense of belonging to protect the upgrade projects jealously. However, the contributory approach may limit the extent of upgrade interventions, given limitations around finance.

For example, in Joe Slovo, South Africa, Baptist & Bolnick (2012) conducted a study to understand the effectiveness of upgrading a participatory strategy. The study found that residents' participation in data gathering in the community regarding some basic information helped the strategy's success. The main reason is that the community members felt some sense of belonging in the upgrading since they have been part of the process. Hence, the acceptance of the strategy. The upgrading provided data that ultimately helped provision public infrastructure and sanitation improvement.

The study demonstrates the importance of participation and partnership as factors that can enable the application of upgrading strategy in urban renewal intervention. That sense of belonging by the people in the study reinforces one

of the three points raised under justice in just city discourse. Fundamentally, the participation and inclusion of the people reinforce the issue of "democracy" emphasized by Fainstein (2014, 2016), which allows for equal participation of the people in decisions or interventions that involve them, particularly the deprived urban residents. Logically, based on the study's outcome, in-situ upgrading can be situated and said to reflect the social urban movements' ideology of a just city (Fainstein, 2014), theoretically aligning with the critical urban theory.

Similarly, within the upgrade strategy of urban renewal is the livelihood-led approach, which embodies a pro-poor and livelihood empowerment intervention has been examined (Butler et al., 2013; Mhlekude, 2013; Musavengane, 2018). One of these includes the Area-Based Approach (ABA). The approach is an urban renewal-led intervention made famous in the United Kingdom in the last decades; it allows for collaboration and partnership among the urban governments' private and intergovernmental sectors in tackling urban social problems (Donaldson et al., 2013). It embraces multiple stakeholders' partnerships to combine disadvantage and deprivation in a specific area and target the same to provide better outcomes (Turok, 2004).

In the global North, some related works are reviewed. Lawless (2004) evaluates the area-based initiative (ABI) renewal intervention in English thirty-nine (39) areas focused on crime, education, health, worklessness and housing. The study found persistent tensions in community engagement, strong support for partnerships and difficulties with Area-Based Initiatives. The evaluation suggests that strong institutional influence, loss of local support for partnerships, and the API intervention's reformist nature impact the initiative. Butler et al. (2013) carried out research in Govan, Glasgow city of the global North, to investigate whether the pro-poor tourism (PPT) urban regeneration strategy of urban renewal can be employed to reduce poverty among urban residents. The research developed a new PPT tool for regeneration research but found that the new PPT complicates an ordinarily simple redevelopment urban project. The research questioned how valid a PPT regeneration strategy can be employed for poverty reduction, especially in the global south city. It also favoured the critical urban theory.

Musavengane (2018) used secondary data for Zimbabwe's PPT regeneration/upgrading intervention. The outcomes showed that the PPT could improve the local economy in Zimbabwe townships. In addition, Kotze & Mathola (2012) used the area-based approach to evaluate the level of satisfaction and community perception towards the urban renewal-led intervention in the four neighbourhoods that experienced the intervention of providing needed public infrastructure and services. Nevertheless, the outcome revealed that the ABA techniques adopted-led intervention do not deliver and meet people's expectations. Similarly, in South Africa, Mhlekude (2013), using ABA, assessed the impact of an area-based renewal of Mdantsane urban renewal programme on the lives and livelihoods of the people who benefited from the programme between 2001-and 2011. The research found the need for adequate community participation and inclusivity of the traditional head for the intended outcomes of the renewal intervention.

In Nigeria, Adama (2020) investigated Makoko slum urban renewal intervention that employed an upgrading approach. The study found that based on the non-inclusion of the local people in the intervention conception right from the beginning, their acceptance and participation were non-commital to the project, unlike the case of Joe Slovo in South Africa, where the people were directly in charge. Additionally, the people in the community considered the intervention a foreign innovation since the State government and World Bank were jointly sponsoring it. The study concluded that the non-involvement of the people from the onset contributed to the failure of the upgrading. In addition, the foreign involvement in the intervention of the World Bank made the people suspicious of the motive, thus responsible for their uncooperative attitude, given the state government's ‘ world-class’ slogan. An ideology the people of the community suspected could be the beginning of the government's expropriation of their land/properties.

2.4.2. Renovation, Revitalisation, Conservation and Gentrification

Revitalisation as one of the strategies in urban renewal intervention seeks the "repositioning of the urban economy" Nijkamp et al. (2002, p. 1877). The strategy essentially seeks to redesign and reshape the urban centres to attract investment, create employment opportunities and enable urban growth (Lees et al., 2015). The revitalisation strategy is employed to deal with urban decay and obsolescence to bring back the vitality of urban infrastructure (Webb & Webber, 2017) because the strategy is adjudged to embrace the ideals of modernity in cities to provide avenues for economic growth (Nijkamp et al., 2002). There seems to be shared agreement among scholars here on the revitalisation strategy, which fundamentally focuses on modernising urban infrastructure to encourage capital flow and investment.

For example, in a Houston, United States study, Podagrosi & Vojnovic (2008) established an infrastructural-driven revitalisation involving hundreds of millions of dollars of investment. The study evaluates the significance of constructing a light-rail line connecting the city centre with public infrastructure- hospitals with social and football centres to enhance economic development and growth. So essentially, the driving force of such revitalisation-led urban renewal is for economic growth and development, while the secondary interests revolve around aesthetics and transportation/traffic management.

Similar examples of rail infrastructure-led revitalisation are also found in Africa and Nigeria. For example, there is considerable evidence of billions of Chinese billions of dollars invested in rail-infrastructure revitalisation in Africa, essentially driven by strategic mutually beneficial economic interest, which has the potential to enhance growth and development between the nations (Lechini et al., 2020). In Kenya, for example, in their study, Lechini et al. (2020) identify some progress regarding the Madaraka Express rail infrastructure-led revitalisation interventions jointly funded by the Chinese investors and the Kenya government. The study establishes that the rail infrastructure-led revitalisation intervention increased the quantum of freights to and from the city port, enhanced investment, brought about market competition, generated

employment opportunities, and reduced the travelling cost and time spent transporting the goods and services. Essentially the approach here primarily targets economic growth and development through rail infrastructure revitalisation.

Similarly, in Nigeria, there is evidence of billions of dollars invested in revitalising and modernising roads and rail renewal (Mthembu-Salter, 2009; Onwuemeenyi, 2009). For example, Lechini et al. (2020) found a downward trend in transport cost and travel time in their rail connectivity revitalisation renewal intervention study. Other benefits include increased capacity in the volume of people travelling between the Lagos-Kano corridor, all of which possess the capacity to enhance local economic development. I reasoned and noted that fundamentally, the primary purposes of infrastructure-led revitalisation include driving trade and economic development within and between nations through the transportation of goods and services, extraction and mining of raw materials and opening up employment opportunities for livelihood sources. Again, the revitalisation strategy through infrastructure-led intervention is purposely driven by economic interest primarily promoted by the neo-liberalisation ideologies of the urban economy. Therefore, it is apparent from the review literature and empirical analysis that revitalisation strategy in urban renewal interventions primarily embraces capitalist-driven neo-liberalisation ideology, which encourages trade liberalisation articulated in the previous section.

Gentrification had its roots in America almost six decades ago; social activists and scholars advocated and called to question displacement in New York and San Francisco (Jacobs, 1961; Hartman et al., 1982). Gentrification symbolises class transformation in the inner city, where the high-income earners displace the low-income earners through the changes that come along with the displacement (Glass, 1964). Smith (1979) noted that where residents come from does not matter during gentrification and urban space transformation; the main focus revolves around the financial returns. The point is similar to Lees. (2008, p. 179) that considered gentrification as “an intensified financialisation of housing”. So, the authors considered gentrification from the view of “finance” (Rutland,

2010), where money is needed to be invested to earn returns from such investment.

Marcuse (1985) argues that gentrification often displaces the poor income group in the city. LeGates & Hartman (1986) argue further that poor and aged urban residents are also included, but they experience significant difficulties associated with gentrification. Some of the critical concerns regarding gentrification include how it creates and destroys communities, ethnic stratification, and displacement of the impacted population (Smith, 1979). Freeman (2006, p. 169) suggested that "gentrification provides the opportunity to improve the quality of life of deteriorated neighbourhoods and mix residents from differing socioeconomic strata with benefits for both the indigenous residents and the larger society".

In a recent study, Elliott-Cooper et al. (2020) contrast the suggestive opportunities gentrification offers to enhance people's quality of life. Instead, they consider it as "involuntary mobility, suggesting that it is a form of violence that removes the sense of belonging to a particular community or home space" different from the ones people know as homes (p.503). Essentially, Elliot-Cooper et al. position brings to the fore that gentrification reflects the ideology of seeing urban space as a commodity to be traded. Also, the position shows how involuntary dispossession of properties takes place as long as the financial gains or returns can be ascertained. Therefore, I submit that gentrification theoretically can be associated with the debates on economic theories because it revolves around economic interests. Additionally, it embodies and embraces financialisation, commodification, and accumulation through the dispossession of urban space.

2.5. The outcome of Urban Renewal

The particular section focuses on the outcomes of urban renewal interventions on vulnerable people. As a result of urban renewal interventions, studies and research have observed various outcomes. These include forced eviction, demolition, relocation, displacement, violent demonstrations and protests. The

following subsections provide detailed debates, perspectives and positions on the outcomes.

2.5.1. Forced Eviction

Forced eviction reflects the government's position on broad "economic and political" issues in cities (Brickell et al., 2017, p. 7). The point here suggests that the government's decisions regarding forced evictions are driven by politics of economic interests and not essentially the interests of the vulnerable and poor urban dwellers who are victims of eviction as an outcome of urban renewal interventions. In attempts to demonstrate the politics of forced evictions and justify the government's economic interests, Levenson (2014) notes some strong-worded political phrases or languages usually employed to denigrate slums and informal and squatter settlements. I note that these strong-word phrases noted by Levenson demonstrate some unwanted nuisance in the cities that need to be eliminated to improve the cities' aesthetics and increase property values- which are the primary embodiment of economic interest. For instance, studies have noted that forced eviction of the poor and vulnerable urban dwellers from their communities is linked with attempts to encourage investment attraction and the building of globally competitive cities aimed at urban economic development.

DESAL (1969), focusing on political implications, has since suggested that the government often weaponised eviction among the slum dwellers in exchange for political loyalty and blackmail through cash exchange/payment (Weinstein, 2014). Roy (2004) finds a connection between giving political allegiance by guaranteeing electoral votes to the government in power during elections to avoid eviction of their community and the government's decision not to forcefully evict the people from their communities. I feel this type of observation by Roy mirrors some political blackmail- which can be likened to an instrument of forcefully casting their votes unwillingly to the government in power to protect their communities and livelihoods.

Notably, the point remains that what if there is a change in government from different political parties? Or, what if the government decides to review and change their decision towards the community? I reason that bribing the

government through electoral votes to protect vulnerable communities from forced eviction amounts to what I consider a political suicide decision, which may backfire. I also reasoned that the government's decision was to use the communities' vulnerability in the slum/informal situations to earn their political loyalties. I submit that the situation amounts to what I considered a weaponisation of political power to earn people's votes through the threats of forced eviction. In the global South, forced eviction has always been treated or used as a political instrument rather than a means of housing provision or a market instrument (Weinstein, 2021).

Brickell (2014) notes that forced eviction dispels poor urban dwellers of their homes and lands. Fundamentally, Brickell's position symbolises a situation where the government and elite members of the cities conspire through forced eviction exercises to acquire the landed properties of the poor urban residents. The position underscores the argument of Harvey (2006) in section two of this chapter, where he described the acquisition of poor urban residents through urban renewal interventions as accumulation by dispossession. The position reinforces why the outcomes of some urban renewal interventions follow and embrace capitalist ideologies.

In Nigeria, notably in Lagos, there have been cases of forced eviction (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997), Abonnema Wharf Waterfront eviction, Port Harcourt eviction and Badia -East, Lagos eviction. For example, in a study of Maroko Lagos, Agbola & Jinadu (1997) noted in their research that forced eviction, apart from many problems that come with it, the action brought about an increase in housing problems for the evicted, particularly among the low-income urban dwellers. Some of the findings in the study revealed inadequate alternative housing units, unaffordability, and the government's suitability for providing alternative units. One fundamental revelation was that the new housing units provided were too costly for the poor urban residents to afford.

Also, Amnesty International (2010) noted in Port Harcourt, River State, that thousands of people were evicted and displaced without prior awareness, no relocation provision nor compensation because the community was considered a "slum" (Levenson, 2014) within the capital city. A similar resemblance was the

case of a Lagos community where the low-income dwellers were forcefully evicted, and their land was expropriated by the government and redeveloped into luxurious apartments that were out of reach of the initial owners. The two cases demonstrate and resemble a process that followed economic interest, which is best situated within the capitalist-driven ideology of neo-liberalisation detailed in the previous section.

2.5.2. Demolition

Demolition, like other outcomes of urban renewal interventions, is considered as "renewal through destruction" (Doxiadis, 1966, p. 51) because “nuisance has thus become the key legal trope driven slum demolitions” (Ghertner, 2008, p. 59). Demolition is employed to relocate poor people from the city to the outskirts (Goetz, 1996; Abramovitz & Withorn, 1999). Another position argues that demolition is used to clear slums from the urban space and replace the same space with more valued housing redevelopment for the well-oof in cities (Goetz, 2000). On the justification for demolition, Crump (2002) argued that policymakers and scholars deliberately demonise poor urban residents to justify the demolition of poor communities. In another argument, Mah (2012) notes that demolition is used for urban improvement and development. For instance, (Talen, 2014, p. 236) said that urban renewal demolition is targeted at “substandard housing conditions” but cautioned that there was insufficient empirical data to substantiate the motive.

For example, in Port Harcourt, River State, Nigeria, Amnesty International's (2010) report said that the government justifies demolishing the Waterfront slum settlement because of the need to implement the Greater Port Harcourt Master Plan- which focuses on the city's redevelopment. The additional justification given by the government was the need to rid the city of criminals. The demolition exercise was carried out by deploying state police who applied extreme force to demolish the community.

However, contrary to the reason given by the government to justify the demolition, the study found that the intervention was motivated by the state's expropriation move. The sole purpose for the demolition was the planned

construction of commercial buildings that can bring higher values and returns, going by the existing adjacent malls and the potential of MoU- a memorandum of understanding signed with private investors to redevelop the community. Fundamentally it can be argued that this type of demolition was motivated by economic interest and profit-making at the expense of the city's poor urban residents; thus, demolition, in this case, can be situated within the capitalist ideological drive.

2.5.3. Relocation

Relocation allows poor urban residents to move out of a decayed community to a better environment (Lelevrier, 2013). However, literature has proved that understanding the realities of the people is a means of providing a better alternative for the people who experience urban renewal relocation interventions (Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003). There is voluntary and involuntary relocation, the voluntary are screened, and the involuntary are forcibly evicted (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Goetz, 2002). Relocation should be properly thought through before the implementation (Cole & Flint, 2007), as this severely impacts people (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997).

There are several setbacks regarding relocation, including health-related issues, place attachment-social bond, and the possibility of becoming homeless (Kleit & Manzo, 2006). For example, in order to reduce the stress and complications associated with relocation, Kleinhans (2003) suggested that efforts must be made to communicate efficiently and effectively among stakeholders. Also, it is argued that relocation enables the upward movement to better residential accommodations for some forcefully relocated residents and engenders the habit of adaption to the newly provided alternative accommodation for others (Lelevrier, 2013).

For example, in Nigeria, a study conducted in Maroko, Lagos, Agbola & Jinadu (1997) found that the proximity of the slum community to the highly valued neighbourhood of Victoria Island was one of the reasons necessitated the relocation of people in the community. Other justification includes fear of disease outbreak due to the deplorable living conditions in the community and

the community allegedly serving as a hideout for criminals. An additional hidden motivation for the relocation was the expropriation quest of the government for the land in Maroko because of the potential to increase in value if redevelopment is carried out. The study revealed that the principal reason was that the government considered the community a slum, hence the consideration and justification for relocation. Essentially, according to the study, the primary motivation regarding the relocation was economic interest, which reflects that relocation, in most cases, is motivated by a capitalist-driven concept.

2.5.4. Displacement

Displacement has been acknowledged as a consequence of most urban renewal transformation interventions (Smith, 1979; Hartman et al., 1982; Marcuse, 1985). In an attempt to change the offensive word ‘displacement,’ Kleinhans & Kearns (2013) suggested a name change to ‘residential relocation’ as one of the urban renewal outcomes. Some literature conceptualises displacement through a gentrification lens and vice-versa (Marcuse, 1985; Davidson, 2009). Urban renewal interventions, particularly housing-related, often result in increased rent, leading to displacement (Pull & Richard, 2021). One fundamental point from these positions is that displacement implies the loss of one’s place voluntarily or involuntarily.

Fainstein (2005) acknowledged that displacement provides decent housing and environment for some, not all, forcefully evicted residents and severely impacts the social kingships/networks of most affected residents. Emphasising the significance of social kinships/networks in a community, Kern (2016, p. 442) states that displacement "may include outright eviction from shared space or symbolic exclusion from the sense of place or belonging", thus reinforcing the importance of social and communal networks among impacted and evicted population from their residences or communities. Therefore, being displaced from such a community would affect not only the bond shared but also other benefits associated with the shared social bonds. The shared agreement here emphasised the critical importance of social bonds as a lifeline for low- and poor-income urban dwellers. Social bonds, kinship, and networks all represent essential components in the lives of vulnerable urban dwellers.

Authors argued that displacement had left the impacted people with little or no assistance from the government, hence becoming subjects at the mercy of the property market investors and political entities (Kleinhans & Kearns, 2013), and their lives turned upside down against their wishes (Watt, 2020). Building on the previous position (Zhang, 2018, p. 201) describes the condition as "fast, stressful and chaotic"; the situation is argued as violence against this group of poor urban residents in the city (Pain, 2019; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020). In most instances, those who have found themselves in a situation with no help from the government have always depended and relied on social networks and bonding for assistance in whatever form.

For example, in a study in Lagos, Nigeria, Obaitor et al. (2021) acknowledge the significant role of social capital in building resilience among impoverished urban dwellers living in vulnerable parts of the city. Fundamentally, resilience can come from financial, psychological/emotional, and even social. Similarly, in Lagos, there are cases of displacement resulting from one urban renewal intervention strategy or the other. One example is the study of S4C (2018) notes that up to 10,000 inhabitants of the Badia-East community in Lagos were displaced due to demolition carried out by the Lagos State Government to pave the way for the Home Ownership Mortgage Scheme (HOMS) redevelopment intervention. Neither compensation nor re-housing has been given or offered to the displaced residents of the community.

2.5.5. Violent Demonstration and Protest

One of the outcomes of urban renewal intervention is resistance (Page & Ross, 2017) (Page & Ross, 2017), which includes collective resistance (Miraftab, 2009), social resistance, and community resistance (Page & Ross, 2017). Resistance can take “the form of passive non-compliance, subtle sabotage, evasion and deception” (Scott, 1986, p. 7). The demonstration and protest are aimed at resisting different laws put in place by the Malaya government (Scot, 1986) to curtail the activities of peasant farmers, which were massively resisted because such laws impact their livelihoods. This demonstration may produce the desired result but often worsens the situation.

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2.6. Impacts of Urban Renewal

Studies and research have identified different impacts of urban renewal interventions, particularly on the vulnerable population, which include social, health/mental health and physical impacts. The following subsections provide detailed contexts and positions of each of the impacts.

2.6.1. Social

The implications of relocation and its social cost on people and their communities should be considered before urban renewal interventions (Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003). Atkinson (2015, p. 376) noted that displacement, as one of the significant outcomes of urban renewal interventions, suffered by the vulnerable urban dwellers or their communities are often “extensive and socially damaging”. Essentially, Atkinson’s point emphasises the extent of displacement to social lives and bonds among displaced people out of their free will. In Nigeria, Obaitor et al. (2021) underscore the importance of social capital to enhance the “social cohesion and bonding among slum dwellers”, which, if broken, can severely impact the lives of this group of urban dwellers.

2.6.2. Health/Mental Health

There is a record of literature on mental health as one of the significant impacts of urban renewal. Fullilove (2005) likened the impact of urban renewal intervention to a root shock which impacts the mental and emotional well-being of the affected individuals and community. Mohindra & Schrecker (2013) noted that despite some apparent significance of urban renewal interventions, a substantial piece of proof showed the impact of the interventions on the health and well-being of the affected population. Mehdipanah et al. (2015) note that urban renewal impacts the mental and physical health of the poorest among these disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. Building on Mehdipanah et al. position, Lees & Hubbard (2020) suggest that urban renewal intervention inflicts "psychological and indeed physical health" problems on the affected population. Notably, Hanlon et al. (2006) argue that regeneration as an urban renewal

intervention strategy impacts mental well-being more than physical well-being, given the evidential outcomes of their studies.

Essentially, scholars here seem to agree that urban renewal interventions caused significant health complications in people directly impacted by the interventions. However, the severity of the health impacts among the vulnerable population is felt mainly by the poorest and aged. In contrast, a seemingly different view sees the enormous psychological impact more than the physical impact because the impact is emotionally laden and manifests each time the minds of the impacted people weigh in on the intervention. However, Halon et al. do not mention the extent to which such emotional complications shape people's thinking about urban renewal intervention.

Contrasting the impacts of urban renewal on people's health, Kearns et al. (2009) alluded to the effectiveness of urban regeneration in complimenting the general well-being of the impacted people and community. Similarly, Egan et al. (2013) disagree with the negative impacts of urban renewal intervention, instead maintaining that appreciable health benefits are recorded through urban renewal interventions. I sense that urban renewal's impact on people can only be positive if they are confident that better alternatives are being offered. Again, I reasoned that such improvement in people’s well-being could only be attained when such intervention is put into the context of the country where such is taking place.

Numerous studies focused on the emotional health implications of urban renewal interventions. For example, Fullilove (2005) demonstrates in his study that urban renewal interventions reflect cases of mental health breakdown and disaster among those affected. Evidence of emotional health due to eviction among victims is discovered among those who suffered evictions (Pevalin, 2009; Desmond, 2012) (Matthew, 2012; Pevalin, 2009). Similarly, Weinstein (2021) argued further that processes leading to forced eviction represent the beginning of emotional complications before the actual eviction.

Additionally, the burdensome of loneliness and lack of social networks remain among the main problems associated with forced evictions and eviction

(Desmond, 2012). Fundamentally, Desmond's position reinforces the importance of place, a community, in urban renewal discourse. For example, considerable evidence noted that the loss of place due to displacement affects the well-being of poor urban residents (Nixon, 2011; Gupte et al., 2019). Agreeing with Nixon and Gupte et al., the situation is described as a "psychological transformation" of the displaced (Atkinson, 2015, p. 377). Essentially, the different perspectives emphasised how urban renewal interventions can impact the emotional and mental state of those affected by change and the loss of their place and community. The loss embodies the absence of social ties and bonds with family, friends, and family living in the same community and the benefits and assistance gained from such a place and community. When these combined opportunities are lost, such confound the affected population's mental, emotional, and psychological complications.

Richardson et al. (2016) and Brickell et al. (2017) argued that those who suffered evictions are mostly traumatised. For example, Pain (2019) has demonstrated how displacement, dispossession, and gentrification enable and trigger chronic trauma among the impacted poor urban dwellers, thus exacerbating mental health cases. The study describes chronic trauma as a combination of mental destruction and bodily injury inflicted on poor urban dwellers who suffered the consequences and outcomes of urban-renewal interventions. One critical point from Pain’s position emphasised that the poor urban dwellers who suffer the outcomes of urban renewal interventions experience double loss. They lose their homes/properties due to dispossession, displacement and gentrification, and the outcomes equally cause psychological complications. Lahoud (2010) describes the situation of such complications as when, in the very presence of the affected people, the future of their lives becomes shattered and shredded into hopelessness before the provision of any remedial action/alternative.

In Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, health and mental health issues concerning the outcomes of urban renewal interventions have been noticed and discussed in the literature. Urban renewal interventions have been criticised for being poorly and adequately thought through before implementation, considering the mental implications of the aftermath of such interventions (Alabi, 2017). For example, a

study in Badia East, Lagos, Oyefara & Alabi (2016) revealed the aftermath health impacts of displacement resulting from urban renewal intervention in the community. The study notes substantial health failure, such as severe mental depression and emotional instability among the impacted community members who suffered displacement, particularly the female group.

In another recent study detailing the outcomes of urban displacement induced by forced eviction in Lagos, S4C (2018) found cases of people who witnessed cruel handling of victims, death of fellow community members, and fallen homes. Others include drowning victims in canals who are running from menacing threats of soldiers, and women who suffered pregnancy loss and incidence of rape due to forced demolition, still finding it difficult to cope with such traumatic realities. The situation described in S4C demonstrates what post-traumatic stress disorder PTSD expressed by Lane et al. (2017) and gender-based chronic trauma of complex forms of PTSD (Herman, 1997). Essentially, the study reinforces the previously argued position of Pain (2019), where he stresses chronic urban trauma cases among displaced people.

2.6.3. Physical

The physical impacts of urban renewal imply the loss of physical places, such as housing or community, and people's perceptions of other places (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). The loss situation underpins the eviction, demolition, displacement and relocation caused by urban renewal-led strategies (Kearns & Mason, 2013). Also, going back to the conceptualization section of the chapter, literature established that urban renewal is all about the ‘bulldozer’ (Carmon, 1999) impact, embodies eviction, demolition, displacement, and relocation exert some physical impacts on the affected population. Johnston et al. (2000), Raco et al. (2008) and Atkinson (2015) maintained that any attempt for people to lose their place- community is akin to the loss of their survival, and in any way, they are prepared to do whatever they can to protect and keep their place.

For example, in Nigeria, particularly in Rainbow Town, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Amnesty-International (2006) reported that armed police officers shot and killed four protesters. The action also led to some suffering severe physical harm

when trying to recover some of their belonging from the demolished community. Similarly, in Ijora Badiya, Lagos, undisclosed persons suffered physical injuries during the forced eviction carried out by the Lagos State Special Task Force.

2.7. Institutions: A Review

In addition to urban renewal, as previously discussed and contextualised, I also examine the dynamics of formal and informal institutions since these form the fulcrum of the study. More generally and recently, Krueger et al. (2018, p. 4) argue that "institutions are created, sustained or modified through the ideas and actions of individuals". Therefore, people as actors are critical for the effectiveness and application of institutions in guiding human lives and activities. From the work of Krueger et al. Rydin (2021, p. 65) pinpoints succinctly three conceptual explanatory meanings of institutions as "dilemmas or the perceived paradoxes of existing policy, traditions or the wider web of social meaning within which actors operate and beliefs or the way that individuals construct their world".

Studies claim that definitions of institutions are time-tested and stable (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010); hence, the time endurance of institutions has come to make people, communities, and governments rely on the perpetual relevance of institutions to shape their world. Studies also claim that formal and informal institutions cannot be examined in isolation of each other; instead, in most cases, both are intertwined, work together and interact (Azari & Smith, 2012; Waylen, 2014). The point here is that formal and informal institutions interact with each other, and the relationship can become complex, given how each of the two is used or employed by the actors involved.

The principal argument here is that institutions, whether formal- laws, regulations, interventions, policies, or informal- cultures, traditions, social norms, collective/shared memories and social meanings as highlighted previously, are designed and formed by individual actors to direct and shape society. Based on these backgrounds, I established the interpretations and understanding of formal and informal institutions in the thesis, which are further discussed in the following sections.

Formal institutions are the "constitutions, statutes, common law, and other governmental regulations" (Pejovich, 1999, p. 167). In an effort to ensure conformity to these set of "codified" (Edquist & Johnson, 1997, p. 50) laws and regulations, the state employed the instruments "of sanctions, such as fines, imprisonment, and execution" (Pejovich, 1999, p. 167). The formal institutions' laws and regulations guide the state's political-economic and judicial powers and operations, such as peoples' rights, property rights and enforcement of these rights (Pejovich, 1999).

Sanga et al. (2022) conducted a study in Rajivv Awas Yojana to identify the drawbacks. In the study, Sanga et al. (2022) note that top-down development intervention of slum upgrading and planning bureaucratic process state failed to recognise and jettison the inclusion of the people's needs, contributions and peculiarities into the implementation of such interventions, some identified failure of such intervention. Some of the failures identified include limited success of intended goals and lack of acceptance by the people.

Informal institutions are seen as "a process of social learning" (Helmke &Levitsky, 2012, p.731). The people learned the cultures, norms, values, collective/shared memories and social meanings (North, 199; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Rydin, 2021) as informal institutions to shape their responses to societal problems. In the thesis and this section, I explain and discuss traditions, norms, values, collective/shared memories, and social meanings and how these are relevant and influence and shape people/community perceptions about government interventions, particularly urban renewal slum interventions.

Informal institutions have generally been referred to as traditional cultures of the people (Pejovich, 1999; Helmke & Levitsky, 2012). Inform institutions "embody the community's prevailing perceptions about the world, the accumulated wisdom of the past, and a current set of values" (Pejovich, 1999, p. 166). These societal values are referred to as "socially shared rules, usually

unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels" (Helmke and Levitsky, 2012, p. 727).

In another study on the Cabin project at Kingsmead Estate, Hackney, East London, Turner (2007) identifies the effectiveness and power of community participation in the project, thus reinforcing the importance of a bottom-up approach in community development. Turner (2007) reveals that the connection between how the community employs power to ensure community participation helps to drive some fundamental social transformation of the community, reinforcing the significance of bottom-up realities in community projects/interventions.

For instance, in traditional culture as an informal institution, the traditional head/chief is the custodian of these traditions and commands such respect that whatever orders he passes onto his subject are obeyed to the letter. Unlike the formal institution, sanctions such as "imprisonment and execution" (Pejovich, 1999, p. 167) are imposed on whoever violates the laws and regulations. However, in a traditional cultural institution, such violators are seen as outcasts who must be punished with "expulsion from the community, ostracism by friends and neighbours, or loss of reputations" (Pejovich, 1999, p. 166).

2.8. Summary

The chapter reviews debates, discourse, perspectives and positions in all the sections. The chapter establishes that essential components of debates view urban renewal as an idea and a concept. A considerable amount of literature agreed on conceptualising urban renewal as cities' transformation and redesigning of the urban space for social development and economic growth. The chapter further identifies two main theoretical divides in the urban renewal field of study. The two theories include economic and critical urban theories grounded in urban renewal debates. Several studies agreed and demonstrated that economic theories provide the grounds for capitalist-driven ideologies that fundamentally promote urban renewal interventions aimed at capital

accumulation and treat urban space as a commodity to be traded for the highest bidders. The poor urban dwellers are competed out of the market. The chapter establishes that capitalist-driven ideologies primarily empower and encourage state-backed property accumulation and property acquisition/dispossession drive of the private property investors. Empowerment deprives poor urban dwellers of opportunities to claim or access urban space, exploiting and discriminating against this group of urban dwellers.

On the contrary, the chapter establishes that the critical urban theories, grounding the social urban movements' ideologies, discourage and disapprove the capitalist ideological positions. The ideologies promote and emphasise equity and democracy in accessing urban space. The ideologies further emphasise the adoption of grassroots participation, which promotes equitable access to inclusion and social justice and grants disadvantaged urban dwellers power, voices, and opportunity. Fundamentally, the urban social movement ideologies underscored the effectiveness of people coming together as a grassroots social movement- the power of which enables the people to protest and engage in unpopular and unwanted state policies, programmes and interventions in a non-violent civil way.

The chapter establishes general agreement among scholars on urban renewal strategies of redevelopment, regeneration, upgrading, rehabilitation, renovation, and revitalisation, through which interventions are implemented critically. The chapter found that theoretical/ideological considerations essentially drive these strategies. Also, the chapters identify fundamental outcomes of urban renewal intervention, which include forced eviction, demolition, displacement, relocation, violent demonstration and protest, where central arguments revolve around minimum or no cooperation from the vulnerable poor urban victims. The chapter establishes diverse perspectives among scholars regarding the impacts of urban renewal interventions. These include economic, social, health/mental, and physical impacts caused by some of the forceful and inhuman ways the interventions are handled and implemented, particularly in Nigeria.

After carefully reviewing the literature, perspectives, views, positions, debates, and discourse in the urban renewal field of study, I found that the impacts of urban renewal interventions on the livelihoods of the poor urban living in the city are the least researched. A semblance livelihood studies have been carried out in Nigeria, such as Olajide (2010), Olajide et al. (2018), Choi (2015), Nzeadibe & Mbah (2015), de Haan (2017), Agbiboa (2018), Olajide & Lawanson (2021). Nevertheless, no one has provided a complete understanding of the policy and its impacts on the livelihoods of the poor using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework analytical tool. However, these studies offer avenues for further research into the impacts of urban renewal interventions on the livelihoods of people experiencing poverty.

Therefore, based on the focus of my research and my understanding of the two primary theoretical/ideological debates examined in urban renewal, I submit and align my research with the critical urban theories that promote social urban movement ideologies. Additionally, since my research seeks to understand urban renewal interventions on the livelihood of the deprived urban poor living in vulnerable locations in cities, the adopted critical urban theory and urban social movements ideologies provide the foundation for my research. Hence, the research agrees and aligns with the pro-poor urban renewal interventions and the critical positions of Castells (1977; 1983), Harvey (2008; 2012), and Feinstein & Feinstein (1985). Others include Mayer (2009), Brenner et al. (2009) and Marcuse (2010) urban social movements scholars to build further, establish and expand ideological knowledge in this area of urban renewal field of study. Therefore, given the multi-dimensional and multifaceted nature of urban renewal as established in the previous section of the chapter, I reasoned and adopted the sustainable Livelihood framework- SLF analytical tool to underpin the theoretical and analytical basis for the research.

3. Sustainable (Urban) Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis

3.1. Introduction

The chapter discusses the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and how the framework is employed and adapted for the research analysis. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework, developed by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DfID), has since been adopted in many studies. The framework was designed by Scoones (1998, 2009, 2015) and Ashley & Carney (1999), and these studies are contextualised in the chapter to understand the framework's application. The chapter is then structured into four sections. Each deal with specific issues related to the SLF, its applicability, criticisms, strengths and limitations, and how this helps the research analysis.

The second section contextualises livelihoods and sustainable livelihoods to understand the meaning and concept of livelihoods within the discourse on sustainable livelihoods. Then, the section traces the evolution of the sustainable livelihood approach up to the present-day sustainable livelihood framework SLF, which scholars have widely employed and adopted to study rural and urban livelihood activities of people with poor income and living in vulnerable communities in cities.

The third section discusses the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. The chapter highlights and discusses the framework's analytical components: the vulnerability context, livelihood assets/capitals, policies, institutions and processes, and livelihood strategies and outcomes components. The chapter examines studies, perspectives, positions and debates around each component. In addition, the section examines studies that have employed a sustainable livelihood framework vis-à-vis their findings concerning each component in the frame. The section extensively explores the framework's policies and institutional components because of their particular relevance and applicability to the research. The fourth section discusses the framework's criticisms, strengths and limitations and

how such criticisms are navigated in the research. Finally, the fourth section summarises the chapter.

3.2. Sustainable Livelihoods

The livelihoods approach extensively focuses on poverty reduction (Ashley & Carney, 1999) and deprivations that inhibit poverty, as reflected in the Multidimensional Poverty Index of the World Bank (Nunan, 2022). The approach focuses on "the way the poor live their lives and the importance of structural and institutional issues" (Ashley & Carney, 1999, p. 4). An analytical approach to poverty underscores the significance of assets as a critical aspect of people's well-being, hence its importance in the livelihoods approach (Scoones, 1998; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Nunan, 2022). Furthermore, the livelihood approach emphasises human development provisions such as healthcare, education, water, and electricity as the foundation for alleviating poverty (Scoones, 1998; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Nunan, 2022). Therefore, the shared understanding among the authors here revolved around human growth and development, which appear to focus on a sustainable livelihood approach to fight against deprivations that aid poverty, particularly among impoverished people. Morse & McNamara (2013) considered the sustainable livelihoods approach a deliberate framework for development. Hence, from the initial conception of the sustainable livelihood approach, one can feel the approach is a working tool to understand and fight poverty, especially among the poor people in the rural communities of the global south.

Scholars and authors have held different perspectives regarding the meanings, interpretations and what constitutes livelihoods (De-Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Scoones, 2009, 2015; Carr, 2014). Some scholars have seen livelihoods as a concept for studying rural poverty in the Global South. In contrast, others have viewed it as a government policy framework to fight poverty in rural areas (Rakodi Lloyd-Jones, 2002). Livelihoods vary in social and geographical terms, are temporal, multidimensional, and complex, and are determined by multiple indicators of the political-economic structure of local and urban settings (Scoones, 2015). Discourse on livelihoods is fundamentally centred on

agricultural and salary-based employment activities that provide incomes to households in rural and urban areas that help sustain their lives (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002).

Scoones (2015), in agreement with the rural and poverty context of livelihoods, notes that the whole thoughts around livelihood started as a rural effort with a long history of research and literature on agricultural power relations, research in farming systems and participatory systems in a rural setting. Fundamentally, the shared interest among authors here signifies that livelihoods started to view different agricultural and other economic activities practised by the rural farmers as means by which livelihoods are sustained through income earnings from multiple ways. For instance, Ellis (2000) noted that some farmers and their family members combined multiple and different diversified farming portfolios/activities as income sources to sustain livelihoods.

Other studies have contextualised livelihoods within capabilities, assets and activities that individuals and families/households need to make a living (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Ellis, 2000). For instance, Chambers & Conway (1992, p. 6) see livelihoods as those "comprises the capacities, assets-*stores, resources, claims and access*, and activities required for a means of living". Ellis (2000, p. 10) sees assets as natural, physical, human, financial and social capital. Therefore, from the authors' perspectives, these assets can be reasoned as the building block of livelihoods. In a sense, capabilities can be taken as the means and ability an individual or family/household possesses, i.e., what the people can do and the extent they can go to pursue livelihood sources, which underpins Sen (1994).

From the definition contexts, having multiple sources of economic activities related to the diversification of livelihood (Ellis, 2000) and the capabilities of individuals/households to hold on to these economic activities that provide alternative livelihood sources is essential. Thus, individuals or households' capabilities to sustain the diversified sources of livelihood informed the approach to a sustainable livelihood. For example, chambers & Conway (1992, p. 6) suggest that sustainable livelihoods should be able to "cope with and recover

from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation". Similarly, Scoones (1998, p. 5) agreed with Chambers & Conway's view. They opined that sustainable livelihoods should be able to "cope and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resources base". De Haan (2000, p.343) shared the same view with Scoones and suggested that livelihood is "sustainable if it is adequate to satisfy self-defined basic needs and resilient to shocks and stress".

Nevertheless, the difference between stress and shock is complicated to identify and define. So, shock and stress are critical issues that could pose severe threats to sustainable livelihoods if some cushioning measures are unavailable. Scoones (1998) notes that stress is always a gradual occurrence, e.g. a weather/seasonal-related drought may affect farmers' agricultural yield and produce, and to an extent, this type is manageable. In comparison, Marschke & Berkes (2006) noted shock as a substantial and unexpected impact that can negatively affect livelihoods, e.g. sudden loss of fishing tools, equipment and fishing gear by fishermen. However, one looks at stress and shock; the two play critical roles in maintaining sustainable livelihoods. Essentially, even gradual or sudden urban renewal interventions pose significant stress and shocks because these interventions would alter people's livelihood portfolios. Hence, the sense of loss could lead to gradual stress and even shocks to people’s lives.

Critics of sustainable livelihood argued that the approach does not represent “a panacea” to all livelihood-related challenges, especially when people are in dangerous places to earn livelihood pathways (Kelman & Mather, 2008, p. 189). Also, Morse & McNamara (2013) noted that the approach is criticised for not being people-centred and instead uses capitals to denote people; they further stated that the measurement and analysis of capitals in the approach remained blurred. Additionally, analysis through the approach could generate extensive and enormous data, which can be challenging to translate into policy interventions (Morse & McNamara, 2013). Based on these criticisms, the DFID team worked to develop a sustainable livelihood framework. The following section addresses the sustainable livelihood framework.

3.3. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The different perspectives and views among scholars and advocates of the sustainable livelihood approach led to the development of the sustainable livelihood framework commissioned by the Department for International Development DFID (Ashley & Carney, 1999). The sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) in figure 1 emphasises fundamental factors and issues that impact people's livelihood activities and how the problems are connected with assets-institution-livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999). The framework was "developed to help understand and analyse the livelihoods of the poor" and to examine the "people as operating in a context of vulnerability" (DFID, 1999, p. 1.1). The centrepiece of the framework is assets upon which livelihood activities can be initiated and even sustained given favourable institutional policies (DFIDD, 1999). The views here mean that assets play vital roles that can make or mar people's livelihoods. The interconnection between these assets makes the essential support they render to livelihood critical. Where these assets are lacking or unavailable, peoples' livelihoods' survival can be threatened.

Also, Parizeau (2015) notes that the presence of assets in an environment reduces the tendency of different types of shocks and stresses that could threaten peoples' livelihoods. Agreeing with Parzeau's perspective, De Haan (2017) added further that any form(s) of restriction placed on access to available assets could impede peoples' livelihoods and put them in vulnerable positions. Studies suggested that "the more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity" (Moser, 1998, p. 3). Mosers' position is taken forward by De Haan (2017), who states that unhindered and unrestricted access to assets enhances livelihood activities. Essentially, it becomes apparent that access to assets is critical and can determine a person's survival or otherwise livelihoods, given the assistance assets provide to pursue and sustain livelihoods. The factors shown in figure 1 consist of vulnerability contexts, livelihood assets, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes, which comprised shocks, trends and seasonality (DFID, 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Nunan, 2022).

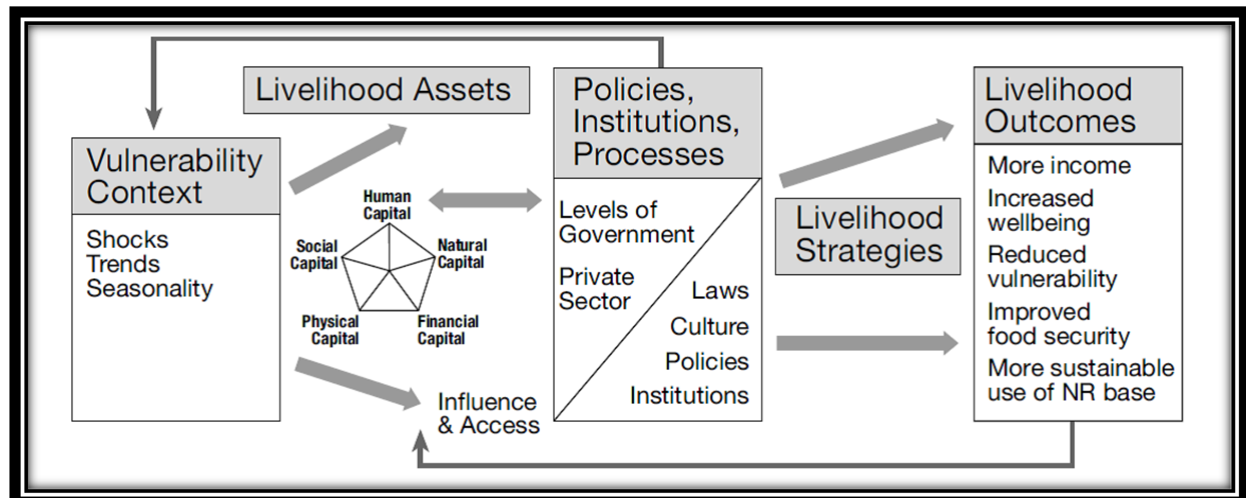


Figure 1. Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)
Source: Adapted from DFID (1999).

3.3.1. The Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context in figure 1 mainly comprises external environmental factors that influence one way or the other within which people live (DFID, 1999). These vulnerability factors include shocks, e.g., human health, natural disasters, rainfall variability, economics, and conflict. Also, it includes seasonality, e.g., price instability, employment, production, health and trends. The population includes examples of resources, economics, politics, product availability, and technology (DFID, 1999). Vulnerability is "the state of susceptibility to harm, from exposure to stresses associated with environmental and social change and from the absence of capacity to adapt" (Adger, 2006, p. 268). Spatial location, socio-economic situation, and other related ecosystem factors also make livelihoods susceptible to vulnerable conditions (Sen et al., 2022). For example, people experiencing poverty are located in potentially dangerous locations, particularly in the urban centres, such as land areas with no tenure, floodplain areas and water bodies (Wisner et al., 2004). These locations further predispose and expose them to disaster risk (Fussel & Klein, 2006; Ingram et al., 2006).

For example, a study by Nicholls et al. (2008) ranking port cities worldwide found Lagos to be one of the top 20 global cities vulnerable to high sea levels by

2070 due to high population concentration and increased urbanisation. Similarly, in another study conducted in Ajegunle, Lagos, Nigeria, to evaluate the impacts of flood disasters, Louw et al. (2019) found that the nearness of the community to an unclean water body and its high population concentration makes the community vulnerable to disaster risk outbreak. Fundamentally, the two studies underscore the high trend of population concentration as a potential vulnerability to sea rise. A community's increased population size in vulnerable locations represents a potential disaster risk.

3.3.2. Livelihood Assets

Livelihood assets shown in figure 1, referred to as the pentagon (DFID, 1999) with five critical building blocks(Scoones, 1998), are another component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. The assets include social, financial, natural, physical, and human capital/assets (DFID, 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Solesbury, 2003).

Natural assets are natural resources such as water, plants, forests, land and environmental services that people can use to enhance and support their livelihoods (Daily et al., 2011; Nunan, 2022). Also, the availability of natural assets provides livelihood and employment to the people living in poor communities (Scoones, 1998; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Peprah, 2015). For example, Amuyou et al. (2021) studied natural assets in six Cross River, Nigeria forest communities. The study focused on the reforestation of the six forests due to extensive deforestation aimed at reducing forest emissions. The study used the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to ascertain the impacts of forest carbon protection as a natural asset. The study's outcomes revealed that the reforestation for forest carbon protection enhances the numbers of Bushmeat (Gnetum africanum) reproduction, a regular meat diet in high demand in Nigeria, thus increasing the household livelihood income of the bushmeat farmers.

Social assets/capital is viewed as "a characterisation of the processes that set societies on certain development paths" fundamentally ", it is the means for

achieving well-being which constitutes the end" (Chopra, 2002, p. 2911). Social capital represents those advantages brought about by association and socialisation, which could be in terms of economic and non-economic gains that the majority of the poor use to support their livelihood sources (Pineda, 2022). Similarly, Nunan (2022) sees it as the household, community associations and family networks people can tap into to sustain their livelihood activities.

De Haan (2003) also argues in favour of the critical role of social relations in the livelihood survival of the poor. Again, the importance of "social network" as a livelihood strategy is emphasised (Putnam, 1993; Grootaert, 1998; Beall & Kanji, 1999; Hendriks, 2011; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). These social networks are built around trust or shared trust, reciprocity and even family ties. Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate how social networks help people to build and maintain livelihood pathways. In particular, chapter 7 demonstrates the effectiveness of social networks based on trust, which enables people to trust and rely on instructions passed down to members of the community towards collective responses against urban renewal interventions to protect livelihoods. Also, studies argued that social capital as a form of assistance in sustaining livelihood is common and vital among members living in the same community (Volker et al., 2007; Curley, 2010; Jokio, 2019). From the discussion, scholars here agreed on the significant role of social capital, a social relation or social network as a strategy for livelihood survival among the poor. It can then be inferred from the evidence of the discussion that some forms of reciprocity are formed among the poor in both cash and kind gestures to assist one another based on the social relations between the urban poor and their community.

For example, concerning social assets/networks, Hanson (2005) conducted a study pertaining to social assets/networks to examine the complex ways people in Koforidua, Ghana, network for resources through social networks. The study focused on the social network as an asset/capital to support and enhance their socio-economic status. The study found that social networks with kin, neighbour ties, religious ties, alumni ties, occupational ties and household ties helped people of the community to negotiate economic hardship and enhance livelihood survival. Nevertheless, it takes time for such a relationship to be built.

Studies have emphasised the significance of "human assets" in labour-related (Moser, 1998; Rakodi, 1999; Meikle, 2002; Mathie & Cunningham, 2005; Nel, 2015). Human assets encourage people to utilise economic opportunities to improve their well-being (Rakodi, 1999). referred to such things as labour resources, knowledge, physical capability, health status, skills, technical know-how and training that people acquire through education (Rakodi, 1999; Nunan, 2022) or can be developed by the people living in poverty through attendance of education or training sessions (DFID, 1999). For instance, on human assets, Chen et al. (2013) conducted a study in a national nature reserve, Wenxian County, Gansu Province, China, to examine and evaluate livelihood assets/capital in the sustainability of forest commons. The study employed the assets component of the sustainable livelihood framework, where all five assets were assessed. The study revealed that learning skills and knowledge in training provided by Community Based Co-Management CBCM projects in breeding bees to the local community increased the output and the yield of honey bee farming. Fundamentally, it is evident from the study that offering training to people regarding their livelihood activities presents a human asset potential for the people.

Other include financial assets, which revolve around monetary capital such as traditional credit arrangements, savings in the bank, savings and cash (Moser, 1998; Tamanna & Hasan, 2015; Nunan, 2022). Financial capital also includes access to financial institution credit facilities, general household income, and household employment status (Yirga, 2021). Research showed that "financial assets" at household and community levels play a significant role in the existence and survival of the urban poor's livelihood (Rakodi, 1999; Hansen & Vaa, 2004; Mathie & Cunningham, 2005; Verrest, 2007; Agbodike, 2010).

For example, on financial assets, Tamanna & Hasan (2015) conducted a study in Dhaka, Bangladesh, to understand the strategies deployed by rickshaw pullers to improve livelihood sources among poor urban residents. The study employed the sustainable livelihood framework and found that the rickshaw pullers engaged some of the assets/capital available to improve their livelihoods. Notably, the

study revealed that the rickshaw pullers derived more benefits from financial capital through traditional microfinance credits, which offered them loans to support their rickshaw businesses with very low loan interest. However, the study noted that some microfinance lenders could not provide the money whenever the people needed it. Desperate to seek business loans, most rickshaw pullers approached formal lenders, e.g., BRAC and Grameen Bank. While the loans were provided, the high interest on monthly repayment, which the study noted, caused emotional anxiety among these poor urban residents. Notably, the study demonstrates that traditional microfinance loans from money lenders work better than the ones from formal financial institutions to enhance livelihoods among impoverished people.

Physical assets include road, communication, transport, energy, housing, sanitation, water supply, tools and equipment, vehicles, and technology infrastructure (Cherni & Hill, 2009; Serrat, 2017). Physical assets are seen as essential assets that aid human production or productivity to support livelihoods (Dehghani-Pour et al., 2018). For example, Wondimu et al. (20220 conducted a study in Jimma, Ethiopia, to examine the livelihoods of female-headed families in the town. The study used the sustainable livelihood approach. The study revealed that large numbers of female household heads do not have a shelter or house of their own since more than half of them live in rented houses with no energy provision, mostly in poor conditions. The study further revealed that the lack of homes exacerbates the already high poverty among this women group, threatening their livelihoods. Essentially, inadequate or lack of physical assets in the form of housing/shelter can impact people's livelihoods, particularly those who are already vulnerable to socio-economic problems such as poverty, in this case.

In another example, Cherni & Hill (2009) evaluated energy and policy for sustainable livelihoods in some remote locations in Cuba. The study employed a sustainable livelihood framework focusing on the assets component. The study was narrowed down to the physical assets of the road network, water transportation, and electricity generation. Of particular relevance is the case of Manantiales, a 40-household community that produces hydroelectricity and

modern renewable energy technology with a combined power supply above 30kW capacity. The study found that the electricity supply, besides enhancing the peoples' livelihoods, also provided electricity for local medical surgery, the supply for the local schools to power their computers, and other domestic uses. The study revealed that a large amount of unused electricity is left wasted. So essentially, the study emphasised the importance of physical assets of electricity supply through technology to enhance people's livelihood activities, which also acknowledged the multiplier effect of the physical assets on other services to support livelihoods one way or the other.

3.3.3. Policies, Institutions and Processes

The policies, institutions, and processes components in Figure 1 of the sustainable livelihood framework represent a critical component influencing other components in the frame. DFID (1999, p. 2.4.2) describes that "policies inform the development of new legislation and provide a framework for the actions of public sector implementing agencies and their sub-contractors". However, the policy is difficult to define in literature and has been described in many ways and forms (Bolaji et al., 2009; Crammond & Carey, 2017).

The policy has been critical in governance for several decades (Bolaji et al., 2009). Within the government cycle in many parts of the world, the constitution represents policy's root and foundational piece (Loughlin, 2010). This constitution, made through lawmaking, empowers the government to govern through different structured branches (Alexander, 2011). Within the constitution, which empowers policy formulation, is the delineation to other levels of government (Crammond & Carey, 2017). In order to handle related socio-political challenges or problems, policy always comes in handy (Plank et al., 2009) to tackle public problems (Anderson, 2014; Beland, 2019). Essentially, a policy is designed to guide the procedural implementation of government programmes or interventions like the urban renewal intervention. It is designed to achieve a specific purpose, e.g., (slum clearance, relocation); like in the case of urban renewal interventions, various strategies are used within the intervention as a government policy.

Here, there appeared to be shared agreement as to what can inform policy intervention and its formulation, i.e., interventions designed by authorities to legalise means by which societal problems can be addressed. Perspectives here further emphasised that policy stems from constitution empowerment to make it legal and become binding in its operation. The constitution symbolises the bedrock of policies, each designed to address specific social-political problems. Examples include land, health, environment, tax, businesses and other related social issues, which are tied to institutional, legislative framework tools, often passed by parliaments as an institution (Crammond & Carey, 2017). Conversely, the institutional policy legislative tool sets out constitutional and regulatory rules in nature and operation (Giddens, 1984). It can be reasoned that policy is a detailed statement/framework that derives its power from institutional regulatory tools that set out the operational rules to solve socio-political problems. However, it is critical to understand what institutions represent.

As mentioned previously, institutions are critical to policy formulation and operation. North (1990) describes institutions as the rules of the game, wherein human beings are expected to play by these rules to regulate people's behaviours. Building on North's view of institutions, Knight (1992, p. 2) suggests that institutions set the "rules that structure social interactions in particular ways" to "patterned behaviour" (Edquist & Johnson, 1997, p. 43) in a social environment. Fundamentally, within the scopes of behaviours and rules set by institutions, the power of enabling and constraining are inherently built to regulate human behaviours and activities (Hodgson, 2006; Whaley, 2022). Meanwhile, formal and informal institutions have different rules and regulations (North, 1990; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Hodgson, 2006; John, 2012).

In formal institutions, rules and regulations are often codified and embedded in laws, codes of conduct, and rights, which state what should be and should not be done (North, 1991; Edquist & Johnson, 1997). Often, violation of rules and regulations in formal institutions attracts stiffer sanctions or punishment, such as payment of fine, jail time, and extreme death, to serve as a deterrent for breaking the law (Whaley, 2022). On the other hand, informal institutions are rooted in tradition, culture, shared memories, norms, values and sanctions (

North, 1990; Holmes et al., 2013; Lauth, 2015), some of which are unwritten but socially constructed and imbibed with compliance by every member of a community (Brink 2003). For example, Porte (2006, p. 235) said that norms in informal institutions are "rooted in values that tend to resist change", and punishment for violating these norms, values, and tradition leads to exclusion and ostracisation of such violator(s) from the community (Lauth, 2015).

For instance, in Nigeria, such legislative tools exist for land use, urban renewal, and environmental and healthcare policies at the national, state, and local government levels. The Land Use Law (1979) and Urban and Regional Planning Law (Oyesiku, 1998) are examples of related legislative tools in Nigeria at the national level related to this research. Some of these laws are devolved to the State level. For instance, within the federal Urban and Regional Planning Law 1992, the Lagos State created and legislated its own Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning and Development – LSURPD LAW 2010 no 9 of 2005 (Akeem et al., 2018). LSG (2017) stated that the power that established Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency as a government institution was derived from the LSURPD law. The agency has the powers to oversee and administer everything about urban renewal policy and programme (LSG, 2017), focusing on improved areas rehabilitation, upgrading, and enforcement (LSURPD-LAW, 2010), which was derived from the state LSURD law. As a government institution, the agency carried out, administered and implemented rules under the LSURPD law on behalf of the Lagos State government.

Policies, institutions, and processes represent a critical framework component, which "puts in place the processes and structures for mediating the assets deployed, the strategies pursued, and the outcome achieved for different people" (Scoones, 2015, p. 35). However, the component focuses on policies and institutions, which are fundamental to the research analysis. Fundamentally, Scoones inferred that for any available assets to be used or exploited, the approval or non-approval of institutions or the institutional policy is critical, which can influence access to these assets. Therefore, based on the importance of this sustainable livelihood framework component, it becomes apparent that the SLF suffice as the appropriate analytical tool for the research; based on

other examples of its application elsewhere, particularly in the Global South, Nigeria is also located.

For example, using the sustainable livelihood framework and focusing on the policies and institutional components of the frame, Zentteno et al. (2013) found in their relational analysis of forest resource dependency and livelihood strategies of rural Amazon dwellers in Bolivia. The outcomes revealed that due to friendly institutional factors, which allowed cross-boundary trade between Bolivia and Brazil, the Amazonians could enhance and supplement their livelihood income through cash income generated from trading in Brazil nuts. In contrast, the primary source of livelihood depends on timber exploitation. The study underscores the earlier points about how formal institutions' policies, rules, or regulations can enable people's livelihood activities. In another contrasting example, in a study conducted in the Mymensingh area of North-Central Bangladesh, Ahmed (2009) used the sustainable analytical tool, particularly the policies and institutions component, to investigate the means of enhancing fish farming livelihoods among fish farmers. The study revealed that poor and constrained institutional assistance worked against the future sustainability of livelihood activities.

Also, “property rights” is critical in institutions (North, 1991, p. 97). Lai et al., 2018 emphasised the need for the government as an institution to recognise and find a way to provide property rights for people even before urban renewal interventions and imply that such action would exemplify social justice for all. Given that the research embraced critical urban theory, social justice forms an essential focus of this theory, hence the importance of property rights. Similarly, Brown (2015) emphasised the significance of property rights in livelihood issues. Brown argues further that the poor living in poverty also have the right to public space, unlike when this group of people are often excluded through various urban developmental interventions.

Nevertheless, Brown (2015) acknowledges that many cities struggle to balance the rights of the people living in the informal sector and poverty with that of ensuring cities without these groups of urban dwellers, but maintains that the

property rights of this disadvantaged group should be respected and reflected in cities' law. Property rights play a significant role when people claim or prove their right to space in cities. These rights are proven when people go on to protest and resist urban renewal interventions, as demonstrated in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis. As articulated in the previous discussion, the examples indicate how institutions or institutional policies can enable or mar livelihood pursuant.

In Nigeria, for example, Udong et al. (2010) conducted a study in Ibaka, Akwa Ibom, to examine the livelihood assets, strategies and the influence of culture as an institution on women fish traders' livelihood choices. The study employed a sustainable livelihood framework, focusing on the institutions component of the frame. The study found constraints caused by the informal institutions of culture relating to the challenges of patriarchy and polygamy issues exerted much influence on the livelihood sustenance of the women in the community. The study underscores the earlier points enunciated in the discussion relating to institutions that can enable or constrain livelihood sustenance.

3.3.4. Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes

Livelihood strategies shown in Figure 1 are "the overarching term used to denote the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake to achieve their livelihood goals" (DFID, 1999, p. 2.5). Detailed description sees livelihood strategies simply as what comprises the activities people or community engages in to make a living (Ellis, 2000); these strategies depend on the available assets and how accessible the assets can be put to use (Walelign et al., 2022). Studies have shown that livelihood strategies are dynamic as what can be applicable in a particular location may not be in another location, so essentially, the strategies depend mainly on context, locations, conditions and changes in available assets (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 2015).

For example, people also engage in multiple economic activities at the individual, family, and household levels to support and enhance their livelihoods in Ghana (Owosu, 2005, 2007). During the economic downturn in Ghana, most government workers engaged in farming and trading activities in addition to

their salaried jobs to sustain their livelihoods. Similar strategies are also found in the study by Abebe & Hesselberg (2013), where poor urban dwellers in slum settlements were relocated and resettled in location, such that the intervention severely impacted their livelihood portfolios. Therefore, the poor urban dwellers resulted in multiple sources of economic activities as livelihood strategies to support and sustain lives and livelihoods.

Also, Nielsen et al. (2012) conducted studies in five communities in Bolivia, Nepal and Mozambique to identify livelihood strategies employed by the people in the communities. The study used a sustainable livelihood framework. The study found that diversification of incomes is the predominant strategy people employ to sustain livelihood activities. In Glen Norah, Harare, Zimbabwe, Mukwedeya (2011) conducted a study to examine the livelihood strategies employed by people in the community. The study adopted the sustainable livelihood framework in its analysis. The study found that the remittances from Zimbabweans outside the country's shore sent to families served as a strategy employed by people in the community to support livelihoods. In Nigeria, Udong et al. (2010) conducted a study that employed the sustainable livelihood framework to examine the livelihood strategies of female fish sellers. The study revealed that women fish sellers, as individuals, families, households, and association members, often pool their available assets and resources together as a strategy to improve and sustain household livelihood.

Fundamentally, livelihood strategies and outcomes are the last components of the sustainable livelihood framework. Notably, the framework represents a cycle of strategic and fundamental conditionalities that have to come together to either make or mar, enable or constrain opportunities for livelihood pathways to survive or be destroyed. For instance, the institution can create an enabling environment for easy access for some people or difficult access to others as livelihood pathways strategies. The framework provides the issues to consider that can enhance or destroy livelihood pathways. From the perspectives, views and studies enunciated in preceding sections within the chapter, it is reasoned and submitted that fundamental linkages exist among the different components in the framework from the different applications to understand livelihoods. The

link presents a situation whereby pursuing livelihood portfolios depends significantly on how individuals, families, households and communities withstand vulnerable challenges using available assets to support such portfolios and how institutional policies can enable or constrain the sustenance of such portfolios. Therefore, the combined options, alternatives and sources as means employed and deployed to sustain the survival and sustenance of these portfolios symbolise and represent livelihood strategies.

3.4. Criticisms of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Strengths and Limitations)

The sustainable livelihood framework has been criticised for focusing on the lives and livelihoods of rural communities and poor farmers. Nevertheless, I found the framework applicable and handy in understanding and throwing insights into the lives and livelihoods of the people living in poverty and vulnerable communities of cities, as in the case of my research.
The framework has been criticised in that despite available research and studies on livelihood diversifications, the framework obscures the consideration of these essential components of livelihood discourse. Essentially, the framework is criticised because it masks the diversification and potential to sustain people's capabilities to sustain and maintain their livelihood opportunities and pathways. Based on the framework's application in this research, I found the framework not solely dependable with other research data collection and analysis tools. The framework, on its own, may be used for every other evaluation tool in social science without using other supporting research tools. Essentially, the framework is a non-stand-alone analytical tool but can only best be employed with other tools.

The first reason for the adoption of the framework includes the capability of the framework to help shift focus from the usual economic considerations in similar studies to people-focused concerns and analyses. The framework provides means and components to understand the complexities of researching livelihoods.
Also, the analytical framework puts the people living in poverty and vulnerable and poor areas at the centre of the framework by providing the opportunity to

focus their lives, activities, and livelihoods. Since my research investigates the impacts of urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of poor urban dwellers, the analytical framework helped me to focus on the entire lives and activities of this group of urban dwellers.

Another reason for the adoption of the analytical framework includes the capacity of each component in the frame to help focus and analyse specific aspects of the lives and livelihoods of poor urban dwellers. The policies and institutions component proved to be most critical to my research. The policies and institutions allowed the research to understand the interrelationship between formal and informal institutions.

3.5. Summary

The chapter provides contexts regarding the sustainable livelihood framework, particularly the meaning of the sustainable livelihood approach and livelihood analytical framework. The chapter offers perspectives, positions, and debates regarding different components in the sustainable livelihood framework and how these components are interdependent in enabling livelihood sustenance for people living in poverty and vulnerable communities in cities. The chapter also highlights and discusses criticisms of the framework and its suitability for understanding livelihood research. I then provide my rationalisations for adopting the sustainable livelihood framework to understand and analyse the impact of state-led urban renewal intervention on the livelihoods of the people living in poverty and vulnerable community of Makoko, Lagos State, Nigeria. Fundamentally, the framework assists the research in providing contexts upon which the complexities around the livelihoods of the people living in the poor communities and the impact of urban renewal interventions on these livelihoods. The following chapter addresses the research methods and methodology for data collection and analyses.

4. Methods and Data

4.1. Introduction

The chapter discusses the philosophical underpinnings adopted, methodology, data collection and analysis methods, ethical considerations, and reflexivity. Also, the chapter provides details of sections on critical reflections regarding the strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods and concludes with the chapter's summary. The chapter is divided into five main sections and other sub-sections.

The second section addresses the philosophical worldviews of my research, where details of the ontological and epistemological foundations underpinning the research philosophy are explained. The section further discusses what informed the social constructivist position embraced in the research and how the position shapes the research methodology and methods. The third section addresses the research design and methodology, where details of ethnography fieldwork and a case study approach adopted in the research are discussed. The section further discusses the details and justifications as to why Makoko community was chosen as a case study in the research.

The fourth section details the methods for data collection employed in the research. Firstly, the section highlights and justifies the data collection into two phases, which include the COVID-19 pandemic and post-COVID pandemic phases, where each of the phases is subdivided into in situ and remote data collection stages. The section further discusses methods used to collect data, including documents (archival records, newspapers/news magazines and published academic articles). Other methods include qualitative interviews (semi-structured face-to-face and online- Zoom and email), participant observation and photo-elicitation.

The fifth section discusses the participant recruitment procedure, samples and strategies. The sixth section provides details of the methods for data analysis, the choice of thematic analysis, and why the inductive and deductive hybrid

thematic analysis was adopted. Other methods discussed in the section include document and photo-elicitation analysis. The seventh section discusses ethical considerations and reflexivity of the methodology and method employed in the research. The section further discusses some critical reflections concerning the strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods adopted, and the section concludes with a summary to bring home the contents of the chapter.

4.2. Research Philosophy

Research philosophy concerns underlying and critical assumptions in social or natural sciences (Holden & Lynch, 2006). The research philosophy provides the foundation upon which research "worldview" (Creswell, 2009, p. 5) and research propositions seek to know "*what*" and "*how*" (Yin, 2018). The words "what" refer to ontology, and "how" refer to epistemology; the two provide the philosophical foundation upon which the research idea is built (Yin, 2009; Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2014). Therefore, from the understanding of research philosophy of what and how, it can be inferred here that conducting and interpreting social research philosophy presupposes a good grasp of the philosophical foundations, theoretical considerations and thinking within the research subject.

Ontology questions the realities of being, while epistemology questions the knowledge behind being and how to justify/inquire about what is/are known (Grix, 2002; Lees, 2003; Blaikie, 2007; Hamilton & Corbett-Whitter, 2014). Both ontological and epistemological foundations provide the means to understand the relationships and interconnectivity in methodology and methods, theoretical and research approaches, and recognition of research positions (Grix, 2002). Fundamentally, it is reasoned from the authors' views on the need to know what and how lies on the philosophical ontology and epistemology foundations. The two philosophical considerations provide the premise upon which realities of social events are questioned through inquiry into how such realities can be understood. Therefore, it sounds logical to imply that ontology and epistemology considerations relate to what reality is and how knowledge can be constructed through the realities. The following section examines discourse in ontology and

epistemology considerations concerning the research to situate the philosophical position adopted.

4.2.1. Ontological Assumptions

The ontological assumptions seek to understand what kind of world we research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) and what is outside there to know about the world being researched (Grix, 2002; Snape & Spenser, 2003) (Grix, 2002; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Also, Blaikie (2000, p. 8) views ontological assumptions as "what we believe constitutes social reality", which informs "a set of beliefs" (Kim, 2001, p. 6) about "the nature of what exists" (Ormston et al., 2014, p. 24) or "what is real" (Kim, 2001, p. 6). Ontology deals with the study of "being" (Crotty, 2003; McLaughlin, 2014) and the theories of knowing existence and nature and understanding what constitutes social reality (Blaikie, 2000; Grix, 2001; Pascale, 2011). Essentially, ontological assumptions believe that human beings as social actors can construct social realities of the phenomenon experienced. Here, the research believes that the realities of people who have experienced or faced the social phenomenon of daily threats regarding urban renewal interventions and how these impact their lives and livelihoods are best constructed by themselves. These realities constructed by the people represent "what exists" and "what is real", as earlier pointed out.

4.2.2. Epistemological Assumptions

On the other hand, the epistemological assumptions help "shape" what is believed to be true about the nature of *being*- which ontology previously emphasised (Pascale, 2011). Epistemology is "a set of beliefs about knowing" (Kim, 2001, p. 6). Rooted in "the very bases of knowledge- its nature and form, how it can be acquired and communicated to other beings" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 6), epistemology provides the "philosophical grounding for deciding what kind of knowledge is possible" (Maynard, 1994, p. 10). While the question of how and what can be known about the outside world (Grix, 2002) is the knowledge, it is essential to ensure that the knowledge is legitimately and adequately acquired (Maynard, 1994, p. 10).

Epistemology thus considers the procedures embraced to establish and detail the realities of social actors in a social world in constructing *knowledge* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Crotty, 2003; Bryman, 2008; Ormston et al., 2014). Epistemology stresses that "realities are local, specific and constructed: they are socially and experientially based and depend on the individuals or groups holding them" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109-111).

Epistemology can, therefore, be taken as the understanding of how knowledge is generated and constructed to convey meanings about realities of what to be known. Like ontological assumption, epistemology emphasises how people experience social phenomena differently, as no two or more persons can experience the social world the same way. The reasons are that realities are socially constructed individually through experience acquired from such realities. Here in the research, the realities constructed individually regarding the social phenomenon of the impact of urban renewal intervention on people's livelihoods are used to construct knowledge and make sense and meanings from such knowledge.

Fundamentally, different ontology *reality* and epistemology *knowledge* philosophical positions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Crotty, 1998) are emphasised in qualitative research. However, the philosophical underpinning of ontology and epistemology stresses what social knowledge of reality exists in a social setting. Hence, based on the combined philosophical underpinnings, this research embraced the social constructivism position (Crotty, 1998' Blaikie, 2007), which is rooted in "reality, knowledge and learning" (Kim, 2001, p. 3). Therefore, the study adopts the constructivist position in which people construct their worldviews, experiences and realities. The following explains the details of the position adopted in the study.

4.2.2.1. Social Constructivism

The constructivist philosophical position provides that "knowledge is neither discovered from an external reality nor produced by reason independently of such reality" (Blaikie, 2007, p. 22). Instead, the constructivism position "focuses on meaning-making and the constructing of the social and psychological worlds

through individual, cognitive processes” (Young & Collin, 2004, p. 375). A social constructivist believes that since reality (ontology) cannot be invented (Kim, 2001), it is instead constructed individually (Young & Collin, 2004) through human activities (Kim, 2001). At the same time, the knowledge (epistemology) constructed from personal realities is a consequence of the human/individual process (Kim, 2001) strengthened by the cognitive ability (Young & Collin, 2004), such that knowledge is/are socially and culturally constructed (Gredler, 1997; Martin & Sugarman, 1999).

The position maintains that personal understanding of the world is shared through multiple and subjective individual experiences (Blaikie, 2007). Meaning-making of social events allows researchers to find the complexity of the multiple individual views expressed through interactions to construct knowledge instead of a few thoughts (Blaikie, 2007; Creswell, 2009). The social constructivism position has been employed to research experiences in multicultural science (Atwater, 1996), investigate European integration (Risse, 2004), examine the experiences in changing realities in tourism (Hollinshead, 2006) and explore the experience of women in male-dominated employment (Martin & Barnard, 2013).

My study embraces the social constructionist, which believes that each individual carries with them daily realities and experiences which can be constructed by these individuals, through which meaning-making is generated to construct knowledge. Therefore, relying on the constructivist backgrounds and positions, the study uses the realities constructed or shared by the Makoko people regarding their experiences with the impact of urban renewal interventions on their lives and livelihoods, helping in the meaning-making of these complex realities and consequently helping in constructing knowledge.

4.3. Research Design and Methodology

Research design provides “the plan and proposal to conduct research” (Creswell, 2009, p. 5), detailing “a matter of figuring out what kind of data needed to answer a research question or set of research questions and specifying approaches for gathering or generating data” (Gibson & Brown, 2009, p. 47). Creswell and Gibson & Brown’s views underpinned and informed the significance

of the ontological and epistemological assumptions I adopted in the research. The authors imply here that research design consists of a logical way and plan on how research should be conducted from the conception to conclusion, whereby logical links are established from research questions, reviewed literature, and methodology adopted to help achieve the research aim. Also, the design process provides the “relationship between data and research topics” (Gibson & Brown, 2011, p. 49) to answer the research queries, such that the research data to be collected should possess the contexts upon which research questions are sufficiently answered.

Therefore, the relationship between the data and research is suggested to follow “the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2018, p. 26). Hence, the research design for this study is rooted in a single case study design (Bryman, 2004; Yin, 2018) and ethnography research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). A single case study and ethnography fieldwork are essentially designed for the research. The single case study design allowed for a rigorous, comprehensive, detailed, and thorough analysis of a case from multiple sources of data collection (Creswell, 2007; Bryman, 2008), as opposed to case studies. At the same time, the ethnography design provides access and opportunities to study and understand a group of people by gaining insights into their lives in their natural settings (Howell, 2013). The two are combined for the research.

4.3.1. Ethnography

Ethnography fieldwork is typical of my research focus because it offers the opportunity to be physically present in the research field, the situation described as “being there” (Rhodes et al., 2007, p. 3-4). In addition, this type of fieldwork research allows for observing people and studying their social environment and culture (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Fennor, 1986). Ethnography broadly supports the qualitative research approach, primarily when the philosophical foundation is rooted in social constructivism, which employs open-ended questioning to interact with the people (Banister et al., 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Maggs-Rapport, 2000). Similarly, ethnography provides for “individual views and shared views” (Magg-Rapport, 2000, p. 219) of a people

or community to unearth hidden meanings in their worldviews (Sorrell & Redmond, 1995).

Primarily, ethnography relies on participant observation to study these groups of people or communities (Herbert, 2000) to understand and translate what they see as peoples' experiences or worldviews (Lees, 2003) in making meanings. Other methods of data collection that complement data from ethnographic fieldwork include participant observation document analysis, and face-to-face interviews, which facilitate interviews with multiple participants through face-to-face methods (Adamson et al., 2004; Gibson & Brown, 2011; Irvine et al., 2012; Kuyini & Kivunja, 2020; Zhou et al., 2021). Notably, an ethnography study requires a long time in the field, where the researcher is expected to be immersed in the fieldwork (Gibson & Brown, 2001).

However, the extent to which one can immerse oneself into the field site when there is a clear and specific danger to either the researcher or (non-) participants remains an ethical challenge (Gibson & Brown, 2011). Some anthropologists might argue that all it takes is a skilled researcher to overcome these challenging issues. However, a recent article on the ethics of ethnographic methods in conflict zones argues that "many dilemmas may and perhaps should not be overcome by researcher skill and perseverance" (Krause, 2021, p. 337). Instead, she writes, "ethical challenges may lead researchers to adopt *limited and/or uneven immersion* in their field site, not as failed or flawed ethnography but as an ethical research strategy that incorporates ethnographic sensibility to a varying extent" (Krause, 2021, p. 337).

This brings to the fore the unexpected COVID-19 pandemic and the global restrictions that followed. In the case of this study, when I was set for fieldwork in Makoko, Lagos, the university announced the suspension of human and face-to-face fieldwork/survey, and the ethnography fieldwork became impracticable. Therefore, I re-approach the University Ethics Committee for a reviewed method and methodology, where I substituted ethnography fieldwork/participant observation with photo-elicitation. The approval for the review was granted, and I resulted in an online and in-situ data collection method.

However, as noted earlier, the prevailing global pandemic presented me with just such an ethical challenge, whereby immersing myself fully into the field site would have risked exposing me and my research subjects to the COVID-19 virus. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to collect data remotely through photo elicitation through the online medium of WhatsApp application (Bakare & James, 2022). In June 2022, I had the opportunity to travel to my case study, Makoko community, for in situ ethnography fieldwork after the pandemic to do some form of ethnography fieldwork, where some data were collected, and the ones collected remotely sense-checked.

For example, some similar circumstances and studies are noted elsewhere. For instance, Brauchler (2005, 2013) could not continue with her ethnographic fieldwork in Maluku, Indonesia, due to an outbreak of religious crisis between Christians and Muslims. However, data collection was eventually carried out remotely through an online medium, but when the situation was peacefully resolved, in situ fieldwork was carried out later. In another ethnography study, Skinner (2007) was in the middle of ethnography fieldwork when a volcanic eruption disaster occurred. The in situ fieldwork could not continue, but through an online medium of Facebook application, contacts were restored, and data were collected remotely through this medium.

Fundamentally, the two studies exemplified my research circumstances, where I had to recreate means of doing ethnographic work through photo elicitation powered by the WhatsApp online application. Some valuable data were collected remotely through the recreated medium. However, when the opportunity presented itself for in situ fieldwork in Makoko, I collected some data, particularly on issues relating to seeing the people in their everyday and typical environment. The in situ fieldwork allowed me to understand how convenient the community's people feel living in the tagged slum and the general sense of a place visible in the community. All these crucial observations are taken down in my research fieldnote.

4.3.2. The Case Study Approach

As a methodological approach, the case study research provides opportunities for multiple data collection methods to acquire insights into social phenomena, often supported by ethnographic influence (Yin, 2014; Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2014; Ylikoski, 2019). The case study approach is embraced in the research because it essentially addresses the how, what, and why questions by sufficiently providing and allowing in-depth knowledge and understanding of a social phenomenon (Yin, 1994; Crowe et al., 2011), as this underpins the social constructivist position adopted. Furthermore, the case study approach provides a detailed understanding of complex social issues from diverse and multidimensional real-life situations (Crowe et al., 2011).

What is paramount and essential from here are the comprehensive multidimensional perspectives which the case study offered to understand complicated social events or issues in the natural environment or situation. The case study research approach is embraced because of the significance and "uniqueness" (Crowe et al., 2011) of a social phenomenon and "how" (Yin, 1994) such are experienced. A single case enables the production of a thick description of peoples' life experiences (Geertz, 1973), helps focus on specific issues and contexts of interest (Miles, 2015; Yin, 2018), facilitates richly detailed inquiry (Flyvbjerg, 2006) by providing the opportunity for diverse everyday worldviews and realities of the people (Miles, 2015).

A single case study has been used globally to understand urban-related studies. For example, Bassett (1993) used it to examine urban cultural strategies and regeneration and Pratt (2009) employed it to understand the regeneration of derelict areas of cities. Also, Lee & Chan (2008) (Lee & Chan, 2008) used it to highlight the deficiencies of redevelopment practices in urban renewal and McDonald et al. (2009). In Nigeria, a case study has been employed in urban renewal-related studies. For example, Olarenwaju (2001) used a case study to critique the urban renewal process in Lagos, Ibem (2013) used it to appraise urban renewal in Lagos, (Njoku & Okoro, 2014) used it to examine slums and urban renewal in Lagos. Amakihe (2017) also employed it to examine forced

eviction and demolition of slums, and Roelofs (2021) adopted it to study world-class ideology in urban renewal interventions in Ibadan, Nigeria.

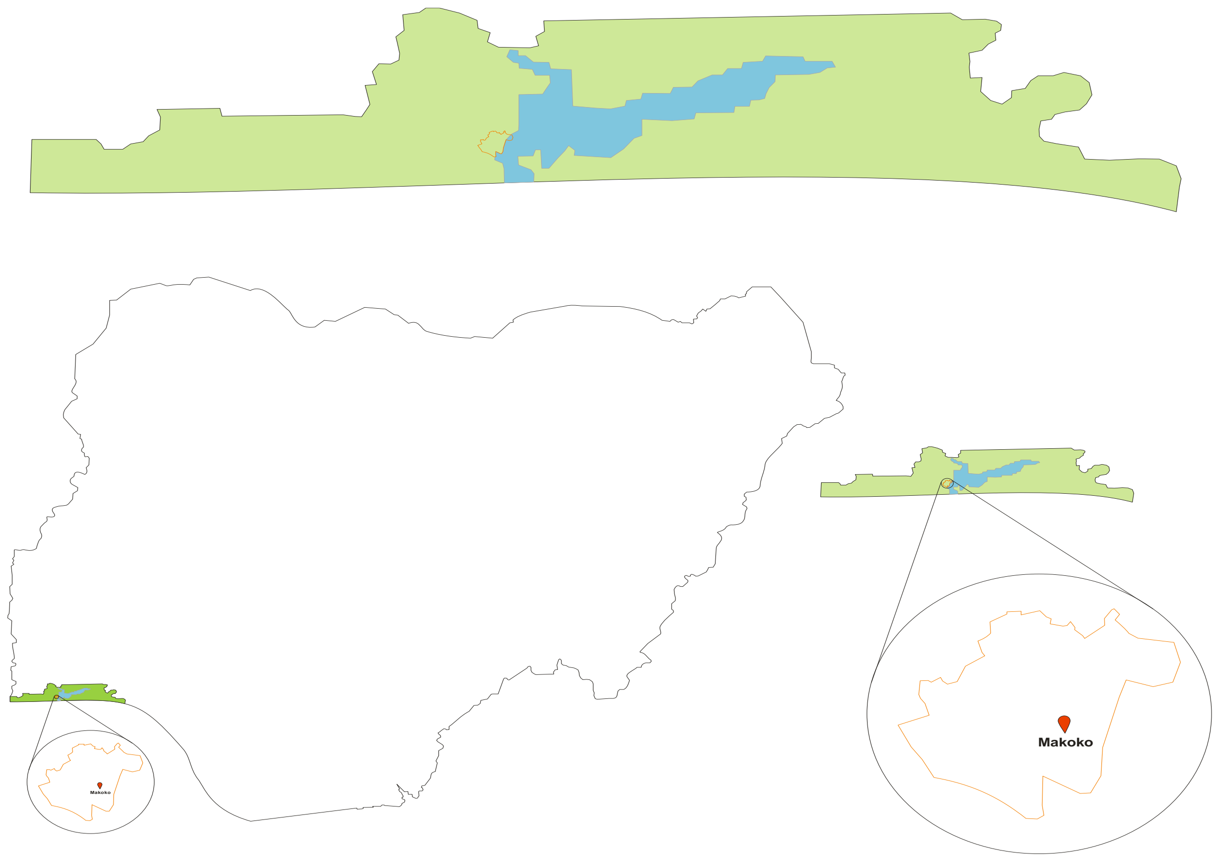
However, in the case of my research, I use it to understand the impact of urban renewal interventions on the livelihoods of the poor people in Lagos. I use Makoko community as a case study because of its uniqueness to understand "how" the repeated urban renewal interventions impact the lives and livelihoods of the people. The case study deliberately chose Makoko community for the research because the population is "unique" (Crowe et al., 2011) in experiencing urban renewal interventions with a record of over 18 years and still surviving as a community. Also, Makoko was chosen as a case study because the community is populated with people whose experiences and realities regarding urban renewal interventions provide thick and rich data for the study.

Essentially, specific research questions are set to address specific purposes in the study; however, the use of a case study is to bring to the understanding of each case in real life vis-à-vis each research question as much as possible. Therefore, based on the uniqueness and relevance of Makoko community as a single case study, as previously highlighted, it provides a broader context to understand the impact of urban renewal interventions on the livelihoods of people in disadvantaged communities in the cities. The following discussed Makoko community as a case study.

4.3.2.1. Makoko, Lagos State, Nigeria

Makoko community is located in the lagoon of Lagos state, Nigeria, and is shown in maps 1 to 5.

Maps 1: Locational Maps/Images of Nigeria, Lagos and Makoko Community

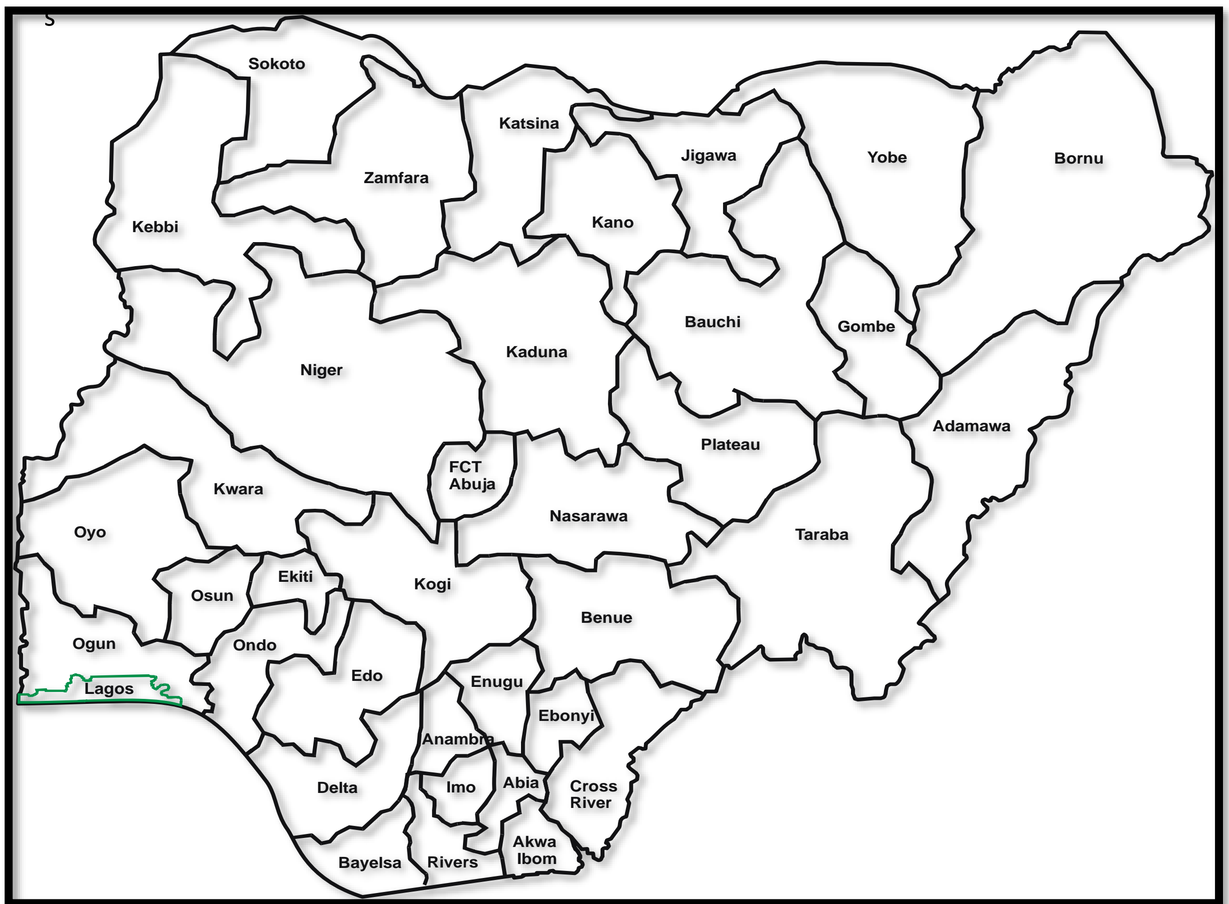


Source: Author's Adapted Design 2023

Map2: Map of Nigeria in Global Settings

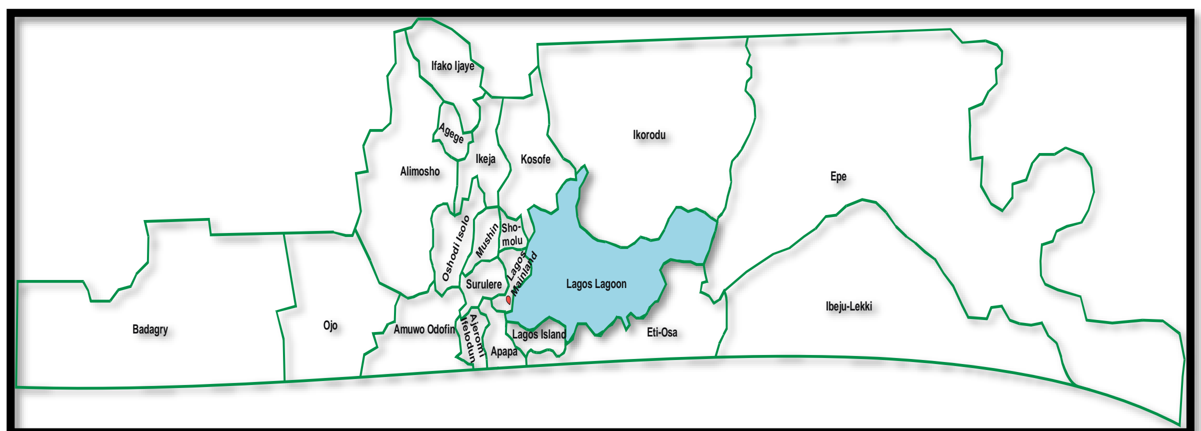
Source: Nations Online Project, 2023

Map 3: Map of Lagos in Nigeria Setting



Source: Author's Adapted Design 2023

Map 4: Makoko community in Lagos State Setting



Source: Author's Adapted Design 2023

Map 5: Locational Map of Makoko community

ss

Source: Author's Adapted Design 2023

Makoko is used as a case study to help understand and generate insights into the impacts of state-led urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of the people living in the slum community. The research examines the case of Makoko, an urban slum community comprising six distinct villages – Adogbo, Apollo, Migbewhe, Oke-Agbon, Sogunro and Yanshiwhe – located along the shoreline of Nigeria's largest and most populous city, Lagos. Much of the community is built on stilts above Lagos Lagoon; the rest is on land. This unique

characteristic of the built environment makes Makoko one of Africa's best-known "slums", traversable mainly by canoe and a series of interlinked wooden walkways and bridges, earning it the moniker "The Venice of Africa" (Gaedtke, 2013). Fishing and timber sawmilling are traditionally some of the primary income sources for this community, comprising a mix of Nigerian ethnic groups – Yoruba, Ilaje, Egun, Ijaw, and Igbo – and immigrants from Togo, Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, and other West African countries.

However, its population estimates vary widely from 113,740 to 400,000 people (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009; Udo-Udoma, 2014), many of whom live under the constant threat of eviction. Therefore, because Makoko presents multiple problems for the Lagos State Government, among which one of the Governors stated that,

> “rather than maintain the established boundary, what had happened over the years was a rash of illegal shanties which expanded towards the Third Mainland Bridge and underneath the high tension electricity cables across the areas……….the piling sawdust on the lagoon, discharging wastes in it and blocking the discharge points for stormwater had contributed to the flooding in places like Bariga, Shomolu, Ebute-Metta, Ogudu, Owode, Ajegunle and Ikorodu” (Governor Raji Fashola, 2012).

Similarly, another reason the government gives is the aspiration to make Lagos a 21st-century *mega-city status*, hence the need to rid the city of slums, informal settlements and illegal shanties (BBC, 2012; Ibiwoye, 2014; Adama, 2020). The slum community is adjacent to more than 12 kilometres of the Third Mainland Bridge – the longest of the three bridges connecting Lagos Island to the mainland. Furthermore, the proximity of Makoko community to Lagos Island with highly-priced properties is in direct contrast to Makoko, with houses made mainly of planks driven down the murky water in suspended shapes. Essentially, Makoko is the opposite of the luxury homes on the island, with a linking bridge between the two contrasting neighbourhoods made from pre-stressed reinforced

concrete and elevated to 3km above the water. This contrasting reality has continuously represented a source of embarrassment for Lagos government officials in charge of urban renewal and political officeholders alike.

The poor and uneven development rate in Makoko over the past years has presented a contentious challenge to the state government (Amakihe, 2017). The embarrassment and challenges of uncoordinated expansion on the waterside where the sawmilling and timber activities are located inform the government's decision "to stop the illegal expansion by newcomers as very, very difficult" one to execute (Governor Raji Fashola, 2012). For example, in July 2012, the State Ministry of Waterfront Infrastructure Development issued a 72-hour quit notice to residents, describing the community's structure as "illegal, an environmental nuisance, a security risk, and an impediment to economic and gainful utilisation of the waterfront" (BBC, 2012; Ibiwoye, 2014; Udo-Udoma, 2014). On the following day, homes were demolished, and thousands were forcibly removed, becoming homeless. Nevertheless, the forced eviction was not an isolated incident. Other recent forced evictions and demolitions have taken place in Otodo-Gbame (Amnesty International, 2018), Tarkwa Bay Island (Adebayo, 2020), and Banana Island, Ikoyi, Eleko in the Ibeju-Lekki areas (Akoni, 2021), which present a case that helps understand what transpires in these other disadvantaged communities.

The following research highlights the justification given by the government regarding urban renewal interventions. Studies have focused on attempts at restoring orderliness to the unplanned community (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997), the need to eliminate solid waste pollution (LSG, 2002) and the need to ensure the security of lives and properties (Ibiwoye, 2014). Other studies noted the need to eliminate slums, informality and waste and the urge to embrace global/mega city and neoliberal ideology (Obono, 2007; Roelofs, 2021) and the vulnerability of the community to natural disasters (Adelekan, 2010; Ajibade & McBean, 2014; Olajide & Lawanson, 2014).

Also, Adama (2020) reveals that the community's strategic location has been responsible for the incessant urban renewal interventions, which, when

redeveloped, can bring more financial value and benefits to the government. The aggregates of these studies, which revealed the reasons, justifications and motivations for the incessant urban renewal interventions and ongoing imminent threats of potential interventions with other previously heightened relevance and uniqueness of the Makoko motivate my interest in the adoption of the community for further case study research. The following explains the methods for data collection.

4.4. Methods for Data Collection

The data collection methods employed in the research involved multiple methods carried out in two phases. The first phase represents and presents the methods for data collection in two stages in situ on my behalf by my research assistants and remotely by myself. The second phase represents and presents the methods for data collection remotely and in situ by myself. In comparison, the second phase has two stages. Stage one presents methods used remotely, and stage two presents methods used in situ in my fieldwork in Makoko community. For the purpose of clarity, Table 1 indicates the summary of the two phases, the time spent on each phase, and the two stages in each phase during data collection for the research.

Table 1. Summary phases and stages for Data Collection Methods

Phase	Time	Stage	Methods for Data Collection
One	May2021	**Stage 1** During Covid-19 Restriction (In situ by Research Assistants	Face-to-Face Interviews
	July 2021	**Stage 2** During Covid-19 Restriction (Remotely by myself)	Online Face-to-Face Interviews using Zoom video software, Email interview, and Photo-Elicitation Interviews
Two	Nov-Dec 2021	**Stage 1** Post Covid-19 (Remotely by myself)	Photo-Elicitation Interviews continued
	May/June 2022	**Stage 2** Post Covid-19 (In situ fieldwork in Makoko by myself)	Face-to-Face Interviews, Participant Observation,

Source: Author's Own Fieldwork Compilation, 2021-2023

Additionally, the primary methods for the collection of data employed in the research include document analysis, e.g., newspapers and academic articles (Bowen, 2009), and within this are archival records (Yin, 2003). Other methods include qualitative interviews (Britten, 1995), and within this are face-to-face online Zoom interviews (Saarijärvi & Bratt, 2021) and email interviews (Cooper, 2009). Finally, additional methods include participant observation (Yin, 2003) and photo-elicitation (Harper, 2002). As indicated in Table 2, the summary of the various methods employed in each research question is detailed.

Table 2. Research Questions and Data Collection Methods

Research Question (R Q)	Participant Recruited & Numbers	Data Sources	Data Collection Methods
R Q 1	Members of the community (5) Community Heads (3) Elite Members (3)	Qualitative Interviews, Archival Records/Documents/Newspapers, previously published Academic Articles	Face-to-Face Interviews (In situ through Research Assistants R A & Remote- Zoom and Email)
R Q 2	Members of the community (5) Traders (4)	Qualitative Interviews, previously published Academic Articles	Face-to-Face Interviews (In situ), Documents, published Academic Article
	Tailor (1) Hairdresser (1) Fishermen (1) Fishmonger (1) Fishnet Knitter (1)	Qualitative Interview (WhatsApp), Photographs, previously published Academic Article	Photo-Elicitation (WhatsApp message & Digital Image Exchange
R Q 3	Community Heads (2) Youth Group (2) Non -Governmental Organisation (1) Members of the community (5)	Qualitative Interviews, previously published Academic Article	Face-to-Face Interviews (In situ fieldwork in Makoko), Newspaper & published Academic Articles

Source: Author's Own Fieldwork Compilation, 2020-2022

4.4.1. Documents- Archival Records, Newspapers/Magazines, Academic Articles

The research employs documents and newspaper analysis as data sources. Document review as a data collection method presents a broad and extended coverage of activities that other data sources or collection methods might not sometimes produce (Yin, 1994; Bryman, 2004). The usable documents as the

data source and analysis method include archival records/documents, printed and online newspapers/news magazines articles and editorial opinions, and previous studies in published academic (journal) articles as literature sources/reviews (Bowen, 2009). In this research, all these materials and sources are explored and used to gather data, as indicated in Table 4.4.1, for detailed understanding.

As pointed out in the case study research, Yin (2018) recognises that archival and newspaper documentation as sources of data collection may not be reliable as such data may have been deliberately altered, biased, and even lacking in validity. Furthermore, Yin (2018) ultimately posits the importance of archival and newspaper documentation sources as providing material evidence to support and make presumptions about other claims from data sources using different methods. Therefore, it is in the foreground of the critical importance of archives and newspapers as sources of data collection that I employed the method as one of my sources of data for the research.

The method primarily sources data used in this research from secondary material, such as archival documents/records and newspapers with content related to the research. The method explores government publications, e.g., Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Development Law 2010 and other archival government documents and memos published pre-independence relating to urban renewal, such as sanitary, plagues and slum clearance in Lagos, Nigeria, with contents relating to urban renewal. Also, the method uses journal articles and papers, e.g., peer-reviewed and published academic articles relating to urban renewal and town planning, particularly in Lagos and generally in Nigeria, to triangulate the analysed data from the other sources.

On the use of newspapers, online magazines and web pages, I use the method to “sort or triage” (Yin, 2018, p. 117) written editorial opinions and reports in a systematic (Yin, 2018; Stemler, 2001) way to sourced contents which specifically and fundamentally address urban renewal interventions in Lagos. I spent “time reading” through every material document retrieved from these sources, “reviewing what appears central” (Yin, 2018, p. 117) to urban renewal

interventions, the motivations, justifications, and the effects/impacts as opinionated by these sources.

The contents and material I sorted from these sources focused primarily on urban renewal interventions, with specific thoughts on the struggle of poor communities, such as slums, informal, and squatter settlements, and the impacts of the interventions on the survival of residents of these communities. Other material sorted purposefully from the sources includes contents and thoughts related to demolition, displacement, forced relocation, regeneration, redevelopment, reconstruction, rehabilitation, protest, and resistance to urban renewal interventions, specifically in Lagos and Nigeria. Additionally, the contents and materials retrieved from these sources provide opportunities to view related opinions and perspectives that may be “correctly critical” (Yin, 2018, p. 116) in understanding urban renewal interventions as being implemented in Lagos. The following discusses qualitative interviews.

4.4.2. Qualitative Interviews

The research embraced qualitative interviews, which are mainly structured, unstructured, semi-structured, or even open-ended (Crabtree, B. & Miller, 1999; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Qualitative interviews are conducted to “capture” the “words” (Potter & Hepburn, 2005, p. 282) of research participants. Qualitative interviews are more flexible because participants are free to go into more detail in their responses to questions (Britten, 1995; McIntosh & Morse, 2015). The method gives room for open-ended questions with loose structure but with specific areas of interest to be focused on and explored and simultaneously allows the researcher and participants to move away from and expand more on related ideas to the questions (Britten, 1995; Potter & Hepburn 2005). In this research, 25 semi-structured interviews are conducted with loose, open-ended questions framed around urban renewal interventions, and livelihoods are primarily employed. The subsequent sub-section on face-to-face and online semi-structured interviews explained how these interviews are conducted in Makoko and with the elite group. The following discusses face-to-face and online interview methods.

4.4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews: Face-to-face and Online

Semi-structured interviews “are usually scheduled in advance at a designated time and location outside of everyday events” (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). In addition, the interviews are often “organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees” (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). In this research, the interviews conducted through this method are “open-ended” (Mclntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 2), which allows participants to narrate their experiences and realities.

The interview questions are semi-structured because of the flexibility they offer upon which probing issues on responses and follow-up engagement are initiated to acquire data on participants' worldviews. In this study, the semi-structured interviews enable specific issues regarding urban renewal interventions and livelihoods to be focused on in the interviews. Additionally, the data collected through semi-structured interviews (in-situ and online) are carried out in two phases at two different stages, as previously mentioned and indicated in Table 1. In the first phase and first stage, my research assistant RA conducted the interviews in situ (face-to-face) on my behalf. The in-situ interviews conducted by my RA were carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions when I could not physically carry out in-person field surveys due to the restrictions by the University.

The questions asked participants during interviews in Makoko community were framed around meanings and perceptions of urban renewal (slum and demolition) interventions and the impacts of the interventions on peoples' lives and livelihoods. Also, the participants were asked questions about the outcomes of strategies employed by individuals and Makoko community to support one another. Additionally, the participants were asked to share their worldviews about the challenges experienced during each intervention since 2005 in Makoko community.

The mode of communication adopted by my RA in conducting the research is Yoruba language since this is a language that is widely spoken and understood by the residents of Makoko community. Also, my RA had previously sought the participants' consent to be captured and recorded in a digital recorder for ease of interview transcripts and analysis. The recorded interview transcripts were transcribed from the Yoruba to the English language by myself, given that I am a Yoruba man, and I did the transcriptions to represent every word of the participants, as captured in the interview and engagement sessions.

I conducted the second interview stage remotely with the elite participants due to restrictions on human surveys caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. I used the Zoom audio-visual software application/technology to conduct office-based face-to-face interviews. Similarly, the questions mentioned in the first phase conducted by my RA are the same as the ones asked by the elite participants. However, I also asked some targeted questions related to this group of participants as practitioners, professionals and policy implementers regarding their knowledge, experience and worldviews on urban renewal interventions.

Also, I asked additional questions relating to urban renewal approaches/strategies employed, regularisation of the community status, and protection of livelihood against urban renewal interventions. Unlike the ones carried out by my RA, the interview sessions were conducted in English since the participants were lettered and could speak in the language. Also, I had earlier sought the consent of elite participants to record and capture the Zoom audio-visual interviews on a digital recorder to facilitate transcripts and analysis of their interview responses. In addition to the interviews conducted with the elite participants, a particular participant sought to be interviewed through email. He chose the email technique against the Zoom method because it offered him the comfort and convenience (James, 2007) to respond at his chosen time.

Unlike the Zoom method, the email technique he chose has its downside in the research because the respondents did not respond to the email questions on time, as he had to be prompted several times with email reminders and text messages into his mobile phone before I could receive his response after eight weeks of sending him the interview questions. The method chosen by the participants underscores the positions of Opdenakker (2006) and Cooper (2009) on the slowness in response time using the email interview technique. Notably, none of the participants interviewed were asked the different questions in a particular order. Instead, questions were asked following how respondents responded to each preceding question. However, as previously mentioned, each question reflected the content of the framed questions around urban renewal interventions. The intention of not asking the questions in a particular or similar order was to allow the participants the "flexibility" and "freedom" (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 2) to share their worldviews and elaborate on each question as much as possible.

The two phases of interviews were conducted with the research participants. The first stage comprised the residents, traditional heads, youth leaders, members of artisan groups, and market men/women. At the same time, the second stage comprised participants from the government office in charge of urban renewal interventions- in particular, the LASURA agency, representatives of the policy implementers and the political class. Also included in the elite group are the people from non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations, and community-based organisations. Again, interview transcripts are saved in a password-encrypted file/folder in line with the University Ethics Committee guidelines and permission. At the same time, I remained the only person with the access codes to open the file.

4.4.3. Participant Observation

Participant observation requires getting involved in the daily activities of research participants within the research environment, through which their ways of life are learned (Schensul., 1999; Yin, 2009). The observations made during

my in situ fieldwork were recorded in my research diary/note (Burgess, 1981) as a source of data collection, which was used to take note of situations and events of interest during my visit to fieldwork in Makoko.

As mentioned in the earlier section of this chapter, participant observation formed part of the methods approved by the ethics committee for the research but became impracticable due to restrictions on fieldwork caused by the pandemic. Nevertheless, an improvised photo elicitation method was designed creatively and adopted for the research. The improvised method got the ethics committee's approval, thus replacing participant observation. Therefore, the improvised photo-elicitation was used to collect data related to the personal experiences, world views and perspectives of Makoko community participants whose livelihoods are impacted one way or the other by the urban renewal interventions.

Additionally, during the second phase of the data collection of my in-situ fieldwork in Makoko community in June 2022 to sense-check the data collected remotely, I also deployed the participant observation method. As a result, some participant observations and events were noted in my research diary/notes during the fieldwork. The observation revolves around community life, day-to-day livelihood activities, nurturing social relationships, and the collective feelings once urban renewal is mentioned. These observations are all relevant and crucial to the research.

4.4.4. Photo Elicitation

The photo elicitation method, widely used in social sciences research, involves using photograph/visual images for interviews (Collier, 1957; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Pink, 2021). Photo-elicitation is primarily favoured in qualitative research (Ritchie et al., 2014; Harrison et al., 2021; Pink, 2021; Rose, 2016, 2022) and builds on other interview methods (Harper, 2002). In addition, the method has been employed in data collection, generation and conducting interviews in studies, particularly social sciences-related investigations (Glaw et al., 2017; Sinko et al., 2020). Considering the social constructivist position of the

research explained in the previous section, photo-elicitation represents a good "self accounting" (Croghan et al., 2008) method. The method gives participants the freedom and power to choose how to use photographs/visual images to convey realities, experiences and worldviews about social phenomena.

Studies have emphasised the effectiveness of photo-elicitation, especially as a creative (Ritchie et al., 2014; Rainford, 2021; Rose, 2022) and improvised method (Vigurs & Kara, 2017; Sinko et al., 2020; Harrison et al., 2021; Bakare & James, 2022)to investigate peoples' experiences and perspectives regarding social phenomena. At the same time, Harrison et al. (2021) used it to understand the experience of older people regarding the age-friendliness of their community.

It is argued that photographs/visual images can be chosen from existing sources or taken as new photographs/visual images by the researcher (Ritchie et al., 2014; Pink, 2021). However, my research participants were allowed to use photographs/visual images to give "self-accounting" (Croghan et al., 2008) about their realities regarding how the state-led urban renewal intervention impacts their livelihood portfolios. Also, participants are encouraged to take photographs/visuals by themselves (Bakare & James, 2022) to enable power relations, an essential component of ethnography (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009; Rose, 2016, 2022). Notably, producing photographs/visual images provides the opportunity for follow-up conversations, discussions, and responses regarding issues of interest (Padgett et al., 2013; Sinko et al., 2020). Similarly, Rose (2022) affirms that the method also provides a means to answer the research question(s) engagingly. Furthermore, the method becomes useful when fieldwork/participant observation is impossible (Patton, 2002; Bakare & James, 2022). Also, the method helps a researcher discover the unknown in the social world (Rose, 2016, 2022) and unearth the inner world of the participants through photographs/visual images (Schratz & Steiner-Loffler, 2000).

In this study, my research assistants- Oladele and Azi, provided further training to the participants, all forming parts as co-researchers (Harrison et al., 2021) to ensure inclusiveness and compliance with the instructions on the use of the

provided smartphone with WhatsApp application (Bakare & James, 2022). Additionally, participants were trained to take and upload important photographs and engage in further discussion through the smartphone (Bakare & James, 2022). Therefore, the five (5) participants who showed commitments were provided with a smartphone with WhatsApp application and preloaded with data and airtime credit to be used in turn to enable the photo-elicitation method.

Given the outbreak of COVID-19 and the associated restrictions mentioned previously, this research used the remote photo-elicitation method as a replacement and adaptation for participant observation (Bakare & James, 2022). Participants were given a smartphone with the WhatsApp application capacity to freely take and upload photographs of important things that is/are simultaneously related to the state-led urban renewal interventions that impact their livelihoods (Bakare & James, 2022). The pictures uploaded through the WhatsApp application were subsequently used to stimulate and elicit further responses (Padgett et al., 2013; Sinco et al., 2020) through the same WhatsApp application. WhatsApp is used to exchange thoughts, perspectives, views and positions regarding stimulated conversation about the digital images/visuals sent to me by the five (5) photo-elicitation participants. Essentially, the WhatsApp application provides an avenue to exchange images/visuals that are significant/meaningful to the participants and a means of passing their worldviews across through the exchange of WhatsApp messages. Therefore, the WhatsApp application helped acquire data that would ordinarily have been impossible due to the restrictions on human/face-to-face interviews and surveys in 2021 when the research data were being collected.

4.5. Participants Recruitment: Sampling and strategies

Participant recruitment involves planning and obtaining ethical approval, identifying potential participants, maintaining contact (Bonisteel et al., 2021), and building rapport and trust (Bakare & James, 2022) to enable participation. In the case of this study, the recruitment of participants was carried out in different phases, including the recruitment of research assistants- RA,

community participants, elite participants, and participants for photo-elicitation. In qualitative research conducted, Bonisteel et al. (2021, p. 2) identify "communication, participant interest/value, participant trust in the research, and participants availability" as crucial considerations to participant recruitment.

I employed a non-probability sampling method to recruit my participants for the research. I primarily adopted the technique because of its emphasis on convenience and availability of samples (Davies, 2007; Etikan et al., 2016) to be interviewed from a subject, phenomenon or population. Additionally, I employed a purposive sampling technique within the adopted non-probability method to select my participants. Purposive sampling is embraced in the research because it provides opportunities to focus on a specific population or participants that possess the knowledge, experience and information (Ritchie et al., 2014; Etikan et al., 2016) needed for the research.

In addition to purposive sampling, I employed the snowball sampling technique to identify some "hidden" (2005, p. 47) or hard-to-find/identify participants because the experience and knowledge of these particular participants enrich the research. Therefore, the adopted combination of the two sampling techniques, i.e., purposive and snowball, provides 28 participants recruited for the study. The 28 recruited participants participated in the research through in-situ or online face-to-face interview sessions, either with myself or my research assistant, RA. Between May 2021 and May/June 2022, 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The choice of the 25 semi-structured interviews was based on the emphasis that between 20 and 60 (Creswell, 2013), semi-structured interviews are considered enough to obtain needed data in qualitative research.

The first two persons recruited for the research are the research assistants RAs. The first is a colleague who also doubles as a social science researcher. His recruitment for the research was due to the restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, where I could not be physically present in Makoko to carry out face-

to-face surveys, as previously mentioned. Since the University Ethics Committee had ethics approval for the research when it was reviewed for the second time to reflect the realities of the COVID-19 pandemic and the restrictions that followed, the recruitment of this colleague of mine was also approved. Similarly, when he entered the community for the research survey, he was promptly directed to the youth leader upon inquiry on gaining access to the community and its people. His meeting with the community youth leader started the beginning of gaining access to the community and its residents, and the youth leader was eventually recruited by my friend to help broker access to the community leader, hence becoming the second RA.

The first set of research participants recruited were the two research assistants. Given the COVID-19 pandemic and fieldwork restrictions imposed by the University in 2021, in-situ fieldwork was practically impossible. Therefore, the two recruited research assistants helped recruit other community participants for the first phase of the interviews. The first is a post-doctorate researcher- Oladele, with PhD in Political Science and Public Administration, trained in qualitative research with competence in ethical human-related research (Bakare & James, 2022). The second research assistant, Azi, is one of the youth leaders in Makoko who helped broker access to the community heads and the people (Bakare & James, 2022), particularly residents whose livelihoods are located and tied around the community.

Since the research involved human interactions, the two research assistants were briefed on the need to avoid an ethical breach, comply with ethical considerations, and ensure health safety against the COVID-19 pandemic. Oladele, with his full knowledge about the research, obtained permission to access the community from the *Baales*- community heads to identify participants for the research interviews. Oladele, in “consultation” (Bakare & James, 2022) and “communication” with me, relying on the “trust” of Makoko community heads (Bonisteel et al., 2021) and the contacts established by Azi of potential candidates who showed their “interest” and availability” for the interviews paved the way for the recruitment of suitable participants for interviews.

In the research, I employed the non-probability purposive sampling technique to recruit my research participants. I chose the sampling technique because it allows research participants with opinions and experiences related to the issue being investigated or studied to be the focus for recruitment (Patton, 2002; Ritchie et al., 2014; Hennink et al., 2020). In addition, the sampling technique is chosen because it enables participants to focus on the research's primary contexts and issues (Lichtman, 2014), where an in-depth understanding of the research can be acquired (Kumar, 2005).

The research grouped participants into different groupings. Five (5) Makoko community members participated in all the interviews that produced responses to the three research questions. Also, three (3) elite group members participated in the Zoom/email interviews. Additionally, five (5) community members whose livelihoods depend on water and are domiciled in Makoko community equally participated in photo-elicitation. Two (2) participants from the youth group and one (1) participant are from non-governmental organisations, three (3) from the traders association participated in the research, and two (3) from the traders association. Finally, a total of 6 community heads participated in the interviews on different occasions, making a total of 25 interviews in the entire research, which falls within the recommended number of interview ranges (Creswell, 2013).

Participants from Makoko community were recruited using a purposive sampling technique. The sampling technique is employed because the targeted participants are considered and recruited based on their experience and rich knowledge regarding urban renewal slum interventions of the Lagos State government. Essentially, in the sense of adopting the technique, the targeted and recruited participants serve the "purpose" (Salmons, 2015,p. 1) of providing their unique experiences and worldview about slum intervention of the government they have witnessed from 2005 till the present. These worldviews and experiences are "fundamental (Tongco, 2007, p. 147) to understanding urban renewal slum interventions and their attendant impacts on people's livelihoods.

However, since identifying the targeted participants who fulfil the research purpose, i.e., possessing the rich knowledge, experiences and worldviews concerning the research, is difficult in a diverse community like Makoko, the adoption of snowball sampling becomes inevitable. Since the first respondent, who also doubles as the gatekeeper/research assistant, is known, he was employed to help identify other participants (Lopez & Whitehead, 2013) who fit the purpose of the research in Makoko community. This is where snowball sampling is deployed to select participants from the community, with the understanding that the gatekeeper/research assistant is familiar with what people require to be recommended by him. However, to remove the tendencies of the RA to select favoured individuals in the community, the first person he referred (Lopez & Whitehead, 2013) was asked to refer another individual. I followed through with this referral process in selecting the required number of participants from the community.

At the same time, the participants from the elite group were recruited by snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) technique as a result of “interpersonal relations” (Browne, 2005, p. 47) of belonging to the same professional registered town planner in Nigeria. Similarly, being a member of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners (NITP) with the members of the elite group, a sort of “social network” (Browne, 2005, p. 47) of a professional institute. In the case of the three elite participants, I contacted the secretary NITP with whom I enjoy social “connection” (Browne, 2005, p. 47), who in turn got in contact and brokered the participation of the three participants in the interview. It is worth mentioning that the three people recruited are well-grounded and have acquired substantial knowledge regarding the subject/study of interest.

I recruited participants for photo-elicitation through the non-probability purposive sampling technique. In addition, a snowballing approach was used to select these participants from the pool of those who had participated in the earlier face-to-face interviews conducted by my research assistants. Rose (2016, 2022) emphasised the targeted audience's significance in producing the

photographs/visual images as in the case of photo-elicitation. Therefore, my targeted audience is the recruited participants in my research, thus underscoring the choice of purposive sampling technique and snowballing approach. Since there exists a pool of participants who participated in the earlier interviews with fair knowledge of the research, it became easier to identify specific participants with specific livelihoods in the community.

Hence, those participants recruited for the photo elicitation are, e.g., artisans-hairdressers, tailors, fishermen, fish-net knitters and fishmongers within the existing pool of participants mentioned previously. In the case of this research, ten (10) participants from the community (Bakare & James, 2022) initially indicated their interest in participating in the photo-elicitation method; however, five (5) ultimately participated, a situation similar to the one experienced in Harrison et al. (2021). The reduction in the initial number of participants was essentially due to a lack of commitment. As ethically required, participants cannot and should not be coerced or forced into participation when not forthcoming; hence, five (5) participants from the community ultimately participated fully in the research.

4.6. Methods for Data Analysis

The research primarily uses varied qualitative methods of data analysis (Holloway & Todres, 2003). In this research, multiple data analysis methods are employed, e.g., document analysis (Bowen, 2009), thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), ethnographic account (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and photo-elicitation (Harper, 1986, 2002). In data collection for qualitative interview research, Creswell (2013) argues that in addition to other interviews conducted, it is also crucial that other methods, including documents, audio-visuals and observations, be considered since it is essential to reach saturation in data collection (Creswell, 2013). As indicated in Table 3, a summary of the data analysis methods is provided. The following paragraph provides detailed data analysis methods used in each collection method.

Table 3.Research Questions and Data Analysis Methods of Transcribed Interviews

Research Question (R Q)	Participant Recruited & Numbers	Data Sources	Data Analysis Methods
R Q 1	Members of the community (5)	Qualitative Interviews, Archival Records/Documents/ Newspapers previously published Academic Articles	Thematic analysis and Document Analysis
	Community Heads (3)		
	Elite Members (3)		
R Q 2	Members of the community (5)	Qualitative Interviews, previously published Academic Articles	Thematic Analysis and Document Analysis
	Traders (4)		
	Tailor (1)	Qualitative Interview (WhatsApp), Photographs, previously published Academic Article	Photo-Elicitation, Thematic Analysis and Document Analysis
	Hairdresser (1)		
	Fishermen (1)		
	Fishmonger (1)		
	Fishnet Knitter (1)		
R Q 3	Community Heads (2)	Qualitative Interviews, previously published Academic Article	Thematic Analysis and Document Analysis
	Youth Group (2)		
	Non - Governmental Organisation (1)		
	Members of the community (5)		

Source: Author's Own Fieldwork Compilation,2020-2023

Thematic Analysis

The research adopted thematic analysis TA for the data collected. The thematic analysis TA in this research primarily embraces a combined contrasting inductive and deductive hybrid approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Swain, 2018) in

interpreting the transcripted interviews. I used the hybrid thematic analysis approach like other previous researchers, such as Swain (2018), Burke (2018) and Kloosterboer (2019), who embraced and adapted the creative thematic analysis method(s) instead of using QUALRUS, ATLAS, NVIvo, QSR or CAQDAS.

I adapt the hybrid thematic analysis approach because of time considerations, personal/commitments, and the less mechanical complexities of the approach.

The hybrid thematic analysis (Swain, 2018) has been widely applied in social sciences to analyse studies which seek meanings and understanding of phenomena and peoples' experiences (Swain et al., 2020; Santilli et al., 2021; Jennings et al., 2021; Hall et al., 2021; Powell & Thomas, 2021), hence my adaptation in this study. Therefore, in the research, I sought the realities and experiences of participants by combining inductive and deductive reasoning in a hybrid approach to generate codes to identify the pattern of these worldviews in the analysis. Essentially, the combined philosophical reasoning approach (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Swain, 2018) emphasised aims to generate priori, i.e., pre-codes derived from the research aim and questions.

Similarly, the priori pre-codes are the questions framed and asked during semi-structured, face-to-face and online interviews conducted with the participants. On the other hand, inductive reasoning emphasises posteriori codes (Boyatzis, 1998; Charmaz, 2006; Swain, 2018) generated from the collected data, i.e., the transcribed interviews conducted with the research participants. The thematic DA, as widely employed, seeks participants' "realities, meanings, experiences" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81) of a social phenomenon through which a social constructivist seeks to identify pattern-type analysis from the socially produced data (Clarke, 2005).

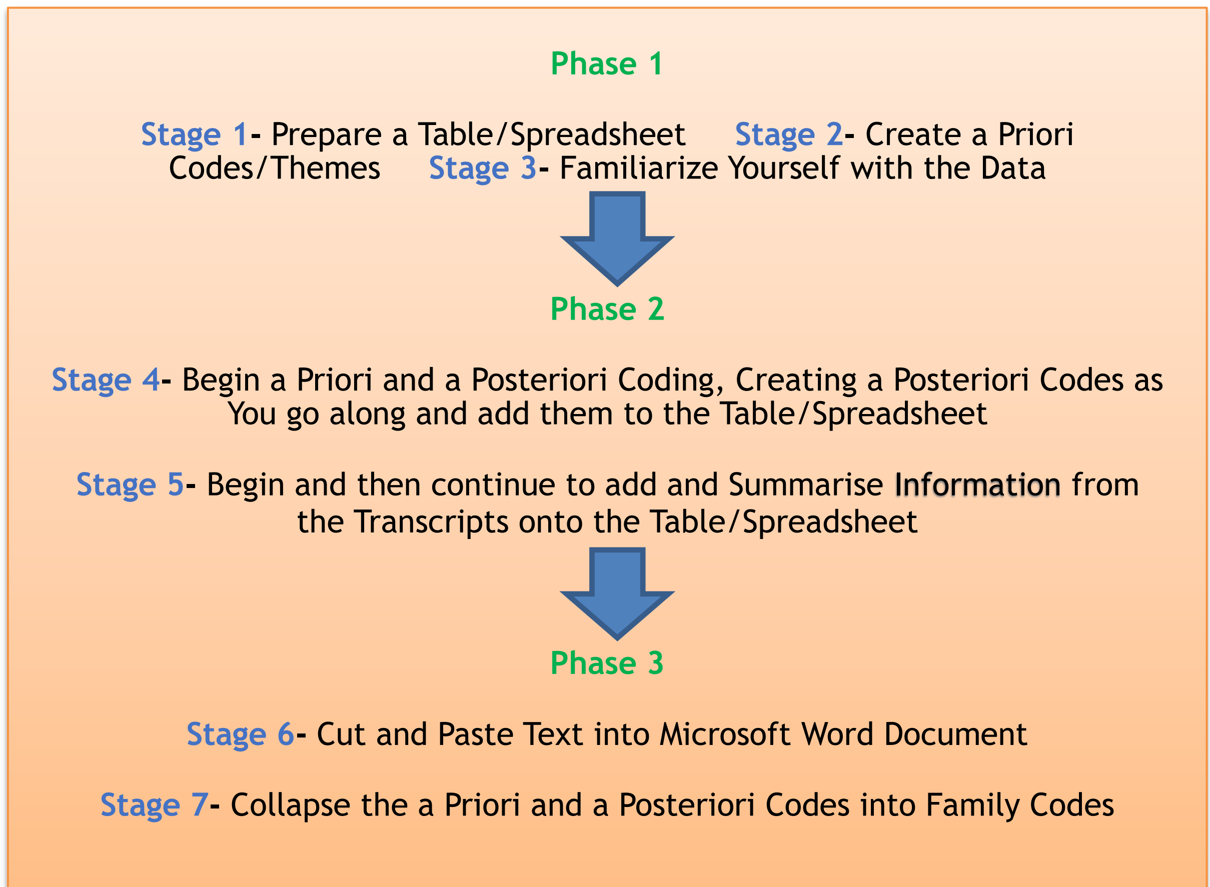
The codes here in the study represent the themes that describe the depth (Boyatzis, 1998) and help answer research questions (Swain, 2018) around the phenomenon of urban renewal slum clearance interventions and the impacts on

people's livelihoods in Makoko. Fundamentally, in analysing the transcripted interviews, I searched for “word, phrase, sentence, or even paragraph” (Swain, 2018) related to the phenomenon of urban renewal interventions and the impacts on people’s livelihoods. Here, my coding focuses on a “broad sense of meanings” and the perspectives and experiences participants expressed through “words, phrases, and sentences” (Swain, 2018, p.16).

The hybrid approach to thematic analysis of the transcripted interviews followed the adapted three phases and seven stages of analysis in Swain (2018), shown in Figure 2. In phase 1 and stage 1, a table containing the pseudonyms of the 28 participants is in the horizontal line, while the vertical line contains the priori codes mentioned previously in this section. In the second stage, I created the 30 priori codes based on the research aim and questions and framed interview questions referred to as deductive reasoning. The priori codes include the meaning of urban renewal, community engagement, strategies, livelihoods, works, jobs, protest, collective response, decree, social network, law, culture, tradition and home. Others include regularisation, approaches, justification, impact, adaptation, motivation, help, assistance, family, neighbour, life, government, slum, water, outcome, and resistance.

In the third stage, I began to familiarize myself with the transcribed interviews, which was not difficult since I was the one who transcribed the recorded transcript.

Figure 2: Adapted three phases and seven stages of hybrid thematic analysis



Source: Adapted Table from Swain (2018)

In phase 2 and stage 4, as indicated and demonstrated in the extract table 4, I read through the transcripted interviews in order to extract "meaning and patterns" (Swain, 2018, p.10), or "patterns" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. vi; Crabtree & Miller, 1992, p. 93). I then follow up by creating priori and posteriori codes from the transcribed extracts of the interviews while relying on the previously discussed inductive reasoning in the earlier session of the chapter to carry out this analysis stage.

Examples of extracted posteriori codes include 'sending us away from our community' 'no meeting with the government' ‘our lives and jobs depend on water, ' 'Makoko is the only home we know' and 'we cannot live on land'. Others include, 'I get money from my family,' my neighbour lends me money,' 'my association support me,' 'we have been living here for decades, ' 'my work is here', 'we would not allow urban renewal' 'we have protested before' 'I can never

live outside Makoko' and 'government want to take our land'. Additional posteriori extracted include 'government will upgrade the community' 'there are engagements with the community', and 'government will not demolish the community'.

In stage 5, I summarise the participants' transcribed interview responses to specific framed questions. For example, a framed question about understanding urban renewal interventions from the community participants entailed a summary of responses related to sending us away and taking our land. Stage 6 involves highlighting the transcribed textual data following each code; then, the textual data are copied/cut and pasted onto a Word document because such text expressed by participants convene specific points that support my research argument. Swain (2018) notes that codes can have more than one or even multiple codes in a sentence. Therefore, there are instances where more than one code is recorded in the transcribed textual data. In the extract table, both the a priori and a posteriori were underlined to represent the words and phrases (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Swain, 2018) which convey meanings in the textual data or sentence.

Table 4:Extract table of transcribed interviews textual data from the codes of "livelihoods' and "community support"

Priori Codes	Posteriori Codes	Textural codes
Livelihoods	Our lives and job depend on water	Q. How does urban renewal intervention affect/impact your work (livelihoods)? A. My life and work as a canoe man and fisherman are all about water and I can barely survive on land even if they offered me an alternative **(Kamoru)**
Community support	Assistance from family and neighbour	Q. How do you get help in the form of support from members of the community? A. For me, I get support from my community, neighbours and friends here in Makoko. And as a tailor, I sew most of my neighbours' clothing and sometimes, most of my neighbours' friends patronise my shop in sewing their clothing. I am good here in Makoko. I cannot leave this place. Where will I get my customers from if they send us to another place **(Tailor Sadibo)**

Source: Author's Own Thematic Analysis Sample Table, 2023

The final stage 7 collapses the priori and posteriori codes as family codes to structure the findings from the thematic analysis since the family codes essentially symbolise the study's central focus.

The thematic analysis allows for the consideration of data from all sources with hidden meanings in this data/information acquired from different sources. Text extraction and analysis of relevant information from the transcripted online and face-to-face interviews were conducted and examined in each paragraph to pick out essential phrases, words, and themes used often in the transcribed interviews. The outcomes of these text extractions and other data sources are used in interpreting and discussing the empirical chapters.

4.6.1. Document Analysis

The data collected for the research through archival records, newspapers, online magazines, web pages, and academic articles are analysed using document analysis (Bowen, 2009; Stemler, 2001). Document analysis refers to a

"systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents- both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted) material" (Bowen, 2009). In the case of the research, the data for document analysis include archival record documents, materials from newspapers and news magazines, articles and editorial opinions- mainly online, web page documents and materials, and previous studies published in academic (journal) articles. In this research, the mentioned documents have textual images and words ready for analysis (Bowen, 2009), which can be sorted into themes (Labuschagne, 2003) and serve as means to triangulate collected/analysed data from other sources and methods for corroboration (Denzin, 1970; Bowen, 2009) to avoid bias (Patton, 1990).

Document analysis has been well applied in studies and research. For example, Hoepfl (1997) used document analysis of archival materials, newspapers, and published journal articles as additional knowledge sources to analyse the study. Also, Angrosine & Mays de Perez (2000) employed document analysis to corroborate findings from other data collection methods. Primarily, in analysing the data for this research, I employed document analysis to corroborate, supplement and use it to analyse additional knowledge sources. In the research, document analysis is carried out "to identify" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28) textual contents in statements, opinions and findings from "specific" (Sogunro, 1997,p. 715) issues and "context" (Bowen,2009, p. 29) related to urban renewal interventions, experiences and livelihoods of the people.

4.6.2. Photo Elicitation Analysis

Photo-elicitation plays a dual role in data collection (Richard & Lahman, 2015; Steenfeldt et al., 2019; Harrison et al., 2021). First, a method of analysis, photo-elicitation, has been widely employed as a data analysis method (Croghan et al., 2008; Jenkings et al., 2008; Harrison et al., 2021). For example, the method has been used to analyse young people's construction of the self (Croghan et al., 2008) and the military identity (Jenkings et al., 2008). Others include the use in the analysis of the vulnerable population (Copes et al., 2018) and how older people engage in the age-friendliness of the rural community (Harrisson et al., 2021). The data collected through the photo-elicitation

methods are analysed through the photographs/visual images representation (Croghan et al., 2008) and inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis (Swain, 2018) of WhatsApp messages exchanged in textual form between the five (5) participants and me.

In the case of this research, the five (5) participants produced some photographs/visual images on their own without being prompted on which images to take. I asked the five (5) participants to choose particular ones that convey livelihood issues (work, job) and urban renewal interventions. The choices of photographs/images they picked thus elicited WhatsApp message exchanges, where the participants expressed their realities regarding the images. Considering the social constructivist position of the research, the textual messages of the participants became words with themes of priori and posteriori that were retrieved in meaning-making through the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis and subsequent textual interpretation.

The photographs/images analysis focuses on how the features "of visual representation" (Croghan et al., 2008, p. 349) tell the stories, realities, experiences and importance of participants' livelihood portfolios. The WhatsApp textual messages that accompany the visual images sent by the participants in the research are analysed using hybrid thematic analysis. Therefore, the photo-elicitation in this research embraced both the photographs/images analysis and inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis, as explained.

4.7. Ethical Considerations and Reflexivity

Some important ethical considerations in the research revolve around time, health and safety rules concerning pandemic restriction, privacy issues and positionality considerations. Each of these ethical considerations is explained as follows.

One of the significant ethical considerations was how to navigate issues around the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions and still able to collect data from the case study in Makoko. As noted in Bakare & James (2021), not to break COVID

regulations in Nigeria, the two research assistants recruited for initial data collection were trained on health and safety against the pandemic. The two research assistants, RAs, were trained to stay safe and practice safe distancing so as not to run foul against the restriction rules while they were at Makoko community to collect research data on my behalf. Essentially, the prevailing circumstances of the pandemic were not envisaged, presenting me with a complex ethical issue of not breaking the local COVID-19 regulations in Nigeria. Researchers should be prepared for the unexpected when conducting social and human research surveys.

Also, I struggled hard not to intrude on the privacy of my participants by probing and urging them to participate in the research, especially when using the photo-elicitation method. For instance, at the initial stage of recruiting for photo-elicitation, I successfully recruited ten (10) people to participate in the photo-elicitation method, but as time passed, only five (5) eventually used the method entirely. Notably, some of the five (5) people who withdrew gave excuses of time commitment, while some were expecting some financial gratifications. However, when it became clear that I might not get the participants needed for the method, I had to devise some means of compensating those who showed interest in participating. Therefore, I provided some GSM gift call credits to enable their use of the WhatsApp application on the dedicated mobile phone for the research. Fundamentally, it becomes ethically challenging not to corrupt the participants with bribery so as not to corrupt the likely data from the participants and simultaneously provide the participants with some gifts to enable their participation.

Additionally, getting the participants' attention by spending time on interviews was a Herculean task. Therefore, time commitment (Bakare & James, 2021) was a fundamental ethical consideration I must manage effectively to get the best out of the participants. The time issue was quite understandable as intruding into people’s space with your research is improper, which could pull off some potential research participants. In managing this ethical issue, I had to employ some social familiarisation through the exchange of SMS messages to say hello, which, in its real sense, serves as a prompt to remind the participants of their

commitment to participate in the research. For instance, to overcome the time commitment issue, James (2015) provided a bag of seeds to the farmers for their time commitment to his research. In my research, towards the end of my data collection and visit to my case study in Makoko, I provided six (6) disposable cameras and some other gift cards to my participants to compensate for their time. Time commitment is an issue when dealing with research participants, and it has to be carefully navigated to get the best from the participants.

Additionally, on reflexivity, my positionality, as observed in (Bakare & James, 2021), is essential reflexivity and ethical considerations. For instance, when I was in Makoko I found out and understood why the people are attached to the community, which may not be far from the community representing their lives. Where they earn their survival as a people- the thought ignites my awareness of the “self” (Liu, 2021) and provides some particular and personal account of the realities in Makoko. Essentially, my positionality at that specific moment reminds me of my position as a privileged individual whose position in the community might shape the participants' perception of me and the type of responses my presence may have elicited. This situation of my positionality underscores Tornaghi & Van Dyck (2015) that the relationship between the researcher and the participants may be subjective because data may be provided or analysed based on the researcher’s positionality.

Finally, informed consent was obtained from all the participants. The participants in the elite group were given copies through their email, while the people in the community who were not literate enough to read and understand, my research assistant in the person of Oladele read this and translated it into Yoruba language. The participants were also provided with an information sheet listing issues concerning the privacy policy, data management, contact information, and confidentiality agreement. As mentioned in earlier sections, all the participants were informed that interviews were going to be recorded and transcribed, and they all consented. Also, participants were informed that their real names, office titles, and community titles would not be mentioned in the interview; instead, pseudonyms are used and ascribed to individual participants.

4.7.1. Critical Reflections on Research Methodology and Methods

On reflections, I highlight and explain the strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods as experienced in the research. One of the strengths of the research design as a case study using Makoko community presents the opportunity to understand the complexities around urban renewal interventions. In particular, the case study offers the lens to acquire insights, primarily as it affects the lives and livelihoods of the people living in the poor and vulnerable parts of the cities. Additionally, the ethnography approach embraced, even though not carried out over a long time, offered valuable data through my observation in Makoko community.

Also, all the data collected from multiple sources, especially the ones from the photo-elicitation, were primarily analysed through the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis. Since the research embraced a social constructivist position, participants are empowered to construct their realities, experiences, and perspectives regarding the impact of urban renewal interventions on their lives and livelihoods. Hence, the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis offers the opportunity to look at data from both sides of the philosophical foundations. The ontological (realities) looks at data inductively, and epistemology (construct knowledge) looks at data deductively from multiple sources to produce rich interpretation and discussion in the study.

Additionally, the qualitative research approach embraced allowed for thick data through the different methods of qualitative interviews- online and face-to-face interviews, photo-elicitation, participant observation and documents employed in the study. The data collected through these multiple sources enable the analysis, explanation, and discussion to provide empirical contributions and insights into the impact of urban renewal interventions on the livelihoods of people in poor and vulnerable communities.

One of the numerous limitations to the methodology and methods is my inability to undertake comprehensive extended ethnographic fieldwork. In addition, the limitation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic forced the review of the

methodology, hence the adoption of the recreated photo-elicitation method. Therefore, considerable time is spent on collecting data remotely, considering the distance between Glasgow, Scotland, UK and Lagos, Nigeria, which should have been invested in the timely completion of the study. Fundamentally, time and distance combined with the pandemic outbreak slowed the study's completion, constituting a significant limitation.

4.8. Summary

Essentially, the chapter explains the choice of methodology and methods that shape the research. The chapter explains the rationale for embracing ethnography fieldwork and a case study methodological research design approach. The chapter further explains the ontological and epistemological foundation upon which the social constructivist position is adopted in acquiring data from the research participants. The chapter justifies the choice of the social constructivist position as it informed and shaped the data collection and analysis methods. The position and methods embraced allow the participants to share their realities, experiences, and perspectives regarding the social phenomenon of the impact of urban renewal interventions on their livelihoods. Also, on the analysis method(s) used, the chapter provides procedural details of the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis primarily adopted, incorporating documents and partly photo-elicitation. The chapter further demonstrates how priori and posteriori codes/themes found in interviews, document analysis and photo-elicitation messages formed the textural data used for interpretation and discussion in chapters 5, 6 and 7. The chapter concludes by highlighting the ethical considerations and reflexivity in the research. In addition, the chapter outlines critical reflections concerning the strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods adopted. The following chapter details the empirical analysis of research question one.

5. Policies and Institutions

5.1. Introduction

The chapter addresses research question one: How have formal and informal institutions combined to shape the environment within which people pursue livelihood portfolios? In order to answer the research question, the specific five (5) interventions in Makoko community presented in table 6 of this chapter form the context and basis for answering the research question.

In order to answer the research question, the chapter uses the policies, institutions, and processes component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). As discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis, the framework helps understand the complexities involved in government, laws, policies, institutions, and peoples' cultures (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999). Specifically, the policies and institutions component of the SLF are employed in the analyses of the urban renewal interventions of the Lagos state government and their impacts on people's livelihoods. Data used to analyse the research question includes interviews with research participants, official government documents, articles published in academic journals, archival records, documented and interview statements made by government officials and other related articles in newspapers. The structure of the chapter is explained as follows.

The second section provides the summary details of the chapter's theoretical/conceptual underpinnings. I first discuss the concept of institutions. The concept of institutions as specific theoretical/conceptual underpinnings of the research question has been employed widely (North, 1990, 1991). Typically, institutions (North, 1990; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Williamson & Kerekes, 2011) are structured into formal and informal, thus providing the basis with which institution(s) are employed in the chapter for analytical understanding. The chapter further provides the context in which urban renewal legislative instruments and tools are located within the formal institutions. Furthermore, examples of numerous urban renewal interventions that have taken place are

identified and discussed in addition to the various justifications which informed the interventions.

The section further identifies traditions, culture, norms, taboos, shared memory, mistrusts, and values, then situates these in the context of informal institutions. Furthermore, the section demonstrates that these informal institutions have long formed part of peoples' lives and values that shape their views and perspectives about formal institutions. The chapter demonstrates with evidence that when informal and formal institutions combine, they shape the environment in which people operate and pursue livelihood opportunities and portfolios. The third chapter pulls together all the contexts, justifications, analyses, perspectives, and positions to make a case for the clash of rationalities. Finally, the last section summarises the chapter.

5.2. Institutions

The concept of institutions has been widely documented (North, 1990; Acemoglu & Johnson, 2005; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Porte, 2006). Nevertheless, some of the typical contexts and broad applications of institutions in social science include laws, rules, regulations, norms, cultures, traditions, sanctions, taboos, codes of conduct, shared memories, and property rights (North, 1991; Williamson, 1996; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Lauth, 2015). Edquist & Johnson (1997) and Porte (2006) argue that institutions are conceptually vague, while Nelson & Sampat (2001) and Hodgson (2006) reasoned that a generally acceptable definition of institutions remained elusive and unclear.

Nevertheless, despite the divergence around the definitions of institutions, institutions' applications are found in economics, sociology, philosophy, geography, and anthropology, and definitions are conceptualised within these social sciences (Acemoglu & Johnson, 2005; Hodgson, 2006). Therefore, using it in the case of this research- urban renewal interventions and livelihood-related studies is not misplaced. Primarily, institutions are designed to govern and ensure orderliness to avoid chaos and confusion (North, 1991) in human societies. What institutions emphasized is the "rules that structure social interactions in particular ways" (Knight, 1992, p. 2), to “patterned behaviour”

(Edquist & Johnson, 1997, p. 43) of people to “constrain” bad behaviour and “enable” (Hodgson, 2006, p. 2) good conduct.

North (1990, p. 3) summed institutions as restraints on behaviour enforced by "rules of the game", essentially designed as minimum requirements to check, regulate and discourage unfavourable public conduct, which could pose catastrophic consequences to the public interest. North (1990, 1991, 2005) points out that organisations are formed within institutional frameworks such as laws, rules, regulations, and constitutions to constrain people's behaviour. Edquist & Johnson (1997) argue that there is no difference between organisations and institutions and contend that the two can be interchangeably used. The chapter does not emphasise the similarities or differences between organisations and institutions. However, I used institutions in the context of, e.g., rules, laws, ordinances, edicts, cultures, norms, shared memories, and traditions. I referred to organisations, e.g., government agencies, boards, committees, cooperative societies, and trade unions, that regulate, control, and enforce these institutions. There are two types of institutions- formal and informal (North, 1990,1991).

5.2.1. Formal Institutions

Formal institutions are "codified" (Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Lauth, 2015). It is observed that when formal institutions "are weak and unjust, the result is mistrust and uncertainty" (World Bank, 2003, p. 37). Formal institutions include laws, codes of conduct, regulations, constitutions, and property rights (North, 1991; Williamson, 1996; Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Lauth, 2015). Formal institutions "are generally written standards for conduct produced according to specified procedures by authorities legally invested with the power to do so (Brinks, 2003, p. 4). Formal institutions are backed by state agencies to enforce rules and regulations, while deviants are punished through the instrument of the state (Lauth, 2015).

Therefore, it is within this foreground that I situate the urban renewal interventions of the government as the formal institutions, which will be the terminology of use throughout the thesis. Meanwhile, chapter two of the thesis

contextualises and discusses urban renewal as an intervention. However, in this chapter, formal institutions are referred to as urban renewal interventions since these are government interventions/policies aimed at curbing urban sprawl, slums and informality (LSG, 2017). Similarly, since urban renewal intervention is legally empowered and backed by a legislative instrument of operation found in the LSURPD (2010), situating or locating it as a formal institution is not misapplied or misused within the context of the law in Lagos State, Nigeria. Therefore, based on this background, the study contextualises, evaluates, and locates past and current urban renewal interventions in Lagos State in the following subsection.

5.2.3. Locating the Evolution of Urban Renewal Interventions in Lagos

This section examines the evolution of urban renewal intervention as formal institutions empowered by legislative instruments such as ordinances, regulations, decrees, and laws. These instruments empower urban renewal interventions as formal institutions in Lagos State to deal with urban slums, sprawl, informality, and squatter settlements.

The section examines the numerous legislative ordinances, edicts, regulations, promulgations, decrees, and laws as intervention instruments used by successive government administrations to empower different established bodies, agencies, authorities and boards from the 1920s to the present. These legislative instruments are presented as "formal institutions" (North, 1990; Stiglitz, 1999) in the chapter to understand how they are used to legalise the different interventions carried out by the government in the state.

The "formal institution" legislative instrument ordinance- Lagos Cap 103 No. 45 of 1928 was first used to empower slum clearance intervention in Lagos (Griffin, 1967; Uyanga, 1989; George; Bigon, 2016) (Griffin, 1967; Uyanga, 1989; George, 2006; Bigon, 2016). The ordinance essentially set out to empower the activities of the Lagos Executive Development Board- LEDB constituted by the colonial government of the time. Primarily, the ordinance sought the "re-planning,

improvement and development of Lagos" (Uyanga, 1989, p. 161), and it is upon the power of this ordinance that the first "slum clearance" in Isale-Eko was carried out (Bigon, 2016, p. 216).

Subsequently, Oyesiku (1998) observed that the ordinance metamorphosis Town and Country Planning Ordinance cap 155 of 1946 provided the control of development control and improvement planning scheme and lasted till 1956. The law was adapted and adopted from Britain's 1932 Town and Country Planning Act (Uyanga, 1989; Oyesiku, 1998). The ordinance saw to the slum clearance in Central Lagos in 1955. In an attempt to prevent recurrent disease outbreaks, the Public Health Law of 1957 was passed (Aluko, 2011). The law was enacted to regulate where possible and control urban squalor, overcrowding and an outbreak of diseases.

The Epe Area Planning Authority, in charge of related planning activities in the Lagos region, was transformed into the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation- LSDPC in 1972. The corporation was empowered through LSDPC Edict No.1 of 1972 (LSDPC, 2019) and the Lagos State Town and Country Planning Law, Cap 133 of 1973 (Badiora, 2020). The corporation was responsible for land acquisition, leasing, selling, and developing properties in Lagos. Since then, the corporation has provided housing accommodation for Lagosians (LSDPC, 2019).

Urban and Regional Planning Decree No. 1992 was enacted at the national level. From this Decree, the Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Edict No. 2 of 1998 was enacted, empowering planning and renewal activities in Lagos state (Oduwaye, 2009). The State later changed the law to the Lagos State Planning Law of 2005, which led to the establishment of the Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority, which is responsible for urban renewal activities (Badiora, 2020).

Finally, the government later worked on the law, gazetted by the state House of Assembly, and signed into law by the state's governor. As a result, the new law known as Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Law 2010 saw the enactment and establishment of the Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency- LASURA, vide Gazette No. 21, vol 43, 2010. Since its establishment, LASURA has been

responsible for administering physical planning activities, urban regeneration, and building control. In addition, the agency is saddled with improving the living conditions of the people, upgrading infrastructure in blighted communities, empowering the community to create a sustainable environment, and providing decent and affordable housing for slum dwellers (LSG, 2017). In this chapter, these different ordinances, edicts, decrees, and laws are referred to as the formal institutional instruments that empower numerous interventions carried out at various times. The following section summarises different interventions, the year, focus, justifications, and motivations, and discusses the ideological movement that motivates each intervention.

5.2.4. Past and Present Urban Renewal Interventions and Justifications

The section provides Lagos state's past and present urban renewal interventions, as indicated in Table 5. In addition, the table provided a list of communities/settlements and the government's justifications regarding such interventions.

I examine the different intervention phases from the 1920s to the present by year and focus. In addition, the section explicitly identifies the four interventions carried out in the Makoko community between 2005 and 2023 to focus on and interrogate the different code names used and the justifications and motivations for the various interventions by successive government administrations in Lagos state. I then mapped the other justifications for the interventions into different ideological drives and analysed each as advanced by the government with the diverse perceptions of critical stakeholders. Note that the critical stakeholders, as referred to in the chapter, are the policymakers (i.e., political leaders), policy implementers (i.e., the government officials working in the urban renewal Agency and Ministry), and those who are affected by the policy (i.e., the community people).

Table 5: Summary of Interventions in Lagos

S/N	Community	Interventions Name and Date	Justification	Reference/Source
01	Isale-Eko	Slum Clearance Scheme, 1928	Public Health Safety	Griffin, 1967; Mabogunje, 1992; Sule, 1999; Gandy, 2006; Mohindra & Schrecker, 2013; Ajibade & McBean, 2014; Bigon, 2016; Faleye, 2017
02	Central Lagos/Broad Street	Slum Clearance Scheme for Skyscrapers, 1955-1960	Aesthetics and Beautification, Political/National Pride	Bigon, 2008; Mabogunje, 1992
03	Maroko	Eviction, Redevelopment & Reconstruction, 1990	Expropriation, Privatisation for the Royal Family	Utomi, 2020; M'Barek et al., 2020
04	Badia East	Redevelopment/Housing Provision & Megacity Project, 2013-2015	Housing Regeneration	Akinwotu, 2015; Jones, 2020; Oseni, 2013
05	Ilubirin	Prevention of the shoreline and Redevelopment, 2016	Expropriation, Neoliberalism and Privatisation	Amnesty International, 2017; Badmos et al., 2020
06	Otodo-Gbame	Redevelopment, Security of lives/properties & prevention of the waterfront, 2017	Privatisation, Expropriation for the Royal family	Amnesty International, 2017; Jones, 2020; Utomi, 2020; Badmos et al., 2020
07	Tarkwa Bay	Security of lives/properties & Redevelopment, 2019	Neo-libralisation and Privatisaation	Adebayo, 2020; Jones, 2020
08	Banana Island	Security of lives/properties/pipelines & Redevelopment	Neo-libralisation and Privatisation	Akoni, 2021

The interventions presented in Table 5 are mapped into the different justifications pushed forward by the government to justify these interventions during each successive government administration in the state of Lagos.

Table 6: Summary of Interventions in Makoko, Lagos

S/N	Community	Intervention Name and Date	Justification	References
01	Makoko	Slum Redevelopment & upgrading, 2005	Globalization & Millenium Development Goals by World Bank development project	Amnesty International, 2006; Ocheje, 2007
02	Makoko	Slum Upgrading, 2010	Globalisation & World Bank/Lagos Metropolitan Development Project	Sessou & Adingupu, 2012; Amnesty International, 2013
03	Makoko	Removal of Illegal/Unauthorised Development-Prevention of natural drainage channels, waterfront, & Shoreline, 2012	Disaster Prevention, Sustainable Development Goals & 21st-Century Megacity	Unah, 2018; Ogunlesi, 2016; Amakihe, 2017; M'Barek et al., 2020
04	Makoko	Removal of sawmill encroaching the natural waterfront channels, 2021	Disaster prevention Lagos state	Participants/Research Assistant
05	Makoko	Dredging & Sand-filling the Waterfront area adjacent the community & sawmill market, Dec. 2022-Mar. 2023 (ongoing)	Disaster Prevention	Participants/Research Assistant, PlustvAfrica 2023, TVC-News, 2023, Kanu, 2023

Source: Authors Own Fieldwork Compilation of Interventions in Makoko, 2023

These concepts and theories' underpinnings and justifications are grouped into public health safety, beautification and aesthetics, economic interests, disaster prevention, and security protection. I do not seek and pursue an extensive literature review on each ideological underpinning. Instead, I employ the ideologies to provide the underlying motivations which drive these interventions. Next, these ideological underpinnings are contextualised, followed by locating these interventions within each for analytical purposes and understanding how they shape various interventions.

5.2.5. Public Health Safety, Beautification, and Aesthetic

Public health safety took root in the English "Public Health Act of 1875" (Rockey, 1983, p. 96), with health and sanitation as the significant concerns. However, a clear emphasis on cities was cleanliness, orderliness, and functional efficiency as the driving force of public health safety found in Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City concept (Rockey, 1983; Beevers, 1988; Lopez, 2009; De-Leeuw & Simos, 2022). Any social issues by the people contrary to these ideals were considered antithetical to the growth of a city and should be removed (Huchzermeyer, 2014).

However, in Lagos state, the earliest interventions were ideologically driven by necessity due to an outbreak of health-related disaster (Mabogunje, 1992). Therefore, in order to safeguard public health and protect the public against the outbreak of "bubonic plague", an infectious disease that ravaged the people in Lagos Island and Isale-Eko, hence the intervention (Griffin, 1967; Sule, 1999; Ajibade & McBean, 2014; Bigon, 2016). The interventions were implemented to curtail bubonic plague's prevalence, prevent health hazards, and safeguard public health. The first intervention was to fumigate affected insanitary buildings as a short-term measure, and the second was the slum clearance as a long-term measure (Mabogunje, 1992; Bigon, 2008; 2016). However, the short-term measures failed to meet the colonial government's expectations; hence, the slum clearance intervention (Bigon, 2016) became an option. For instance, in justifying the need for slum clearance in Isale-Eko and Central Lagos, it is reasoned that;

> The degraded and insanitary condition of large parts of the old town was regarded ostensibly as an affront to the dignity of the future capital of an independent country. (Mabogunje, 1992, p. 76)

The term insanitary was used because of rat infestation, which is the carrier of the plague, and other hidden threats to keeping the houses in Lagos safe since most of the buildings were said to be in bad condition (Bigon, 2016). It might have been because of some other hidden reasons, but evidently, there was genuinely a disaster outbreak that needed a prompt response. The colonial government responded to protect lives. Essentially, the residents of affected communities in Isale-Eko and Central Lagos may have had other suspicions regarding the intervention, but genuinely, there was a need for the government to respond the way it did at the time. In another example and attempt to justify the unhealthy environment in Isale-Eko, a wife to one of the colonial government officials described the situation of the neighbourhood as follows;

> The central trading area was a rabbit warren of shanties and rickety wooden 'upstairs' the materials were awash with mud and garbages of indescribable squalor (Sylvia, 1983, p. 85).

She went further with her description and justification of the neighbourhood for slum clearance intervention and said that;

> The pot-holed streets, the shacks and roadside stalls, the tumble of houses of all shapes and sizes set at all angles (Sylvia, 1983, p. 165)

Fundamentally, these two quotes might not have been the government's position at the time, but apparently, such quotes might have been some personal sentiments, of course, to which she was entitled. Nevertheless, the statement described the actual state of these neighbourhoods at the time. The description depicts people living in extreme conditions and qualifies their houses as *shanties, squalors, and shacks,* enabling the perennial presence of infectious disease. The depiction of a community with such three strong phrases underscores how badly the colonial government and people around them thought and felt about Isale-Eko and Central Lagos. Some phrases still linger until the

present whenever a government wants to justify their type of intervention. These terminologies found their roots in "Victorian Britain regarding its slums" (Bigon, 2008, p. 55). A situation Watson (2003, p. 331) described as the “modernising effect of colonialism" is one in which the colonised find it difficult to depart from the influence of the past imperialist ideologies. While reacting to Sylvia's description and choice of words in her ethnography studies book on Lagos, Watson (2013, p. 331) describes the statements as an "imperialist nostalgia" of comparing and wanting the colonised cities to have some resemblance to British cities. In a somewhat similar statement, a committee put in place to provide reports on the Lagos drainage system also observed and said that;

> The buildings in the native portion of the city are generally speaking of a very unsubstantial character; overcrowding is most marked. Streets, alleys and lanes in this area have been laid out on any considered scheme of development (PRO, 1926, p. 8).

The government, while taking a cue from the earlier statements made to justify slum clearance, another special committee was put in place to review the interventions stated and recommended that;

> We are concerned with…Firstly, houses that are below a proper standard, and secondly overcrowding (Special-Committee, 1929, p. 7) .

For example, in another somewhat similar expression supporting the preceding statement and justifying the slum clearance of 1955 in Central Lagos, a member of the colonial administration was quoted as saying that;

> Fundamentally, Lagos remains a Yoruba village with a village mentality (LTPC, 1946, p. 17)

The colonial government's justification signifies a perception of a neighbourhood within the city that grew out of unplanned schemes. The situation expresses the planlessness nature and overcrowdedness of the communities. Essentially, the statements signified disgust for the state and condition of Isale-Eko and Central

Lagos, as literarily a glorified village not deserving the status of a capital city; hence, slum clearance becomes inevitable. However, the *overcrowdedness* and *village mentality* phrases failed to recognise that building designs in Yoruba land embrace the "traditional" communal ways of life, where overcrowding matters less (Akinsemoyin & Vaughan-Richards, 1976, p. 5-8). The "tradition" of overcrowdedness underscores the informal institution as an age-long culture and tradition of a people who value a communal way of life. Essentially, the colonial administration's preconceived images of Europe greatly influenced their choice of words in qualifying and justifying their interventions. The situation Njoh (2009, p. 303) describes as “power over” has undoubtedly changed the styles and tastes of the Nigerian housing system to date.

The government's attempt to create a state capital that befits the standards of a newly independent country, which was inaugurated in 1960 (Bigon, 2008), also formed one of the reasons for the intervention. An idea can best describe the need for an aesthetically pleasing state capital or modernism, at best. For example, a committee put in place by the colonial government to review the slum clearance scheme between 1954 and 1955 reasoned and positioned that;

> Lagos is the capital of a country of growing commercial importance which is developing, rapidly is taking an ever-increasing part in the world affairs.… Nigeria needs a capital city of which she can feel proud, in which her people can live, work, and play under conditions which are in accord with modern town planning practice for the well-being of all members of the community (NAN, 1955).

Regarding aesthetics and beautification, it is argued that the whole essence of the slum clearance in Isale Eko and Central Lagos and the preparation of Lagos as a befitting capital by the government were deliberately carried out to prepare an aesthetically pleasing Lagos in preparation for the visit of Queen Elizabeth of England (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997). It is also reasoned that the two slum clearance interventions were carried out to enable a healthy environment for the European colonial government officials living in Marina. Hence, there is a need to ensure an infectious-free neighbourhood between Marina and Isale Eko and Central Lagos because of the proximity of the two communities sitting

opposite this Marina- European residential neighbourhood (Bigon, 2008). Lending support to the vailed discrimination was a statement by a British lawyer named Neville Miller in Lagos during the slum clearance intervention in 1931, quoted in Alain (1993) (Alain, 1993). He stated that the conditions of the European neighbourhood of Marina appeared "cherished, comfortable and healthy", and in contrast, the indigenous communities of Isale-Eko and Central Lagos appeared "anything else" in comparison (Alain, 1993, p. 284). Implicitly, this statement points out that there were indeed some forms of discrimination between the European quarters and the communities of the Lagos indigenes in the two communities. Essentially, the colonial government's determined efforts to improve the unsanitary health and poor environmental conditions in Isale-Eko and Central Lagos through slum clearance may have achieved the goal, but the sense of community was broken based on the following relocation.

Taking these various intentions and justifications while citing public health safety and aesthetics together draws striking parallels and similarities with the concept of urban imaginaries (Cinar & Bender, 2007; Mah, 2012; Lindner & Meissner, 2019) (Cinar & Bender, 2007; Mah, 2012; Lindner & Meissner, 2019). On the one hand, the colonial administrator claimed justifications for public health safety. On the other hand, the authors' positions here confirm urban imaginaries because up till today, the housing design in Nigeria favours European designs. This fits into the imagined colonial government's vision for Lagos when the design they brought was completely different from what the people were accustomed to in the real world. However, on the other hand, sending people away from their hereditary land suggests competing narratives and twisted rationalities and imaginaries which breed mistrust, which, up till today, still shape people’s views about urban renewal interventions, as analysed in this chapter in subsequent sections.

I conclude the sub-section that the justifications given by the colonial government necessitated the interventions, citing public health safety, beautification, and aesthetics, which laid the foundation upon which other related interventions are built in the Lagos of today. Also, separating the colonial/European neighbourhood from that of the indigenous people in Isale-Eko

lays the groundwork for today's Government Reserve Area- GRA and Housing Estate, which are popular residential neighbourhoods for the elites and government officials in Lagos and Nigeria. Lastly, the ideology reflects the endurance of formal institutions, and the legacies of the past still influence today's government actions and interventions regarding urban renewal. For example, the phrase ‘shanties’ used by Sylvia is still used by governors to describe communities and settlements. Also, the type of narrative or excuse ‘disaster outbreak’ used to relocate and redevelop Lagos Island is still being used in today’s Lagos. The following subsection discusses economic interest.

5.2.6. Economic Interests

Neo-liberalisation, capitalism, and privatisation are combined here and discussed as economic interests. In Lagos, there have been examples of communities being taken over, residents evicted, and communities redeveloped into better neighbourhoods, e.g., Maroko, Banana, Island and Badia-East. Once the redevelopment was completed, the cost became outrageous and unaffordable for the initial landowners. Essentially, these redevelopments are motivated by economic interest instead of public interest, bearing the high cost, which was genuinely out of reach of the original landowners.

However, in developing economies like Nigeria and particularly in Lagos, the goal of opening up the economy as a global city, hands-off investment in public infrastructure and freeing up some capital for other government's responsibilities has always been aggressively pursued in the state (Oduwaye, 2006; Olajide & Lawanson, 2021). The situation, as described, allows the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment- FDI into the local urban economy, e.g., as in the land market economy (UNCTAD, 1999; Nachum, 2001; Olds, 2001). In particular, the government's economic interest motivates the quest for a global and modern city being championed in Lagos, Nigeria.

Both capitalism and privatisation encourage the control and investment in the real property market to be in the hands of the private and influential elite, thus bringing in more government money. It is pointed out that "the majority of the population faces a high risk of expropriation and holdup by the government, the

ruling elite, or other agents" (Acemoglu et al., 2000, p. 1262). The ideology enables private property investments in the real sector. This is carried out by expropriating the land from the poor people living in the city. Then comes the private investors with deep pockets who can put money into such property development and pay taxes to the government in turn. The underlying assumptions in this concept stress the dispossession of the poor people living in poverty access to urban space. A very early example of this privatisation ideology was identified in the case of Central Lagos slum clearance interventions, where it was observed that:

> Against the projections of the resident families that the schemes was a device to press their birthright and most valuable sites in Lagos into the hands of the alien commercial firms,…..But none of the residents was able to repossess sites within the cleared areas which have now been developed as part of the high-rise central business district of Lagos (Mabogunje, 1992, p. 76).

Decades after a semblance of privatisation ideology was noticed, for instance, the phrase *alien commercial firm* implicates, at best, a group of foreign investors or investors unknown to the people. A striking similarity to the Central Lagos described in Mabogunje (1992) was the case of Maroko. The state government cited redevelopment as the motivation for the forced eviction in 1990. Instead, it is observed that *"Maroko was located uncomfortably close to the highly-priced land and properties of Ikoyi and Victoria Island and was regarded as an eyesore by the high-income neighbourhood" (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997, p. 279)*. Harvey (2000) illustrates the situation as "a patchwork quilt of Islands of relative affluence struggling to secure themselves in a sea of spreading decay" (p. 152). Expropriated Maroko land soon found its way into the hands of the ruling elites, who later shared the lands among themselves for private property developments. The development resulted in the construction of estates named after the royal families of Elegushi, Oniru and other high-ranking politicians and public servants; the cost of properties was outrageously out of reach of the former residents of Maroko (Akhigbe, 2015; Sule, 1990). These narratives show a high level of mistrust people have on the part of the

government interventions. Essentially, this issue of mistrust still exists today and is shaping the environment in which people operate.

In other situations, in clear pursuance of privatisation ideology in partnership with the ruling elites and real property investors, the state government forcefully evicted residents of the Otodo-Gbame and Ilubirin communities. For example, it was observed that in Otodo-Gbame's intervention;

> Despite the pending legal disputes, the Elegusi royal family and another private company are developing real estate on the land and water area formally occupied by the Otodo-Gbame community. Land in the periwinkle estate is now selling for between NGN45 million and NGN200 million (US$124,710-US$554,269) per plot (Amnesty International, 2017, p. 37).

Similarly, in an attempt to justify its forced eviction intervention in the Ilubirin community, the government stated that;

> The recent forced evictions in Ilubirin were carried out to make room for an ongoing construction of real estate (residential and commercial) jointly owned by the state government and a private organisation (Amnesty International, 2017, p. 38).

The two statements point out that the tiny numbers of the ruling elites and real property private investors are much more critical to the government than the larger populace due to inherent vested interest. Also, the statement suggests that once the former land occupiers, i.e., the communities affected by the interventions, are evicted, they can hardly afford the outrageous amounts of property ownership in the community. The situation typifies and reinforces resistance, mistrust, and suspicion of other recent interventions, even in the Makoko community. The ideology typifies modernity and the modernisation agenda of the government, for instance, in a kind of neo-liberalised ideology fueled by modernity agenda;

In the 2012 interventions, Governor Raji Fashola's government gave a related justification for entering the Makoko community. In a letter sent to the community to justify the intervention, the content of the letter states in part;

> The state government is desirous of restoring the amenity and value of waterfront, protect lives and properties, promote legitimate economic activities on the waterfront, restore Security, improve water transportation and beautify the Lagos waterfront/coastline to underline the megacity status of Lagos state and has decided to clear all illegal and unauthorised development on its waterfront and waterbodies (Egbunike, 2012).

Similarly, reechoing the position of the commissioner for infrastructure, a member of Lagos state House of Assembly stated in his committee meeting with the members of the community that;

> Lagos is virtually a megacity and because of the present situation, there is always plan to resettle certain settlements that we think are not in conformity with the expectation of the state (Sessou, 2012).

The two positions reinforced the earlier ones adopted by the colonial government in 1955. The phrase used by the Committee chairman, i.e. *that we think* calls to question, who are the (*we)* he was referring to in his statement? Does the phrase include or preclude the people of the Makoko community? It is reasoned that the commissioner and committee chairman's positions borrowed from the 1955 ideological drive. The positions reinforce the notion of the indifference of the ruling political elites to the needs and feelings of the people they governed. What appears paramount is the government's economic interest rather than that of the people living in poor neighbourhoods.

From the content of the letter to the community, the agenda of pursuing a utopian "21st-century megacity" (Ogunlesi, 2016; Amakihe, 2017; Unah, 2018) was the only driving and motivating force necessitating the intervention carried out in the community rather than the protection of lives, properties and livelihoods. However, beneath the face value of the letter's content lies the real

intentions of evicting the residents of the Makoko community to carry out the real agendas of the government to get rid of slums at the expense of Lagos megacity's ideology (Amnesty International, 2017; Morayo, 2017).

However, in contrast to the government justifications and position, a traditional head and one other member of the Makoko community were asked to reflect on the possibility of relocation and to give room for the government intervention plan of the "megacity" vision. The traditional head said;

> Myself and my people cannot live on the mainland or other locations outside the water, as my people's lives and their jobs are tied to the water. We cannot live outside Makoko; our jobs are here. If we are sent out of this place, where shall we get jobs from (Chief Toba, 22-05-2021).

The community member said;

> My life and work as a canoe man and fisherman are all about water, and I can barely survive on land even if they offered me an alternative (Kamoru, 22-05-2021).

The two responses from the people of Makoko exemplify determination because a lot stands to be at stake if any guises should relocate them. Essentially, their lives and livelihoods are obviously tied to the community, especially to water availability as a natural asset they employ to support livelihoods. Therefore, I conclude with the following observations under this economic interest, which are discussed and analysed. First, the ideological motives of successive government administrations in Lagos succeed in state-led interventions that seek to dispossess the vulnerable urban poor of their hard-earned possession of land, driven by the government's continual pursuance of elitist and modernist interests. Also, the various interventions that ended in the hands of the ruling class, royal families, and private investors would only lead to some injustice in dealing with the vulnerable. Therefore, the following sub-section addresses disaster prevention and security protection combined.

5.2.7. Disaster Prevention and Security Protection

Disaster prevention establishes that "the vulnerability of the urban poor to flooding is a potential disaster in the waiting (Ajibade & McBean, 2014). In Lagos, most people who live in informal, slum or squatter settlements live in locations vulnerable to flood disasters. However, "poor urban policies and unplanned development translate flood into disaster with a higher impact among the poor" (Ajibade & McBean, 2014). Therefore, if the state government sincerely decides to protect this vulnerable group from potential flood disasters, such would be a welcome intervention. However, in many cases, the opposite is always the case. For instance, a letter sent to Makoko residents signed by Akin Tijani with ref. No. MWFI/EST. 621, on behalf of the commissioner for waterfront infrastructure development in Governor Fashola, stated that;

> You have continued to occupy and developed shanties and wholesome structures on the waterfront without authority, thereby constituting environmental nuisance, security risks, impediments to economic and gainful utilisation of waterfront such as navigation, entertainment, recreation, etc.,….therefore, notice is hereby given to you to vacate and remove all illegal developments along the Makoko/Iwaya waterfront within 72 hours of receipt of this notice (Akingbade, 2012).

The intervention in 2012, according to the content of the letter, suggests a government bent on pursuing an elitist ideology. The ideology promotes and prioritises economic benefits and recreational activities over and above providing accommodation and protecting the livelihoods of the vulnerable residents of Makoko. However, contrary to the government name-calling Makoko *illegal* and calling their activities *unauthorised*, evidence suggests that the community has existed for the past 100 years (Channels-Tv, 2012; Minor, 2013; Udoma, 2013; Black Water, 2017). Similarly, providing the grounds for the legal status of Makoko in the interview granted by one of my research participants, a traditional head in the community said that;

> The government recognises my community, I have a certificate for the recognition given to me

> a traditional head by the Local Government, he showed me the certificate,… So, if Makoko is an illegal community, would the Local Government have given me the certificate of recognition? (Chief Toba, 22-05-2021).

Given credence to the traditional head position, in an interview conducted with the political representative of the present government of Lagos state, he queried the words *illegal* and *informal* as used in qualifying Makoko, and he questioned that;

> If I may ask, those words when you say something is illegal and informal, those are your words, not government's words. That is not coming from the government. So how do you expect me to react to what is not coming from the government? if you say some communities are illegal and whatever name you are given them, how do you expect me to react to…. (Commissioner, 19-07-2022).

However, when I referred him to the content of the letter sent during the administration of Governor Fashola to Makoko community regarding the word *illegal*, he later responded and said;

> You see…. One thing about slum upgrading is they are traditional settlements and they are squatters. And you will also notice in every of such community, they have established communal ways of living, and maybe you have the Baales and the traditional settings. And the government has always recognised all these various interest groups….. So that is why I refused to accept your definition of squatter and illegal occupants. People see a virgin land or a water shoreline and all of a sudden they make a home there. That does not make them legal, but what the government also does is government still tries to accommodate these interest groups (Commissioner, 19-07-2022).

Also, a staff in LASURA expressed similar perspectives.

> The slum dwellers in Makoko are illegal because they have no building approval for their structures and the buildings are not well built. There is lack of planning standards (Officer Ned, 21-07-2021).

The point being driven regarding name-calling is that designating the community as *illegal* and *informal* impacts the residents' opportunities to afford or access specific opportunities and benefits from the formal institutions/organisations- e.g., banks, as stated by one of my research participants. Some of the benefits and opportunities denied by members of the community due to the status of the community being tagged *illegal* and *informal* are analysed and discussed in the next chapter under Livelihood Strategies. Therefore, based on these various contradictions of motivations for the interventions, it becomes difficult to rationalise the government's justifications necessitating planned interventions.

Despite the 2012 eviction exercise, two others in 2016 and 2018 took place; after each episode of the interventions, the evicted resident always found their way back to the community to rebuild their lives and livelihoods. However, a new dimension was introduced in December 2021, almost ten years after the 2012 forced eviction in the Makoko community. The state government went to the community through a proxy-private contractor to carry out forced eviction intervention. However, it was resisted by the people and later halted and suspended by the state government. One of my research participants described the new development as follows he said that;

> This morning, the government contractors are presently in our community where we have the sawmill. They look like contractors and not government officials; they are here with a bulldozer and armed officials. But we are mobilising already. We will not allow them to remove our sawmill equipment and destroy our stands and stalls (Kusamotu, 21-12-2021).

This new dimension of intervention through a private contractor(s) showed the government's determination to evict residents from Makoko by every means possible, even if it meant taking the people unaware. However, the shared

determination of the people who are resolved and prepared for any intervention reinforces the deployment of resistance as one of the strategies employed by the people to reject intervention not sanctioned by them. In another example, in 2016-2017, Governor Ambode of Lagos State, in his statement justifying the forced eviction of residents of Ilubirin and Otodo-Gbame communities, maintained that disaster prevention and security protection in both Lagosians were paramount to his administration. The state governor said that;

> I also want to use this opportunity to appeal to all those living in the shanties around these schemes especially on the waterfront illegally that they should vacate the areas forthwith. You will see that most of the issues that we have with kidnappings are actually being brought up by those who are illegal settlers by the waterfront. We will commence demolition of all the shanties around the creeks in Lagos State and also around our waterways in the next seven days. I have given directives to that effect to the appropriate agencies. The safety of our children and all Lagosians is paramount in this administration. We will not allow a few set of people who come into Lagos and stay on our waterfront illegally and then use it as opportunity to kidnap our people (Aminu, 2017).

In a somewhat similar statement justifying the motivation for the forced intervention in the two riverine communities, the commissioner of information- Mr Steve Ayorinde, was quoted that;

> It is quite worrisome that ramshackle structures, sheds, canopies and shanties, especially along the shoreline, have turned to abode of miscreants/street urchins, kidnappers, touts, street traders and hawkers who often vandalise public utilities and attack innocent citizens (Press-Release, 2016).

Notably, the phrase *shanties* used by the two successive administrations of governors Fashola and Ambode and their commissioners point to a phrase first used by Sylvia- a wife to one of the colonial officials decades ago in the 1920s. The woman, while justifying slum clearance in Isale-Eko, deployed the term, and

ever since, the term has yet to disappear in the annals of urban renewal interventions in Lagos. The choice of the word *shanties,* as always used by successive governments to justify their interventions, underscores what Moyo & Gumbo (2021, p. 129) termed a "colonial hangover" in criminalising such communities. The continuous use of the term *shanties* demonstrates how colonial legacies influence current governance approaches, interventions and the use of words to justify policy interventions.

Also, in the governor's statement, he stressed that his motivation for the forced eviction intervention was to prevent *illegal settlers* from taking over the waterfront and the *safety* of Lagosians from disaster. It will not be out of place to rationalise the justification for the forced eviction intervention to protect lives and properties and even the waterfront protection, as stated by the governor and his commissioner of information. Nevertheless, the governor and his commissioner of information's statements justifying the interventions contradict the statement made by another commissioner. In an attempt to defend and justify the Lagos state intervention in Ilubirin, the commissioner of Housing, Mr Gbolahan Lawal, stated that;

> Illegal settlers moved into Ilubirin waterfront during the process of redesigning the scheme, adding that the private investor had perfected plans to move to site, and is committing $500 million into the scheme (Press-Release, 2016)

The commissioner's perspective substantially differs from the governor's, and the justification advanced as necessitating the intervention in Ilubirin was contextually different. It becomes evident that what primarily motivated the forced eviction intervention was the vested interest of the private property investors and not the claimed security of lives and properties of Lagosians. The underlying motivation was to enable the private property investment to construct residential and commercial units (Amnesty International, 2017); given the locations of both Ilubirin and Otodo-Gbame, the intervention became a task to be achieved by every means. Therefore, Governor Ambode's and his commissioner's narrative reinforce the argument for a clash of rationalities addressed in a subsequent session.

After considering the disaster prevention and security protection ideological movement as identified, discussed and analysed concerning various interventions at different times, I conclude this sub-section as follows. It stands to reason that disaster and security issues being peddled by the government as justification for the interventions by different governments were only deployed to dampen the curiosities of the affected population. However, there seems to be some resemblance of ideological conflicts motivated by competing interests, while the vulnerable residents stand to lose everything. The interventions clearly favour private property investors and the ruling elites.

In summary, based on the numerous justifications the Lagos state government advanced at different times of the interventions, it stands to reason that ulterior ideological motives often drive these interventions. Also, different ideological drives identified as the driving forces behind every intervention are motivated by modernist and elitist interests, with little or no consideration for the plights and survival of the vulnerable residents in the affected communities in Lagos. Therefore, these hidden motives fuel suspicions among the vulnerable communities regarding the government's intentions, which underscores considering oneself first before others, in this case.

5.2.8. Informal Institutions

Informal institutions are "indirectly observed through the behaviour of people and organisations" (Edquist & Johnson, 1997, p. 50). Informal institutions are rooted in tradition, culture, shared memories, norms, values, and sanctions (North, 1990; Holmes et al., 2013; Lauth, 2015). Informal institutions are socially constructed with imbibed and unwritten compliance, whose enforcement remains outside the confines of official recognition (Brinks, 2003). Informal institutions guide behaviour in the decision-making process of individuals concerned (North, 1990). Informal institutions "are those rules that shape human behaviour but are outside of government and are not part of a written legal framework" (Williamson & Kerekes, 20011, p. 546). Porte (2006, p. 235) cites "norms" as one of the examples of informal institutions "rooted in values that tend to resist change." Informal institutions "shape its many formal institutions"

(Holmes et al., 2013, p. 532). Punishment for violating informal institutions includes excluding and ostracising such individuals from society (Lauth, 2015).

For example, Nwanna (2015, p. 64) identifies the failure of the state to recognise the realities of the long existence of communities like Makoko, its right to exist and targeting the community for top-down slum clearance interventions because the community represent "environmental nuisance", just as to create a "mega-city status" for the state provides an environment for clash between the informal and formal institution. Also, Acey (2018) argues that the recurring rhetorics of modern-day Lagos fantasies of imposing world-class and mega cities top-down interventions with severe consequences on peoples' bottom-up realities of protecting lives, properties and livelihoods represent a recipe for crises. According to Acey (2018), these rhetorical interventions provide an atmosphere of contestation, protest and resistance, thus reinforcing tendencies for recurring clashes between formal and informal institutions.

Additionally, Nwanna (2015, p. 65) reasons that the "prime locations" of Makoko represent potential capital earnings for the state; hence, the frequent top-down eviction and slum clearance interventions often visited the community. Acey (2018) establishes the same standpoint as Nwanna (2015) regarding the location of riverine communities targeted for state-led slum clearance interventions. Her work demonstrated how Eko Atlantic City remains the exclusive domain of the elite while the original owners of the communities are excluded. The argument here indicates that the top-down slum clearance is motivated by the interest to provide for the property needs of the elites in the prime locations when the realities concerning the properties and livelihoods of the communities targeted for the interventions are neglected. The arguments also present a scenario that creates a perfect situation for formal and informal clashes.

5.2.9. Cultures, Traditions, Norms, Values, Memories, Belief and Sanctions as Informal Institutions

Within informal institutions, the section provides the people's positions in Makoko. For instance, when asked how people respond to formal institution interventions through long-held informal institutions (e.g., cultures, tradition, shared memories, taboos, codes of conduct, and sanctions)? The responses and different positions inform the present context's direct bearing of records of failed relocation, redevelopment, rehabilitation, and resettlement schemes in which people and residents of communities affected by slum clearance, forced eviction, displacement, and demolition interventions were not adequately cared for by the government.

For example, it was observed that experiences and facts from past interventions in Lagos have resulted in multiple problems. The affected residents and individuals are left homeless with poor relocation plans, financially handicapped because of loss of livelihoods, and, in some cases, loss of lives through violent means of executing these interventions (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Daniel et al., 2015). In the case of Otodo Gbame force eviction intervention, up to 30,000 displaced residents found their way back into Makoko (Unah, 2018). These narratives, together, suggest memories of bad experiences regarding these institutional interventions. One of the research participants illustrates these shared memories when asked how he would consider relocation as an option over to living in Makoko; he stated;

> How do you mean? What about the case of Maroko near us over there? What about the case of Badia East? Please don't just mention that sir. Do you know we have people from Otodo Gbame here in Makoko? As for me, I am ready to live and die here in Makoko; this is where I was born, to the government, it may not be a good community, but to me, it is a home and I am ready to defend my home (Kamoru, 22-05-2021).

This narrative affirms the significance of shared memories or collective identity as an informal institution, shaping people's perceptions of the present formal institutional interventions. Kamoru's perception of the knowledge of past

experiences of the interventions exemplifies how strongly he feels about the justifications put forward to convince them in Makoko. Based on conflicting motivations demonstrated by the government, the manners in which evicted people were treated, and the outcomes of such interventions in the past, especially in Maroko, Otodo Gbame and Badia East, all remind Kamoru of shared memories of bad experiences. In a similar experience of shared memories shaping the present-day response to formal institution intervention in Makoko, one of the traditional heads was asked the same question of whether relocation and offer of a place in the community, if redeveloped, would be an option for himself and his subjects he said;

> We as a community know what happened in the case of Badia East, Maroko, Ilubirin and even in Banana Island. The communities were redeveloped with expensive buildings; how many of us living in Makoko can afford such buildings and their exorbitant costs? That is their mission here. They want to replace our community with expensive buildings for the rich people in Lagos. We will not allow that to happen here (Chief Bolajoko, 23-05-2021)

The narrative position of the traditional head points to the fact that in similar cases where such offers were made, they never materialise due to the cost involved in owning a property in the redeveloped or renewed communities, thereby rendering the approach ineffectual. Therefore, these positions and perspectives of the residents of Makoko embody and underscore the importance of shared memories as informal institutions which shape responses to formal institutions' interventions. The perception of shared memories of the world and social actions around the people of Makoko regarding past formal interventions (e.g., slum clearance, forced displacement and eviction, redevelopment) in similar communities provide a point of historical reference. The historical reference, therefore, shapes the thoughts about the real intentions and motivations of the interventions, which thus inform the present response, action, and context in Makoko community.

Another important informal institution is people's culture and tradition. Essentially, the two are rooted in a community's beliefs, norms, and values,

forming a subset of culture and tradition (Roland, 2004). In order to express water as a natural resource that Makoko's culture and tradition consider crucial to their survival, one of the traditional heads in the community demonstrates this in his statement that;

> Myself and my people cannot live on the mainland or other locations outside the water, as my people's live and their jobs are tied to the water. We cannot live outside Makoko: our jobs are here, if we are sent out of this place, where shall we get jobs from? (Chief Toba, 22-05-2021).

The traditional head's narrative emphasises his people's affinity to water as a long-held culture and tradition that nothing can separate. The cultural and traditional affinities of Makoko people to water represent norms, beliefs and values critical to the survival of the people and community. Thus, culture and tradition as informal institutions shape how the people in the community value water and choose to live on the water, earn their living and raise families on water. Therefore, any formal institution interventions that threaten this cultural and traditional way of life of accessing the natural asset/capital of water are considered tampering with their lives and livelihood, thus bound to be resisted. The analyses and discussions here evidently show a shared misunderstanding between the people in Makoko and the government regarding urban renewal interventions and the people's interests. Therefore, I reasoned that these shared misunderstandings best describe the clash of rationalities debate addressed in the following section.

5.3. Making a Case for Clash of Rationalities

Rationality has multiple meanings, and what constitutes rationality from one perspective may likely constitute irrational from another perspective (Brubaker, 1984). Rationality is also considered "a way of seeing' a position or perspective, an argument, a way of making sense, of the world and a set of values or perhaps a world view of actors on a particular setting" (De Satgé & Watson, 2018, p. 26). Conflicting rationalities were coined to express the "divergence between state and community position"(De Satge & Watson, 2018, p. 3). Also, "the persistence of such deep and irreconcilable difference" between the state and the

community could provide room for dialogue among parties (De Satge & Watson, 2018, p. 4).

De Satge & Watson (2018) argue that outstanding differences exist between a community and the state regarding seeing, interpreting, and understanding what development processes represent, especially those directly impacting their lives and livelihoods. Within the context of the state-led urban renewal slum clearance interventions, rationalities become relevant when decisions regarding the implementation of urban renewal slum interventions and the acceptance of the interventions are carried out from the points of informed engagements and understanding between the actors. Since physical planning is based on stakeholders' engagement, it becomes incumbent on all actors to engage before choices regarding slum clearance interventions are implemented.

However, De Stage & Watson (2018, p. 3) observe that conflictual and divergent rationalities come into play when there exists an apparent interest of the state which tends to pursue "the modernising ambitions" not minding "the very different world views" such as the properties, lives and livelihoods of the people living in the poor communities. For example, some of the "modernising ambitions" observed by De Stage & Watson (2018, p. 3) in the case of Makoko include the ambitions and aspirations of Lagos to be recognised as one of the "world—class city" (Agbiboa, 2018; Adama, 2020; Roelofs, 2021) and mega-city (Simon et al., 2013; Oseni, 2013; Aderoju, 2020). Hence, the state's aspirations of mega and world-class cities in this sense do not align with, e.g., the bottom-up lives and livelihood realities of the people in the community targeted for the developmental processes and interventions (De Stage & Watson, 2018).

Watson (2003) identifies power struggles as useful instruments or strategies actors use in decision-making and building consensus. However, as observed in Rydin (2021), actors are involved in decision-making or consensus-building, but the manners with which power (Stage & Watson, 2018) is used and deployed by these actors indicate what constitutes rationality or not. Similarly, (Rydin, 2021,

p. 42) based the power struggles among actors as described on the "disadvantages and disadvantages, benefits and costs" each actor placed on the developments and interventions. Therefore, from the preceding standpoints, and given the frequent urban renewal slum clearance interventions in Makoko, rationality as the basis for determining the need for the intervention becomes relevant.

Rationality on its own represents the basis for making informed decisions. In contrast, an informed decision to act cannot be said to be rational if all parties, stakeholders and actors do not engage in reaching compromises. Therefore, before a decision to intervene, especially in slum clearance interventions which, when implemented, have direct impacts on people's lives, properties, and livelihoods are carried out, the people and their communities must be adequately carried along. However, the failure of the state to bring the people and their community along in urban renewal slum clearance intervention presents the environment for clashes among the actors. Thus, disagreements are bound to erupt from these stated-led top-down slum clearance interventions, which failed to recognise the bottom-up realities of the people, such as their livelihoods and properties around which their whole lives revolve.

Again, the bottom-up realities of the people in the community, such as their lives, properties and livelihoods, represent the interests the people will protect at all costs. Similarly, the need to provide a decent environment, free of slums, blight and dilapidation, to ensure 21st century world-class or mega city also represents the state's interests. Therefore, it becomes contentious when each actor does everything possible to push for and protect their vested interest due to a lack of understanding and engaging in compromises.

The preceding situation, as described, is contextualised in Rydin (2021, p. 42) when "actors are seen as driven by their interests and engaging in a calculus that measures the cost and benefits of particular decisions of courses of action, with

maximum net benefit (or minimum net cost) being the aim)". In the case of Makoko, literature and studies have provided in chapter 2 that the state as an actor has always been driven by such interests as involving the private property developers in urban renewal and development, attempting to develop a world-class city and moves to cleanse the city of blight and informality.

The state essentially believes that the cost of ensuring that these interests are achieved is far more critical than allowing informality to thrive and spread in the city, hence the need for slum clearance interventions in Makoko. Studies and literature are also detailed in chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7, with the primary interests of the people in Makoko as their properties, social networks, and livelihoods. Also, as presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7, the analysis showed that the people of Makoko community cannot trade the net benefits of living on the water for living on the land, hence the tendencies of clashes. Therefore, embracing rational decisions regarding urban renewal slum clearance interventions without meaningful engagement will always result in clashes because of conflict of interests.

From the evolution of urban renewal intervention as institutions to the analyses and discussion of different interventions in Lagos and different perspectives and positions expressed by the people, I submit the following to justify the clash of rationalities and discourse. The government believe the intentions of the urban renewal interventions are genuine and for the benefit of the people in Makoko. However, the people equally believe that the government's urban renewal interventions do not have clear intentions and purposes. The people based their positions on what the informal institutions of past experiences, mistrust and shared memories of similar urban renewal interventions implemented elsewhere in Lagos have taught them.

Essentially, these informal institutions have shaped the mindset and worldviews of people in Makoko concerning urban renewal slum clearance interventions. Therefore, it becomes difficult, irrational and impossible for the people to trust the government, while the government find it rational to stamp out all forms of

slums, squatters and informalities in the city. Hence, the situation becomes contentious because of the stakeholders' lack of shared understanding. Consequently, what plays out between the two stakeholders is an apparent clash of rationalities between the government and the people of Makoko. The argument, therefore, helps contribute to the ongoing debates in the clash of rationalities.

5.4. Summary

The chapter provides contexts and understanding for institutions, formal and informal. The chapter locates the urban renewal interventions and people's culture and traditions within the formal and informal institutions to understand the environment created when the two combine how people operate and pursue their livelihood portfolios. The chapter analyses and discusses various data in relation to past and present urban renewal interventions in Makoko. The understanding provided in the chapter revealed that when formal and informal institutions combine, it produces suspicion and shared misunderstanding between the people and the government. Therefore, this shared misunderstanding thus creates a clear case of a clash of rationalities between the two because what is rational to one is irrational to the other. Therefore, the chapter uses empirical findings to contribute to the ongoing debate on the clash of rationalities.

6. Urban Renewal Interventions and Precarious Livelihoods

6.1. Introduction

The chapter analyses and discusses research question two: What factors enable and constrain access to different livelihood pathways, including the opportunities open to individuals, the strategies they employ, and the outcomes they achieve? The specific five (5) interventions presented in Table 2 of Chapter 5 form the context and basis for answering the research question.

The analysis and discussion of the chapter are situated within the assets/capital component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework- SLF (DFID, 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999), adopted and discussed in chapter three. The chapter essentially uses data collected through the interviews with participants during the online and face-to-face, online remote photo-elicitation engagement and observations made on my field notes during the fieldwork. The specific five (5) interventions presented in Table 2 of Chapter 5 form the context and basis of the research question. Additionally, data sources used in the chapter include perspectives of similar experiences in the Global South published in journal articles.

The second section analyses and discusses how urban renewal interventions enable and constrain access to livelihood pathways. The chapter analyses and discusses the availability of the assets/capital (*financial, social, physical, natural & and human*) component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework- SLF (DFID, 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999) and how these are explored in favour of livelihood pathways. Within the component as a framework of analysis and residents' experiences, I discuss how these assets/capitals in the community enable or constrain the pursuance of residents' livelihood opportunities/pathways. The section situates and discusses enablements that provide support for these livelihood pathways. On the other hand, constraints such as vulnerabilities due to natural disasters, changing conditions due to ill-health and death, or people's decisions to stay or move out of the community, institutional interventions, policies, and programs environment are analysed. Subsequently, the section discusses the enablements and constraints

experienced by the residents, which thus informed their choices of livelihood strategies adopted for sustenance. The details and analysis of these livelihood strategies are considered in the subsequent section.

The third section analyses and discusses the livelihood strategies employed by individuals in Makoko to navigate available assets/capital in supporting their livelihood opportunities/pathways despite constraints and vulnerabilities. The section analyses and discusses the varied individual livelihood strategies employed by the residents to facilitate access to resources to support their livelihood portfolios despite threats of urban renewal interventions. The chapter analyses and discusses strategies individuals employed, which include belonging to community cooperative/credit rotating (*Alajeseku*) societies, borrowing loans from LAPO microfinance banks, and providing working equipment and tools to members. In addition, other strategies individuals use include exploring extra-legal trading activities across international borders/markets and engaging household members in diversified livelihoods. Also, exploring alternative fish purchasing from private pond owners on the Lagos mainland and housing rentals is equally critical. Finally, the fourth section pulls together all the narratives and discussions to make a case for the precarious livelihood argument and the final section summarises the chapter.

6.2. Urban Renewal Interventions- Livelihood Enabler or Constraints

The section analyses and discusses how urban renewal interventions constrain or enable access to assets, including financial, social, physical, natural and human, as highlighted in the SLF and other enablements, such as unequal access created by the dominant influence of institutions. However, the chapter also recognises from the analyses that due to the predominant influence of the environment created by institutions argued in Chapter 5, some people gain more opportunities to access resources than others. Hence, there are bound to be winners and losers in the process.

Essentially, the impact of urban renewal interventions thus determines the extent to which access to these assets and resources limits or facilitates

livelihood portfolios. The chapter provides analyses and discussions on these various enablements and constraints. Firstly, in this section, the analyses and discussions begin with the interviews conducted through photo-elicitation. All other analyses and discussions follow, starting with the images and interviews from the photo-elicitation method to enable easy reference to the photos. After that, without repeating the images, I only mention the names of the participants when analysing and discussing their perspectives regarding these five images. The analyses and discussions started with the image in Figure 1. The participants in the five images were interviewed through photo-elicitation as described in Chapter 4, based on a particular image in Figure 3. he sent and chose to speak concerning his livelihood and urban renewal intervention through WhatsApp messages.

Figure 3 Tailor Sadibo in place of his livelihood (Source: Author's File)

I first asked the reason for the choice of this particular image in Figure 3 and its relevance to livelihood and urban renewal interventions, and he said:

> the small shop represents everything I am. The shop is where I feed my family, I chose to use

> this picture because this shop is important to me, my family and my whole life. So whenever these people from the town are planning to relocate us to another place, this place in the picture is where my heart and mind go every time the discussion comes up (Sadibo 13-11-2021).

My second question revolves around the help and assistance he gets from the community to support his tailoring livelihood portfolio. He stated that;

> For me, I get support from my community, neighbours and friends here in Makoko. And as a tailor, I sew most of my neighbours' clothing, and sometimes most of my neighbours' friends patronise my shop in sewing their clothing. I am good here in Makoko, I cannot leave this place, where will I get my customer from if they send us to another place (Sadibo, 13-11-2021).

Similarly, using the same photo-elicitation method as the preceding one, I also put the same first question to Kemi, a hairdresser, through a WhatsApp message regarding the choice of the image in Figure 4 to tell her story regarding livelihood and urban renewal intervention in Makoko. She said:

Figure 4: Kemi Hairdresser in her place of livelihood (Source Author's file)

> The image represents where I make money, I make peoples' hair, and I sell hair-related material and other things. The place in the image keeps me away from joblessness and bad things in the street. The place in the picture is my everything, and if anything threatens the shop, such a thing threatens my life. So like the relocation people saying they want to give us a new place, they should not just talk about it at all (Kemi 30-10-2021).

Similarly, I posed the second question to Kemi regarding help and assistance she gets from the community to support her hairdressing work; she said:

> My everything is here in Makoko. Women in the community, my friends, and neighbours come here to do their hair in my shop. People never come from outside the community to patronise my shop, and they want us out of this place. How is that possible? People who are not our people will not come to us if we are taken to another

> place because we don't look like them or belong to the same group (Kemi, 13-11-21).

Like the previous participants, I asked fisherman David the same first question regarding the choice of the image in Figure 5 he sent to me through the same methods as Sadibo and Kemi. He said:

Figure 5: David Fisherman and his source of livelihood (Source: Author's file)

> I have tasted poverty in my life in Ilaje, I struggled very hard to get this canoe, so it is very important to me and my life. If anything should happen to this canoe as it happened to other people's canoes in 2012, where they were destroyed and crushed by bulldozers, that means my end, I am very serious about it. I have two types one for transportation, as you can see in the image and the other is parked in my house, both of which I use for fishing in the high sea.

> Urban renewal intervention or not, nothing should happen to what you see in the image (David, 13-11-2021).

Like the previous participants, I also posed the second question to David, a fisherman, using the same method regarding the help and assistance he gets from the community to support canoe transport services and fishing activities. He said:

> Since I arrived in Makoko as a young boy from Ilaje, I did not know anybody, but I was aware that some Ilaje people are living in the community, and ever since then, people from Ilaje I met here have taken me as their brother. Through their help, I have gained much support, even in my fishing and canoe businesses (David, 13-11-21).

I equally asked Iya Gbaje the same first question I asked Sadibo, Kemi and David concerning her choice of image in Figure 4 to tell her story about her fishing business and urban renewal interventions, using the same methods as others; she said:

> The place in the image is my everything. It represents my world; with what you see in the image, I have trained two of my children up to higher education levels. The image provides me with life and makes my life meaningful without being dependent on anyone. I just hope the town planning people will not come here as they did some years ago (Iya Gbade Fishmonger 30-10-2021).

Figure 6: Iya Gbade Fishmonger in her place of livelihood (Source: Author's file)

Also, I asked her the same second question as others regarding the help and support she gets from people in Makoko; she said:

> My people in the community patronise my stall to but smoked fish. Even people from outside Makoko come from the Island and mainland Lagos to buy fish from me. This place is all I have known throughout my life and my people know me here, they trust the qualities of my smoked fish. With this stall, my life is complete and without it is not. I am happy that my people come here daily to buy from me (Iya Gbade, 13-11-21)

Also, I posed the same first question to Baba Ayinde regarding the choice of the image in Figure 7 he sent to me to share her experiences concerning livelihoods and urban renewal interventions through the same method as Sadibo, Kemi, David and Iya Gbade. He said:

> The image I sent you is where I begin my life and possibly where I will end it. I built the small house with my sweat as a fisherman. And you see, where I am sitting has been my spot for the last eight years now, I have seen it all. The spot in that image is my life, and if the relocation people came, they would not relocate me alive from the spot. Where else do I have to go with my age so I am not scared of anything again (Ayinde, 13-11-2021).

Figure 7: Baba Ayinde fishnet Knitter in his spot of livelihood (Source; Author's file)

> You see everybody knows me in Makoko, this place in the image has been my spot. Since I retire from being a fisherman when I do not have the energy anymore, fishnet knitting has been the work I have been doing. My people help my business by buying their fishnet from me because they trust my crafts. So, I get a lot of patronage from our people here in Makoko (Ayinde, 13-11-21).

The following stand out based on the analysis of the images presented and the participants' perspectives. The photos presented data relating to livelihood or work equipment, e.g., sewing machine fabrics being sewn, hair dryer, hair attachment, local fish ovens, smoked fish, canoe, passengers boarding the canoe and fishnets. Also, the images represent livelihood workspaces, e.g., a sewing shop, a hairdressing saloon, a local fish-smoking oven stall, a canoe of water collecting passengers and a fishnet knitting spot. The images pass essential information to enrich the understanding of the messages being passed concerning participants' livelihood portfolios. First, participants' perspectives that show the importance of their chosen livelihood portfolios and the readiness to commit anything, even their lives, to protect these constructed livelihoods remain outstanding. In that sense, these individuals would not spare anything in order to preserve these portfolios. Given the significance of the different livelihoods to these individuals, they would explore all the available strategies, opportunities, assets, and resources to protect the portfolios from urban renewal interventions because of one significant factor: the sense of a place or attachment people have with Makoko.

For example, in a study conducted on a traditional street in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Shamsuddin & Ujang (2008) found that place attachment influences people's sense of place; hence, for any redevelopment intervention, such place attachment should be considered. However, significantly from the analyses, there is this strong sense of place attached to Makoko by the participants; therefore, their unwillingness to compromise the place (Makoko) for any other place. Similarly, in another study conducted among Atlanta public housing residents on a sense of attachment, Tester et al. (2011) argue that relocation intervention always left people with a sense of losing their place. Hence, advocate for interventions that would embody people's sense of place. Therefore, in Makoko, the participants' sense of attachment to the community could serve as a strategy to facilitate access to the patronage of their different livelihood portfolios. Hence, this justifies their willingness to remain in the community despite urban renewal interventions.

In the analyses of the second question, the participants expressed that members of Makoko community represent part of their lives because of the high level of

social bond they enjoy. This type of enablement the participants enjoy can be situated within the broad context of social assets/capital. It is within social relations where the people have built trust, bonds, and friendship over time that such patronage can be enjoyed. For example, in a slum settlement in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, a study established that entrenched personal networks derived from associations with friends and neighbours encourage bonding, which translates to social capital used to build trust and confidence among community members (Kassahun, 2015). Such trusts can be converted to raise finances to support livelihood portfolios and even be converted to enjoy patronage on livelihood portfolios, like what Iya Gbade and Baba Ayinde said regarding their people's trust in the crafts in figures 4 and 5.

Similarly, another study in Makassar, Indonesia, revealed that bonding social capital among friend and family networks, and even among ethnic members, trusts are vital factors that people in the community employed to empower livelihood opportunities among small-scale entrepreneurs (Turner, 2007). Fundamentally, I argue that for social capital, community members rely on this trust, friendship, association, and confidence (Conticini, 2005) to patronise people's businesses, which thus enable and support livelihood pathways in the face of urban renewal interventions. Essentially, the analyses here demonstrate and contribute to the argument on social networks that one form of social network can help redistribute its influence on other assets as enablements. This is shown by how trust-based social networks can be used to earn financial assistance and increase livelihoods' portfolio patronage.

Also, *financial assets/capital are* another enablement that enhances livelihood opportunities/pathways. The type of asset/capital is mainly found and accessed through formal and informal sources/means. Profoundly, through informal sources, residents of Makoko community emphasise how monetary borrowing, loans, credits and savings through friends and associations they belong to provide them with means of finance to enable their livelihood pathways. Similarly, among the residents, those who can access formal institutions such as microfinance banks also raise finances in the form of loans to enable their livelihood opportunities. For example, when I asked Kemi, a hairdresser who

sent in the image in Figure 2, where and how she raises finances for her hairdressing saloon, she said;

> The truth is that we help ourselves here to raise money to support our jobs and businesses. For me, since I lost my husband, my brother-in-law has assisted me with money to support my hairdressing work. My brother-in-law borrowed the money I used to purchase my last hair dryer for my hairdressing business with no interest (Kemi, 30-11-21).

Another resident reinforces the importance of financial support he derives from living in Makoko, and the extent to which such support has made his fishing business resilient. He said his being a member of the Association of Fishermen Boat/Canoe-Owners has provided him with opportunities for financial assistance and support for his chosen livelihood pathways. For instance, in his case, he stated:

> As for me, ooo, I have been offered financial assistance in the form of low-interest loans three times. I have used the loans to purchase canoes powered with big engines, which enable my fishing activities and catch fish in the high sea. Sometimes when I am not catching fish, I use the canoes as commercial transportation between Makoko and up to the Atlantic Ocean. Through this, I make good money that enables my timely loan repayment. Therefore, the loans offered to me are good support for my business and family. (Kenneth, 17-06-2022).

In Nigeria, it is typical for people with a poor income to belong to one contributory society of the other to support livelihood pathways. For instance, in a study conducted among the urban poor in Lagos, Oduwaye & Lawanson (2014) revealed that finance provided through rotating credit schemes and loans among members of this urban poor enable the growth of their livelihood pathways and imposed fewer requirements as collateral, compared to that of formal institutions. So, essentially, this is where the element of trust also comes in when assessing assets. Little or no surety is needed to access these loans since the norms and values of the community, as discussed in Chapter 5 of the thesis,

would not allow the beneficiary to betray such trust. I argue that societal or communal norms and values as the foundation of these assets/capitals would not allow people to default in repaying these rotating savings and credit loans.

Similarly, this strategy employed by fisherman Kenneth demonstrates a level of sophistication and the dynamic of business acumen of the people in Makoko, which goes against the stereotypical perceptions of slum dwellers as those who may not be creative in thinking. Also, it strengthens the discourse around how urban renewal interventions enable and constrain opportunities, and in this case, constraints were turned to enablement. In the sense of this finding, urban renewal interventions create an environment where winners and losers are made. The people in the community who are members of the local cooperative association can be said to be the gainers. In contrast, the people who do not belong nor have the means to make the contributions happen become the losers from the opportunity of the local cooperative facilities.

However, the study acknowledges that few members of the community raise these finances from formal sources. The chapter argues further that establishing a cooperative association to provide finance for members of these associations in Makoko enriches the interconnections between the formal and informal economy in cities. Furthermore, the accessibility of some members of Makoko to loans and finances from the local cooperatives and the inability of some members underpin the tenet of the urban environment created by the interaction between formal and informal institutions. Consequently, some members of the community become winners, and some become losers due to the impact created by urban renewal intervention on livelihood pathways.

When I asked Baba Ayinde what other ways, in a specific term where he gets money to support his fishnet knitting business, he said:

> You see, when my two sons were still living with me in Makoko, they assist me in fishing and paddling my canoes. During that time, we catch more fish and make more money. But since they left the community years ago, I can only catch a small quantity of fish with a small income, it is not easy, and I am getting older and becoming

> weaker. Although my children do send me some money, which I use to supplement whatever I have (Ayinde 16-07-2022)

The situation in which Baba Ayinde's sons have left the community and are still sending him some money for upkeep brings the debate about remittances as a real livelihood enablement or asset source. The notion is expressed in Turner (2007), who applied the assets/capital component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework in the analysis of a study in Makassar, Indonesia, revealing that access to finance through family and acquaintances and local networks facilitates livelihood pathways in their activities. In a study conducted in Msinga, South Africa, Sharaunga & Mudhara (2021), using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework- SLF found that remittances represent the second highest of all the strategies employed among the rural women in the community.

When I asked a pastor of a church about the roles his church plays in Makoko community, he said that:

> I established this school some years back. Pupils have been coming from all parts of Makoko to the primary school. Initially, I started as an NGO distributing small funds to widows for small-scale businesses. Later from the fund I received from the Redeemed Christian church, I was able to start primary school a few years ago, and it is run free of charge. Our teachers are volunteers and teach the pupil for free without collecting money. My joy is that I am happy that a platform is provided to develop young human minds for the future (Pastor Mathews, 16-06-2022).

When asked that given the amount of money the church may likely be spending to provide this funding, he said:

> Our church has focused, driven support which is targeted at women and children; we get a substantial part of our funding from donations from individuals, companies and a few international organisations. As a member of the Redeemed Church, our account is audited yearly by the church headquarters. (Pastor Mathews 16-06-2022)

Fundamentally, what pastor Mathews said represents human capital/assets support for the vulnerable members of Makoko community. This type of human capital the church provides during or after urban renewal intervention benefits the people twofold. First, the support is geared towards supporting the local livelihoods of the people, and the second represents investing in the development of human capital in the community. Essentially, the church provides help for the most vulnerable groups, women and children. The widowed women are targeted to support them in maintaining their livelihood sources. In a study conducted in Northwest Plains, India, Erenstein (2011) found that significant investment in women contributes to human development. The children are supported in acquiring education for their future growth and development.

Another enablement is the availability of natural assets/capital. This includes natural assets such as water within the community. As a natural asset/capital, water is used for transportation services to transport timbers and people in and out of the community. In addition, the asset/capital serves as a source of livelihood pathways for some of the residents of the community. Also, water availability as an asset/capital provides a natural habitat for fish breeding. For instance, a resident said;

> Our life is water, and water is our life. I make a lot of money because of water availability in our community. for me, I go to the high sea not far from us to catch fish. I use my canoe to do transportation service because of this water and make money. The water here is a blessing from the above, but the government want to see it as a curse. We will not allow that, but we will continue to enjoy our natural gift for everyone here in the community (Kenneth, 17-06-2022)

In another narrative, an older woman said to me that;

> In this water, I do not catch fish alone, I catch crabs, shrimps, crayfish and other seawater food as a source of income for my family and me. And if we do not get enough fish from around here we

> go to the people on the Mainland to buy from them. We need to keep the business going. In addition, I have trained two of my children through the water, who have since left the community. This water is a gift from God to Makoko people. I see the water as a blessing because through water, I have been taking care of myself and my family (Dorcas, 17-06-2022).

Exploiting natural gifts may appear as a blessing to a group of people or community; however, Mahajan & Singh (2022) identify that overexploitation of such natural resources as water creates tension because it is a resource for everyone to exploit. For example, in a study conducted regarding livelihoods and conflicts, focusing on the diminishing water resources of Lake Chad in North Eastern Nigeria, Onuoha (2009) revealed the following. He noted that tension is brewing among the farmers, security agents, fishermen and pastoralists, which may lead to war among ethnic, state, and inter-state stakeholders.

Water availability as a natural asset/capital in Makoko has offered the residents many livelihood opportunities and pathways. Residents have been exploring and exploiting the opportunities that lie within it to earn and pursue livelihoods. Similar experiences regarding how natural assets enable people's lives and livelihoods are found in previous research. For example, a study in the Northwest Plains of India found that the availability of natural capital enhanced the residents' capabilities to earn more income and help reduce poverty (Erenstein, 2011). Another instance is the study in Mekong Delta, Vietnam, which revealed that water as a natural resource is crucial to the poor households in this Delta area as a source of income and food production (Marc & Schmitt, 2010).

Again, what fisherman Kenneth said with regards to going to the high sea to catch fish signifies the fast disappearance of fish from the water in Makoko. This may have been caused by over-exploitation (Butsch & Heinkel, 2020; Mahajan, V & Singh, 2022) of the natural water gift or by the other periurban development (Butsch & Heinkel, 2020) around the natural resources. However, in a much deeper sense, Butsch & Heinkel (2020) argue that such freedom to over-exploit natural resources for livelihood support is due to poor physical planning and a poor regulatory system to curb excessive exploitation. Again, this argument still

comes back to the environment created by the institutions that enable people to over-exploit natural assets to support livelihood portfolios against the impact of urban renewal interventions.

Fundamentally, over-exploitation is now reshaping the re-strategising dynamism of Makoko people, such that the fishmongers have recalibrated, especially according to what Fishmonger Dorcas said. They currently purchase fish from people on Lagos Island who engage in the concrete fishpond, i.e., those private fish pond businessmen who invest in the modern aquaculture business of fish ponds. So essentially, to keep the customer base, sustain livelihoods, and remain relevant in the fish business, the people in the community are constantly responding to the environment, and this has shaped the people to respond accordingly to the prevailing institutions.

This asset seems the most important because many livelihood pathways depend on it for fishing and all forms of trading and artisan activities. Therefore, it is evident from the residents' narratives that financial, physical, social, human, and natural assets/capitals take critical roles in livelihood portfolio enablement in Makoko community. However, despite the support provided by these assets/capitals, some other constraints render the livelihood pathways vulnerable, which are discussed in the next section. In terms of constraints and vulnerabilities, the people in the community are undoubtedly prone to disaster risks, given my in situ observation. The people recognise their conditions and situations as being vulnerable to natural disasters, seasonality, man-made, and institutional policies of the Lagos state government, especially the urban renewal laws that come into existence after the community is already in existence.

For example, the Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Development Law 2010 and LSURDP-Law (2010) clearly outline planning regulations and standards and planning approval of physical development. The Lagos State Government Environmental Management Agency- LASEMA is responsible for flood disasters, collapsed buildings, environmental pollution and evacuation. However, the LSURDP- Law recently came into effect when it was signed into law in 2010, but Makoko existed before the law, and so did LASEMA. Therefore, the point being

made is that there is no clear disaster plan or framework plan that was deliberately put in place that I was aware of at the time of writing this thesis.

Nevertheless, this does not preclude the analyses of the potential disaster risk Makoko faces. Some of the experiences described by residents of the community regarding their vulnerabilities to natural disasters include seasonality- which reduces fish catch, and ocean/storm surge- which often increases the water level and significant dangers to livelihoods on water.

Other vulnerabilities around the ocean surge include the inability to travel to the high sea to catch fish whilst restricting the use of canoes/boats. For example, when asked about the choice of living and locating his canoe carving workshop on a small self-made island on the water, the resident stated that:

> I know it is dangerous, especially when there is a storm or water rise, but I decided to sand-filled this location to have close and easy access to my customers who use canoes as livelihoods (Bayode, 16-06-2022).

Figure 8: Gradual washing away of the sand-filled workshop (Source: Author's file)

However, I asked the officer in LASURA about the Agency's plans, regulations or frameworks for communities susceptible to potential natural disaster risks, such as climate-related disasters, flood-related disasters and storm-surge disaster risks, and the officer said:

> So for the regulations, as I was saying, regulations are supposed to give details to the law. So that is just what we have done for Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency-LASURA. The Agency did not have any regulation concerning natural disasters (Officer Deb, 19-07-2021).

The point being made is clear that the Agency only relies on the LSURDP- Law 2010 and does not mention anything related to disaster risk. Nevertheless, in another response to a similar question, a fisherman respondent acknowledged their vulnerability to storm surges and the violence/danger such poses to their lives and livelihoods. He described his experience as;

> You see, our work is dangerous; many people do not know. I had witnessed many occasions when the storm and strong wind turned the canoe upside down. On two occasions, I saw canoes ruptured into pieces by the strong wind on the sea. But, whenever our fellow fishermen or I saw cloudy and strong windy weather ahead, we always came back home (Desmond, 16-06-2022).

Again, when an older woman who has lived her entire life in Makoko was posed the same question, she queried and said;

> Where do you want me to live? Do you know how many times water has flooded my house, this place you are sitting, and I have survived every single one. I know it is dangerous living and earning my money from here in Makoko, but where do you want me to go? Let me tell you, I am used to the situations, and I will stay and die here (Dorcas, 17-06-2022).

Essentially, the risks acknowledged by the residents of the community could also be situated within the context of people's vulnerability to the challenges associated with seasonality/climate change. While some residents believe that the vulnerability to disaster risk is natural and dangerous, others believe it is a pre-existing challenge due to the seasonality to which they have become accustomed. Perspectives of people in Makoko, as expressed, connote a situation where priorities and values are placed on the opportunities that can be explored and exploited in the community to support livelihoods rather than any considerations to risks associated with exposure to disasters.

Also, physical assets include tangible assets, such as work tools and equipment used to support others who may not have such equipment and tools. For instance, a study among Bangladesh fishermen found the importance of physical assets as a contributing factor to their income (M. M. Islam et al., 2014). Also, a study in Norton, Zimbabwe, notes the critical role of physical assets such as vehicles, hoes, irrigation machines, and ploughs in mobilising labour and needed materials for construction without external assistance from the community (Kabonga, 2020). In this thesis, the image of the people in Figure 7 shows different work tools Bayode’s friends came with to help him construct his shop in

the middle of the water. I reason that the contribution of the physical asset is immensely beneficial because it is through these assets that homes are built and provided to help people survive the environment created by the urban renewal intervention in the community.

In a sense, put side by side with Canoe Carver Bayode and LASURA Official statements, it may not be difficult to understand why the people in Makoko are deeply sceptical about the real intentions of urban renewal interventions. However, the reason for the scepticism may not be far away from the fact that careful and comprehensive plans regarding how people would be taken care of when disaster happens or when urban renewal interventions are initiated. Also, residents getting used to storm surges and flooding may have been part of what they have become accustomed to in the community. Also, it can be said that stormwater surges/rises and reductions in fish catch experienced by Makoko residents can be linked to climate change-related vulnerabilities.

Figure 9: Building a workshop in the middle of the water (Source: Author's file)

For instance, the image in Figure 9 shows Canoe Carver Bayode setting up his workshop in the middle of the water, which ordinarily appears dangerous. However, due to his clear understanding of the terrain, he preferred his workshop on water. When I asked him why the location, he said:

> When my workshop was washed away by seawater rise one year ago, members from my job's association helped me dredge sand to sand filled and rebuild my workshop. This is the best place to sell my handwork, the fishermen in Makoko pass through this place every day and to sell my work to them, I have to move near where they are most frequent (Bayode 16-06-2022).

However, the extent to which the people in Makoko understand these challenges experienced as climate-change-related risks may not be known. However, the evidence is reflected in the housing system built on planks in suspended style yet able to withstand storms; the point remains that they understand the climate better. Furthermore, the lack of alternative relocation and disaster management plans may have forced people to develop self-built resilience against these disasters. Additionally, as analysed and discussed in the earlier part of the chapter, the sense of attachment also plays a crucial role.

One crucial issue that resonates strongly among the participants from the community is that despite the obvious and potential disaster risks associated with living and earning livelihoods in Makoko, it is that phrase of belonging to Makoko. This type of belongingness is likened to the place attachment, previously discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. Hidalgo & Hernández (2001) found such place attachment in the community, social relations, and physical assistance they enjoy among peers. When people refuse relocation even in the face of imminent disaster, such can be attached to the sense of place and attachment (Swapan & Sadeque, 2021). Furthermore, the attachment can be ideologically motivated (Butz & Eyles, 1997), where human beings are grounded in a community and belong to a familiar community of people with shared locations and institutions. Additionally, belongingness also implies a sense of place (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006), which connects people emotionally to their geographical area. This time, such emotional connection bonds the people of Makoko with the community.

For instance, in a study on slums in disaster-prone Lagos, it is observed and encouraged that coordinated preventive approaches to lives and livelihoods be adopted instead of measures such as slum clearance violating the rights of slum dwellers to housing (Ajibade & McBean, 2014). However, as positioned earlier, the lack of existing plans for coordinated preventive measures may be responsible for the slum clearance, according to what the LASURA Officer said regarding the availability of any regulatory plan apart from the LSURDP-Law 2010. The position, as expressed, could be argued that it is predicated on protecting the lives and livelihoods of the people living in these hazardous locations within the city. Ideally, since it is becoming practically impossible to relocate and rehabilitate this group of people in a safer alternative location(s) that meet their needs, the importance and consideration of coordinated efforts become essential.

However, I agree with the position and argue that based on the perspectives expressed, it is apparent that people essentially trade off their safety lives to pursue and perhaps explore livelihood pathways and opportunities available in the community. The point is that people do not believe in the government; their suspicions are based on people's experience and mistrust of the government. Again, since the people cannot be provided with alternative accommodation and sustainable livelihoods in safer locations, they should be encouraged and allowed to live and operate safely through government support. Again, from the position of LASURA Officer, there is no alternative plan to take care of the needs of the people. Therefore, going elsewhere is not an alternative for people.

Other constraints and vulnerabilities include changes due to ill health or the death of household heads or family members. When a question related to how much she makes was posed, she said;

> I have children and a husband; we have been working and making money together before, I am a hairdresser, and he was a fisherman. But, he died some three years ago, and it has been difficult to provide for my children since my husband's death. So please help us appeal to the government not to relocate us from here because if they do, life will be difficult for my children and

> me because they are still young, and I don't know where to take them to if the government relocate us (Alice, 13-11-21).

Essentially, these changes in conditions positioned the people in challenging and vulnerable situations to pursue livelihood portfolios/pathways, thereby reducing household incomes. Reinforcing the impacts of the above situations, a resident described how the death of her husband affected their livelihood sources;

6.3. Individual Livelihood Strategies

In Makoko, the livelihood strategies are considered to include the livelihood activities, pathways, and sources people in the community engage or explore to earn a living, especially during difficult times. Therefore, within the context of enablement and constraints/vulnerabilities to livelihood opportunities/pathways, the residents of the community devised and employed different livelihood strategies. Essentially, livelihood strategies are devised and employed to provide support in order to insulate lives and livelihoods from known and unknown threats to their livelihood pathways. The numerous livelihood strategies devised by the people in the community are contextualised, discussed, and analysed under the following sub-headings.

6.3.1. Local Cooperative/Credit (Alajeseku) Rotating Societies and Microfinance Banks

In order to sustain and support livelihood portfolios/pathways, Makoko residents embraced belonging to cooperative/credit-rotating societies as livelihood strategies. The residents who participated in the research confirmed the existence of cooperative/credit rotating societies in the community, providing extra support and financial assistance to subscribed members. Some of these societies are established on an age-group basis, a jobs/artisan basis, a gender-based basis, and an ethnic basis. Essentially, the aims and goals of these cooperative societies are the same, solely to support members' livelihood activities. For instance, one of the fishermen ascertained his membership in a cooperative society in the community, which was subscribed mainly to young fishermen. He shared his experience of being a member:

> Being a member of our youth group cooperative society in Makoko, I have obtained low-interest loans, which have assisted me with the number of my canoes. But I must confess it takes a longer time to get to one's turn because nearly every young people working in the community are a member of the cooperative society (Kenneth, 17-06-2022).

In a similar narrative, one of the oldest men, who is also a chief in the community, said;

> I have been a fisherman since my adult age, and even up till this time. But now I have people who are working for me using my canoes. I am a founding member of the cooperative society of the main fishermen association in Makoko. Today, I still contribute and take loans from society to grow my fishing business. I also have other sources which I will not mention (Chief Toba, 16-06-2022).

From the residents' narratives, it is apparent that being a subscribed member of cooperative societies in the community is a sure livelihood strategy to contribute and take loans to grow businesses during difficult times. A similar experience is found in the Shurugwi district, Zimbabwe. The study discovered that cooperative society as a strategy not only sustains the livelihood of the poor community but also provides employment, enhances food production capacity, empowers the vulnerable women group, reduces poverty, and enables social networks among the people (Mhembwe & Dube, 2017). Also reported in a study conducted among the rural farmers in the Boricha district of Sidama, Ethiopia, cooperative society as an embraced livelihood strategy supports the growth of businesses, increases income-generating opportunities, encourages surplus production, reduces poverty, and sustains livelihood portfolios of members (Getnet & Anullo, 2012). Based on Makoko residents' narratives and reported studies, I argue that cooperative society as a livelihood strategy embraced by some residents of the community provides them with a credible and reliable strategy to fall back on during difficult times, considering peoples' experiences and membership subscriptions.

My in situ observation showed the non-existence of a formal banking system in the community. Even microfinance bank is completely non-existence. In the heart of the city where they exist, it is impracticable to accommodate and provide needed finance for the people. Fundamentally, the coming together of

the people to establish the local cooperative societies as an alternative to the formal finance houses may have been justified, given the challenges of accessing funds by the people of the community.

Also, the arrangement of cooperative societies enables people to sideline the formal banking sector to fund their businesses with a very low-interest rate since the primary aim is to help members' livelihood portfolios grow. Again, the arrangement protects the people from the intrusion of the urban system and provides a safety net for members when there are urban renewal intervention disruptions to lives and livelihoods. When livelihood pathways are distorted or destroyed, like those whose canoes were crushed in 2012, as mentioned by the canoe man in the earlier section of the chapter, the local cooperative societies have always helped out. These are evidenced in the following analyses.

In other somewhat similar examples, but with different societies, one of the members of gender-based fish-smoking local rotating savings and credit associations/societies in the community shared her experience;

> In our neighbourhood quarters, I belong to our egbe- our local weekly savings society where we, about 25 women, contribute a specific amount of money weekly. Each week, the contributed amount is given to individual members in a cycle of 25 weeks, all year round. Members use the money to support and invest in our fish businesses (Dorcas, 17-06-2022).

Similarly, another young lady echoed the same experience, she said:

> I also contribute weekly Ajo to the association of hairdressers to which I belong. Although, the money is small ooo, because we are few here in Makoko. The contributed money is paid as a whole to members in weekly rounds. But, it provides support; I have often used the money to buy materials for my work, such as hair attachments, to sell to my customers (Alice, 13-11-2021).

Additionally, in another shared narrative describing the benefit of being a contributor to a local savings and credit- Ajo association, the residents claimed that:

> I was able to purchase a replacement for my damaged canoe's engine some months ago through my being a contributor to our Ajo. And you know the cost of the engine is thousands of Naira. Where would I have the money to replace my canoe engine if not for my savings and the contributions in our Ajo? I cannot deceive you; being a contributor has been helpful to my job. (Kenneth, 17-06-2022)

Essentially, the societies serve as a strategy/platform where traders, artisans and small-scale entrepreneurs contribute weekly savings and credit such amounts in favour of subscribed members on a weekly and cycle basis. For example, the type of associations and contributions made by residents of Makoko as livelihood strategy is similar to other studies in developing countries primarily referred to as rotating savings and credit associations/groups. For instance, a study in Nyonirima, a northern village in Rwanda, found that rotating savings and credit associations as a livelihood strategy provide practical financial support and expand the building capacities among subscribed members (Benda, 2013). In a similar example, a study in Malay and Penang villages in Malaysia revealed that membership in a local rotating credit (kut) association devised by residents as a livelihood strategy provides a safety net with which members save and borrow money to support and grow their livelihoods (Suriati Ghazali, 2003).

However, the critical nature of the livelihood strategy in providing support for peoples' livelihoods, especially during challenging times, could be subjected to abuse if the strategy is not properly coordinated and managed. Nevertheless, from the experiences, narratives of Makoko residents, and studies cited, I argue that the livelihood strategy is common and widely embraced by the urban poor because of its membership composition. The composition is mainly tied around the social network of well-known individuals, primarily families, friends, and neighbours, whose extractions are within the same communities, hence making it difficult for them to be abused.

Similar to the cooperative/credit-rotating societies is the availability of LAPO microfinance bank loans- locally referred to as *Alajeseku*, which provide loan facilities to residents of the community. Residents, especially artisans, explore these microfinance loans because the requirements for accessing the loans are not as formal and imposing as regular commercial banks. For instance, one of the members of Makoko based artisan group describe the conditions as;

> They (LAPO- Alajeseku) ask us to provide the address of where we live and the type of our jobs to invest the loan on before such loans can be provided. Also, the description and address of our workshop must be provided, and an idea of how much we make weekly must be provided to know how much they could lend us (Bayode, 16-07-2022).

The conditions and processes described by the artisan requirements for the loan assessment from the LAPO microfinance banks serve as means and procedures for the banks to trace an individual member of the artisan association. Also, such required details assist the banks in determining how much of a loan can be provided to an individual based on their income.

However, when asked the type of sureties, guarantors or collateral required by the LAPO microfinance banks before such loans could be provided, the artisan member said that;

> They (LAPO-Alajeseku) always request for our national ID card and make copies of the card to ascertain our home address and workshop and the type of jobs we do. Also, our association act as a guarantor for us. They often visit our workshop unannounced after they have provided the loans to monitor us (Bayode, 16-07-2022).

Essentially, the statement above showed that a combined number of factors are considered by the loan provider(s) to make loans easily accessible and available to the artisans in the community. Notably, members of the artisan association see the LAPO- *Alajeseku* microfinance loans as a dependable strategy to explore sustaining their livelihoods. Furthermore, unlike mainstream commercial banks,

which require all sorts of formal documentation, LAPO microfinance banks' conditions and processes make loans easier and less complicated to assess.

As argued previously, these soft requirements give the people some attachment to the community. Consequently, even if the urban renewal interventions provide a better place for the people to be relocated, such would quickly be turned down. As argued previously in the chapter, the easy access to these credits and loans from the local cooperative societies is based on trust built over the years. Essentially, moving to another location or being relocated would take another long time for such trust to be built and for such local cooperative societies to be organised.

For example, a study in three coastal communities in Bangladesh found that the local credit lending system known as dadondar helps the fishermen as a strategy for raising funds to support their fishing activities but also acknowledges exploitation by the lenders (Islam, 2011). However, another study with different findings in two villages of Abia and Ebonyi States, Nigeria, reports microfinance loans as beneficial but argues that based on the experience of women entrepreneurs, the loan facilities are considered unsafe, pack of debts and enormous risk, which can potentially set them back in their businesses instead of being a livelihood strategy (Ukanwa et al., 2018).

6.3.2. Extra-Legal Trading Activities across National and International Boundaries

One of the remarkable livelihood strategies employed by the residents of Makoko is the presence of extra-legal trading and transactions across national and international borders/markets. According to observations and engagements with the residents who trade in fishing and lumbering/sawmill activities, describe how they can, through the strategy, deal in currency exchange, sometimes smuggling and make more income. For instance, engaging one of the residents, he requested his identity protected and confided in me that;

> I make more income through night transportation of timbers from the neighbouring riverine States than during the day. You know, if I do this, I will not have to pay stamp and hammer tax; through

> this, I make more income. After all, the tax they collect from us, do we benefit from it at all (Akeem, 30-10-2021)

The view sounds revealing, but it is an illegal activity that has been thriving for a long time. The view expressed by the sawmiller reinforces the need for urban renewal intervention to have a complete redevelopment in the community, with houses that can be numbered, people can be traced, and tax and other related services can be extended to the community. However, the argument remains that if there are no concrete and comprehensive plans to convince the people to cooperate and agree to redevelopment intervention, dealing with illegalities in this community will be impracticable. On the other hand, it could also be argued that when people enjoy doing something illegal and derive monetary gains with no consequence, the tendency to continue in that trajectory remains very strong. Therefore, resisting urban renewal intervention may be the covering smoke to perpetuate these criminal activities in Makoko.

Also, a fisherman who is often involved in the fishing business between Makoko and the Republic of Benin said:

> The most profitable part of my business is when I help people transport sea water foods from the Republic of Benin to Makoko. I make more money than catching fish because sometimes my transactions involve earning in foreign currency, which, when converted, could be more than our currency. So, I preferred doing high sea transportation and fishing activities more than anything. Because of the money made from the business, I promptly repaid the loan that *Ajo* offered me within months. I enjoy the business, which is why I will never leave Makoko, I tell you (Kenneth, 17-06-2022).

Additionally, while exploring the same trans-borders strategy of making more income, a young canoe-carver said that;

> My uncle introduced me to selling my built canoes to the people and fishermen across the borders. The reason is that the timbers we used in carving the canoes are cheaper here in Makoko

> than across the borders. So I make a lot of money, even in millions of Naira, because some of them pay me in foreign currency, and when I convert the money, I have more. So, this is an addition to the ones I sell here in Makoko, I am happy and can never leave the community. In fact, I set up a trading shop for my wife from the profit I made some months ago, and I am happy (Bayode, 16-07-2022).

The experiences shared and narrated are typical of desperation on the part of Makoko residents to earn more money from other means as a strategy against recurrent uncertainties in the community. A striking resemblance to the previous narratives is revealed in Botsoapa, Lesotho, South Africa; the study found the prevalence of extra-legal farming and trading of cannabis as profitable livelihood strategies among the residents in the community because it provides them profitable extra income (Bloomer, 2009). Again, a similar study in Chobe Enclave, Kasane, Botswana, found cross-border trade as a threat to the national economy, both informal and illegal, but revealed that it provides opportunities for livelihood strategies and employment pathways to members of the Enclave (Gumbo, 2012). A related study in Moramanga, Madagascar, found that many households in this community considered and engaged in illegal lives of wildlife animal collection as a profitable livelihood strategy despite global prohibitions against the practice (Robinson et al., 2018).

Essentially, as narrated above, the trading activities symbolise extra-legal livelihood strategies for the residents to be creative in the face of natural and institutional or man-made vulnerabilities and challenges. Sometimes it can be argued that every extra-legal or informal activity may seem criminal to the government and its agencies. However, I argue that when the enabling environment for people to engage in decent and gainful formal employment is not opened, it becomes a moral issue for the government to situate or justify the extra-legal or informal terms adequately. Fundamentally, what is crucial to these categories of people involved in extra-legal activities are the profitability of these pathways and the need to earn extra income to provide essentials to live a semblance of secure lives with alternative livelihood strategies in place in case of uncertainties. Urban renewal interventions and the constant threats of the intervention bring about these uncertainties, which can destroy already

constructed livelihoods, break social networks, and severely damage people's access to assets and resources.

6.3.4 Household Members in Diversified Livelihoods

A diversification strategy is practised in the community, mainly among family household members. It involved diversifying the main livelihoods into another one. It is also a situation and strategy that involves members of the household's involvement in other aspects of the family's livelihood and reduces costs. For example, one of the participants shared her experience in diversifying her main livelihood to different sources; he said;

> you can see in my shop now that I also have another source of income, selling slippers. Through this, I make extra money, at least if people do not come to sew their clothing, they always come to buy slippers from my shop (Sadibo, 13-11-2021).

The view expressed by tailor Sadibo shows the ingenuity of diversifying within the same business. When one is not bringing money, the other is. Expressing a similar point, Hairdresser Alice said:

> You know, as a hairdresser, I do not depend only on making or weaving my customers' hair alone. I also sell all the accessories and materials needed, such as hair attachment weave-on, hair and shampoo cream. So, most times my income does not come from the hair-making alone but from the sales of these hair-making materials (Alice, 13-11-2021).

Sharing his own experience, a young fisherman said;

> I have two canoes, and one is engine-powered. So I used paddling sticks to power the second one. The one powered by paddling sticks is used as a transportation service to pick and drop people at different locations in Makoko. I do this whenever I do not go to the high sea to fish, and I make money from it, which I use to pay my bills and rent (David, 16-06-2022).

In a direct and short response to the same diversification query, a respondent said:

> I opened timber log stalls for my wife and first son through the profit I made from my timber workshop. Since I do not know what may happen tomorrow, I have to ensure I do not put all my money in the same place, I have to put it in other parts of the business (Akeem, 30-10-2021).

Residents mainly engage in diversified livelihood pathways to remain resilient and sustain lives and livelihoods. For example, using the assets/capital component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework in the analysis of a study in the Qashqai nomadic community in Fars, Iran, which predominantly depends on pastoral livelihood activities, it is revealed that the ability of nomads to diversify into different nomadic pathways. Moreover, the diversification assisted them in reducing poverty and providing needed finances despite climate-related challenges (Ghazali et al., 2022).

Also, in South Charduani and Tafaldaria Bangladeshi coastal villages, a study discovered that the involvement of women and children in local craft and fishnet making, catching small fish and juvenile shrimps, fish processing, and trading as household livelihood strategies contribute significantly to the household income (Islam & Walkerden, 2022). Similarly, a study in Manilla, Philippines, found that households with diversified livelihoods, such as street-sweeping and car painting outside the community as a strategy, stay resilient, withstand shock, and are less impacted during the displacement and demolition exercises carried out for a metro railway project (Choi, 2015).

Conversely, the study acknowledges that those without diversified livelihood sources suffered the loss of their valuable physical assets during the government project intervention. Therefore, diversifying livelihoods outside one’s home, where risks such as urban renewal interventions remain higher and could disrupt livelihood portfolios, represents precautionary and preventive measures. Moreover, such a move provides resilience against vulnerability to such livelihood portfolios.

Essentially, these studies and the narratives of the Makoko residents exemplify the critical support of the strategy in the face of vulnerabilities. Consequently, diversifying livelihood sources as a strategy in a household or family serves as shock-absorbers and provides alternative means of secured income to avoid sudden loss of earnings from the main livelihood. Nevertheless, it is observed from the previous section in the chapter that any change in household composition relating to the natural or sudden death of a family member or decisions of household members to stay or move out of a household impacts their income and leaves them vulnerable.

Therefore, I fundamentally reason that engaging household members in diversified livelihood portfolios and pathways seems a dependable strategy to create a steady flow of income to wade off potential uncertainties. However, it is crucial to recognise that based on the previous analysis in the prior section of the chapter, the strategy is not infallible but appears susceptible and vulnerable to natural disasters/shock/seasonality and man-made challenges.

6.3.5 Alternative Purchase of Fish

To continually supply the customer base and sustain fishing activities, especially smoked fish sales, purchasing bulk fish from concrete-pond owners in Lagos mainland is widely practised as a livelihood strategy among the fishing populace of Makoko. This situation has been briefly discussed previously but not in a real analytical sense. Private concrete fishpond owners are the Lagos mainland individuals who own and breed fish of different types on concrete ponds to supply live fish for buyers and consumers. A concrete pond is typically constructed with reinforced concrete with a steady water supply to enable the fish to survive and grow, with different types (Oyetola et al., 2022). Makoko's fish traders say these concrete pond owners are spread around the Lagos mainland suburbs, while the various ponds provide different capacities and types of fish.

According to people's accounts, the main factor responsible for the strategy is the recurrent scarcity of fish in the sea due to overfishing, seasonality, and challenges of climate change-related vulnerabilities. Some general and specific

challenges and vulnerabilities are experienced during recurrent stormy weather on the sea and sea waterways, which often pose dangers to fishermen and their fishing boats, consequently restricting fishing activities. Also, the issue of recurrent few fish catches is another issue responsible for the exploration of patronising private concrete pond owners on the Lagos mainland. Therefore, to ensure constant supply to consumers and consumers alike and maintain livelihood stability, the alternative of the concrete fish-pond farmers on the Lagos mainland becomes a livelihood strategy. The realities of the challenges leading to adopting the strategy are described as;

> If I must tell you, so many times, I have had reasons to travel outside Makoko to go and purchase catfish from concrete pond owners on the mainland. I did this severally so as not to lose my customers because if they come to me for fish and I do not have any to supply them, they will go to someone else. And if I allow that to happen continuously, I may not have people buy from me again. So, buying from the pond owners outside is worth it for me (Kenneth, 17-06-2022).

Expressing the same experience, an older woman who has been in the seafood business in the community said;

> There are different ways I go about it. For example, sometimes, I send my children as far as other waterside communities to get crabs, shrimps and crayfish so I can have the usual supply for my buyers. As for fish, I also buy from the people on the mainland who have concrete ponds for my supply (Dorcas, 17-06-2022).

Essentially, the strategy of patronising concrete fishpond owners by the residents of Makoko to sustain their fishing livelihoods provides a ready-made livelihood strategy for the fish traders based on the above accounts. Furthermore, evidence of previous research in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria, revealed that the strategy, apart from providing fish supply for the fishermen and fishmongers, is also a livelihood strategy for the pond owners, most of whom have other primary livelihood sources (Wuyep & Rampedi, 2018). Similarly, another study conducted on fish farms in southwest Nigeria found that the

livelihood strategy is also a stable source of food security for the people (Akegbejo-Samsons & Adeoye, 2012).

One crucial factor responsible for this has been discussed previously in the chapter, which concerns over-exploitation (Butsch & Heinkel, 2020; Mahajan & Singh, 2022). The evidence here brings to the fore and underscores the environment created, as analysed and discussed in Chapter 5, by the prevailing institutions of urban renewal interventions to shape how people of the community pursue their livelihood pathways.

The peoples' experiences and other studies provide a situation where the people who patronise the pond owners have reliable alternatives to stabilise their businesses as livelihood strategies. On the other hand, the owners of the ponds also have a ready customer base for their fish farm products, which offers them additional income source(s). Essentially, I argue that the livelihood strategy is a practice that benefits both parties involved and provides a reliable food supply source for the larger society.

6.3.6 Housing Rentals

This strategy involves house owners renting out unused, unoccupied, or partitioned rooms in their houses to other community residents for a fee on a monthly or yearly base. My observations and engagements with Makoko community residents confirm this livelihood strategy's practice. Remarkably, the livelihood strategy's practice is not limited to vacant or partitioned rooms, while some unoccupied shops/stalls and workshops are also rented as a livelihood strategy to make extra income. For instance, in my engagement with a resident regarding this practice, he shared his experience as;

> I rent my un-used two rooms to our people who do not own a house of theirs. What I collect as rent from these tenants is small. When I collect the rent each year, I put it back to my fishing business. Like last year, I used the money to buy a small canoe with no engine, which is used as a transport service here in Makoko. You know these days I do not go fishing again; little money I get, I

> re-invest into other places (Chief Toba, 16-06-2022).

Another resident narrates a similar experience regarding this livelihood strategy as;

> I have two rooms in my house and can only occupy one. Since I do not use the second room, I have to rent it out to my friend at a giveaway price. In the shop I am using for the net-making business, I also share the same shop with a friend, who pays me monthly. so I have three ways I earn money, and I am okay here (Ayinde, 13-11-2021).

From the different engagements with the community residents and the observations made, it is apparent that renting vacant or unoccupied spaces in Makoko appears to be an income-spinning livelihood strategy. Studies also abound in the Global South with similar experiences, where people explore strategies to complement or enhance their livelihood activities. For example, adopting the SLF in Godar, Ethiopia, a study revealed that house owners do not use their houses for household accommodation alone, but they derive additional incomes by converting unoccupied spaces into other uses, which serve as further means of livelihood (Yirga, 2021). Similarly, a study in Addis Ketema and Kolfe Keranyo, Ethiopia, using SLF combined with other analytical tools, found evidence of renting out vacant rooms among house owners to other members of the communities, while some of these tenants sometimes sub-let these rooms as livelihood strategies to augment incomes (Berhanu et al., 2022).

Finally, relying on the analyses and discussions of enablement and constraints to livelihood pathways, individual strategies employed to support livelihoods in the face of vulnerabilities and different perspectives, positions, and arguments. I submit as follows. The chapter has argued that the environment created by the institutions, such as urban renewal interventions, enables access to some to pursue and build some livelihood strategies. On the other hand, some individuals have limited opportunities to access assets and resources, making it difficult to pursue specific livelihood strategies. Therefore, pulling all these together as analysed and discussed in Chapter 5, I argue that people’s attempts to pursue or

access certain livelihoods through different strategies indicate that these livelihoods are diverse, complex, and not immune to vulnerabilities, hence underscoring the precarious livelihoods debate.

6.4 Making of Case for Precarious Livelihood

Precarious livelihood is conceived as employment insecurity with risk and exclusion (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997). The debate of precarious livelihood is conceptualized around job insecurity (Avila & Rose, 2009). It is seen as insecure jobs and livelihoods that embrace the struggle to survive (Siegmann & Schiphorst, 2016). Others see it as multidimensional and global (Armano et al., 2017). When an employment or livelihood pathway is not dependable, it becomes precarious (Scully, 2016). From the context provided regarding precarious livelihood, I submit that the daily struggle of people in Makoko to cling to different strategies to keep their livelihood portfolios afloat and the exposure to the impact of urban renewal interventions opens a new understanding of the precarious livelihoods debate.

6.5 Summary

The chapter analyses and discusses numerous factors that enable and constrain access to different livelihood pathways, including the opportunities open to individuals, the strategies they employ, and the outcomes they achieve. The analysis shows the livelihood strategies individuals employed to construct livelihood portfolios and details how they access available resources (assets), which can be facilitated or constrained by the impact of urban renewal interventions. The chapter explains what and how individuals pursue certain assets and resources to enable their livelihood portfolios. In contrast, others are constrained by their inability to access these resources due to the prevailing environment created by urban renewal interventions. Therefore, the empirical analyses argue that these individual livelihood strategies may appear less vulnerable in the short run due to some enablement assessed. However, in the long run, and a real sense, these individual livelihood strategies can only go as far and are not even immune to the vulnerability of the impact of urban renewal interventions. Hence, the chapter argues that these livelihoods are delicately constructed and susceptible to the environment created by urban renewal

interventions. The chapter then combines all the analyses and discussions to contribute to knowledge on the current empirical understanding of debates on precarious livelihoods among impoverished people.

7 Collective Response to Urban Renewal Interventions

7.1. Introduction

The chapter analyses and discusses research question three: How do collective responses at the community level to urban renewal interventions help the people safeguard, maintain and secure established livelihood portfolios? The specific five (5) interventions presented in Table 2 of Chapter 5 form the context and basis for answering the research question.

The second section contextualises and discusses the historical contestations employed by the people of Makoko as collective responses against urban renewal slum clearance interventions to protect lives, properties, and livelihoods. The third section analyses and discusses how collective responses play out, such as the mobilisation process and the significance of informal institutions. The analysis and discussions in this section provided the mobilisation processes, funding, organisation and planning of collective responses. The fourth section analyses and discusses the type(s) of collective responses employed as a strategy at the community level to safeguard constructed livelihoods. Here, the analyses and discussions are based on protest and resistance at the community level. The section further analyses and discusses how effective the collective responses at the community level help to protect already constructed and established livelihood portfolios. The fourth section combines all the analyses and discussions to make a case for and contribute to the ongoing right to the city's debates. Finally, the section summarises the analysis carried out in the chapter.

7.2. Historical Contexts of Contestations in Makoko

The historical contexts of numerous contestations are examined to understand how collective responses are employed to safeguard lives, particularly the livelihoods of the people in Makoko.

In Makoko community, given the historical realities of numerous state-led/state-backed private-led urban renewal interventions that have been implemented between 2005 and 2023, the people have embraced contestations, which seemed to have sustained their lives and livelihoods. For example, Amnesty International (2006) and Ocheje (2007) found that a state-led slum clearance and redevelopment intervention in 2005 initiated and carried out in Makoko, occasioned by forced eviction and demolition, was met with contestations in the form of community protest.

Also, Sessou & Adingupu (2012) and Amnesty International (2013) observed that a state-led slum upgrade in 2010 carried out in Makoko resulted in forced eviction, demolition of properties, and destruction of livelihoods, but the people of Makoko contested through collective resistance. Similarly, a state-led forced eviction and demolition was carried out in Makoko in 2017, with the justification to protect the generality of Lagosians from impending natural disaster caused by the blockage of natural canals, like the previous interventions the people contested the intervention (Ogunlesi, 2016; Amakihe, 2017; Unah, 2018).

For example, Omobowale & Adeyanju (2017) conducted a study in Makoko regarding how state-led top-down urban renewal slum clearance interventions are contested to protect general interests. The study found that collective responses through resistance backed by social kinship relationships among the people help the community to resist the interventions and protect their precariously constructed livelihoods. The study emphasises that Social kinship relationships and common interests in protecting peoples' livelihoods motivated the contestation. In a similar situation, a study carried out by Amnesty International (2017) noted that a case was filed in the court of law by residents and communities of waterfront in Lagos, Makoko inclusive, as an adopted method of contestation to prevent the state from evicting them from their communities.

For instance, Acey (2018) observed that collective responses of communities like Makoko through contestations are motivated by cases of deliberate exclusion demonstrated in most of the redeveloped communities, using the Eko Atlantic City as an example, where the original owners were evicted and priced out of the new properties. More generally, Acey (2018) emphasis provides a context of top-down slum clearance interventions, which fail to accommodate the realities of the people/community by offering them opportunities to own properties in the new development. Recently, with a justification to protect and prevent people living on Lagos Island from impending water rise level and potential natural disaster, a state-backed private-led waterfront dredging and sand filling intervention was carried out in Makoko and is also being contested (TVC-News, 2023; Kanu, 2023; PlustvAfrica, 2023)

The collective responsibilities of the people to protect and sustain their precarious livelihoods underpin the display of contestations to the state-led top-down interventions. The joint participation and actions of every member of the community symbolise collective response and demonstrate what Rydin (2021, p. 46) characterises as "strong values" people attach to being a member of the community and need to participate in actions that protect collective interests. Rydin (2021, p. 46) further argues that "strong values are often cited as the key factors that induce someone to participate" in collective actions that bother on collective interests.

Again, the position brings back the dynamics and importance of informal institutions, which is reflected in the values members of the community attach to collective participation. Rydin (2021, p. 46) maintains that participation in collective action is not only motivated by strong values alone but also by passion, and the enormities of "the potential negative impacts" of not getting involved may also put individual or collective interests, such as properties and livelihoods at risk. On the other hand, for an individual not to get involved in the collective contestations, such as protests, resistance, and filing of cases in the court against the state interventions, as mentioned previously, may attract

sanctions from the traditional heads, which also reinforce and demonstrate the significance of informal institutions.

7.3. Mobilising for collective response

The section detailed the analyses and discussion on how collective responses play out. This involves how community members are mobilised, the processes and procedures and the influence of community leadership in collective responses. The daily relationship between people and their social or physical environment can change the external or internal state of such environment, and human beings process these changes and may likely activate responses (Moser & Uzzell, 2003), which can be individual or collective. For instance, what triggers individuals or a community to respond to changes is found within the complexities of “formal rules” and “informal norms” (Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2015, p. 176), which influence the conduct of human beings, individuals or collective responses to the changes.

In the case of this research, what triggers such changes is the urban renewal intervention(s) or its threats in Makoko community. When the people respond, they start by employing strategies to protect lives and livelihoods from the impact of urban renewal interventions. However, at the community level, such strategies are routed through collective responses because of the interests of every community member to participate in strategies that can safeguard, maintain, and secure their precariously constructed livelihood in Makoko. What remains fundamental in the collective responses to urban renewal intervention in this chapter is the relevance of “institutions” (North, 1990, 1991) in the ways mobilising for collective responses play out. However, such collective responses require coordination, mobilisation, funding, organisation, and planning. Hence, the mentioned procedure requires an effective and responsive leadership system. For example, in the study, the traditional head was asked how his community mobilise for collective responses during urban renewal interventions of slum/demolition or when there are imminent threats of urban renewal interventions in Makoko, and he stated that:

> In Makoko we are one family; we speak with one voice. We mobilise ourselves against urban renewal intervention. We have been doing so for a long time. Whenever we hear or suspect the government is planning for any urban renewal intervention, I will call for a meeting with my people to start mobilising to counter the government plan. I first discuss what I heard with the household heads and youth leaders, and then we plan on how to mobilise our people (Chief Adebo 16-06-2022).

Also, when I asked another participant and a member of the community who is a participant the same question, how the community mobilise as one against urban renewal interventions of slum/demolition in Makoko, she said:

> We take instruction on what to do from our chief, you know we have different quarters here both on the land and on water. So, in each of the quarters, members of Makoko community must take instruction from their chief on how to respond to the urban renewal interventions. So the chief will tell us what to do, and we follow, they are our leaders (Wande 17-06-2022).

In another perspective echoing how the community respond to the government urban renewal interventions of slum/demolition in Makoko, a young man who is also a participant in the research said that:

> As a mark of respect, here in Makoko, when issues have to do with the town planning people and the government concerning their plan for Makoko, we always listen to the advice and instructions of our chiefs. This is because the chief understands how to mobilise us, and we are all committed to following the chief's advice on how and when to respond to the government (Tade 16-06-2022).

Fundamentally, the three perspectives point to how members of Makoko revered the traditional institution represented by their chief. The traditional head acknowledged the institution's significance when he mentioned that he would

meet with his people as their leader; this inspires trust and effective leadership. So essentially, the authority for collective responses to urban renewal interventions first emanates from his office and then to the people of the community. Also, the level of trust in the leadership system influences how such responses and mobilisation can be successful. In their study, Sjolander et al. (2015) emphasised the importance of an effective leadership system in a group of people or community to overcome issues bothering common interests.

Also, leadership's effectiveness lies in the people's trust in their leaders. In the case of Makoko people, the extent of trust they repose on their chief counts for the success such collective responses to urban renewal interventions may achieve. In their study, Balliet & Van Lange (2013) underscore the value of trust in building interpersonal relationships among people in a community, as trust becomes useful when confronted with fighting to preserve or protect common interests. It further indicates that such people or communities speak with one voice with few or no dissenting voices. The effectiveness of mobilising large numbers of people in collective responses is argued by Ardila Sánchez et al. (2020) as a panacea to resist urban renewal interventions. Notably, the traditional chiefs' roles of effectively mobilising their ward demonstrate how strongly informal institutions are respected, and the trust reposed in the leadership system must have been earned over time.

Again, When I probed the traditional head further on how effective everyone can be mobilised to participate in collective response strategies, given that some people may develop apathy toward such protests, he responded that;

> you see, in Makoko it is a taboo and crime for you not to come out to join any protest against urban renewal intervention because nobody is here in the community as a stranger to the threats of the intervention. In fact, some of our people may have witnessed up to two or three episodes of urban renewal. So they understand it is a serious issue whenever they are asked to come out in response to the urban renewal intervention (Chief Adebo 16-06-2022).

As recognised and discussed in Chapter 5, taboos, like the position of the traditional head, form part of the informal institutions which influence the environment where people live and function. Fundamentally, trust in the leadership system inspires collective responsibility in the followership to strive to protect the common good. For instance, mobilising the people for the common good reinforces the idea of collective responsibility among the people to protect common heritage when under threat. For example, in a study conducted to understand Turkey's Gezi Park demonstration in 2013, Gürcan & Peker (2014) identify how quickly people can be mobilised against unpopular government intervention, particularly when such touches on collective interest, underscoring the significance of effective mobilisation. Therefore, in Makoko, informal institutions of the traditional head, effective leadership, trust, and responsive followership are used to mobilise the people for collective responses to urban renewal interventions.

Additionally, when I asked the traditional head how the community mobilises for the fund to support their collective response strategies since such action or protest could not go without funding. The traditional head responded that:

> residents of Makoko contribute towards occasions like this urban renewal intervention once a month, and we have a dedicated bank account for the money. You see, every working adult must contribute the monthly token to save our community from being taken away from us. You know, sometimes we need to lobby the NGOs to support us and let our voices be heard (Chief Adebo 16-06-2022).

I also put the same question to a tailor in Makoko regarding her views on contributing a monthly token for collective response strategies, and she responded that:

> As long as my little contribution can protect my tailoring work and I can still continue to put food on the table for my family, I am happy to make such a contribution. I am also ready to participate in any collective strategy put in place or suggested by our traditional head to

> tell the government to leave us alone in our community (Tejumade 13-11-21).

The views about monthly contributions showed that funding is critical in successful community collective response to urban renewal intervention. For instance, Edwards & McCarthy (2004) acknowledge that funding is one of the most crucial resources of any social movement mobilisation, like collective responses to unwanted authority interventions. He went further that the success or failure of any social movement's actions or strategies depends hugely on funding. Therefore, planning for funding by contributing money among residents of Makoko for collective responses to protesting and resisting urban renewal intervention is not misplaced, as this can go a long way to providing protection and safeguarding the livelihood portfolios of the people.

Also, in a relatively similar study among the rural people in Nigeria, Akinola (2007, p. 30) found that in a community, “people organised themselves based on appropriate institutional arrangements, mutual agreements and shared understanding” to fund collective strategies against unwanted interventions. Fundamentally, the analyses have shown that funding is a critical component of mobilisation for collective responses against urban renewal intervention in Makoko community.

Organisation and planning remain critical components in the process of mobilising members of the community for collective response strategies. The analyses show that planning starts when instructions are passed from the traditional heads to every community member. For example, when I asked a traditional ruler about how the community prepares, plans, and organises collective responses, he said:

> In our community here in Makoko we have our executives on issues relating to the development of our community. They meet every two months to discuss anything that may affect our community. In the case of organising collective responses, as you asked me, they carry out the planning and organisation, they provide what is needed to be done, the people

> to contact, especially the non-governmental organisations activists and how to make our strategies effective. Then they would discuss it with me, and we would review everything together before I discuss the details with other stakeholders (Chief Toba 16-06-2022).

When the same question was put to the youth leader, his response was not too different from the traditional head; he responded that:

> The planning and organising strategy against the town planning people, the traditional head, allows those of us to be in the planning and organising committee of Makoko development organisation. So we carry out all the necessary things and provide the details to the traditional head, who approves or asks us to review our plans if necessary (Kenneth 17-06-2022).

As a part of mobilisation, organisation and planning are essential to consider with all the seriousness they deserve when mobilising for collective response. Organisations and planning are seen as the arrangements put in place to ensure a successful outcome of the collective responses. Effective organisation and planning represent the engine room or the powerhouse (Stephan & Thompson, 2018) to organise people participating in collective response strategies against government interventions. Also, as mentioned in the interview, the roles of non-governmental organisations- NGOs cannot be underestimated within the organisation and planning, hence the need to factor this critical unit into the mobilisation processes. But when I asked a participant about the involvement of NGOs as one of the collective response supports, he said:

> One man, with his NGO, came to our community and promised to mediate between our community and the government. Initially, his organisation was able to help in negotiating some of our cases with the government during the 2010 eviction and clearance interventions of Governor Fashola's government. However, to our surprise, we discovered that his organisation only used our community to negotiate higher positions in the country. Do you know what? He is currently holding a very senior position at the

> national level. So for me, I can barely trust any of these NGOs. Instead, I will support public protest to send our message and position to the government (Azi, 16-06-2022).

The NGOs play the fundamental role of pushing out the narratives and plights of the people living in these poor and vulnerable parts of the city in letting the appropriate authorities hear the voices of these communities. Nevertheless, when people continue to suspect their underhand activities, it brings them to question their genuine interest in supporting a collective response against an intervention like urban renewal. The following section analyses and discusses specific collective response strategies employed by Makoko people.

7.4 Collective Response Strategies to Safeguard Established Livelihoods

Specific strategies are used as collective responses to unwanted social interventions by individuals and the community. Studies recognise that strategies for collective responses must be focus-driven, purposeful, and capable of achieving the target objectives (Gurcan & Peker, 2014; Ardilla et al., 2020). Also, collective responses through different strategies become imperative when a people or a community “seek collective protection in the face of a threat to their resource base” (Carney, 1987, p. 344). Fundamentally, what motivates collective response strategies from a community is primarily to prevent threats to the livelihood portfolios of the people. Therefore, within the understanding of the collective response’s strategies, the research identifies, analyses and discusses the types of collective response strategies employed by the people in Makoko community to safeguard established livelihoods. For example, when I asked the traditional head what strategies the community employ in responding to urban renewal interventions, he said:

> Let me tell you, we have a lot of strategies, violence and non-violence. But, as a traditional head of the community, I will never encourage my people to go the violent way. So, we have used and approached the court sometimes, protested sometimes, and used the audio and visual media houses. We have used inscriptions

> on T-shirts and placards and non-governmental organisations. So, we have tested all these strategies, but you see, the one that the government does not like is protest, which is the one we prefer (Chief Toba 16-06-2022).

When I asked one of the participants about the collective response strategies they have employed in resisting the urban renewal interventions, he said:

> You know, as an educated resident of this community, I have always advocated petition writing in our monthly meetings. And to be frank with you, we have been doing that on a number of occasions. We engaged and leveraged the support of NGOs and CBOs who sympathised with our plight as a people and community. I understand perfectly that some sections of Lagos state town planning laws empower LASURA to intervene in a community like ours. But I also recognised that we as a people have the right to live in any part of Lagos and Nigeria (Kusamotu 17-06-2022).

When I probed him further regarding other collective response strategies, especially concerning protest, he said:

> As an obedient resident who is not interested in losing my job here to Makoko, whenever I hear about what to do with the town planning people coming to develop our community, I am always prepared for the worst. But regarding what we can do as a community to respond to the interventions, I follow whatever strategy our chief adopted. I will always join others to participate because that is the best I can do to protect my job and that of others. But I prefer to protest to the government office in Alausa, and the government doesn't like us coming to their office. So protesting to Alausa always give us quick attention from the government and people of Lagos (Kusamotu 17-06-2022).

Again, I engaged an old fishmonger in the community with the same question and her opinion about collective response strategies since she is an old resident. She said:

> My experience has taught me that of all the strategies we have been using as a community to respond to the urban renewal interventions of the government, protest has been my preferred. I like to protest because once we protest, the government will stop what it wants to do in our community. I have participated in two protests myself (Remi 17-06-2022).

In another similar position, when the young fisherman was asked about his view regarding how the community has been able to resist urban renewal demolition intervention since 2005, he said that:

> this community is bequeathed to us by our great grandfathers, and we must protect it as a matter of responsibility. As a youth in this community, I am bound by the agreements reached in our meetings to participate in any collective actions to protest and resist government interventions. As long as we know their intention is always to take land, we would never allow them. I don't have any work except being a fisherman, so where would I find a job and home if they send us away? That is why I must participate in any community protest against whatever name the government may call their interventions (Tade, 16-06-2022).

The fisherman's position indicates that everyone in the community respects authority down the line, hence signifies how strongly the people value culture and tradition as an institution and are ready to get involved in collective strategies to protect livelihoods. From the different perspectives expressed by participants regarding the collective response strategies, people in Makoko believe and prefer that protests work best for the community to resist urban renewal interventions.

In another engagement with a participant on the same question around community responses to urban renewal demolition interventions. The man said that:

> I know that the government has a secret plan to send us away. If not, why will the government be interested in Makoko? For the last 18 years, governor after governor has been interested in Makoko; why?. I have seen it all, I have been participating in every protest organised by our community. You see, there is strength and power in one voice; all of us will use our voice and energy to continue to say no to government plans because any of their interventions will affect everyone. We must protect our land and jobs at all times and costs through protest so they can leave us alone (Sekou, 16-06-2022).

The Sekou's views reaffirmed the previous participants' positions on the importance of the community to them and their livelihoods. Essentially the canoe carver believes not only in a collective response but also in questions about the repeated show of interest in the community by every single government in the last 18 years. The sekou's position further reinforces the intention of supporting any collective response to protect their community and livelihoods. This view, which (Arcilla, 2014, p. 60) considered the "politics of confrontation", meant to "extralegally protect" the community and everything in it. This is so because the canoe carver's view conveys readiness to respond to protect the community's lives and livelihoods.

Also, studies have shown that collective responses through protest strategies have halted many unpopular government policies/programmes/interventions. For instance, in central Lima, Peru, Strauch et al. (2015) found that the urban poor successfully resisted the planned mega-urban redevelopment of mixed public infrastructure through collective protest. As a result, the collective response forced the project to be reviewed to accommodate the concerned urban poor. The review brought an agreeable end to the protest and resistance to the project.

One fundamental lesson from the preceding study is that the argument refocuses on how long a protest as a collective response strategy can guarantee an end or cancellation of government interventions in a community. Essentially, this line of thought underscores the next question I posed to the traditional head in

Makoko to understand his view regarding collective response as a viable approach to protest urban renewal interventions in the community. He said:

> Only God knows, but we are living today, not in the future. Therefore, we have to secure today before we can talk about the future. But as long as the collective protest can guarantee the safety of our lives and jobs for today, God will take care of tomorrow (Chief Adebo 16-06-2022).

Also, I asked the young woman who is a hairdresser in the community the same question as the traditional head, and his view was not at all different from that expressed by the traditional head. He said that:

> We will continue to press on and protest as long as possible. Also, if we need to beg, we will continue to beg the government to pity us and see us as part of Lagos, not the people to be thrown out. We believe in God that He will touch the hearts of people in government just to leave us alone. Also, I support one of the suggestions made in some of our community meetings to continue to engage with the government and appeal to their conscience to leave us alone. My own is that we cannot all be living in VI, Lekki or Ajah. We are okay here; our jobs and family are here, and this is our home. I know we cannot force the government not to do their work, but I support discussing and engaging the government (Kemi, 13-11-2021).

Fundamentally, these positions and views bring back how delicate and vulnerable the peoples' livelihoods in Makoko are to the urban renewal interventions. The hopelessness that pervades the traditional head and youth leader perspectives demonstrates the susceptibility of delicately constructed livelihoods of people in Makoko to urban renewal interventions. Noteworthy from the two perspectives is the consideration that collective protest expressed by the people to resist unwanted and unpopular government development interventions is “transitory, something that will pass with time” (Strauch et al., 2015, p. 181). In most cases, the government would still implement such

interventions, maybe with some compromises on both sides, as in the case of the Lima mega-redevelopment project. Again, the expressed perspectives by the two participants further strengthen and re-echo the precarious livelihoods argument in chapter 6 of this thesis. Therefore, based on the preceding analyses of all perspectives expressed in the sections, I use the various positions to make a case for a right to the city argument.

7.5 Making the Cases for the Right to the City

The section does not discuss literature on the right to the city discourse; instead, it focuses on how it has been conceived. In this research, I use the analyses in this chapter to contribute to the ongoing discourse, debates, positions, and perspectives. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that the list of contributions to the right to the city debate is endless, but I just picked the ones mostly referenced to provide the foundation for my contribution. Lefebvre (1968) was motivated to write about the right to the city due to increased social uprising and continued student protests in Paris, the concept that city inhabitants should have the unrestricted right to urban life. Purcell (2002) sees the right as unclear on what it set out to resolve but represents an avenue to the contemporary politics of the city. Harvey (2008) later sees the right more as a collective right than a person or an individual right, especially for the excluded. Finally, Marcuse (2009) considers the right as that of the exploited, used and discriminated against; essentially, the right must be seen as a whole, not part of a whole. Hence, based on the empirical analyses in the preceding sections of this chapter regarding how Makoko community responded through collective protests, such demonstrates a right to the city interpretation. Therefore, based on the empirical analyses, I argue in the study that a right to the city, particularly for the disadvantaged poor urban dwellers, is a continuous non-violent fight to claim and retain their space in the city.

7.6 Summary

The chapter presents the findings of research question three. First, the chapter contextualises different contestations that have taken place in Makoko regarding the top-down state-led urban renewal slum clearance interventions. Also, the

chapter analyses how collective responses are mobilised and the processes and procedures involved, such as funding, organisation, and planning. The chapter provides detailed analyses of how informal institutions, effective leadership, and trust help shape collective responses at the community level as a strategy to protect constructed livelihood portfolios. Also, the chapter analyses and discusses the strategies employed, particularly protest, and how effectively they helped solve resistance to state government urban renewal interventions. The analyses in the chapter acknowledge the extent to which collective response through protests can guarantee the abolition of urban renewal interventions in Makoko and reasoned that such uncertainties underpin the precarious nature of livelihoods in the community, as argued in chapter 6 of the thesis. Nevertheless, the chapter concludes by recognising the analysis of collective response through protest to help the people in Makoko safeguard, maintain, and secure established livelihood portfolios against urban renewal interventions. Based on this recognition, the chapter uses the analyses to make a case for the right to the city argument.

8 Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendation

8.1. Introduction

The research aims to generate insights into the impact of state-led urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of people living in the slum community of Makoko in Lagos, Nigeria. The chapter's first section revisits the research questions and summarises the key findings using the inductive and deductive hybrid thematic analysis. Section two highlights the empirical contribution of the research to knowledge, while section three also highlights the methodological contributions. The fourth section identifies and summarises the limitations of the research and highlights recommendations for future research in the urban renewal policy field and on improving the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Finally, the section ended the chapter with a final remark and overall research argument.

8.2. Revisiting the Research Questions and Findings: Empirical Contributions

In revisiting the research questions and findings, I first highlight the philosophical position influencing the research's methodology. The research is driven by the need to understand peoples' realities (ontology) regarding the impact of urban renewal interventions on their livelihoods to construct knowledge (epistemology) around the urban social phenomenon. Hence, I embrace the social constructivist position, which emphasises that knowledge cannot be constructed without people sharing their social realities, experiences and worldviews. Therefore, a case study approach and ethnography fieldwork were adopted to construct the knowledge and generate insights into the impact of urban renewal interventions on people's livelihoods. The choice of a case study is primarily its ability to allow a specific case to be focused on addressing 'what' and 'how' questions. Others include the presence of participants needed for the research in a single case study and allowing for rich data to be collected in addressing a unique case. In this research, the Makoko community is chosen based on its uniqueness and suitability for a case study. On the other hand,

ethnography as a second approach allows people to tell their experiences, realities, and worldviews and be observed in their social environment.

However, an outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic forced the review of ethnography fieldwork to favour photo-elicitation as a creative means to let people observe important things related to how urban renewal interventions impact their livelihoods. Therefore, between May 2021 and May/June 2022, 28 participants were recruited, and 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted, within which five (5) photo-elicitation interviews were carried out. The research employed multiple combined data collection methods, such as interviews, documents, and photo-elicitation, to answer the research questions.

The first research question: **In what ways have formal and informal institutions combined to shape the environment within which people pursue livelihoods?**

Archival documents, published academic articles, and interviews were used to answer the question. The document sources provided contexts to understand how urban renewal evolved over time, with which the formal institutional and legislative tools were developed to legalise the interventions. The policy, institution, and processes component lens of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF (DFID, 1999) is used to understand and analyse the influence of institutions on livelihoods. The interview participants included the residents of Makoko and the elite group (LASURA staff and political representatives).

The interviews with these participants are to understand and situate how formal and informal institutions (North, 1990, 1991) combine to shape the current environment where people pursue livelihoods in Makoko. Chapter 5 of the research, through the analysis of perspectives in interviews and positions in documents, discusses different types of legislatures, laws, and decrees as formal institutions. At the same time, the chapter discusses how these formal institutions have been used as tools to implement urban renewal interventions in Lagos.

The chapter examines past interventions in the state and the justifications and motivations for the interventions. The chapter highlights and discusses the following motivations: public health and safety concerns, beautification and aesthetics, security of lives and properties, and prevention of natural disasters to justify interventions through formal institutional tools. On the receiving end of these interventions are the people who also have some age-long beliefs in traditional informal institutions such as culture, shared memory, norms, and values (North, 1991; Edquist & Johnson, 1997) as some of the informal institutions which shape people's behaviours. The chapter establishes that these age-long beliefs of informal institutions are much more deep-rooted and less amenable to changes than formal institutions.

Findings from the chapter reveal that when formal and informal institutions combine, the environment where people pursue livelihoods is bound to be shaped by shared memory and mistrust. The analysis in the chapter based its findings on shared memory because, for example, people in Makoko said that past experiences of urban renewal interventions in other communities, such as in Maroko and Banana Island, did not fulfil the promises given to the people. The people in Makoko based their resistance to urban renewal interventions in their community on the realities, experiences and worldviews of the communities where similar interventions have taken place.

Essentially, the point here in the chapter remains that when the formal and informal institutions combine, an environment of mistrust guarded by shared memories of the past is created. Such a created environment thereby proves the importance and significance of institutions analysed and argued in Chapter 5. Based on the importance of institutions- on the Lagos State government side, the justifications given as necessitating urban renewal interventions appear rational. However, in contrast to these justifications, based on the importance of (informal) institutions, the people whose lives and livelihoods are being threatened by the intervention and whose experience/memories of the past interventions elsewhere in Lagos disagree with such rationalities. Consequently, shared misunderstandings between the people and government regarding what is rational or not, ensued. Hence, these analyses, findings, views, and positions

underscore, reinforce and contribute to the empirical understanding of the clash of rationalities discourse.

The second research question: **What factors enable and constrain access to different livelihood pathways, including the opportunities open to individuals, the strategies they employ and the outcomes they achieve?**

Research question two is answered through the data collected and analysed from the interview, document and photo-elicitation sources in Chapter 6. The participants included community members, while five (5) people who engaged in specific livelihoods participated through photo-elicitation. In addition, the lens of livelihood assets/capitals (human, natural, financial, physical, social) component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF (DFID, 1999) is used to understand and analyse the influence of assets on livelihoods individually. The chapter establishes that the incessant urban renewal interventions and the threats have earned Makoko a name synonymous with people living in an unrecognised community by the government. Hence, people find it impracticable and challenging to access financial assets from banking facilities to enhance and support their livelihoods. Therefore, in this sense, findings revealed that apart from the constant threats of urban renewal, the frequent focus of the Lagos state government's urban renewal interventions on the community and the name-calling Makoko constrains opportunities to access banking facilities.

The chapter further details alternative strategies devised by the people in Makoko to bypass the difficulties of being unable to access finances from the formal banking system. Findings reveal that people formed local cooperative associations, where the members contribute daily, weekly, and monthly to the cooperative account. In contrast, members are given the contribution, in turn, to help them with their businesses and livelihoods in the community. This method strengthens and demonstrates a level of sophistication and business acumen which goes against the stereotypical perceptions of slum dwellers. Also, it reinforces the discourse around how urban renewal interventions enable and constrain opportunities. In the sense of this finding, urban renewal interventions

create an environment where winners and losers are made. The people in the community who are members of the local cooperative association can be said to be the gainers. In contrast, the people who do not belong or have the means to make the contributions can be seen as losers of the opportunity. The chapter argues further that forming the cooperative association to provide finance for members of these associations in Makoko underpins the interconnections and linkages between the formal and informal economy in cities.

Findings from the chapter also reveal the sophistication of the people in diversifying their livelihood sources. For example, the chapter reveals that people in Makoko diversify their income and livelihoods to other sources, just in case of disruption due to urban renewal interventions to the constructed livelihoods they have in the community. In addition, findings from the analysis in the chapter found that previous experiences of the past urban renewal interventions in the community and even outside the community have taught the people to embrace diversification strategies to build resilient and sustainable livelihoods. In addition to the sophistication of raising finances from local cooperative associations to support livelihood portfolios discussed, other findings regarding finance assets relate to remittances from relations, family and friends from outside the community. Many participants confirmed that they enjoy and get finance remittance from relations and that such go a long way to facilitate the survival of their livelihoods against the impact of urban renewal interventions.

The chapter also reveals another finding enabled by urban renewal interventions, which serves as a strategy for the people to support and facilitate their livelihood portfolios. The finding touches on the human capital/asset support available in the community, which is provided by an existing non-governmental organisation of a religious (church) body. The findings show that the church provides financial support to local livelihoods and free primary school education for the children of residents in the community. This type of human capital assets available and provided by the church during and after urban renewal intervention is twofold: it is geared towards supporting the local livelihoods of the people and investing in the development of human capital

from the community. However, the church stresses that the financial support provided for local livelihoods is primarily for women, particularly those whose partners are no longer alive. Essentially, from the findings, the position and role of the church are focused on helping the most vulnerable groups (women and widowed) to maintain their livelihood sources and the (children) acquire education for future growth and development.

Another finding in the chapter is the interconnections and interdependence of peoples' livelihood strategies on water. The artisans such as canoe carvers, fishermen and canoe engine technicians established and preferred their home and livelihood base in Makoko. These artisans agreed that establishing their livelihoods on water may subject them to natural disaster vulnerabilities. However, they insist that if such vulnerabilities are the reasons to justify urban renewal interventions by the government, they would prefer to take the risk rather than be relocated from the community. The insistence of the artisans not interested in any form of urban renewal intervention is based on the premise that their livelihoods and customer base are located on the water in Makoko. Essentially, the point being established is that this group of Makoko residents, their livelihood and the community are inseparable because of their interdependence on one another. The artisans whose livelihoods depend solely on water insist that no matter how safer urban renewal intervention may appear, they prefer to continue their livelihood activities in Makoko and on water. They said such urban renewal interventions could only move them away from their customers and limit the daily patronage their businesses enjoyed, hence constraining their livelihood.

Additionally, they contend that as against the government's position of preventing the community from natural/climate risk disasters or flood-related disasters, those justifications are considered suspicious based on people's experience and mistrust of the government. The analysis showed that the people still preferred to go through the risk alone because they had witnessed and lived similar disaster risk experiences and survived. Again, the finding brings back issues around institutions and the clash of rationalities. Additionally, despite people acknowledging the dangers and disaster risks associated with living in the

community, almost every participant disagrees with relocation/redevelopment interventions. This general refusal is linked with the benefits and assets such as the social network and support and financial assistance from family, neighbours, and community members used to support their livelihood portfolios. In a fundamental and more profound sense, the refusal to leave or allow urban renewal interventions is associated with the discourse around place attachment and sense of place discourse.

In Chapter 6, the findings around such refusal and attachment to the community have been argued. Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) connect such refusal to the place attachment of people to their community and the social relations people enjoy among peers. At the same time, Swanpan & Sadeque (2021) found such refusal in people not interested in leaving their community even during an imminent disaster due to the sense of attachment. Butz & Eyles (1997) and Jorgensen & Stedman (2006) see the sense of place as ideological, emotional, and cognitive motivated influences. In a way, the finding here also strengthens the place attachment and sense of place debates.

The analyses of findings in Chapter 6 reveal the operations people engage in and what strategies they use within the environment created by urban renewal interventions' impact on people to make a living through their livelihood portfolios. The analysis shows the livelihood strategies individuals employed to construct livelihood portfolios and details how they access available resources (assets), which can be facilitated or constrained by the impact of urban renewal interventions. Therefore, the empirical analyses argue that these individual livelihood strategies may appear less vulnerable in the short run due to some enablement assessed. However, in the long run, and in a real sense, these individual livelihood strategies can only go as far as possible and are not even immune to the vulnerability of the impact of urban renewal interventions. Hence, the chapter argues that these livelihoods are delicately constructed and susceptible to the environment created by urban renewal interventions. Therefore, the analyses in the chapter reinforce, fit into and contribute to knowledge on the current empirical understanding of debates on precarious livelihoods among the people living in poverty and poor communities.

Research question three is: **How do the collective responses at the community level to urban renewal interventions help the people safeguard, maintain and secure established livelihood portfolios?**

The research question is answered through the data collected and analysed from interviews, participant observation and document sources in Chapter 7. The participants include traditional heads, members of the community, and a Non-Governmental Organisation. Also, the lens of livelihood assets/capitals (human, natural financial, physical, social) component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF (DFID, 1999) is used to understand and analyse the influence of assets on livelihoods, but on this research question, it is community centred. The analysis of findings in this chapter is primarily about the collective responses of the people of Makoko to urban renewal intervention. The analysis of findings reveals the effectiveness of communal mobilisation of community members. The processes are led and coordinated from the traditional head down the ranks to every community member. The idea of coordination, according to the analysis of findings from Chapter 7 is geared towards safeguarding people's livelihoods against urban renewal interventions.

The chapter analysis identifies that protests by all members of Makoko to public places and government offices to register their resistance to urban renewal interventions has been a potent strategy. In the analysis, participants mentioned specific examples of past protests and how such were organised and carried out. However, the analysis found that participation in such community protests is a matter of civic responsibility in Makoko. It remains a must for everyone because their survival and livelihoods depend on such demonstrations. According to the traditional head, it is taboo for people not to participate when such a call for protest is passed down to people. Findings found that several organisations and logistics go into organising and mobilising for collective responses to state-led urban renewal interventions. These include funding, mobilising large numbers of people, planning for collective responses, and co-opting non-governmental organisation(s) 's participation in the collective response activities. Essentially, the analysis in the chapter found that mobilising large numbers of people is vital

because the many people participating in a collective response demonstrate a high level of acceptance of such action. This reflects an effective leadership system and trust in the community's informal leadership system. It further indicates that such people or communities speak with one voice with few or no dissenting voices. The effectiveness of mobilising large numbers of people in collective responses is argued in Ardila (2020) as a panacea to resist urban renewal interventions. Also, planning and organisation are essential because effective planning and organisation send strong signals and messages to the authority.

The finding from the analysis identifies that planning starts when instructions are passed from the traditional heads to every community member. Funding is also required to buy airtime to send solidarity messages to the public through audio and visual media outfits and lobby for the cooperation of non-governmental organisations for their protest. Findings reveal further the uses of such funding in buying protest shirts and banners with inscriptions denouncing urban renewal interventions. Organisations and planning are seen as the arrangements to ensure a successful outcome of the collective responses through protest. Effective organisation and planning represent the engine room or the powerhouse (Stephan & Thompson, 2018) to resist and overcome unwanted government interventions. Importantly, what appears to make collective responses through protests effective in resisting urban renewal interventions is the non-disruptive and non-violent strategies employed by the people.

Fundamentally, the analysis found that the effectiveness of mobilisation to participation and protests demonstrates the significance of informal institutions, e.g., taboos, respect for traditional authority, and values in a community like Makoko. Again, institutions like those in chapters 5 and 6 appear fundamental to understanding collective responses to urban renewal interventions, which played out in chapter 7. Also, from the institutional point of view of the traditional heads, it is made clear that a non-violent method of collective response is preferred to a violent one that could inspire forceful action against the community. For example, the empirical analysis in Chapter 7 identified that research participants mentioned and argued that similar collective responses by

community members with the support of an NGO protested in the past to resist planned urban renewal interventions in 2012, and the government listened. Again, in 2023, selected leaders and community members, with the support of another non-governmental organisation, went on a collective protest to the government house to register their protest against the ongoing urban renewal intervention of sand dredging and landfilling in the waterside of the community. The protest specifically mentioned the impact of the intervention on the people’s livelihood. The empirical analysis points to discourse and arguments around collective responses to unpopular urban renewal interventions. Therefore, analyses, findings, views and perspectives of collective response as strategies by Makoko community to safeguard and maintain the constructed livelihoods of the people contribute to knowledge and reinforce the debate on the empirical understanding of the right to the city argument.

8.3. Contributions of the Thesis

Going back to Chapter 1 of the thesis, I emphasised the theoretical claims as the foreground upon which the empirical, conceptual and policy contributions are made. In chapter 8, I highlighted how institutions influence the empirical analysis and findings of the research.

Chapter 5 exemplifies how formal institution power is exercised through planning laws and regulations to implement urban renewal slum interventions in Makoko. On the one hand, the state's interests, as claimed in chapters 2 and 5, aimed to provide a world-class city to rid the city of slums, blights, and informality. On the other hand, while relying on their experiences and informal institutions of individual and collective memories, the people do not trust the state's justification for urban renewal slum interventions in their community. Therefore, formal and informal institutions become tools for actors to justify their positions regarding urban renewal slum interventions, hence presenting an environment of lack of understanding, which underpins the clash of rationality in the chapter.

Additionally, chapter 6 emphasises the environment presented by the legality and powers of formal institutions through planning laws and regulations in carrying out urban renewal slum clearance interventions in Makoko community. Through the state's powers of top-down slum interventions in the community, an environment of uncertainty is presented to the people, where the people's already precarious livelihoods remain vulnerable to these formal slum clearance interventions. Thus, the chapter demonstrates the significance of formal institutions and their powers to render and create an environment of uncertainty for peoples' livelihoods, underpinning livelihood precarity. Also, people embrace every form of informal institution, such as tradition, memories, and values, to shape their responses and protect their livelihoods' vulnerability to formal urban renewal slum interventions.

Also, chapter 7 generally reflects on informal institutions such as trusts, values, beliefs and traditions. Community members demonstrate all these informal institutions through the authority the community chief represents in mobilising the people to collectively respond to urban renewal slum clearance interventions. The reliance of people in Makoko on Informal institutions is exemplified by trusting their traditional chief sense of judgement in mobilising them to participate in community resistance protests because of the values they placed on participating in community activities. Traditions as informal institutions are essential here and exploited by the traditional head to mobilise the people for a collective response to contest and resist the urban renewal slum interventions which threaten their collective lives, properties and livelihoods.

8.4. Methodological Contributions

The initial methodology design of the research embraces and favours ethnography fieldwork and a case study approach. However, given the unexpected COVID-19 pandemic, the global restrictions, and the university ban on face-to-face human surveys, the need to continue ethnographic fieldwork became impracticable. Therefore, an innovative yet recreative method to

collect some semblance of ethnography fieldwork was designed and approved for the research.

A photo-elicitation method was designed to empower research participants to tell their realities, experiences, and worldviews (Bakare & James, 2021) as a creative method for participant observation. The participants were provided with a dedicated camera to take photographs/visuals of things that are important to them and are equally relevant and related to the research context of urban renewal interventions and livelihoods. As discussed in Chapter 4, the photographs/visuals were uploaded through the WhatsApp application, such that the images provoked further probes, which resulted in an exchange of WhatsApp messages that formed part of the empirical chapters of the thesis.

Also, when in situ fieldwork becomes impossible, the recreative photo-elicitation method provides an excellent means of remotely gathering research data that would have ordinarily been collected through participant observation. Nevertheless, the photo-elicitation (Bakare & James, 2021) employed in the thesis is not a replacement or substitute for ethnographic fieldwork but a creative and innovative way to collect ethnographic-related research data. Therefore, combining other methods with the recreative photo-elicitation method (Bakare & James, 2021) offer an alternative (albeit imperfect) approach to ethnography for researchers who are faced with restrictions on fieldwork due to disaster/pandemic outbreaks, conflicts, or war outbreaks. The following section discusses the limitations of the research.

8.5. Recommendation for Policy

Based on the thesis findings and regarding policy recommendations, particularly for policy practitioners in urban renewal and professional town planners, my recommendation is informed based on the following. First, in the empirical chapters of the thesis, two phrases stand out and permeate all other participants' positions in the community. These phrases are *'our life is water, and water is our life'* and *'the water here is a blessing from the above, but the government want to see it as a curse'*; these two are fundamental positions.

Hence, from the policy recommendation perspective, I submit that if the stakeholders, especially the people of Makoko and Lagos State government, look into the two phrases dispassionately, their understanding may create a pathway to finding sustained urban renewal interventions. Also, not only would understanding the two phrases bring to bear peoples' reasons why people in Makoko resist urban renewal interventions, but such understanding would also enjoy the support of every stakeholder. Therefore, understanding the people's position regarding urban renewal interventions informed my overall policy recommendation. Also, the thesis provides an entry point for policymakers (the state/government), practitioners (town planners) and researchers with empirical documents to develop workable plans, processes and strategies that best address inevitable conflicts hindering successful state-led slum clearance interventions. Hence, the thesis recommends a fine balance in designing a collaborative bottom-up urban renewal intervention plan and policy to accommodate the people's lives and livelihoods' interests and the government's concerns about a modern and economically functional city.

8.6. Recommendation for Improving the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF (DFID, 1999) provides a framework to understand the complexities around the livelihoods of people with poor income and living in poverty. The framework emphasises that people with inadequate income or living in poverty construct their livelihood portfolios on a wide range of assets, which can be enabled or constrained due to policies and institutions' interventions. Nevertheless, within the framework, the people devise strategies to navigate the complexities of these policies and institutions to sustain livelihoods.

One crucial area left out in the framework is the component for collective responses as strategies. The framework only focuses attention on individual and household levels of livelihood strategies. As a result, the framework obscures the compelling ability of community/collective responses as livelihood strategies. Fundamentally, a component for analysing or understanding collective responses within the framework is recommended. The component is recommended

because it possesses the potential to generate insights into how a community deploy these strategies to protect and maintain constructed livelihood pathways by resisting unsanctioned government interventions.

Authors and researchers have criticised the framework, as highlighted in the concluding part of chapter 3 of this thesis. Nevertheless, these criticisms, in this research, the framework provides comprehensive and holistic factors/issues for analysis to understand the impact of urban renewal interventions on people's livelihoods. Furthermore, the analytical framework provides through the findings in the research that aggregates of assets combined by people to support and render resilience needed against vulnerabilities when people are faced with institutional disruption to their livelihoods.

However, despite the framework's applicability in the analysis of livelihood-related studies, it remains an analytical framework which requires the support of other research methods of data collection and analysis for its applicability. The point is that it is not a stand-alone analytical tool or framework; therefore, I submit that the framework requires improvements in identifying other specific research tools and methods to understand livelihoods' research and studies.

Also, it is noteworthy that the Sustainable Livelihood Framework SLF identifies and emphasises assets/capital as the determinants of livelihood sustainability. However, the framework comes short of the fact that the identified and listed vulnerabilities impact the people unequally. Based on some people's abilities to navigate livelihood assets/strategies effectively, such skills put them in more vital positions than others with limited abilities, such as women and children. For instance, in chapter 6 of this thesis, the church deliberately targets and provides financial and human capital for these vulnerable and weaker groups, i.e., women, widows and children. The recommendation here suggests how SLA can provide a specific component within the framework to recognise this weaker group and how they can navigate the complexities around livelihood sustenance in the face of vulnerable conditions such as urban renewal interventions.

8.7. Limitations

One fundamental limitation of the research is the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated restrictions. However, when the University Ethics Committee granted the approval to proceed with fieldwork in Nigeria, and preparations were being made for fieldwork, there were announcements on travelling restrictions in every country, followed by the university's suspension of face-to-face field surveys. Consequently, I reviewed the initial methodological approach to favour remote data collection through a case study approach and photo-elicitation instead of ethnography fieldwork and a case study approach. To an extent, the inability to carry out ethnographic fieldwork reduces the opportunity that would have been used to provide more data that would otherwise have been useful in providing more empirical chapters in the thesis.

Given a single case study approach adopted in the research, one area of limitation is the generalisability of findings. First, the sample size is small, though deliberately chosen to collect as much data as possible until saturation is reached when there is nothing relevant anymore to collect for the study. Also, the sample size selected is focused on people with rich and thick experiences and worldviews regarding the research since not every person in the community can provide the research with the needed data, hence the sample size selected. Two, the context of the study is unique to the case. The uniqueness is brought about, given the nature and location of the community and the number of times the community and its people have experienced urban renewal intervention and are still in existence.

Hence, these unique features provide contexts for understanding and providing insights into the impact of urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of the people. However, the findings cannot be widely practicable or applicable because the case study is designed for the community in context. Essentially, the experiences and perspectives in the case study are individually constructed, making generalisability near impossible at a broader level of study because of the small sample size. Nevertheless, the research methodology

approach can apply to similar context(s), particularly in terms of research focus and case study of a slum community on the water in the city.

8.8. Final Remark and Overall Research Argument

In the overall research and as argued in the empirical chapters, when combined, the clash of rationalities in Chapter 5 and the right to the city in Chapter 7 reinforces the ongoing debates of critical urban theory embraced in the research. Moreover, since critical urban theory, as argued and contextualised in Chapter 2 of this thesis, underpins equality, fairness, and justice in accessing urban land by all city residents, then embracing the critical theory ideology in the thesis cannot be misplaced. Additionally, the empirical analysis in Chapter 6 argues that the impact of urban renewal interventions facilitates or constrains access to resources to pursue livelihoods, which subjects these livelihoods to precarity. However, Chapter 7 discusses the significance of collective responses to safeguard these livelihoods.

Therefore, based on these empirical arguments, I reflect on Harvey (2012), which primarily emphasizes the strength and power of the disadvantaged poor in cities. He argues they will likely be handed better deals if they remain resilient, resolved and collective in the struggle to claim and sustain their space-community, and livelihoods in the cities despite the imminent threats posed by the prevailing neo-liberal advocates/policies. Hence, I conclude by returning to my earlier social constructivist philosophical position in chapters 1 and 4; consequently, I advocate a pro-poor approach to urban renewal interventions.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

College of Social Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Study title: **Urban Renewal and the Livelihoods of the Urban Poor in the Slum Community of Makoko, Lagos Nigeria**.

Researcher Details: **Ganiyu Olalekan Bakare**

Names of Supervisors: **Dr Gareth James**
Dr Amin Kamete
Dr Gideon Baffoe

Dear participant, you are being invited to take part in this research study. Before you decide to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask the researcher/s if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take some time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

The study aims to generate insights into the impact of state-led urban renewal interventions on the lives and livelihoods of people living in the slum community of Makoko, Lagos, Nigeria.

Your participation in this research is voluntary, whereby you can decide to withdraw at any time if you are not comfortable with the research. Your participation will entail our discussion face-to-face where possible, online/internet method(s) - email/zoom/phone/WhatsApp message interview. Our exchanges shall centre on qualitative interviews about your experience regarding urban renewal interventions, livelihoods of people in Makoko, strategies employed by the people to navigate the impacts of urban renewal interventions, and government engagement, justifications, perspectives and positions concerning urban renewal interventions in Makoko since 2005.

Your personal details shall be kept confidential, and the allocation of pseudonym job title names similar to your official names shall replace your name/official name(s). The name(s) of your office/organisation(s) shall be identified in the research. Where necessary, names of your organisation may be mentioned, but the participants' identities shall be anonymised. Also, where images concerning

people or individuals become necessary and used, the images are blurred to protect the identity and privacy of such individuals.

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as possible unless during our conversation, I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

Please be informed that since a face-to-face interview is not possible between us due to social distancing and COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, our interview/discussion may be audio/video-recorded. The recorded interviews shall be used to type up a transcript of the interviews and discussions in the research. Be assured that your identities as participants shall be removed and anonymised in the research findings.

Also, be informed that data/information collected from you shall be used for the production of a PhD Thesis, conference paper and journal article. Also, data collected from you shall be stored in a secured cabinet and minicomputer laptop with a secure password. Data collected from you can be used or re-used in line with the code of good practice in research. Similarly, data collected from you shall also be destroyed after the expiration of ten (10) years in line with the Code of Good Practice in Research.

The Federal Government of Nigeria funds the research through its educational intervention agency in charge of tertiary education staff training and development known as Tertiary Education Funds (TETfund) and partly by myself.

This research has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee

To pursue any complaint about the conduct of the research: contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Contact Details

Researcher: Ganiyu Olalekan Bakare
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____________________End of Participant Information Sheet____________________

Appendix B: Consent Form

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: **Urban Renewal and the Livelihoods of the Urban Poor in the Slum Community of Makoko, Lagos, Nigeria.**

Name of Researcher: **Ganiyu Olalekan Bakare**.
Student ID: **XXXXXXX**

Names of Supervisors: **Dr Gareth James**
Dr Amin Kamete
Dr Gideon Baffoe

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonyms in any publications arising from the research.

I acknowledge that there will be no effect on my employment or my person arising from my participation or non-participation in this research.

- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research.
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- I agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.

- I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

I acknowledge the provision of a Privacy Notice in relation to this research project.
I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be returned to participants for verification- if requested by the participant.

- I consent/do not consent to interviews through online being audio-recorded.
- I agree/do not agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant…………………………………………………………
Signature………………………………………….

Date …………………………………….
Name of Researcher: **Ganiyu Olalekan Bakare** Signature

Date …………………………………….

Appendix C: Details of Research Participants

Makoko Community	Age Information	Date of Interview	Participant Information and Location
Chief Toba	70-80	22-05-21 and 16-06-22	A traditional head of one of the neighbourhoods with Makoko
Chief Adebo	70-80	22-05-21 and 17-06-22	A traditional head of one of the neighbourhoods with Makoko
Chief Bolajoko	60-70	23-05-21	A traditional head of one of the neighbourhoods with Makoko
Bayode	30-40	16-06-22	A canoe paddler living and working in Makoko
David	30-40	13-11-21 and 16-06-22	A fisherman living and working in Makoko
Akeem	40-50	30-10-21	A sawmiller who lives and works in the ware side area of Makoko community
Kenneth	40-50	17-06-22	A youth leader and fisherman living in Makoko
Kusamotu	40-50	17-06-22	Member of the youth group and a trader in Makoko
Kamoru	40-50	22-05-21	Fisherman and a resident in Makoko
Dorcas	30-40	17-06-22	A fishmonger in Makoko
Iya Gbade	60-70	30-10-21 and 06-11-21	An older adult who has been living in Makoko as a fishmonger
Azi	30-40	40-50	
Tejumade		30-40	A tailor living and working in Makoko
Alice	30-40	13-11-21	A hairdresser living and working in Makoko
Kemi	30-40	30-11-21 and 13-11-21	She is a hairdresser in Makoko community
Sadibo	30-40	13-11-21	He is a tailor working in Makoko
Ayinde	70-80	13-11-21 and 16-07-22	A retired fisherman who now engages in fishnet knitting in Makoko
Sekou	30-40	16-06-22	A fisherman and canoe carver working and living in Makoko
Remi	60-70	13-11-21	An old small-scale fishmonger who has been living in Makoko since retirement
Wande	50-60	17-06-22	A trader in timber logs business in Makoko
Tade	40-50	16-06-22	A fisherman/ canoe technician engine repairer living in Makoko
Pastor Mathews	30-40	16-06-22	A religious Non-Governmental Organisation in Makoko community
Officer Ned	30-40	21-07-21	A town planning officer working in the Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency
Officer Deb	40-50	19-07-21	A Senior town Planning Officer at Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency
commissioner	50-60	21-07-21	A commissioner for the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development

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