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Lagos in Focus **Everyday Life in the Nigerian Megacity**

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By Damilola Odekunle, Richard Unuigboje, & Ortega Ogodo

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GUEST EDITOR'S NOTE

EVERYDAY COMPLEXITIES OF CITY MAKING AND SURVIVAL IN AFRICA'S 'MODEL' MEGACITY

The Lagos Dream

Lagos is Nigeria's largest city and one of the fastest growing in the world. As Nigeria's only megacity with an estimated population of over twenty million people, the city has evolved over time defying known models of urban development and planning. Demographic estimates put the majority of the city's population as young migrants seeking economic opportunities, and many relegated to the margins of the urban frontier – indeed paying a heavy urban penalty.

The allure of Lagos is strong. From her historical status as a port and trading post, crown colony and post-colonial capital of Nigeria until 1991, and current status as Nigeria's primate city and economic nerve centre, the city continues to attract many in search of the elusive Lagos dream. According to the Lagos State Government, this dream is to be *Africa's Model Mega City and Global Economic and Financial Hub*¹. But what does this really mean for everyday Lagosians, most of whom live in absolute poverty?².

The Lagos state government aligns with many international economic and social agendas, including the Sustainable Development Goals. Current development plans and programmes are articulated and promoted within the context of this idealistic globalising aspiration. However, the situation on ground is markedly different. This city of 20million plus is perpetually confronted with daunting challenges of insufficient infrastructure, the pressure of continuous in-migration and consequences of wide-spread socio-economic inequalities. Over 60% of Lagos residents are poor – living below international poverty benchmarks and/or the national minimum wage and surviving through precarious employment in the informal economic sector. Complex inter-relationships exist between governance systems, urban management approaches and the survival practices of urban residents.

The city making practices of Lagosians significantly impact urban processes. However, they are rarely recognised, talk less of documented. The articles in this special volume revisit how urban infrastructure systems enhance and/or inhibit the attainment of the Lagos Dream for the average Lagos resident. From housing, food security and transportation to recreation and technology, we explore how residents cope with and respond to the challenges of urban life in light of institutional provisions and the city's development vision. Basirat Oyalowo and Gbemiga Faniran explore migrant housing trajectories, while Olamide Udoma Ejorh interrogates the challenges of youth, technology and survival. Richard Unuigboje, Damilola Odekunle, Oghenetega Ogodo and Wale Alade look at how public spaces (transportation and recreation) are governed and accessed, while Tolulope Osayomi and Taibat Lawanson seek to understand urban agriculture and food security in Lagos

Everyday urban complexities and infrastructure struggles

Across the city, there are both government and people led approaches to city making. One-way migrants appropriate the city as their own is in place naming. Vestiges of this are apparent across Lagos. From

¹ Lagos State Economic Development Plan (2012 – 2025)

² "Poverty Profile for Lagos State," Lagos State government, 2016, <https://mepb.lagosstate.gov.ng/storage/sites/29/2019/08/POVERTY-REPORT-Y2016.pdf> (accessed September 14, 2020), p. 15; "Lagos Socio-Economic Profile," Lagos State Government Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, p. 3.

historic areas of Lagos Island that welcomed slave returnees in the 1800's now being called Brazilian Quarters, to neighbourhoods such as Abule-Egba, Ijesha and Isolo bearing the names of communities in Nigeria's hinterland, we see migrants stamping their ethnic identities on the city, and also retreating to their ethnic enclaves for support and economic survival.

Oyalowo and Faniran in their article draw on this in espousing the migrant trajectories of new entrants to the city, showing that while many ethnic enclaves have become more diverse, most migrants to Lagos still leverage kin support to launch their own Lagos dream. For example, the recently banned commercial motorcycle '*okada*' was an informal business with ease of entry especially for migrants from Nigeria's northern region.

While *Okada* may be a source of livelihoods for new migrants to the city, it also portends a safety and security risk in the city. In the piece by Alade and Unuigboje, we see that the ease of entry into the *okada* business, and relative lack of training of many commercial motorcyclists has results in a higher number of road accidents due to reckless riding. Furthermore, *Okadas* are mostly implicated in kidnapping, sexual harassment and traffic robberies. Since 2019, *okada* and other forms of para-transit have been banned in most parts of Lagos, resulting in serious hardship for commuters and businesses alike. In recommending training and licencing of *Okada* operators, the authors highlight a governance gap – the refusal of the State government to learn from local practices. Licencing and training were successfully incorporated into the business models of commercial motorcycle start-ups like *Gokada* and *Max* prior to 2019. By simply leveraging technology, these businesses mitigated the riders' excesses through a process of identification, standardisation, training and an effective feedback mechanism.

Technology is something that Lagos does well. The State government has promoted Innovation Hubs and the coding education programme to onboard many youths onto the technology enabled knowledge ecosystem. We have also seen the growth of local online businesses, technology start-ups, social media market places and accompanying growth of the micro-logistics (motorcycle) delivery businesses since the pandemic and lockdown in Lagos. The article by Olamide Udoma Ejorh highlights how limited access to education and economic opportunities has resulted in both positive and negative outcomes for the city's tech reality. While there is an upward trajectory of youth taking advantage of cryptocurrency and other global opportunities for education and employment, the criminal economy in Lagos has also embraced technology, with an alarming proportion of young people involved in cybercrime – an embarrassing upgrade of the 'Nigerian prince email scams of the 1990s.

Many Lagos residents who are not inclined to technology or crime are embracing urban agriculture. A large population automatically means a higher demand for food. Given that land is scarce, urban agriculture on a commercial scale is practiced in the peri-urban areas, and micro-scale practices such as sack farming and backyard soil-less farming provide many families with legitimate livelihoods within the city core. Demonstration projects such as vertical and hydroponic farming is also being explored among private sector organisations. In Osayomi and Lawanson's piece, we see evidence of citizen appropriation of vacant and abandoned areas for farming – urban acupuncture of sorts. Again, the migrants from Nigeria's (mostly agrarian) northern region are active in this sector as farmhands and temporary labourers. One then wonders if providing targeted opportunities in this sector can address two issues – migrant integration and food security in the city that never stops growing.

Apart from public space appropriation for farming, Damilola Odekunle, Richard Unuigboje and Oghenetega Ogado also discovered that Lagos residents are appropriating public spaces across the city for active and passive recreation. There are many community groups promoting this approach – from the running and cycling clubs in Ikoyi to female martial arts clubs in Lagos Island. In the absence of adequate,

affordable and/or accessible parks and sports arena, people are using the streets for their physical activities. This however comes with its own safety and security challenges especially for women and people with disabilities. By using infrastructure not originally designed with sporting use in mind, residents are prone to injury, violence and even exposure to air pollution.

Conclusion

All the authors recommend policy formulation. This is something that the Lagos state government does well. Across practically all development sectors is a law, edict, plan, programme or roadmap. How well they are being implemented is a different story. We find that there is a disconnect between the visions of the state government and the very real quest for survival of citizens. There is therefore need to rethink approaches to governance in the state.

Rethinking governance approaches in Lagos require a paradigm shift in policy formulation, review and implementation. This approach must ensure that policy formulation and review recognise the peculiarities of everyday life in the city and the innovative survival mechanisms of the people. By incorporating this, the policies will be realistic and fit for purpose. For example, providing support to the micro level urban agricultural practices will go a long way in boosting food security. Policies must also be inclusive, recognising the contextualised needs of various groups including young people, women, people with disabilities and even migrants. An example is to expand opportunities for education and employment of young people by making technology training affordable and accessible. Transitioning to a technology enabled society also should recognize and work towards upscaling microlevel activities that have worked. The tech enabled regulation of the okada riders is one such example. Finally, policy implementation must also recognise the agency of residents and work with them to create the Lagos of their dreams. Across all the articles, we see this agency manifest in various ways that can be integrated into formal systems or expanded to provide real prosperity beyond the current survival modes. Only then can we say that Lagos is on the pathway to becoming *Africa's model megacity*.

TAIBAT LAWANSON

FEEDING LAGOS MEGACITY THROUGH URBAN AGRICULTURE: RE-ENGINEERING CITY GOVERNANCE FOR FOOD SECURITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Tolulope Osayomi³ and Taibat Lawanson⁴

Abstract

More than fifty per cent of the world's population currently live in urban areas. This suggests we live in an increasingly urbanised world. The proportion of people living in urban centres is not only increasing but also exceeding food supply in urban areas. This clearly has significant implications for food security. In response to food supply deficits, urban agriculture attempts to meet the nutritional needs of urban dwellers. The Lagos Megacity is not an exception in this case. In Lagos, urban poverty as a proximate factor has 'pushed' the poor households to urban farming. Their entry and involvement in these informal activities are key to their economic survival in the city. Unfortunately, several factors such as access to land, gender issues, and government regulations among others greatly constrain their participation in this activity. It now appears that the city is turning its attention to the significant potential of the enterprise. For instance, Lagos State, in 2021, launched a five-year agricultural development roadmap and Climate Action Plan with a view to ensuring sustainable food security in line with the Sustainable Development Goals. The thrust of this study is therefore to understand how urban agricultural activities emerged in the course of the evolution and spatial development of Lagos megacity particularly in contemporary times and how Lagos megacity has perceived and responded to urban agriculture. In addition, the paper highlights the general patterns, contributions and challenges of UA in Lagos megacity. Lastly, our thoughts on how urban governance can be re-structured to promote food security and social inclusion in Lagos megacity.

Keywords: Informality, urban agriculture, food security, pro-poor governance, Lagos megacity

Introduction

Urbanisation has been regarded as "one of the most transformative events of the world" (Kookana et al 2020). Presently, over 56 per cent of the world population live in urban areas (Population Reference Bureau, 2021). This certainly points to two facts. The first is we are living in an increasingly urbanised world. The second is that urban areas are critical to the progress or decline of humanity. To reinforce the latter, eighty per cent of the global GDP, according to the World Bank (2019), is being produced by cities. Thus, urban centres are the pillars of the global economy. Given their nature, they constantly attract numerous people not only from rural areas but also from smaller and equally large towns. Very often, these in-migrants are in search of better life opportunities which are relatively available in the urban areas.

Urban areas all over the world are facing increasing pressure on available land from different actors for different purposes in mind. Many times, most of the pressure originates from urban residential and infrastructural development. This in turn is attributed to the large population concentration and huge in-migration flows frequently associated with urban areas. This in fact are collectively the major driver of the urbanisation process. The current fears are that urban population not only increases but also outstrips food production or supply in urban areas of the world. This no doubt has significant effects on urban food security.

It is imperative to highlight that food security is crucial to sustainable human development. Among the seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs), SDG-2 "End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture" is a priority concern for humanity. One of the

³ Department of Geography, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

⁴ Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Lagos, Nigeria

numerous means of achieving this is through urban agriculture (UA). In response to food supply deficits, urban agriculture attempts to meet the food demands of urban dwellers. UA collectively refers to agricultural practices within and at the fringe of an urban area that seek to meet the food and non-food requirements of urban dwellers (FAO, 1999; Mougeot, 2000). In a more generic sense, UA refers to both crop farming and animal husbandry in urban and peri-urban contexts (Nichols et al 2020).

In many African cities, the informal economy (of which UA is a part) has been the cornerstone of urban food security as well as a key source of employment for poor urban dwellers. This clearly corroborates Resnick et al (2018)'s opinion that "the sector is a major source of employment for the poor in many cities of the world. This is particularly true in sub-Saharan Africa where a significant share of the population depends on the informal economy for their livelihoods...". UA plays a central role in economies of cities of developing countries largely because the urban poor heavily depend on them for daily sustenance. Despite its economic significance, IE activities are very often criminalised by the state and punished by its law enforcement agencies (Adegbeye, 2018).

There is no city without the poor. Like the other cities of the global south, the urban poor, who are often in the majority, are coerced to fashion innovative responses to the problems of their everyday lives (Adegbeye, 2018). Unfortunately, the prevalent neoliberalist urban agenda is averse to informality and therefore does not recognise the urban poor as stakeholders in urban governance because it is "an antithesis to modernity" (Adama, 2020). Sadly, it sees that informality as 'chaos to a highly organised urban society' but not as a 'life wire of the urban poor'.

In recent times, Lagos, in line with the prevailing neoliberal and modernist visions, is re-configuring itself to become a world class city and a model city for Africa. The cosmopolitan city is currently the most preferred destination for foreign direct investments in Nigeria (Osayomi and Adeniyi, 2017). Several city infrastructure and urban renewal projects are being implemented across the city but these socio-economic and urban changes bring with them the socio spatial exclusion of the poor - the end product of neoliberalism and modernity. They are often dislodged from the city's economy by evictions, prosecution and demolition etc. In response to these institutional hostilities, the urban poor continuously adopt coping strategies that ensure their physical and economic survival in the city (Lawanson 2016). UA is one of the several livelihood strategies adopted by the poor to deal with the twin problem of poverty and food security. This trend is being noticed in the Lagos megacity which is the focus of this paper. Therefore, it is about time the significance of UA is uncovered and directed at strengthening urban governance of Lagos.

Many rely on UA for sustenance due to poverty. Historically, its emergence largely stems from the failure of the pro-state policies in which the state drives the process of economic development (Lee-Smith et al 2019, Ledornu and Wizer, 2019). It is largely perceived as an 'escape route' out of economic hardships and life struggles. From the political economy perspective, UA is an indication of the limitations of the prevailing political and economic systems. Several poultry farms, backyard gardens, roadside vegetable farms, commercial farms dot the landscape of Lagos (Lawal and Aliu, 2012, Taiwo, 2014, Adedayo, 2014; Taiwo, 2016). Unfortunately, UA farms are losing ground to housing and construction related activities (Lee-Smith et al 2019). In addition, the significance these farms or UA enterprises are either overlooked in city planning or criminalised in the eyes of the law.

It is against this background that this paper poses a fundamental question- What does UA say about the spatial governance of the Lagos megacity and how does the Lagos megacity in turn perceive and respond to these UA practices? In addition to the line of enquiry, the paper will also examine the contributions and challenges of UA in Lagos megacity. In the end, our understanding of the dynamics would be offered on how urban governance can be re-engineered for the sake of food security and social inclusion in Lagos

megacity. The rest of the paper is organised as follows: the first section provides a conceptual guide to our enquiry. The second section examines the policy and urban context within which UA operates in Lagos megacity. The third focuses on the general patterns, contribution and challenges of UA in the megacity. The conclusion offers insights on how city governance of Lagos can promote food security and social inclusion.

Urban Agriculture: A Conceptual Guide

The principal determinant of UA, as obvious as it is, is rapid and uncontrollable urban growth (Lee-Smith et al 2019). No doubt, the increasing level of urbanisation in the global south has consequences on food production (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019). In a situation where the urban population growth exceeds urban agricultural production, food scarcity would set in and could further lead to more dreadful outcomes such as malnutrition, starvation, epidemics and mortality. UA therefore is to primarily guarantee supply of nutritious food as well as sustainable urban food systems. In Nnezi and Adesina (2019)'s opinion, UA is in fact a movement advocating for increased production and access to healthy foods in urban areas. Therefore, it is a critical response to the challenge of urban food insecurity in the 21st century.

UA could be described as a collective term for crop farming and animal rearing within and at the margins of urban areas with the objective of meeting nutritional needs and creating employment. Its practice in urban areas, according to Lee-Smith, (2019) and Ledornu and Wizer (2019) in urban areas, is largely motivated by the need for a private source of food supply for households as well as the pursuit for monetary gain particularly among home-based entrepreneurs.

Again, the practice of UA in some African cities is somewhat problematic because of their generally haphazard nature of cities. This chaotic urban design clearly influences or rather dictates the physical access to available plots and their size, and more importantly, the nature of production activities be engaged in (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019). For instance, urban farmers in inner cities take advantage of vacant plots in schools, churches, unused land and along road/rail slides (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019). Therefore, the challenge of space constraints to a very large extent affects not only UA practice but also productivity. According to Lee-Smith et al (2019), a typical urban household farms intensively on far smaller plots than those in nearby rural communities. Besides space constraints, the choice of food crops to grow is a function of the city's culinary culture. The main diets/food of the cities and towns shape the existing cropping patterns in UA (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019).

There are several forms of UA that have been identified in the literature such as home gardens/backyard farms, allotment growing, communal growing/community garden, community-supported agriculture, commercial farming, edible landscaping, rooftop garden and informal urban agriculture (Lee-Smith et al 2019). Of all of them, the urban backyard farm is the most prominent form of UA in a typical city and probably the cornerstone of UA as an enterprise. It is common to 50 to 66 per cent of farming households. It is therefore often the basis of subsistence production and source of informal employment for urban dwellers (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019; Lee-Smith et al, 2019). Among the UA actors, women constitute a significant proportion of UA farm probably because it is their direct responsibility to feed their families (Ledornu and Wizer 2019; Anosike and Fasona, 2004; Adedayo, 2014).

Besides its vital contribution to the city in terms of food supply, income generation, employment opportunities, UA also provides another range of benefits to urban dwellers such as life-wire for the socially disadvantaged to break out of poverty, places for physical and mental healing and lastly, even

positively contributes to the place-making and place identity of urban areas (Amato and Simonetti, 2021; Ledornu and Wizer, 2019, Koopmans et al 2017)

Lagos Megacity and The Quest for Food Security

Lagos is widely known as the economic heartland of Nigeria (Osayomi and Adeniyi, 2017), as well as a major financial and transport hub of West Africa (LASG, 2013). It is one of the fastest growing cities in the world, with a clear vision "... of becoming Africa's model megacity and global, economic and financial hub that is safe, secure, functional and productive by 2025" (LASG, 2013). Though the smallest in terms of land mass, it is the state with the largest population in the country (Uduku, Lawanson and Ogodo, 2021). In 2012, there were 20 million which is projected to grow by a further 7 million by 2025, thus making Lagos the world's third largest city (LASG, 2013). Much of population growth is attributed to the large in-migration flows from within and outside the country (Lawanson and Oduwaye, 2014; Uduku, Lawanson and Ogodo, 2021). Little wonder why Ezeh (2012) is of the view that the future of urban Africa lies in Lagos; therefore, the pace of other African cities will largely be determined by what happens in Lagos.

Lagos megacity, comprising virtually all the local government areas (LGAs) in Lagos State and four of Ogun's LGAs namely Ado Odo/Ota, Ifo, Obafemi-Owode and Sagamu has been historically noted for its increasing urban population growth (Filani, 2013). This demographic event exerts a huge strain on land availability. As at 2013, the built-up area of Lagos was over 80 per cent of the mainland (LASG, 2013). This has resulted into the metropolis' swift encroachment on the surrounding peri-urban/rural hinterland. Due to land shortage and rapid population increase, the emergence of satellite towns in peri-urban areas periodically responds to the ever-soaring housing demand that often accompanies urbanisation (Lawanson, 2012; Adedire, 2018, Lawanson, 2019). Besides the proliferation of satellite towns and "bedroom communities" within and outside Lagos, extensive reclamation has been executed in parts of Lagos some of which are Lekki Peninsula, Amuwo Odofin New Town and FESTAC (Filani, 2013) in order to deal with the city's housing deficit.

Given the overwhelming housing and land demand, the spatial expansion of the megacity is fast converting rural farmlands into industrial and residential landuse patterns. (Lawanson, 2012; Odudu, 2014). Adedayo (2014:172) has this to say: "the peri-urban interface [is] characterised by rapid land use changes and changes in livelihood conditions, and existing agricultural and land distribution becomes disrupted by land seekers for non-agricultural activities, thereby enforcing traditional farmers to give up farming for other income earning activities". No doubt, the changing land use patterns arising from rapid urban development in the Lagos region has huge implications for food security.

Historically, UA does not receive official recognition in Nigeria because current town planning laws - largely derivatives of British colonial planning regulations which privilege the modernist vision of a clean, planned and poor-free city with zero tolerance for informal activities - are averse to the growth of UA enterprises in cities. Ezedinma and Chukuezi (1999) argued that these anti-UA laws did not make provision for "... agro-residential planning for even a few stands of vegetables to enrich urban diets". They further stated that these colonial legacies left regressive impacts on the contemporary nutritional patterns. Nutritional deficiencies were noticed in the diets of the urban poor in the aftermath of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) of 1986 as a result of the fast-declining purchasing powers associated with higher food prices and falling incomes. This is why UA not only became a response to the failure of the state development policies (Ledornu and Wizer, 2019) but was the last resort for the poor and vulnerable groups (Ezedinna and Chukuezi, 1999).

To situate the discussion in proper context, an episode in the megacity's governance must be recalled. The megacity, in the recent past, was reputed for its strong intolerance to all forms of informality. According to Adegbeye (2018:7), "In Lagos, the urban future is envisioned as prioritised capital driven utopia in which poverty has been eliminated. However, the demonstrated means for eliminating this poverty never seems to be through the strengthening of residents, economic capacity, but rather through making the urban space increasing inhospitable to people living in poverty". The city's anti-informality stance appeared to be a deliberate surgical removal of the socially undesirable ones so as to produce an African paradise. However, this socio-spatial exclusion no doubt raises questions already encapsulated in the Right-To-The City concept (i.e., the poor and vulnerable groups have equal rights to the city). However, this is challenging to surmount because informality is "the dominant urban reality in many African countries" (Lawanson 2016: 110).

The detestation for informality was very glaring during the tenures of Lagos State Governors Fashola (2007-2015) and Ambode (2015-2019). The demolition of Oshodi market is a case in point. Prior to that incident, Oshodi was in the words of the Lagos State Government "the unwanted symbol and signature of Lagos" (Omoegun et al 2019) The demolition of this popular market, which generated strong media attention and public outrage, led to the forceful removal and displacement of several IE actors whose sources of livelihood were lost. In their view, informality is an anomaly in urban development and therefore an impediment to the modernisation process of Lagos. According to Akiyode (2017), the state's reaction to informality is firmly based on the developmentalism and modernisation paradigm which glorifies the image of the "Global City".

Lagos State is divided into five broad geographical areas: Ikeja, Badagry, Ikorodu, Lagos Islands and Epe (popularly termed as I.B.I.L.E.). Out of these five, Badagry, Epe, Ikorodu have been identified for full exploitation of their agricultural potential (LASG, 2013). Arable land in the state is estimated to be 1.41 million ha of which 0.030 million ha is currently cultivated. Food crops mainly grown in Lagos are maize, rice, cassava, yams and fruits and vegetables. More than 40 per cent of food crops produced are lost during post-harvest due to their perishable nature. Livestock production is dominated by poultries and piggeries while cattle from outside Lagos dominate consumption. With respect to the fisheries subsector, the Federal Government of Nigeria endorsed Lagos as a fishing state. Despite its rich endowment, Lagos surprisingly imports more than half of its fish needs maybe because the local demand for fish as food is estimated at 1.5 million (LASG, 2013). Two hundred and fifty hectares of arable land is for rice cultivation. Interestingly, its consumption of rice is said to be the highest in the country - 35 kg per person per year. (LASG, 2013). As a matter of fact, the state as at 2014 produced only 10 per cent of its total food demand.

This obviously point outs the deficits in domestic food supply in Lagos, which the Lagos State Development Plan (LSDP) (LASG, 2013) fully recognises and strives to address in the near future. To boost food production, LASG has designed a number of policy interventions such as Strategic Programme for Accelerated Agricultural Growth (SPAAG), Agric-Yes, Eko Farm, Rice for Job all of which are located outside of the megacity region and even in other states of Nigeria (Adedayo, 2014). All these programmes are directed at ensuring that "aggregate food supplied internally increases from less than 10 per cent of total consumption by the state in 2012 in 2012 to 25 per cent by 2017 and 40 per cent by 2025" (LASG, 2013)

Consequently, the Lagos State Government, in the year 2022, launched a five-year agricultural development roadmap (2021-2025) with a view to ensuring sustainable food security in line with the Sustainable Development Goals. The mission statement of the roadmap is "[p]romoting sustainable food production in a healthy environment through efficient service delivery". The road map intends to leverage on the state's competitive and comparative advantages in the development of agricultural potentials and

state's self-sufficiency in food production from 18% to 40% of food needs in the next five years and thus ensure that Lagos state achieves the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as it relates to the sector.” (Baje, 2021). Prior to now, Lagos State, in our view, had been very overly emphatic on the resuscitation of the colonial and post-independence farm estates and the establishment of new ones in the hinterland of the state for agricultural production.

Due to its low-lying and wetland nature, the coastal city of Lagos is often tormented by a multitude of climate change impacts such as flooding, sea level rise, excessive heat, storm surges, extreme rainfall patterns (Adelekan, 2010; Elias and Omojola, 2015; Lawanson et al 2015; LASG, 2021). Unfortunately, the city's vulnerability is exacerbated by some existing developmental challenges (Adelekan, 2010; Lawanson et al 2015). Over 60 per cent of the city's poor residents are highly vulnerable to these climate hazards. The city has long seen the urgent need to shield its residents from these adverse effects. The Lagos State Government with support from C40 Cities Climate Leadership Groups formulated the *Lagos Climate Action Plan: Second Five Year Plan (2020-2025)* (LASG, 2021) in line with the Paris Agreement goal of achieving zero carbon by 2050. The policy document is probably the first to recognise the potential of UA not because of its capacity to increase food supply but also to adapt and mitigate climate change effects in the megacity. As a matter of fact, one of the adaptation action points of the Lagos Climate Change Action Plan is “regenerate farm centres and explore urban agriculture opportunities and to strengthen food security” (Lagos Climate Change Plan, 2021: XV). The state government recently recognised the practice of UA on its numerous wetlands not only to maximise agricultural production but also to promote environmental conservation and urban greening (Nnezi and Adesina, 2019). In all of these, Lagos appears to have woken up to the reality of UA!

The Landscape of UA in Lagos Megacity: Patterns, Benefits and Challenges

Informality, as previously mentioned, is prevalent in many cities of Africa because it is the means of survival for the urban poor. Therefore, the informal sector is the source of employment for these categories. Urban poor in Lagos megacity survive primarily by engaging in informal economic activities (Lawanson and Oduwaye, 2014). Many of its residents have adopted urban farming for daily sustenance (Sipasi, n.d.). A young agribusiness entrepreneur, John-Paul Iwuoha, has this to say about the rise of UA in Lagos (Iwuoha, 2015):

“Everybody must eat. However, at the current rate of population growth in Lagos, there could be a food shortage crisis in the city if nothing is done to secure the food supply. Rising prices of foodstuff is already a telling sign. The problem is, most people in my part of town are ‘office workers’ or ‘white collar job’ people, including me. All of us want to eat, but none wants to produce the food. We’re just too ‘cool’ to farm. Because Lagos is largely an urban state, most of the food that feeds the people of this city is supplied from rural areas in neighbouring and far-off states. Even the most basic foodstuff are trucked into the city from faraway places. That’s exactly the opportunity that led me into urban agribusiness. I partnered with a friend and took the leap. By being close to the market, we believed we would have a competitive advantage, and thus began our journey of enlightenment.”

Various forms of UA have been identified and are being currently practised in the city such as guerrilla farming, soil-less farming (aeroponics/hydroponics), sack farming, and vertical farming. Guerrilla farming is a farming practiced on abandoned or overlooked plots of lands over which a farmer does not have legal rights. Taiwo (2014:323) in his study had observed this form of farming in some parts of the

city: “[s]etbacks and right-of-way are sensitive corridors around utilities and natural features which ordinarily should be devoid of any development or human activities. However, because they are not being used, some of the farmers plant crops within the corridors”. Farmers tend to farm more in these unusual sites because they are generally free and therefore come at little or no cost (Taiwo, 2014). Apart from setbacks and right-of-Way, riverbanks are popular sites for guerrilla farming.

In recognition of the land shortage crisis in Lagos, soil-less farming practices such as aeroponics and hydroponics have been introduced. Aeroponics is the cultivation of crops in the air while hydroponics involves the planting of crops in a water-based solution rich in soil nutrients (Olayinka, 2019). Based in the Lekki area of Lagos, the Gartner Callaway Fruits and Vegetable Farms is an example of an aeroponic/hydroponic farm involved in large scale production of fruits and vegetables; managed by young entrepreneurs. Though aeroponics and hydroponics are innovative practices with huge potential for food production and very little land and soil requirement, it is not widespread probably due to relatively high cost of adoption. Besides these, sack farming, another innovative farming practice, was introduced by the Farming for Empowerment and Entrepreneurship Development (FEED) project of ProtectOzone Sustainable Livelihood initiative, a Non-Governmental Organisation based in Ikorodu (Sipasi, n.d.). Sack farming (otherwise called bag farming) involves the planting of crops in soil-filled sacks/bags/containers. Vegetables and spices such as cabbage, pepper, tomato, cucumber etc are said to yield more in sacks may be because they aerate more and retain moisture more than the traditional methods (Akinfenwa, 2021). Sipasi (n.d) provides more scientific evidence on the efficacy of sack farming. From his perspective, the farming technique is cost effective and reduces weed infestation by 60% and Vvegetables such as *Ewedu*, *Efo tete* and *Soko* thrive well with the method. Despite its effectiveness, we can say this type of farming is very popular among Lagos households with limited or no access to arable land.

With reference to urban vertical farming, a number of pilot projects have been developed and are being implemented in Lagos to encourage the diffusion of this innovative farming method among its residents. More importantly, they see that farming at the fringes of Lagos cannot keep up the demand for food among Lagosians. An example is the Urban Vertical Farming Project of the Lagos Urban Development Initiative (LUDI). According to LUDI (n.d.), the goal of the project is to:

“...increase the capacity of food production in the heart of the Lagos Metropolitan Area ...This involves the design, construction and management of vernacular vertical farm structures and hydroponics for the Lagos community context. The project will revitalize city life by providing active public spaces for communities in previously abandoned areas of the city.”(<https://ludi.org.ng/urban-vertical-farming-pilot-project/>)

UA is more common in the fringes of the megacity particularly Ikorodu, Ibafo and Mowe because of the large land holdings and little competition for land (Adedayo 2014), the comparatively high land rent (Taiwo, 2014) and the limited space (Lawal and Aliu, 2014) at the city centre. Again, Iwuoha (2015) confirms: “In these remote parts of Lagos (especially in the Epe, Ikorodu, and Badagry areas), it’s still possible to get these incredible land lease bargains. In fact, the land we leased was still a virgin forest. It hadn’t been farmed since 1988!”

It is common to see within the Lagos region UA being practised on river banks, proposed construction sites, waste lands and road side. Alongside herb, spice and crop farming, snails, chicken, sheep, goat, cattle and pigs are also being reared for consumption and sale (Adedayo 2014). Vegetable farming is very common in areas around Ojo army barracks and Alapere (Alimi, 2020). It would be interesting to uncover

the determinants of UA location in the Lagos megacity. Taiwo (2013, 2014, 2017) has extensively investigated the factors that influence the choice of UA locations in the megacity. He identified a variety of factors such as availability and accessibility to land and water, distance to farmer's residence and market, suitability and fertility status of soils and labour. Proximity to a water body or source of water supply affects their choice of farming. In the rainy season, they often rely on waters from rivers/streams while they draw water from shallow hand dug wells in the dry season. Wells are frequently dug when the farmer cannot secure a location beside a river/stream, and also needs to ensure all year-round supply of water for crops (Taiwo, 2014).

Access to land is arguably the most important determinant of UA enterprise in Lagos. Taiwo (2014; 2017) does not use the term accessibility in the strictest sense but defines it loosely in terms of availability, affordability of land and disposition of landowners to lease land for urban farming. In his assessment, there is a strong preference for cheap land among the UA farmers. There is evidence of spatial agglomeration on relatively cheap land which includes setbacks and rights-of-way. The number of cultivated plots is a function of land availability. The number of plots owned varies from farmer to farmer. It ranges from less than a plot to more than ten plots per farmer. In the event of land scarcity, farmers share a single plot of land and the use of the land may come at a fee. Some money is paid to "some self-acclaimed agents" for using the land (Taiwo, 2014). In some other circumstances, land is leased *gratis* to farmers by landowners because there may be no current use of the land, and these farmers may serve as a control against trespassing. (Taiwo, 2014). The farmer's inability to purchase land at the city centre has pressured them to migrate to the periphery where affordable land for farming is available (Taiwo, 2014)

Despite its nature and practice, the significance of UA in the Lagos megacity cannot be overlooked. Its practice has been beneficial to farmers, residents and the city at large in terms of daily sustenance, poverty alleviation, social safety net, income generation, job creation, improved food security (Adedayo 2014). Its benefits can be classified into the following: women empowerment, poverty alleviation, job creation and formation of therapeutic landscapes.

UA is a source of alternative to formal employment for women. Women are generally disadvantaged in terms of access to societal resources such as employment, educational opportunities etc. UA to some extent helps to address the gender gap in the society by creating livelihoods for women who were previously deprived. A significant proportion of the female farmers are divorcees and widows, with very large number of dependants, no other source of income and little or no spousal support (Anosike and Fasona, 2004). According to Olufemi (2019), UA is a tool of women empowerment. Besides being a means of sustenance, women farmers see it as an opportunity to transform their individual and family socio-economic conditions, thereby making them more proactive and recognisable members of their families and society. They mainly grow food crops such as melon, waterleaf, spinach, tomatoes, hot pepper, maize and okra (Anosike and Fasona, 2004). The following testimonials from Olufemi (2019:10)'s study of women farmers in UA confirm the above:

"I must confess that the first few months of my husband's deployment to the far north was the most difficult period of my life aside from not hearing from my husband for a long, it was very difficult for me to feed my family. My friend introduced me to farming within the barracks, although I am not where am (sic) supposed to be but my life is far better than I ever imagined."

- 34-year female farmer, Ojo Local Government Area

“I take care of myself and five kids with the money I get from the sales of vegetables in Mile 12 market since my husband and I separated...I have also bought so many stuffs like clothes, television handset, food for myself and my children”

- 45-year female farmer, Kosofe Local Government Area

UA is an effective tool of poverty reduction (Lawanson et al 2015). Besides being an instrument of women empowerment, urban farming also provides income to the economic migrants on the margins of Lagos (Adedayo, 2014). In their research, Anosike and Fasona (2004) reported that a large number of male farmers are temporary migrants who move into Lagos at specific periods of the year. Again, Iwuoha (2015) adds his experience:

“Most of the labour we use are migrant farmers from Northern Nigeria, most notably, Hausa-Fulani farmers. And these guys are the best negotiators I have met in a long time. We have always used temporary labour. In my experience, it’s flexible but more expensive in the long run. So, we just recently hired a permanent farmer who settled in the area after he fled the Boko Haram violence in the North. Andrew is from Chibok, the town in North-East Nigeria from which the terrorists kidnapped more than 200 school girls. He fled the village with his wife and five little children.”

Despite its significance to the urban economy, it is still not recognised as an integral part of the city systems. This implicitly suggests that there are challenges in UA practice confronted by farmers. Lagos farmers in Lawal and Aliu (2012)’s opinion face constraints such as access to land, insufficient funds, and fertilizers. In addition to these, urban encroachment is perceived to major limitation too. According to the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) report (2021), farmers in Ikorodu area and Victoria Island-Badagry-Epe axis have noted and complained of rapid urban encroachment on arable land. Iwuoha (2015), a resident of the Victoria Island-Badagry-Epe axis explains:

“I live on the Victoria Island-Lekki-Epe corridor. If you’re familiar with this area of Lagos, you would know that it’s the fastest developing region in Nigeria. It has one of highest concentrations of upper- and middle-income households in the country...Residential estates, [housing developments](#), office complexes and shopping malls are coming up everywhere. And hundreds of new people move into this area every week. In fact, the huge volume of traffic on this corridor is mind-blowing...”

The situation is not in any way different in Ikorodu as earlier mentioned. Laja Ayomide, an Ikorodu based poultry farmer had similar observations: “The agricultural area of Ikorodu and lands after the Lagos State Polytechnic complex at Odogunyan were being used for farming. The lands were allocated by the state government for farming but they have been used to build accommodation” A fish farmer, Dele Akinolu, in the same area confirmed too: “We now have building materials markets in Ikorodu, instead of farm produce markets, even in a particular place that is supposed to be a farm settlement,” (NAN, 2014). Among fish farmers in Ikorodu, there is the challenge of occasional flooding which arises from excavation and desilting of surrounding canals (Alimi, 2020)

Conclusion

A number of conclusions have emerged from the situation analysis of UA practices in Lagos megacity. First, the thriving UA sector is Lagos's response to the rising demand for food among urban dwellers as well as a manifestation of the stark economic inequalities of the society during the years of economic decline. Second, UA until recently was not a fully recognised feature of the Lagos megacity owing to colonial influences and contemporary aversions to its development. In addition, the policy context often overlooked the potential of UA and preferred the development of existing and new farm settlements outside the city. This might be related to the earlier point mentioned. Third, UA seems to gain government attention now because of its capacity to serve a strong defence against climate change. Lastly, the economic and environmental benefits of UA are enormous. They have demonstrated potential to break poverty cycles, generate income, create jobs and empower women. In spite of these life-enhancing benefits, the enterprise is still faced with constraints such as access to land. In view of the foregoing, we advocate for a paradigm shift in the urban governance system with respect to its outlook towards UA - a pro-modernist to pro-informal/livelihood governance system. There is a need for Lagos megacity to fully harness the resourcefulness of this sub sector and should no longer be 'victims of modernity and neoliberalism'. It is about time the UA practice is institutionalised and officially recognised as a key economic activity like any other one. Therefore, the policy environment of Lagos needs not to only recognise them but promote and mainstream into future city development strategies because sustainable urban development is incomplete without food security.

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INTERROGATING THE SAFETY AND SECURITY FACTORS IN COMMERCIAL MOTORCYCLE USAGE IN IKORODU, LAGOS

Adewale Alade⁵ and Richard Unuigboje⁷

Abstract

Every day, hundreds of thousands of commuters in Lagos use commercial motorcycles as their means of public transportation, a situation similar to many cities of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the operators of this transport mode demonstrate practices that present risks to the safety and security of the users. This study examines the practices of commercial motorcyclists and evaluates the impacts of these practices on residents' safety and security in Ikorodu, in the north-eastern Lagos conurbation. Using the multistage sampling technique, data were obtained through structured questionnaire from 221 respondents comprising 150 residents and 71 motorcyclists from the six local council development areas in Ikorodu. The Risks Significance Index (RSI) and the Crime Occurrence Index (COI) were the two constructs used to assess the risks associated with commercial motorcyclists' activities and the crime experiences of the residents. Findings revealed that over-speeding and reckless riding, are the two most significant risks associated with commercial motorcyclists with RSIs of 3.53 and 3.46, respectively. Besides, the residents' crime experiences revealed that snatching valuables, sexual harassment/rape, and kidnapping/abduction were the top-three relatively significant criminal acts associated with the use of commercial motorcycles in the study area with COIs of 3.99, 3.64, and 3.58. This study established that the behavioural practices of the commercial motorcyclists put the residents' lives and properties at risk. The study concludes that licensing and training of commercial motorcyclists should be prioritised to stem criminal activities of motorcyclists and guarantee the safety and security of the residents.

Keywords: Commercial motorcyclists, Safety, Security, Ikorodu, Crime

Introduction

In most nations of the world, motorcycling has become increasingly popular as a means of public transportation, particularly in low and middle-income countries (WHO, 2004; Dina, Akanni, Badejo & Oruma, 2015). In African countries, motorcycles are commonly used as taxis to move people and goods from origin to destination. It was estimated that motorcycles and other non-conventional motorised modes constitute about 33% of all transport modes present in sub-Saharan Africa (WHO, 2015). However, the percentage constitution of these non-conventional motorised modes of public transport (motorcycles in particular) varies mainly from one country on the continent to another (Bishop, Barber, Charman & Porter

⁵ aalade@unilag.edu.ng

⁶ Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria

⁷ runuigboje@unilag.edu.ng

(2018). As Kumar (2015) noted, the decline in public transportation systems has made motorcycles more prominent, especially in Africa's expanding motorised urban conurbations. It has contributed to the commercialisation of motorcycles and their operations on the continent, whereby they charge a fare for the movement of passengers and goods.

In Nigeria, motorcycles initially emerged as a means of transportation within rural communities (Tijani, 2013). However, it became a popular means of public transportation in the country's urban landscape (Nwaorgu, 2011) owing to the failure of the formal public transport system in the 1980's, the massive unemployment as a result of the country's economic depression and the backlash of the Structural Adjustment Program introduced by the federal government to salvage the economy (Ogunsanya and Galtima, 1993; Dina et al., 2015; Oyesiku, 2002). Asekhome and Oisamoje (2013) observed that the ease of circumventing traffic congestion being experienced at that time by motorcycles in most cities could be another factor. Other factors include the ease of access to the services of motorcycles (Olusanya, 2011; Dina *et al.*, 2014); the political patronage of the operators and the lack of an articulated transport policy structure that sustainably enhances the capacity of public transport infrastructure (Badejo, 2011).

The growth of commercial motorcycles was more prevalent in Lagos being the country's former federal capital with other known unique characteristics such as the chief commercial, industrial and port city, as well as the most densely populated area in the country. (Dina *et al.* 2014) asserted that the significant growth in the operations of commercial motorcyclists was evident in almost all parts of Lagos due to various mobility deficiencies and public transportation challenges being experienced in the city. At the state level as of 2016, Lagos state transport statistics indicated that about 414,600 licenses were officially issued to motorcycles between 2003 and 2016 (Lagos Bureau of Statistics, 2016). This figure which does not include the number of unregistered motorcycle operators in the State shows that motorcycling is a significant constituent of the public transportation landscape of Lagos state and Ikorodu. Notwithstanding the popularity of commercial motorcycles in cities like Lagos, Danjibo, Olasupo & Ojo (2019) observed that their operations have inflicted several social problems such as accidents, crimes, and human security on the users, hence, the interest of researchers on the linkages between activities of commercial motorcyclists and residents' safety and security is growing.

Olojede, Daramola & Olufemi (2016) noted that transportation researchers have generated significant interests in issues involving safety and security in urban transport for decades and that these interests have been linked to the vital role that transport systems play in the lives of city dwellers. Sadly, the authors observed that the operators and passengers of the various urban transport modes in Nigerian cities with diverse backgrounds and profiles are fraught with many challenges that affect city dwellers' security and safety. The level of security and safety derivable from public transport systems can be attributed to the

practices and behaviours of the operators and the environment within which they operate (Dina et al., 2015).

Commercial motorcyclists have been known for many negative behavioural excesses that portend risks to the safety and security of both the riders and their passengers. As established in literature, some of these risk factors are significant causes of accidents among commercial motorcyclists; they include over-speeding, impatience, unlicensed and untrained motorcyclists, violation of traffic laws, incautious overtaking, receiving calls while riding, and the non-use of rear mirrors among others (Mburza and Umar, 2008; Oni, Fashina & Olagunju (2012); Ogunmodede, Ayinla, Oyetola & Akinola (2012); Dina et al., 2015). These reckless behaviours have had many tragic and irreversible effects on the lives of the residents. Besides, commercial motorcyclists have been linked with the increasing incidence of robbery within Lagos state (Fajan, 2013), consequences of which have been amplified by other common deviant behaviours such as rioting, excessive road rage and complicated traffic management problems (Dina et al., 2015). All these challenges led to the ban of commercial motorcycles in Lagos state since 2012. The overwhelming challenges of mobility in Lagos has rendered the law ineffective. Consequently, these highlight the significance of a study that examines the impacts of their operations on the safety and security of residents in the various parts of the State.

The significant presence and use of commercial/public motorcycles as a non-conventional means of public transport in cities of Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia have been established in the literature (Oladipo, 2002; Santikarn, 2010; Kumar, 2011; William, 2015; Danjibo et al., 2019). These studies have helped to present the contributions of commercial motorcycles to urban mobility, particularly in the developing countries of the world. Furthermore, several other studies have highlighted the associations that exist between the activities of commercial motorcyclists and the level of safety and security in cities of the world (William, 2015; Bishop et al., 2018) and Nigeria (Asekhome and Oisamoje, 2013; Dina et al., 2015; Olojede et al., 2016; Danjibo et al., 2019). All these studies have shown that the operational practices of commercial motorcyclists in urban areas have significant impacts on the level of safety and security experienced in these places. However, the need to identify the behavioural practices that portend risks to safety and security and the impacts of these practices on the level of security and safety in one of the non-metropolitan areas of Lagos state still stands out in the literature.

This study aims to investigate the operations of commercial motorcyclists in relation to the safety and security of the residents of Ikorodu with a view to facilitating our understanding of the degree and dimensions of safety and security challenges that confront commuters in the study area and inform by policymakers and concerned stakeholders on the aspects that could enhance the safety and security of motorcyclist and commuters in Lagos state where the use of commercial motorcycle is permitted.

Methodology

Study Area

Ikorodu, the study area, is a medium size city situated about 36 km northeast of Lagos metropolis, Nigeria (See Figure 1). It is located approximately within Latitudes 6°36'N and 6°60'N and Longitudes 3°30'E and 3°50'E. Ikorodu is bounded to the east by Epe Local Government, to the west by Kosofe Local Government, to the north by a boundary with Ogun State and to the south. It stretches about 18 kilometres from east to east to east-west along the Lagos lagoon. Ikorodu used to be a small town until the opening of the Lagos-Ikorodu highway in 1953 which brought about speedy development. Recently, it has witnessed a tremendous increase in its population base and is currently the fastest-growing part-exurb of the Lagos metropolis. Lately, Ikorodu has been the centre of the state government in a bid to decongest central Lagos. It has made the town experience the development of various housing estates and new industrial facilities. About 40 years ago, Ikorodu did not extend beyond the inner circular route of Ayangbunren - Lagos Road. However, township has metamorphosed into a metropolis with over a million residents and fused with Lagos. In 2003, the existing Ikorodu Local Government Area was split for administrative purposes into Local Council Development Areas. These six lower-tier administrative units are; Imota, Igbogbo/Bayeku, Ijede, Ikorodu North, Ikorodu West, and Ikorodu



Figure 1: Ikorodu within the context of Lagos state | Source: Ministry of physical planning (2018)

The major means of transport in Ikorodu is by road and water. Ikorodu also has roads that link to various areas of Ogun state, such as Sagamu, Ijebu, etc. however; the roads are inadequate and in poor condition.

The majority of the local and state government roads are also not paved and usually not motorable during the rainy season due to poor maintenance and lack of rehabilitation. It has raised safety concerns of residents in the city. Adding to this, roads in the city typically have few or no speed limit signs or warning signs to alert the motorist of curves, hills, intersections or problems with the road itself, such as huge potholes or eroded roadbeds.

Intra urban transport in Ikorodu comes in a variety of forms. It includes the waterways transport system of two major jetties (one at Ebute and the other at Bayeku), which have helped to stem the high dependence on the use of Ikorodu road which is the transport corridor for the movement of people and goods to other areas in the state. However, the daily congestion of the road has made commuting to and from Lagos very difficult and this recently led to retrofitting it with Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) lanes. Other modes of transport in Ikorodu includes taxis, tricycle, minibuses, taxi vans (commonly called Danfo), privately owned cars and of course commercial motorcycle which has gained popularity in the last four decades. In recent years, commuters in Ikorodu have become wary of the overall transport system and services, especially ever-increasing occurrence of road crashes and criminal activities associated with the use of commercial motorcycles.

Research Methods

The population under study in this research includes the users and operators of commercial motorcycles across the six Local Council Development Areas that make up Ikorodu Local Government Area; Imota, Igbogbo/Bayeku, Ijede, Ikorodu North, Ikorodu West, Ikorodu. The study utilised multi-stage sampling technique which involved dividing the population into groups called clusters. Elements from each of the LCDA were then selected randomly serving as clusters. An area was selected from each cluster for sampling. The number of buildings in the selected areas was estimated through reconnaissance of these clusters. For the administration of questionnaires to Commercial motorcycle operators, a pilot survey carried out revealed that the operation of the commercial motorcycle in Ikorodu LGA is under different associations, namely Nigeria National Amalgamated Motorcycle Riders Association (NNAMORA), National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW-commercial motorcycles) to mention a few.

In conformity with the observations of Ogunrinola (2010) and Johnson and Adebayo (2011) in their different studies in Ikorodu and Uyo respectively, the commercial motorcycles in Ikorodu are clustered together at other loading points and units popularly referred to as 'Terminals' by the commuters. Information about the total number of commercial motorcyclists was obtained from the secretary of their association. Random sampling was used to select the motorcycle riders at major motorcycle terminals in the selected areas. In all, 40% of motorcycle operators were sampled in each of the selected communities.

For the administration of questionnaires to the residents, convenience sampling was used in sampling residents; which means that any resident in this area can respond to the questionnaire once approached by the field officers, starting from the significant motorcycle terminals in the selected areas. In all, 150 sets of questionnaires were administered in the study area; this represents 2.5% of the areas identified in each cluster, i.e., the Local Council Development Areas in the study area. The distribution of respondents (motorcycle operators and residents) across the six LCDAs is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution Respondents Across LCDAs in the Study Areas

Local Council Development Area	Residents	Operators	Total
Ikorodu	13	10	23
Ikorodu North	34	13	47
Ikorodu West	28	14	42
Imota	22	10	32
Ijede	30	13	43
Igbogbo-Baiyeku	23	11	34
Total	150	71	221

Source: Author's field survey, 2018

This study is further aided by secondary data on the number of buildings sourced from Google Earth, and the delineation of local government council development areas are sourced from Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The data on the list of motorcycle operators, registered parks or terminals in the state, as well as occurrence of accidents in the state was sourced from Nigeria National Amalgamated Motorcycle Riders Association (NNAMORA), National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW-commercial motorcycles), and Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC).

In analysing the data obtained from the field survey, two constructs were formulated to assess the challenges presented by the activities of commercial motorcycle operators and the level of crime and crashes within the study area. These constructs are the Risks Significance Index (RSI) and the Crime Occurrence Index (COI). The RSI was obtained from the Risks Significance analysis carried out on the activities and behaviours of motorcycle operators in the study area that stands as potential risks to the safety and security of the residents. Seven risk-associated behaviours were identified, rated on a five-point Likert scale. The respondents' ratings of the extent to which these operators exhibited the behaviours in their practices were on a scale ranging from 'Never' to 'Always'. This analysis was conducted to identify

the motorcycle operators' practices that present the highest risks to safety and security in the study area. The ratings of the respondents are; 1 – Never, 2 – Rarely, 3 – Sometimes, 4 – Often, 5 – Always.

Four parameters were obtained from the Risk Significance Analysis (RSA), which are the Risk Weight Value (RWV), Risk Significance Index (RSI), Mean Risks Index (MRI) and the Mean Risks Deviations (MRD). The RWV represents the sum of the respondents' ratings on selected risk behaviour, and the RSI is the average ratings of the respondents on the selected risk behaviour. The MRI was estimated as the mean of all the RSIs on each risk practice of the operators, and this index was used as the threshold of significance for the risk practices, such that practices with RSI values greater than the MRI were significant challenges to safety and security and vice versa. The MRD, which was estimated as the difference between the MRI and RSI, was, used to measure the dispersion of the respondents' ratings. These parameters are expressed mathematically as follows;

$$\text{Risks Weight Value (RWV)} = \sum_{i=1}^5 X_i Y_i$$

$$\text{Risk Significance Index (RSI)} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^5 X_i Y_i}{n}$$

$$\text{Mean Risks Index (MRI)} = \frac{\sum RSI_r}{n_r}$$

$$\text{Mean Risks Deviations (MRD)} = \text{RSI} - \text{MRI}$$

Where:

X_i = number of respondents who gave a particular rating to each risk practice;

Y_i = the weight value assigned to each rating ($i = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5$);

n = total number of respondents who rated each risk practice;

RSI_r = Risk significance index of each risk associated practice;

n_r = count of risk associated practices.

The second construct used in this study is the crime/crash occurrence index. This construct was used to measure the frequency at which the residents have witnessed or experienced crimes in the study. Nine different crimes related to the operations of commercial motorcycles were identified from the survey of the Author. The respondents' ratings derived the residents' perception of the occurrence of these crimes and how they are related to the operations of commercial motorcycles. Similarly, the respondents' ratings were carried out on a five-point Likert scale. These ratings are 1 – Strongly disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 –

Indifferent, 4 – Agree, 5 – Strongly agree. These ratings of the respondents were subjected to crime occurrence analysis.

The crime occurrence analysis also made use of four critical parameters, which are the Crime Weight Value (CWV), Crime Occurrence Index (COI), Mean Occurrence Index (MOI) and the Mean Occurrence Deviations (MOD). The CWV was estimated as the sum of the respondents' ratings on each of the identified crimes, the weight of each rating ranging from 1 to 5. The COI was estimated by dividing the sum of the respondents' ratings by the total number of respondents who have rated the occurrence of each identified crime. The COI was used as the value expressing the extent of occurrence of each crime on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being the least value and 5 being the maximum value. The MOI was calculated as the average of all the COIs on each identified crime related to commercial motorcycle operations in the study area. The MOI was used as the threshold or point of measuring the crimes with a significant occurrence level and those with a less significant level of occurrence. Each identified crime with COI greater than or equal to the MOI had a significant level of occurrence, while crime with COI lesser than the MOI had a relatively insignificant level of occurrence. The MOD was used to measure the level of dispersions of the respondents' ratings around its mean value, that is, the MOI. These parameters are expressed mathematically as follows:

$$\text{Crime Weight Value (CWV)} = \sum_{i=1}^5 X_i Y_i$$

$$\text{Crime Occurrence Index (COI)} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^5 X_i Y_i}{n}$$

$$\text{Mean Occurrence Index (MoI)} = \frac{\sum COI_r}{n_r}$$

$$\text{Mean Occurrence Deviations (MOD)} = \text{COI} - \text{MOI}$$

Where:

X_i = number of respondents who gave a particular rating to each crime;

Y_i = the weight value assigned to each rating ($i = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5$);

n = total number of respondents who rated each crime;

COI_r = Crime occurrence index of each crime;

n_r = count of identified crimes.

Result and Discussion

Residents' Experience of Transit Crashes and Crimes

The residents' experience of transit crashes and crimes using commercial motorcycles are pertinent to the study because they directly or indirectly influence how users perceive this means of transportation. The features examined in this section includes witnessing any crime associated with a commercial motorcycle, being a victim of any crime associated with a commercial motorcycle, type of crime committed using a motorcycle, time of day when crimes are perpetrated, gender vulnerability to commercial motorcycle crimes, age-based vulnerability to commercial motorcycle crimes, the experience of an accident using commercial motorcycle and type of accident experienced by residents.

Despite the affirmed benefits and positive impacts of the use of commercial motorcycles as means of public transportation that has contributed to the socio-economic development of society, various people have also criticized its usage as a result of some identified negative influences. The alarming report on the safety and security with their use and the apparent inability of the law enforcement agency to prevent and control its persistence is still a significant concern to the government. The respondents experienced transit crashes and crimes, problems associated with the use of commercial motorcycles, involvement of commercial motorcyclists in crime, and incidence of commercial motorcycle accidents; commercial motorcyclists were thus examined.

The analysis of the residents' experience of crimes associated with commercial motorcycle operators, as presented in Table 2, shows that 102 (68.0%) of the residents have witnessed several crimes scenes concerning the commercial motorcyclist and 48 (32.0%) claimed that they had not seen any crime associated or attributed to commercial motorcycles in Ikorodu. Furthermore, 82 (54.7%) of the residents confessed that asides from having witnessed crime in commercial motorcycles, they have also been a victim of such criminalities, and 68 (45.3%) residents confessed they had not been a victim of any commercial motorcycle at all.

Table 2: Residents' Experience of Transit Crashes and Crimes

Residents' Experience and Vulnerability to Crime and Crashes		Frequency	Percentage
Ever witnessed any crime associated with commercial motorcycle	Yes	102	68.0
	No	48	32.0
	Total	150	100.0
Ever a victim of any	Yes	82	54.7

crime associated	No	68	45.3
with commercial motorcycle	Total	150	100.0
Type of crime	Assault/attack by smokers of Indian hemp	25	16.7
	Stealing/theft and robbery	39	26.0
	Sexual harassment/rape	18	12.0
	Total crime victims	82	54.7
	None crime victims	68	45.3
	Total	150	100.0
Time of day when crimes are perpetrated	Morning	13	8.7
	Afternoon	4	2.7
	Evening	35	23.3
	Night	98	65.3
	Total	150	100.0
Gender vulnerability to commercial motorcycle crimes	Male	42	28.0
	Female	108	72.0
	Total	150	100.0
Age-based vulnerability to commercial motorcycle crimes	Young people	121	80.7
	Old people	29	19.3
	Total	150	100.0
Experience of Accident using Commercial Motorcycle	Yes	99	66.0
	No	51	34.0
	Total	150	100.0
Type of Accident Experienced by Residents	Collision with vehicle	41	37.6
	Collision with a pedestrian	3	2.8
	Collision with object	18	16.5
	Own crash	47	43.1

Total	109	100.0
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Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

Further analysis of the kind of crime that the residents' have been involved in as a victim revealed that 25(16.7%) residents indicated assault/attack by smokers of Indian hemp, 39 (26.0%) stated stealing/theft and robbery, and 18 (12.0%) residents indicated sexual harassment and rape as one of the crimes they have fall victims. This finding corroborates Effah (2005) and Chawki (2009) asserting that snatching of handbags, purses and phones, theft is the most common crime among commercial motorcyclist riders in Nigeria. In line with the above, residents were asked to indicate the time of the day in which commercial motorcycle operators perpetrate crimes. 98 (65.3%) indicated that commercial motorcycle operators commit crimes at night, while 35 (23.3%) residents claimed they mostly commit the act of crime in the evening. It is also noted that 13 (8.7%) and 4 (2.7%) residents claimed they perpetrate crimes in the morning and afternoon, respectively.

Residents were asked about crime vulnerability across the genders. The findings revealed that females were the most vulnerable and susceptible as targets of motorcycle crimes in and around Ikorodu. It accounted for 108 (72.0%) of the residents, while 42 (28.0%) indicated males. Moreover, it was stressed that young residents (either males or females) are also venerable and susceptible to commercial motorcycle crime. This was reported by 121 (80.7%) of the residents, while 29 (19.3%) claimed that old residents are more venerable and susceptible to commercial motorcycle crime. This aligns with the rational crime theory (Cohen et al., 1979), which argued that criminals would choose their targets most reasonably and logically, and held that the most vulnerable groups, the female, aged and children, strangers, solitary figure, those who display opulence etc. are more likely to be victim of criminal acts than the male, young and virile people who are in groups (Ajayi et al., 2014).

The residents were asked if they had been victims of commercial motorcycle accidents in the last one year. Of the residents, 99 (66.0%) have been victims of commercial motorcycle accidents, while 51 (34.0) have not had any motorcycle accidents. It shows that more than 50 per cent of commercial motorcycle users have experienced commercial motorcycle accidents in the previous year. Table 2 further shows that 'own crash' is the type of accidents the respondents have been involved in, this accounts for 47 (31.3%) of the residents, and this is majorly caused by over speeding or reckless driving on bad roads. Similarly, 41 (27.3%) of the respondents claimed that they had been victims of an accident caused by a collision with another vehicle, 18 (12.0%) claimed that they had been victims of an accident caused by a collision with an object. In comparison, 3 (2.0%) of the respondents contended that they had been victims of motorcycle accidents caused by a collision with a pedestrian. The residents who had experienced

motorcycle accidents were asked if they sustained injuries from the accidents, and all of them, 99 (100%) claimed that they did.

Commercial Motorcycles and Associated Challenges

Seven major problems encountered by residents in the patronage of commercial motorcycles in Ikorodu were identified and analysed. The frequency of occurrence of these problems was rated by the residents using a five-point Likert's scale of *Never (1), Rarely (2), Sometimes (3), Often (4), Always (5)*.

Table 3: Commercial motorcycles and associated challenges

Variable	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Often		Always	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Accidents	12	8.0	25	16.7	20	13.3	58	38.7	35	23.3
High fare	14	9.3	39	26.0	38	25.3	38	25.3	21	14.0
Lack of cyclists of concentration	13	8.7	19	12.7	36	24.0	57	38.0	25	16.7
Over-speeding	5	3.3	13	8.7	21	14.0	76	50.7	35	23.3
Reckless riding	7	4.7	19	12.7	35	23.3	56	37.3	33	22.0
Non-compliance with regulations	11	7.3	17	11.3	47	31.3	42	28.0	33	22.0
Crimes	14	9.3	21	14.0	36	24.0	65	43.3	14	9.3

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

The analysis in Table 3 shows that for accidents occurrence, 58 (38.7%) of the responses obtained opined that they often encounter accidents with commercial motorcycles. In comparison, 12 (8.0%) of the answers claimed not to experience accidents with commercial motorcycles. Regarding fare, 38 (25.3%) claimed that high fare is another problem often experienced while patronizing commercial motorcyclists in Ikorodu, while 38 (25.3%) said they sometimes experience high fare with commercial motorcycles. Lack of concentration is also another problem claimed to be often encountered with commercial motorcycles, with 57 (38.0%) of the residents, while 13 (8.7%) claimed they do not encounter the problem at all.

Furthermore, 76 (50.7%) of the residents claimed that they often experienced over speeding problems in using a commercial motorcycle. In comparison, 5 (3.3%) of the residents claimed never experienced an over speeding problem with a commercial motorcycle. Also, 56 (37.3%) of the respondents opined that

they often encounter reckless riding problems as they patronize commercial motorcycles, while only 7 (47%) claimed that they never met such a problem. Non-compliance with road regulations is another problem that 42 (28.0%) residents claim they often experience when they patronize commercial motorcycles in Ikorodu. In comparison, 11 (7.3%) of the respondent contended that they had never experienced such a problem. Additionally, 65 (43.3%) of the residents claimed that commercial motorcyclists are often involved in crimes, while 21 (14.0%) of the residents claimed that commercial motorcyclists are rarely involved in crimes.

Risks Significance Analysis of the Activities of Commercial Motorcycle Operators

In ascertaining residents’ perception of likely risks to be experienced using commercial motorcycles, residents were allowed to express the likelihood of the various forms of risks emanating from using commercial motorcycles. In evaluating this, several risks were identified. Each risk was rated using the five-point Likert scale of Never, 2 – Rarely, 3 – Sometimes, 4 – Often, 5 – Always. To obtain the residents aggregated view of each type of crime, a weight value of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are respectively assigned to each rating above. The Risk weight value (RWV) for each risk variable is obtained from the addition of the product of the weight value of each rating and the number of responses to each rating. *The variables include over speeding, reckless driving, accidents, Non-compliance with road regulations, Lack of concentration by cyclists, crime, and high fare.*

The analysis in Table 4 indicates that amongst the identified problems in the use of commercial motorcycles by residents in Ikorodu, over speeding ranked highest with an index of $x=3.8$. It has been a significant cause of commercial motorcycles accidents in Nigeria. Virtually half of those who die of traffic accidents globally were pedestrians, cyclists or users of motorcycles which are communally known as vulnerable (WHO, 2009 and Oni *et al.*, 2010). The next rate is reckless riding with an index of $x=3.6$, and this can be attributed to the size and ability of commercial motorcycles to cut corners when there is traffic congestion. After which Accident such as collision with vehicles, own crash, collision with pedestrian etc. was rated next with an index of $x=3.5$ and non-compliance with road safety regulations was rated with an index of $x=3.5$ this non-compliance is in terms of the use of safety equipment like helmets, some passengers to take on; speed limits etc. as stipulated in the National Road Safety Regulations (Arosanyin *et al.*, 2012). Lack of concentration rated next with an index of $x=3.4$. In contrast, crimes were rated with an index of $x=3.3$, including crimes such as disruption of public peace, theft, snatching of valuables, sexual harassment). The high fare was rated last with an index of 2.8.

Table 4: Risks Significance Analysis of The Activities of Commercial Motorcycle Operators

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	RWV	RSI	MSI	MSD	Rank
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Over-speeding	5	13	21	76	35	573	3.82	0.36	1	
Reckless riding	7	19	35	56	33	539	3.59	0.13	2	
Accidents	12	25	20	58	35	529	3.53	0.07	3	
Non-compliance with road regulations	11	17	47	42	33	519	3.46	0	4	
Lack of concentration by cyclists	13	19	36	57	25	512	3.41	3.46	-0.05	5
Crimes	14	21	36	65	14	494	3.29	-0.17	6	
High fare	14	39	38	38	21	463	3.09	-0.37	7	
Total							24.19			

Key- 1 – Never, 2 – Rarely, 3 – Sometimes, 4 – Often, 5 – Always. RWV-Risk Weighted Value, RSI- Risk Significance Index

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

Commercial Motorcycle Crime Occurrence Index (COI)

Residents' extent of agreement with the involvement of commercial motorcycle operators in crime is presented in this section. The level of agreement in respect of each type of crime identified was rated using the five-point Likert scale of 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Indifferent', 'Agree', and 'Strongly Agree'. To obtain the residents aggregated view of each type of crime, a weight value of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are respectively assigned to each rating above. The crime weight value (CWV) for each type of crime is obtained from the addition of the product of the weight value of each rating and the number of responses to each rating. Presented in Table 5 were the findings of the COI. The average (mean) COI obtained is 3.58. It implied that the aggregated view of all residents on the types of crime perpetrated by commercial motorcycle operators was between "just agreed" and "agreed". Indeed, the figure is closer to the latter than the former. Furthermore, all variables with an index equal to and above 3.58 are the major crimes that negatively impact security in the study area. While those below 3.58 do not constitute significant security concerns in the study area.

Table 5: Rate of Occurrence Index for Commercial Motorcycle Crime

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	CWV	COI	MOI	MOD	Rank
Snatching of valuables	8	3	14	82	43	599	3.99		0.41	1
Sexual Harassments/Rape	4	23	20	78	25	547	3.64		0.06	2
Kidnapping/Abduction	9	24	15	75	27	537	3.58		0	3
Gambling, False Pretense and Stealing	9	23	22	65	31	536	3.57		-0.01	4
Breach of Public Peace and Unlawful Possession of Arms	5	21	34	63	25	532	3.55		-0.03	5
Assault/Grievous Wounding of Residents	10	29	22	61	28	518	3.45	3.58	-0.13	6
Smoking of Indian Hemp/Marijuana	10	27	23	65	25	518	3.45		-0.13	6
Armed Robbery	15	30	11	66	28	512	3.41		-0.17	8
Total							28.64			

Key: 1- Strongly Disagree, 2- Disagree, 3- Indifferent, 4- Agree, 5- Strongly Agree, CWV-Crime Weighted Value, COI- Crime Occurrence Index.

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

Table 5 shows the residents extent of agreement on the involvement of commercial motorcycle operators in crime in Ikorodu. Eight types of crimes perpetrated by commercial motorcyclists were identified. The major types crimes include snatching of valuables with a COI of 3.99, which is ranked as the most prevalent. 82 (54.7%) of the respondents agreed that commercial motorcyclists are involved in the act of snatching valuables, 43 (28.7%) of the respondents strongly agreed, while only 11(7.3%) of the residents didn't agree to the notion. Sexual harassment/rape ranked second with a COI of 3.64, majority of the respondent, 78 (52.0%), agreed that commercial motorcyclists are involved in sexual harassment/rape crime, 25 (16.7%) strongly agreed to the notion. In comparison, 27(18.0%) of the respondent believe that the commercial motorcyclist does not partake in such crime. Kidnapping/abduction ranked next with a COI of 3.58, 75 (50.0%) of the respondents agreed that commercial motorcyclists are involved in kidnapping/abduction, while 24(16.9%) of the respondent disagreed. Other crimes committed by commercial motorcyclists include gambling, false pretense and stealing (COI=3.57), Breach of public

peace and unlawful possession of arms (COI=3.55), assault/grievous wounding of residents (COI=3.45), smoking of Indian hemp/marijuana (COI=3.45) and armed robbery (COI=3.41).

Conclusion

This study has examined the operations of commercial motorcyclists in Ikorodu and how they impair the safety and security of residents. The study showed that most commercial motorcyclists in the study area did not undergo formal training before getting on the road. This risk is complicated because most motorcyclists have just few years of operational experience. Furthermore, behavioural practices such as reckless riding, violation of traffic regulations, over-speeding and lack of concentration by riders while riding were identified as relatively significant risk-potential activities of commercial motorcyclists in the study area. Besides, the study also indicated that criminal activities such as the snatching of valuables, sexual harassments/rape, kidnapping and abduction, gambling and stealing, smoking of Indian hemp, armed robbery as well as the breach of peace and unlawful possession of arms were associated with motorcycle operations within the study area.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that formal training and licensing of motorcyclists should be laid down the requirement for operations within the study area. Likewise, to enhance the safety consciousness of cyclists and promote the security of the residents within the study area, the operations of motorcycles under formal organizations such as some existing ones like Gokada, O-Pay among others, should be encouraged. Finally, public transport policy structure that helps in mitigating traffic congestion, ensuring organized intracity travels and promoting residents' safety and security in Ikorodu should be put in place by policymakers. It will help reduce the residents' reliance on commercial motorcycling for the movement of passengers and goods.

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TECHNOLOGY, YOUTH AND URBAN DISCONTENT IN LAGOS

Olamide Udoma-Ejorh⁸

Abstract

In October 2020, young Nigerians took to the streets to protest under the hashtag ENDSARS. The protests gave a platform to the country's young population who were protesting for broader liberation from police brutality, corruption and excessive state power. It is no surprise the protest triggered by #ENDSARS occurred, because young people living in Lagos are discontented. The social and economic systems are failing the population aged between 15 and 35, especially if you are born into a middle to low-income family. ICT is having an impact on Nigerian youth and this article will explore how technology has been used positively and negatively by different groups of youth as a tool for economic development in Lagos - asking if this can foster social inclusion.

Youth and Protest in Africa and the use of technology

Since the Arab Spring, in the early 2010s, youth movements have been staging demonstrations against dictatorships, the extension of presidential term limits, the lack of transparency during elections and unpopular socio-economic policies. In Tunisia, Egypt, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Sudan, young people led demonstrations saw the removal of the long-term leadership of presidents Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak, Blaise Compaoré, Abdoulaye Wade and Bashir respectively. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Burundi, young people demonstrated against constitutional amendments to extend presidential term limits. Protest against poor economic policies and political decisions by governments are common in many African countries, for example the youth led #FeesMustFall in South Africa and #ENDSARS in Nigeria.

Young people in urban areas, like Lagos, have found it more effective to take to the streets and engage on social media to air their grievances and discontent than participate in politics. Voting, participating in town hall meetings, or joining a political party does not produce instant results. In these formal, usually corrupt, governance structures youths are usually marginalised, manipulated or captured. Young people have become disengaged from formal politics due to the frustrations of not being heard and a lack of change. Instead, joining a civil society campaign or using social media to share an opinion on a particular issue or policy tends to be more inclusive for the youth. These platforms are socially based and more transparent.

⁸ Olamide Udoma-Ejorh is Director at the Lagos Urban Development Initiative, an urban activist, researcher, filmmaker and writer

Globally, technology has played a part in engaging more people in governance. In African cities young people have used it to organise movements that have led to change. In Lagos during the #ENDSARS, protesters organised the supply of water, food and banners as well as arranging bail for those arrested, online. They crowdfunded funds and when their accounts were frozen, they moved to cryptocurrencies. Leveraging on technology, Nigerian youth banded together and occupied streets and iconic spaces in cities all over the country for nearly two weeks demanding ‘real’ change.

Technology has also been used as a tool for social mobility, opening up economic opportunities young people would not have had access to ten years ago. There is however a flip side, cybercrime has grown. In 2017, The Guardian reported that there are an estimated five million scammers in Lagos⁹ and in 2021 the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission reported that 70 per cent of Nigerian youths may soon become ex-convicts due to the high rate of their involvement in cybercrime¹⁰. This article will explore how technology has been used by different groups of youth as a tool for economic development in Lagos.

The uphill battle for quality education and job security

It is no surprise the protest triggered by #ENDSARS occurred, because young people living in Lagos are discontented. The social and economic systems are failing the population aged between 15 and 35, especially if you are born into a middle to low-income family, which is the majority of the population. From primary education to becoming a citizen that contributes to the economy of Lagos, young people have an uphill battle.

Youth are defined by the National Youth Policy as a Nigerian citizen between the ages of 18 and 35 years. Currently, over 33.6 million (16.8 per cent) Nigerians are aged between 15 and 35 and in 2019, 43.69 per cent of Nigeria’s total population were aged 0 to 14¹¹. Therefore, the population of people aged below 35, in Nigeria is approximately 60%. In Lagos this is even larger, the youth population alone, aged between 15 and 35, is just under 50% of the total population¹².

Primary education is free and compulsory in Nigeria, however, Nigeria is home to the world’s largest out-of-school population. In Lagos, gender and demand, impacts the type, quality and if at all a child receives an education at primary and secondary level. In Lagos there are 1,705 State Schools and over 15,000 private schools (primary and secondary). This is inadequate for the growing young population. Both public and private schools have been reported to have inadequate learning environments, reflected in poor

⁹Ezra, S. (2017) Prevalence of internet fraud among Nigerian youths, Available at: <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/prevalence-of-internet-fraud-among-nigerian-youths/> [Accessed 17 January 2022].

¹⁰<https://tribuneonline.ng/cybercrimes-70-per-cent-of-nigerian-youths-may-soon-become-ex-convicts-%E2%80%95-efcc/> [Accessed 17 January 2022].

¹¹ Daniels, Joyce (2021) Why we should drive it home for the Nigerian youth Available at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/09/why-we-should-drive-it-home-for-the-nigerian-youth/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

¹² The Nation, (2016) Youths constitute 10m of Lagos population, says Commissioner, Available at: <https://thenationonline.ng/youths-constitute-10m-lagos-population-says-commissioner/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

infrastructure, overcrowding, and scarce learning materials.¹³ The scarcity of public schools, especially in low-income areas, leaves young children walking long distances to access an educational facility.

The demand for quality education facilities continues in tertiary education. In 2016, there were 1.7 million Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) candidates in Nigeria and only 750,000 university places available, leaving thousands of potential students disenfranchised.

From primary through to tertiary education the access to a quality education continues to be difficult for the young population of Lagos. In recent years, those who have been able to gain admission into public universities have had to spend more time to complete their degree than their counterparts in private institutions, due to several strikes. Data analysed by Premium Times Newspaper showed that Nigerian lecturers had gone on strike 15 times since 1999. The entire period they embarked on such strikes spanned about 50 months in total. The strikes have happened periodically as Nigerian governments have struggled to meet the demands of university union workers.

It is no surprise the educational facilities and system are inadequate for the population because the national budget allocation year on year falls short. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report, *Education For All, EFA, 2000-2015: Achievement and Challenges*¹⁴, states that 15 per cent to 20 per cent of annual budgets be earmarked for education¹⁵. Since the report was made public, governments have used these figures as a benchmark, however Nigeria is yet to meet 15 per cent. Since 1999 the budget for education has been between 4 and 10 per cent, the proposed budget for education in 2022 is N1.29 trillion, amounting to 7.9 per cent¹⁶. The education budget in Lagos is faring better at N171.6 billion, a 12.3 per cent of the total¹⁷. Though it is not within the range of the recommended 15 to 20 per cent, education does take the largest share of the 2022 budget.

This lack of quality education leads to poor educational outcomes that further entrenches poverty and deepens inequality. Unfortunately, there is also a struggle of finding a job even if you have received an education leading again to poverty outcomes and frustration. Graduates of tertiary institutions make up about 20% of youth unemployment and often remain unemployed for upward of five years after

¹³Olawoyin, Oladeinde (2019) SPECIAL REPORT: Children suffer as Lagos fails to meet education needs of increasing population Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/369632-special-report-children-suffer-as-lagos-fails-to-meet-education-needs-of-increasing-population.html> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

¹⁴ UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (2015): <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/report/2015/education-all-2000-2015-achievements-and-challenges>

¹⁵Adedigba, A (2017) FACT CHECK: Did UNESCO ever recommend 26 per cent budgetary allocation to education? Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/251927-fact-check-unesco-ever-recommend-26-per-cent-budgetary-allocation-education.html> [Accessed 14 January 2022]

¹⁶Onyeji, E. & Ileyemi, M. (2021) 2022 Budget: Though far from UNESCO benchmark, Buhari inches towards fulfilling education funding pledge Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/491888-2022-budget-though-far-from-unesco-benchmark-buhari-inches-towards-fulfilling-education-funding-pledge.html> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

¹⁷Olatunji, K. and Ogunniyi, T. (2021) Lagos budgets N1.38tr for 2022 as education takes N171.6b Available at: <https://guardian.ng/news/lagos-budgets-n1-38tr-for-2022-as-education-takes-n171-6b/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

graduation¹⁸. Between 2008 and 2012, over half of unemployed youth did not have an education past primary school. This particular group has consistently accounted for over 50% of unemployed youth.¹⁹

The jobless rate in Nigeria rose to 33.3% in the last quarter of 2020 according to a report published by the National Bureau of Statistics. According to the Nigerian definition working less than 20 hours a week you are unemployed and working less than 40 hours a week you are underemployed. 15.9 million out of the 69.7 million-strong labor force are unemployed.²⁰ A clear physical demonstration of youth unemployment happened in 2014, when 6.5million people, mostly youth, stormed various recruitment centres for 4,000 vacant positions in the Nigeria Immigration Service. At least 16 jobseekers died in stampedes that ensued during the process in various locations including the Abuja National Stadium.

In addition to the lack of opportunities, the business community complains about the lack of employable youth. The Nigerian education system faces the challenge of connecting students with what is learnt in the classroom and the needs of the economy, especially with rapid advancements in technology. This does not just speak solely to digital skills but the ability to be able to solve problems, be critical thinkers and to create new solutions.

In summary the majority of young Nigerians have limited access to quality education from primary through to tertiary, and they may not be accepted into universities, due to the lack of places. Finally, for those who are able to receive an education, the majority of them are unemployable because the education they received does not match the needs of the economy.

Though the majority of Nigerian youth face a dire situation some young people, especially in Lagos are engaging in enterprises and creating small and micro-businesses with many of these providing solutions on a small to medium scale. From transportation (e.g., Shuttlers) to healthcare (e.g. Lifebank) young Nigerians are finding solutions that leverage technology to develop businesses that are contributing to the economy.

Technology for economic empowerment

In 2005, the United Nation Development Program stated that ICT has become an indispensable tool in the fight against world poverty.²¹ The World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003 & Tunis 2005), the Copenhagen Declaration and Tunis Commitment all recognised that ICT is a key to eradicate

¹⁸ Olawoyin, Oladeinde (2019) SPECIAL REPORT: Children suffer as Lagos fails to meet education needs of increasing population Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/369632-special-report-children-suffer-as-lagos-fails-to-meet-education-needs-of-increasing-population.html> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

¹⁹Oxfam (2017) Inequality in Nigeria: Exploring the Drivers. Available at: https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file_attachments/cr-inequality-in-nigeria-170517-en.pdf [Accessed 30 November 2021].

²⁰ibid

²¹ Mebawondu, Josephine & Mebawondu, Jacob & Atsanan, Angela. (2012). THE IMPACT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN NIGERIA. Continental J. Information Technology. 6.

poverty and unemployment. They also recognised the importance of ICT in ‘building a people-centred, inclusive and development oriented information society, where everyone can create, access, utilize and share information and knowledge, enabling individuals, communities and peoples to achieve their full potential in promoting their sustainable development and improving their quality of life’.²² Technology has been earmarked as a powerful tool against poverty, and indeed it is being used globally to empower young people, allow better access to services, make governments more transparent and improve urban planning.

In Lagos, technology has the potential to change young people’s circumstances. There are various examples of job creation and knowledge transfer. In October 2020, Nigerian fintech start-up, Paystack, was acquired by U.S. technology company Stripe for \$200 million. Less than a year later another Nigerian fintech start-up, Flutterwave made global headlines after receiving \$170 million in funding and reaching a \$1 billion valuation. These signal the growing importance of the Nigerian technology sector. Both companies were founded by young Nigerians, who when the companies started, in 2016, were in their late 20s and early 30s.

The opportunities for young Nigerians in tech jobs is growing. Whether starting a company or being employed, technology has opened the door for more opportunities within the sector. Flutterwave and Paystack prove that economic opportunities within technology are not far reaching and young people can get a competitive wage within this sector.

Andela, a company with an office in Lagos, connects brilliant global talent to meaningful opportunities to create sustainable, high-performing technology teams. In Lagos, Kampala and Nairobi, Andela has built a talent accelerator that produces world-class developers and connects them with top companies around the world. With a bulging young population in Lagos, this hasn’t been hard for Andela to do. During their first call for applicants to go through the Andela training there were 28 slots available and over 5,200 applicants.²³

The average age of Andela developers is under 25²⁴ and there are multiple stories in local and international press of young women and men who have gone through the training with limited or no previous working experience in tech, are now working with companies from all over the world, earning a competitive salary.

²²United Nations, Information and communication technologies (ICTs). Available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/issues/information-and-communication-technologies-icts.html> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

<https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/issues/information-and-communication-technologies-icts.html> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

²³Johnson, J. & Aboyeji, I. (2015) Is Africa Hiding the Next Mark Zuckerberg? Available at: <https://andela.com/insights/is-africa-hiding-the-next-mark-zuckerberg/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

²⁴Lohr, S. (2017) Start-Up Bets on Tech Talent Pipeline From Africa. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/10/business/andela-start-up-coding-africa.html> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

As well as tech companies, tech accelerators have also created entry level opportunities for young people with small businesses and sometimes with even just ideas. Co-Creation Hub, Nigeria's first open living lab and pre-incubation space, has supported over 90 ideas and companies in the last 11 years²⁵. Companies like Co-Creation Hub and Andela have created economic opportunities for young people, taking them from unemployed to gainfully employed and improving their social wellbeing. As well as formal tech jobs, young people have shown interest in trading in cryptocurrencies as a way to earn a living. In 2021, Google Trends data revealed that Lagos is the number one city based on volume of searches for Bitcoin²⁶. Also, according to Paxful, a bitcoin trading platform, Nigeria is now second only to the US for bitcoin trading²⁷. A marketing executive at IBIC Exchange, an over-the-counter (OTC) Bitcoin exchange in Lagos, when speaking to Cointelegraph, a digital media resource, highlighted the use of bitcoin by university students, out of college freelancers, and mid-level employees to augment their monthly salaries²⁸. Apart from being used as a 'side hustle', crypto trading has become popular for Nigerian youths as a way to protect their savings especially against the diminishing value of the naira, and as a simpler way to send payments abroad²⁹. Freelancers and entrepreneurs have found having a crypto wallet easy for international payments they receive from clients across the globe. This way of using cryptocurrencies was clearly shown during the #ENDSARS protests, where young people donating used cryptocurrencies because those receiving funds had their bank accounts frozen. This method also helped when receiving funds from people in the diaspora who supported the movement.

Though Lagosians lead the way in online Bitcoin searches, they are not utilising the technology fully. Cointelegraph explains that the underutilisation is not just from the lack of knowledge or empathy but also from the lack of proper infrastructure to support a vibrant digital economy³⁰.

Even with the growth of tech industries and cryptocurrencies, the economic opportunities for young people without an education are limited. The majority of opportunities in tech require some level of education. This is evident by looking at the employees at Andela, where 70 per cent of the developers have computer science or engineering degrees³¹. Therefore, indicating that the majority of Nigerian youth are unable to join the workforce, demonstrating the continuous growth of unemployment, leading to increased socio-economic exclusion, migration and political tensions.

Poor educational opportunities have a direct link with an increase in youth crime and violence. The economic challenges in conjunction with the lack of educational opportunities, faced by Nigerian youths,

²⁵ Co-Creation Hub, About Us, Available at: <https://cchubnigeria.com/about/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

²⁶ Avan-Nomayo, O. (2019) Young Africa Looks to Crypto for Payment. Available at: <https://cointelegraph.com/news/young-africa-looks-to-crypto-for-payment> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

²⁷ Akinwotu, E. (2021) Out of control and rising: why bitcoin has Nigeria's government in a panic. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2021/jul/31/out-of-control-and-rising-why-bitcoin-has-nigerias-government-in-a-panic> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

²⁸ Avan-Nomayo, O. (2019)

²⁹ Vanguard (2021) Why Nigerian Youths are hooked on Cryptos – Islimit, Lagos Digital Summit Convener. Available at: vanguardngr.com/2021/11/why-nigerian-youths-are-hooked-on-cryptos-islimit-lagos-digital-summit-convener/ [Accessed 14 January 2022].

³⁰ Avan-Nomayo, O. (2019)

³¹ Lohr, S. (2017)

especially in marginalised communities, have led to some youths seeking out criminal opportunities as an avenue for survival.³² There has been a rise in youth involvement in crime and in October 2021 Ministry of Youth and Social Development held an event titled ‘Strengthening Police and Youth Relationship in Lagos State’, where he said ‘The rate and sophistication of crimes committed by some young people has been on the increase and as a result, the work of the police has increased in many ways.’³³ Cult, gang and cybercrimes have all been typecast as young people crimes.

In early 2021 major newspapers reported on the regular occurrence of cultist crimes across the state. Secondary school and university students are regularly recruited into different cults. The members, during cult clashes, brandish dangerous weapons such as guns, axes, cudgels, cutlasses and broken bottles. These clashes have led to the deaths of young women and men, some are members of the gangs, while others are innocent bystanders. Cult and gang crimes are usually violent but rarely help with economic gain, while cyber-crimes have been glorified for the rich lifestyle it can bring.

With the increase of internet penetration cyber-crimes have become more prominent. Cyber-crimes are one of the illegal ways Nigerian youths are using to earn a living. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Lagos Zonal Office, arrested 550 persons in Lagos for computer-related fraud in the first quarter of 2021³⁴. The agency listed university graduates (including lecturers), civil servants and military personnel on study leave, as the majority of those performing computer related fraud³⁵. The cybercrimes performed in Nigeria include phishing and ransomware attacks (including malicious spams), ‘next-of-kin’ (third party claim of properties, usually money), ‘Classified’ (false sale and shipping of goods), ‘Western Union’ (Re-swindling of victims) and ‘Dating’ (sweetheart fraud)³⁶. Dr Uche Igwe, a Senior Political Economy Analyst, when writing about the cost of cybercrimes on the Nigerian economy, he reasoned that cybercrime appears attractive to young people because of the low probability of being caught and the potential glamorous lifestyle one can achieve.³⁷

Overall, in Lagos, young people have used technology to empower themselves economically. However, due to educational opportunities not everyone has been able to benefit. Education seems to be the link between how technology can be used as an empowering tool. Understanding this, Lagos State Government has launched some initiatives that aim to bridge the gap. It is evident from the current administration’s development agenda that education and technology are important because it is part of the acronym the current Developmental Agenda in Lagos State, T.H.E.M.E.S. (Traffic Management and Transportation, Health and Environment, Education and Technology, Making Lagos a 21ST Economy,

³² Nike Akerele-De Souza, Nike (2020) Education, youth unemployment and social unrest. Available at: <https://guardian.ng/issue/education-youth-unemployment-and-social-unrest/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

³³ Eyeing, Victor (2021) Eschew crime, violence, Lagos tells youths. Available at: <https://punchng.com/eschew-crime-violence-lagos-tells-youths/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

³⁴ The Nation (2021) Cybercrime: Race to save youths Available at: <https://thenationonlineng.net/cybercrime-race-to-save-youths/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Oyenuga, Adedeji. (2017). YOUTH AND CYBERCRIME SUB-CULTURE IN LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA. 10.13140/RG.2.2.34151.80806.

³⁷ Igwe, U. Nigeria’s growing cybercrime threat needs urgent government action. Available at: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2021/06/09/nigerias-growing-cybercrime-phishing-threat-needs-urgent-government-action-economy/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

Entertainment and Tourism and Governance and Security). This administration has therefore supported and launched several digital opportunities for young people.

In 2019, The “Excellence in Child Education and Learning” initiative was inaugurated. It is designed to reposition public education in the state through technology. The aim is to transform all government primary schools, across the state, by training teachers to use an innovative technology and data-driven platform in the classroom. Through the process, 4,400 primary schools’ teachers were trained on how to competently utilize technology in teaching³⁸. There has also been the annual Lagos State Science Camp, which focuses on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). Students from different public schools are selected through a competitive test and are camped for five days for mentorship and training on developing technologies and entrepreneurship. The aim is to ensure young people are employable or able to start a business leveraging technology³⁹. Another initiative has been the Digital Skills Initiative, which saw 120,000 public primary and secondary schools pupils across the State’s Six Educational Districts empowered with basic computer skills.⁴⁰ The Eko Digital programme, which aims to empower one million youths in the state with necessary digital skills (digital marketing, entrepreneurship, python and other programming languages that are relevant in the 21st Century digital age) is another initiative pioneered by the Lagos State Government. The programme was fully funded in order to attract more youths and remove the financial burden on the trainees⁴¹. Like the Eko Digital programme, Job Initiative Lagos, is also targeted at the youth. The empowerment programme is intended for final year students and those in penultimate classes in tertiary institutions. Other projects have taken place where Lagos State Government have partnered with tech-based businesses to offer training and mentorship.

All the initiatives mentioned above required students to be in or to have completed formal education at a primary, secondary and tertiary institution, therefore leaving out those who have not had the opportunity to attend formal education. However, the community talent hunt, launched by Lagos State Government, late 2021 was open to all youths who had an idea or business. The community talent hunt and digital entrepreneurship skills training programme, unlike the others, did not require formal education. The initiative is aimed at empowering unemployed youths through their natural talents and supporting them to use technology. As of November 2021, 1,140 youths had enrolled.⁴²

³⁸ The Nation, (2020) Lagos, public education and technology, Available at: <https://thenationonline.ng/lagos-public-education-and-technology/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

³⁹ Okonji, E. (2019) Lagos Govt Set to Boost National Development with Tech Education Available at: <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/12/19/lagos-govt-set-to-boost-national-development-with-tech-education/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

⁴⁰ Akni.O. (2021) LASG empowers 120,000 public school pupils with digital skills Available at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/05/lasg-empowers-120000-public-school-pupils-with-digital-skills/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

⁴¹ Olasunkanmi, O. (2021) LAGOS SET TO EMPOWER ONE MILLION YOUTHS WITH DIGITAL SKILLS Available at: <https://lagosstate.gov.ng/blog/2021/10/14/lagos-set-to-empower-one-million-youths-with-digital-skills/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

⁴² Ayeni. V. (2021) Lagos moves to empower 1,140 youths through talent hunt Available at: <https://punchng.com/lagos-moves-to-empower-1140-youths-through-talent-hunt/> [Accessed 14 January 2022].

While the state government has provided digital education opportunities, the private sector is opening up job opportunities within the tech sector. Technology has been leveraged to overcome poverty, however there is still a group that are left out, the over two million children⁴³ who are not in formal education.

Tech as a mechanism for inclusive economic development

Looking at the statistics on education and employment, the majority of young people are unable to achieve upward social mobility. They are poor and stuck in 'waithood'. 'Waithood' is defined by Alcinda Honwana's in the article 'Enough! Will Youth Protests Drive Social Change in Africa?'⁴⁴, as a prolonged period of time in which people's access to social adulthood is delayed or denied. It is a time where young people are unable to form families or households. They are unable to become independent and partake in adult life. 'Waithood' is also marked by a lack of voice and loss of dignity leading to political marginalisation and discontent.⁴⁵

Waithood has led to youths being involved in criminal activity and they have received a reputation of being 'a menace to society' and not contributing positively to society. They have been typecast as useless and criminals. Our leaders have also commented on the efforts of young people in Nigeria and usually not in a positive way. During the Commonwealth Business Forum, in 2018 President Muhammadu Buhari implied that Nigerian youth are 'lazy'. He is quoted as saying 'More than 60 per cent of the population is below 30, a lot of them haven't been to school and they are claiming that Nigeria is an oil-producing country, therefore, they should sit and do nothing, and get housing, healthcare, education free'. Previous military president Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, has also had similar sentiments about Nigerian youth. In 2010, during a BBC interview, he told the interviewer that Nigerian youths are incapable of leading Nigeria. With this way of thinking by leaders it is not surprising that Nigerian youth are kept out of governance and regularly profiled by police and security forces.

What our leaders have failed to understand is the link between educational outcomes and lack of employment with criminal activity. With technology at hand reach more young people are able to leverage on the opportunities and use it as an economically empowering tool, as we have seen from young people who have joined organisations like Andela or trading in cryptocurrencies. However, these opportunities have been limited to those who have an education. Knowing this, Lagos State Government has launched several educational initiatives that focus on digital literacy and new technologies. These initiatives aim to bridge the gap between those who have prior STEM education and those who do not.

⁴³ Badmus, B. (2022) Lagos Govt To Rescue Over Two Million Out-Of-School Children Through EkoExcel Available at: <https://tribuneonline.com/lagos-govt-to-rescue-over-two-million-out-of-school-children-through-ekoexcel/> [Accessed 18 January 2022].

⁴⁴ Honwana, Alcinda (2015) Enough! Will youth protests drive social change in Africa? Available at: <https://africanarguments.org/2015/12/07/enough-will-youth-protests-drive-social-change-in-africa/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

⁴⁵ Maganga, Tafadzwa (2020) Youth Demonstrations and their Impact on Political Change and Development in Africa Available at: <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/youth-demonstrations-and-their-impact-on-political-change-and-development-in-africa/> [Accessed 30 November 2021].

To allow them a chance to gainful employment in the tech industry. However, even with these initiatives there is still a group of young people who are left out, those who have no formal education and we are yet to see the unemployment rate go down.

In the article ‘Technology can empower children in developing countries - if it's done right’, Charles Kenny, a senior fellow at the Centre for Global Development, says ‘Technology has the potential to be a huge force for good but it is not a silver bullet, a fix-all solution to how to fix the education and employment problems for young people in developing countries’⁴⁶. Instead, technology should be viewed as solely the tool to support the solutions for inclusive social development.

Access to technology is usually the common barrier noted as top priority for using technology as a developmental tool and indeed it is critical. Access to technology can bring young people into contact with the broader world, open up access to education and vocational training all in a very cost-effective way. For this to happen, initiatives like ‘Excellence in Child Education and Learning’ need to be continuous and expanded. In addition, tech infrastructure is needed throughout Lagos State and access to the internet must be cost effective. Having Hubs, libraries and public schools with computers and labs available at a community level can bring technology closer to young people.

Hardware will not be enough to ensure empowerment. The wrap-around services need to be long-term and of quality. Wrap-around services can be described as teacher training, maintenance of technology, and reliability of power. In addition, the initiatives should not be only available to those attending formal education and should start from a young age. The private sector also needs to be involved and support the different initiatives, opening up internships and learning opportunities.

Lastly, there needs to be a sound political economy along with the political will to prioritise the local development needs of the youth. There needs to be a change in the way the youth are perceived. They have become ‘a menace to society’ because their needs have been overlooked and their voices have been shunned. If the status quo continues we should expect more protests and they may not be as peaceful as #ENDSARS.

⁴⁶Kelly, A. (2013) Technology can empower children in developing countries - if it's done right. Available at: [righthttps://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/technology-empower-children-developing-countries](https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/technology-empower-children-developing-countries) [Accessed 14 January 2022].

TRAJECTORIES OF MIGRANT HOUSING: ETHNIC PLACE-NAMING AND ETHNIC CLUSTERING IN LAGOS

Basirat Ashabi Oyalowo⁴⁷ and Gbemiga Bolade Faniran⁴⁸

Abstract

Lagos is a city of opportunities. It is currently home to an estimated over 26 million people consisting of original and early settlers, as well as millions of non-indigenes and migrants, local and international. It is indeed an *El-dorado* of the African nation. A controversial maxim attributed to the undiscerning calls it a 'no man's land' as it is a haven of prosperity to all. In this study, we explore the trajectories of migration in the city, presenting ethnic place-naming and ethnic clusters as two critical pathways. We seek a validation of the dominant knowledge that posits that new migrants often resettle within the ethnic enclave of their origin, and that this clustering on a neighbourhood basis leads to perpetuation of negative housing and environmental conditions in such communities. Our contribution is based on broad theories of neighbourhood level research. We address a gap in literature that does not recognize ethnic place-naming in the toponymy of Lagos, and also recognize this as evidence of the migratory roots of the city. We recommend that to promote inclusiveness in a city as diverse as Lagos, policy actions should recognize the underlying basis for ethnic enclaves, the strong social capital inherent in these communities and participatory policy making.

Keywords: migrant housing, ethnic clustering, ethnic neighbourhoods, ethnic place-naming, Lagos housing, Lagos toponymy.

Introduction

Lagos metamorphosed from being a small coastal village of fishermen and farmers to a remarkable urban centre of rich population diversity and economic base. It is expected to be Africa's model megacity by 2025. The landmass of Lagos is approximately 3,577sqkm, which is 0.387% of Nigeria's landmass area (Figure 1). Lagos has a current population estimate of over 26 million people (Lagos State Government, 2020). Accordingly, it is the largest and fastest growing city in Africa, and one of the fastest-growing cities globally, with population projected to double by 2050 and reach 80 million by 2100. Migrants constituted more than 40% of the population in Lagos (Isiugo-Abanihe & International Organization for Migration, 2016).

⁴⁷ Department of Estate Management/Centre for Housing and Sustainable Development, University of Lagos, Nigeria

⁴⁸ Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

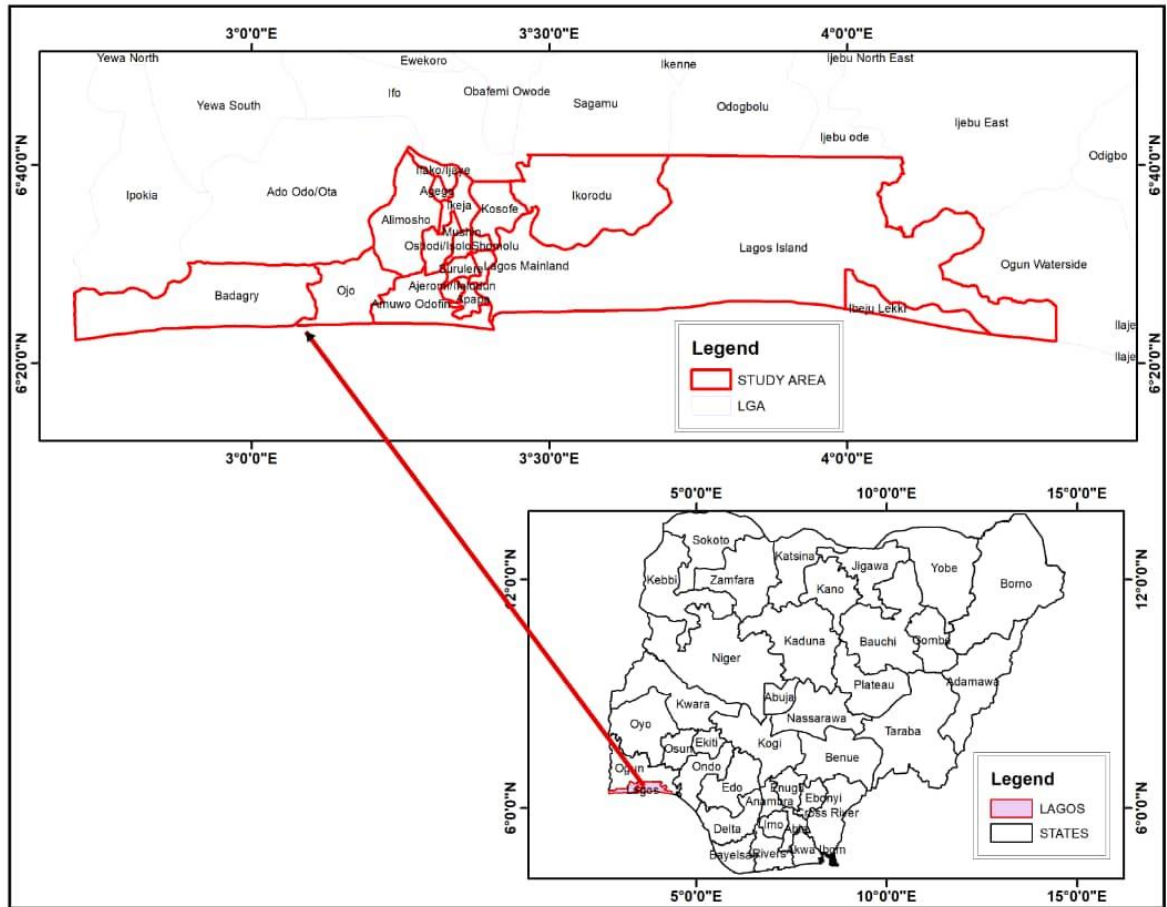


Figure 1: Lagos State within Nigeria

A major driving force of migration to Lagos is the search for a better future, dignity and safety. Many people came to Lagos in search of the proverbial greener pasture. While some moved in to find job, others come to follow a career path or are on civil-service placement/transfer. Lagos is the trading centre for scores of women and men that come to the city from neighbouring countries, speaking variants of French, English and Yoruba dialects with ease. It is also a workplace for thousands, who, unable to afford a decent home in the city, commute through thick traffic and several miles from other settlements. Others are simply in the city to access better facilities and technologies for their products and services. The city therefore serves both social and economic migrants (Uduku, Lawanson & Ogodu, 2021).

People also moved to Lagos because of marriage, family and related social factors, educational opportunities, and the availability of “state-of-art” social infrastructure and basic-urban services. The rate of violent conflict, civil unrest and *boko-haram* insurgence in other parts of the country, especially the north, can also be alluded as drivers of migration to Lagos in recent times. As these factors account for the increase in the number of internally displaced people in Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2012; Ikwuyatum, 2016; Lenshie & Yenda, 2016; Mohammed, 2017; USAID, 2021), anecdotal observations have revealed that, they also accentuate migration to Lagos.

Olukoju (2018) reported the demographic dimension of the spatial expansion of Lagos before the colonial times in the eighteenth century. Locally, there were longitudinal movements of peoples from the northern Yoruba hinterland (fuelled by internecine wars) and northern Nigeria. There were also latitudinal migrations from eastern Yorubaland and southern Nigeria (homeland of the non-Yoruba communities), fuelled by trade facilitated through the inner waterways of the city. Then there was the ‘Atlantic Diasporic’ reach of Lagos – Sierra Leone and Liberia on the West African coast, together with Anglophone, Hispanic and Lusophone America, especially, Brazil, Cuba and the Caribbean islands occasioned by the aftermaths of international slave trade and conquests. The movement of people into Lagos can thus be described as both internal and international migration.

In this paper, and with reference to internal migration, we answer a principal research question: What are the trajectories of migration in Lagos? To do this, we identify two sub-questions: How does migration manifest in place-naming in the city and how has it shaped ethnic clustering in residential neighbourhoods? What is the policy implication of these for inclusiveness in an ethnically diverse city such as Lagos? A qualitative research approach is employed in analysing two Lagos communities, as case-studies for in-depth understanding of the subject. In addition, fictional narratives are included to provide insights into the experiences of migrants from different parts of Nigeria to Lagos. As Akande (forthcoming) notes, the city has been responsible for the production and consumption of fiction, and we have adapted this methodology in this chapter to permit a construction of the reality of migrants from our own lived experiences, observations and previous researches on the city of Lagos.

Following this introduction, we present, through the literature, the trajectories of migration in Lagos. Thereafter, we utilize a fictional narrative to present the experience of three migrants to the city and the housing experience they might expect to find in two different locations. This is followed with the section which locates ethnic clustering and ethnic place-naming in the literature as well as within the context of Lagos. The analytical framework founded on Neighbourhood level research presented in this chapter provides the basis for the discussion of two ethnic cluster typologies in Lagos. In conclusion, we identified policy implications of ethnic clustering in attempts to improve housing condition.

Trajectories of Migration in Lagos

The derivation of the name Lagos itself and its local equivalence ‘Eko’ attest to the trajectories of migration in the megacity. From differing standpoints, Olukoju (2018), Eleshin and Lawanson (2020), Bigon (2011) examined the issue of identity of Lagos. The complexity of debates on the ‘ownership’ of the city and the identity of its residents are clearly agreed to be often laced with political, emotional and clannish superiority. For instance, two groups of early migrants: The people of Benin in South-South Nigeria and the Aworis (made up of Oyo and Ife migrants, South West Nigeria) lay claim to Lagos decades before colonialism. It is also well known that entire clans thereafter found a haven in the city. Olukoju (2018) narrates the migration of the Egba people of Abeokuta displaced by nineteenth-century

Yoruba internecine wars. Today, although they have become somewhat assimilated and spread over Lagos, communities such as Abule-Egba (translating to the homestead/village of the people of Egba) and Ijaiye are everyday reminders of the spatial spread of migrants. Other 'telltale' place names such as Ikoyi, Isolo, Ijesha, Ijora, Ejigbo, Ilaje, Ijaiye, and Mushin, Bajulaiye and Ashogbon, all have their counterparts in other states of Nigeria (Olukoju 2018, Eleshin, 2020; Eleshin & Lawanson, 2020). Eleshin (2020) goes on to assert that many more identities of ethnic and sub-ethnic nationals can be confirmed in Lagos through onomastic interrogation of its toponymy or place names.

The need for housing and other social amenities for this diversity of people at such a rapid rate is obvious. In migrants search for places of abode, two scenarios are identified. One, anecdotal observations have revealed that new migrants usually integrate within a known host community or cluster within a kin network, in an already settled ethnic neighbourhood or enclave. Two, migrants sometimes gravitate to new or developing areas outside kin network, forming shanty, hetero-local, ghetto and informal settlements. Many times, ethnic place naming has emerged from these processes. While a detailed toponymy of the city such as carried out by Adelusi-Adeluyi (2018) and Bigon (2011), or a detailed study of the linguistic origins of the names of places, as curated by Eleshin (2020) are not within the scope of this paper, we do recognize that the model adopted by migrants to secure a home, and the heritage that migration from different hinterlands has created in housing and neighbourhood identity remain indelible in modern Lagos.

Through a fictional narrative, we provide the experiences of new migrants to the city in the next section, weaving the expectations that ethnic place-naming portend and the reality of living in ethnic clusters.

From the Motor Park to A New 'Home': A Fictional Narrative

To many visitors and residents of Lagos, Oshodi is a unique place of contact. Bustling with a never-ending, never-stopping train of people, Oshodi itself bears a legacy of ethnic place naming, having been named after Oshodi Landuji Tapa who migrated to Lagos in the 18th century from Bida – the capital of Nupe Kingdom, in the present-day Niger State of Nigeria (Decker, 2016; Sanni, 2016). The commercial and transportation functions that Oshodi plays for Lagos is only equalled by the diversity of its people. Oshodi is a major landing point of an estimated 3,700 passengers who are in Lagos on a daily basis for business, migration and other purposes (Otunola, Kriticos & Harman, 2019). New migrants have different stories but similar objectives as they make their way from the motor park to new homes in the city.

Adenike, 25 years old, entered the city of Lagos through Oshodi having boarded a direct bus from Ilesha, her hometown, over 200km and two states away from Lagos. She has a diploma certificate in Business Administration and was confident that she would get a salaried employment in corporate establishment in Lagos. Perhaps she would find love and comfortable marriage in the process, as she has no intention

to return to Ilesha. For her, coming to Lagos was not just to enable a salaried employment, but also to enhance her social status and employability⁴⁹. But first, she had to find her aunt, who owned a retail fabric shop in the milieu of Oshodi, to serve as her first link to a safe abode.

Adamu, 16, arrived Lagos in a truck filled with other young boys and motorbikes (*okadas*). He had been on this tortuous journey for more than 24 hours, squashed with co-migrants in the smelly truck. They had been hidden behind 20 *okadas* to deflect security checks intent on stopping the influx of migrants, and potential human trafficking rackets to the city. Uneducated by western standards, he had saved up money from commercial motor-biking in his Kano home-town, which had become unsafe after a wave of insurgencies (Ross, 2014) made worse after the Governor of the state had banned *okada*-riding from the lucrative expressways of Kano Law enforcement agents cracked down mercilessly on defaulters⁵⁰. Thus, he had a simple mission: come to Lagos to continue his commercial motor-biking, earn enough money to send to his aged mother in preparation for his already arranged marriage, if situation changes in Kano, he would go back home. Adamu has no need for fanciful housing, just the bare necessities of a roof over his head. Rough sleeping in mosques, or claiming a space in front of a locked shop, or even joining other kinsmen in abandoned buildings or buildings under construction and any other facility that offered 'free' shelter out of the radar of the government was adequate.

Uche, 14 arrived with his 'brother' Daniel (who was really a distant relative) from their village in Abia State, South-East Nigeria. He was coming as an apprentice to Daniel, who sold in lucrative used clothes in one of the many trading points in Oshodi. Like those before him, Daniel's business was rapidly expanding and he needed a trusted kinsman to learn the trade, and eventually manage one of these shops. For now, Uche dreams of 'making it' in Lagos and returning to his village every December to celebrate Christmas, flaunting, as he had seen his older brothers do, enviable new wealth and status as a Lagos trader, acting like a true 'local disaporan' as Olukoju (2018) described. Then, he would in turn bring back another 'brother' to support his business expansion. As an apprentice, Uche will not need a separate accommodation, as he would live with his 'brother' and family in the same flat, joining two other boys who were older apprentices. The Igbo Apprenticeship System (Iwara, Amaechi & Netshandama, 2019; Okeke & Osang, 2021) offered opportunities for both training and accommodation for migrants like him.

From Oshodi, Adenike would be surprised, and somewhat comforted to hear the bus conductor wailing for passengers going to 'Ijesha', where her Aunty lived. Ijesha is the name of her ethnic group in Osun State. The knowledge that a Lagos community is named after her ethnic group would comfort her, in the

⁴⁹ Morrison and Clark (2011) make an important distinction between employment enhancement (getting a better job in a new location to facilitate a better social and consumption) and employment enabling (getting a new job in a new location) decisions of internal migrants that bears some relevance to internal migration in Lagos. The Lagos Resilience Strategy (2020) speaks extensively on the impact of economic migration on Lagos.

⁵⁰ <https://dailypost.ng/2022/01/12/keke-napep-strike-okada-riders-defy-ban-return-to-kano-streets/> Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso administration had in 2013 at the wake of attack on the Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero by suspected Boko Haram members, restricted *Okada* riders' activities and directed them to vacate Kano streets by 6pm and must not carry passengers within the metropolitan councils.

assumption that since her kinsmen have agglomerated in that area, she would not be amongst total strangers. Historical account lend credence to this assumption as there are accounts of the Ijesha Prince (Alaagba) who migrated to Lagos in the 17th century and married a Lagos Princess (Erelu Kuti) (Adekoya, 2016). In reality, there are several locations named Ijesha⁵¹ in Lagos, but Adenike's destination is the community known as Ijesha, in Surulere Local Government Area of Lagos, which is a densely populated area, and haven for many ethnic groups who mostly lived in rented apartments and multi-family tenement structures with, sometimes, up to 19 other families. In these tenements, households would share outdoor toilets and baths, and kitchens. Later, Adenike would get to understand that the daily excursions to Oshodi to make a living was also an escape from the high density, low amenity neighbourhood that characterised her aunt's living quarters. She would sleep on a couch in her aunt's living room with her six cousins, leaving the bedroom to her aunt, husband and baby. Later, she would wonder at how the neighbourhood is filled with, not Ijesha people, but people from other ethnic groups in the country.

Adamu, settling in the market place surrounding 'Mosahalashi Alhaja' (translates to Alhaja's mosque) in Agege Local Government, would not have the luxury of a room to sleep, but he would rough sleep in the nearby mosque, or when the weather was good, sleep in the front-age of shops closed for the night, congested, once again amidst other boys who peddled fruits, vegetables and other oddities on the streets of Lagos. He could also pay a minimal sum every night to lay his head in the houses majorly inhabited by his kinsmen in the neighbouring street, or if he liked, he could sleep under the cover of his bike⁵². But he would see people of his ethnicity living in the same way, so he would not mind the quick rubbing of limbs at the public tap in lieu of bathrooms in the mornings nor payment for the use of a public lavatory when the need arises. His first impression of Moshalaji Alhaja is how remarkably similar the smell, sounds and people are to any typical market in Kano. Mostly male traders sold retail confectionary, clothes and food staples. As he wrestles his Okada to the street junction close-by, he notices that beyond the market, locked up shops in tenement bungalows bore retail goods, groceries, butcheries, fashion items and a milieu of other goods. He also noticed that the mosque and market served as a rallying point for his kinsmen, as the ethnic diversity of shopkeepers increased as one moves away from the market. The general squalidness of the neighbourhood was lost on him. For Adamu, the market place surrounding Moshalashi Alhaja represented an ethnic enclave that welcomed him to the city of Lagos, whereas in other multicultural cities, the emergence of ethnic neighbourhoods with their particular shops have become an important pole of attraction to migrants (European University Institute, 2022).

⁵¹ A Google Earth search for Ijesha will reveal 3 locations (Ijesha Road, Ijesha Market and Ijeshatedo: https://earth.google.com/web/search/Ijesha/@6.5028036,3.331049,4.13836119a,1048.93521081d,35y,0h,45t,Or/data=Cn0aUxJNCiUweDEwM2I4ZWEzMWmWZTAyODE6MHgxY2E5NmUyNTI3YjZhYzQ2GYg-afLeAhpAle_8ogT9pQpAKhJJamVzaGEgUm9hZCwgTGFnb3MYAiABliYKJAKniFRCrVFCQBFyan1A_xI9wBmiuGhp4vdRQCgccPImIJBwCgC, while a similar search on maphill will reveal five locations: Ijesha road, Ijesha Market, Ijeshatedo (translates to where the people of Ijesha have settled in), Ijesha Police State, and Ijeshatedo). <http://www.maphill.com/nigeria/lagos/>

⁵² Omoyele (2018) provides an account of a probable fieldwork that evidences this occurrence in Isa Street, which adjoins Moshalaji Alhaja in Agege. <https://omoyele177104630.wordpress.com/2018/06/27/poor-sanitation-and-open-defecation-in-isa-street-by-moshalashi-alhaja-area-of-agege-lagos-state-radio-an-effective-tool-to-curb-the-menace/>

Uche's living conditions with his brother in a two-bedroom flat in the residential part of Oshodi would not be much different. He would find that the accommodation was already grossly inadequate for his brother's family and would often, with the two older apprentices end up sleeping in the shop to pass the night.

All three had the same vision: to make money and earn a living in Lagos. As to where to live in the meantime, all three also had similar destinations: to squat with their kinsmen wherever that might be. The experiences of these three are replicated with migrants from several regions in Nigeria that have migrated to Lagos to find economic and social opportunities. Communities that had probably been established by first generation migrants from their hometowns, are still in existence in Lagos, with ties to home communities preserved by ethnic place naming. On the other hand, ethnic neighbourhoods or enclaves have emerged from the cultural affinity of migrants drawn to places where their kinsmen congregate. Every day experiences of Lagos often intertwine, albeit unconsciously with these realities. Such is the toponomy of Lagos, which is explored in greater details in subsequent section.

Ethnic Place Naming and Ethnic Enclaves in Lagos

It is necessary to note that unlike in other African cities such as Nairobi (Wanjiru & Matsubara, 2017) and Dakar (Bigon, 2009) where street names were changed after independence to reflect the quest for nationalism and post-colonial erasure of dominance, the influence of British place naming in Lagos did not represent a measure of dominance (Bigon, 2009). Rather, place names reflected three influences, which are indigenous names (usually of local rulers, chiefs and religious leaders), site-related names and lastly, eminent colonial names, in this order of predominance (Adelusi-Adeluyi, 2018). Thus, ethnic naming of streets and neighbourhoods in Lagos that commemorates indigenous homesteads in Nigerian hinterlands has gone quite unnoticed by most researchers from the Global North. Therefore, this factor has not been captured as a fourth one in the literature of the toponomy of Lagos. Importantly, Eleshin (2020) evidences the significance of this toponymic feature by showing how the lexicalization process of personal, chieftaincy and place names in Lagos have been influenced by the successive waves of migrants from different ethnic origins as well as the traditions of the earliest, dominant migrants from Benin and Oyo/Ife who are of the Awori ethnic extraction.

Despite the strong anecdotal evidence of ethnic place names, the linkages to past and current housing conditions in these communities cannot be overstretched. This is because even though these communities were named after homesteads, the influx of multi-ethnic migrants and rapid urbanization has not guaranteed exclusion of other groups. Thus, heterogeneity of the population at the neighbourhood level is still to be found, as expected in urban areas. Secondly, if a linguistic analysis of place names is factored in, there are clear indications that places that bear ethnic names do not necessarily constitute ethnic enclaves of the people, at least in present times. For instance, the seat of traditional crown of Lagos is situated at

Iga Idunganran at Lagos Island, areas that are inhabited predominantly by the Yoruba people. However, Eleshin (2020) shows through linguistic analysis that the place name is derived from terms associated with both Benin and Ijebu migrants to the city in the pre-1880s colonial period. Similarly, Mushin, another district on Lagos Mainland is semantically similar to 'Idi-Ishin', a popular location in Ibadan, Oyo State. However, it is a melting point of various ethnic groups as well as one of the commercial nuclei of the city.

Nevertheless, Eleshin and Lawanson (2021) acknowledged the emergence of migrant enclaves based on socio-economic and or ethnicity status. For example, Ekiti people in upper south-west Nigeria settled in the Oke-Popo area of Lagos, while the Nupes settled around Epetedo, Oshodi and Bariga areas. The Ijebu and the Egba elite migrants from neighbouring Ogun State had historically settled in the Palmgrove and Ilupeju areas of post-colonial Lagos; although, the Ijebus are more prominent in Somolu. Hausas including returnees from the Burma war of the early 1900s settled in Obalende and Agege. Migrants from Nigeria's delta hinterland-the Ijaw and Itsekiri are (still) to be found in the waterfront areas of Ajegunle and Ijora. Expatriate communities of Lebanese and Indians are also reported to have made Apapa and Ilupeju their homes. Some of these areas are affluent communities, others are not. Some (like Oshodi and Ajegunle) bear ethnic place names, others do not. Most are heterogeneous communities of Nigerians from all income and many ethnic classes.

Olukoju (2018:147) provides further dimensions that speak to the complexity of this issue; noting '*how communities indigenous to Lagos such as Ojuwoye, Onigbongbo, Ikeja and Agege have been swamped by the phenomenal expansion of the city.... These have been reduced to enclaves, which also coexist with colonies of various immigrant groups.*' Some of these new migrants are from groups such as Ilaje, Egba, Ijebu, Ijesha. There are also non-yoruba groups such as Arewa, Igbo, Izon and Urhobo who are "clustered in increasingly politically and culturally assertive, and often disaffected, communes across the cityscape" (Olukoju 2018: 147). This reflects an ethnic self-isolation and identity resistance that ensures that ethnic enclaves exclude people of other ethnicities, on the one hand, and political connections on the other, which may have an impact on access to public amenities.

From the foregoing, literature show that in Lagos, there are migrant communities wherein ethnic groups cluster, and there are ethnically named places that are decidedly heterogenous. Ethnically named places therefore evidence the migratory roots of the city and its strong attraction to thousands of people from all over Nigeria. The rest of the paper focusses more generally on ethnic clusters and the various complexities surrounding their emergence and perpetuation.

Analytical Framework

The conflict and contact theories associated with Neighbourhood Level Research and has been referred to by a number of authors such as Beall and Fox (2011), Onditi, Sabala and Wassara, (2018), Oyalowo et al (2019) and Sturgis et al., (2014). It can be used to answer the question of whether interethnic and interracial mixing results in social harmony or strife (Sturgis et al., 2014). The conflict theory maintains

that diverse social environments induce a feeling of threat and anxiety between minority and majority groups, particularly arising out of real or perceived competition over scarce resources but also relating to social identity and relative positions in power and status hierarchies. Conflict theorists contend that the result is stereotypical and discriminatory treatment of ethnic 'out-groups', and this positioned is evidenced by most researchers studying western neighbourhoods (Sturgis et al., 2014). On the other hand, contact theory proposes that racial and ethnic diversity can reduce stereotyping and prejudice by bringing individuals into direct contact with members of ethnic 'out-groups', thereby bringing about faster assimilation of such groups. This will help to dissipate negative stereotypes, reduction in inter-group conflicts and improve inclusiveness.

For African cities where multi-ethnicity (rather than multiracialism) is of interest, the two theories can be used to understand self-exclusionary processes that would be a dominant feature of ethnic clusters in city. This is important if it is recognised that the drive towards inclusion in cities is a two-way factor that includes the willingness of the migrants as ethnic out-groups to be assimilated into the dominant group as well as the ability of dominant ethnic in-groups to accept them. With reference to ethnic enclaves in Lagos, Olukoju (2018) and Ifesanya & Nwokoro (2012) lend support to this process as by observing the self-exclusive nature of ethnic enclaves in Lagos. Olukoju attributes to Lagos, the 'uncanny ability' to absorb and indigenize diverse peoples of Yoruba and non-Yoruba origins, moulding them into Lagosians, was attributed to Lagos. Ifesanya and Nwokoro dwell on how solidarity within slum communities could inadvertently create resistance to this process of assimilation and possibly, inclusion. Applied to ethnic enclaves, migrants could then 'retain their identity and language, and cluster in non-integrating communities in the city and state' (Olukoju, 2018). This implies that everyday experiences of the city would be shaped around these processes. As would be seen in the case of Ajegunle and the waterfront communities in the next section, this implies a self-exclusionary process that would impact relations with other groups as well as government. This may then have far-reaching impacts on provision of social and physical amenities in contexts where partisanship loyalty dictates access to facilities.

Migration, housing and environmental conditions of two ethnic enclave typologies

As a coastal city with a vast shoreline, Lagos has ample waterfront settlements that unlike those in cities such as Washington, Amsterdam and cities in other developed countries, host informal communities that has been home to generations of migrants and low-income people. Makoko, Ilaje, Iwaya are examples of waterfront communities in the city. They are recognisable from homes built on stilts with the expertise of indigenous knowledge. Housing and environmental conditions are however, visibly poor (see figure 2), as there are limited government interventions for proper sanitation and waste management in these riverine settings. Access to educational facilities and basic amenities such as potable water and health care are also scarce. The location of these communities on the waterfront presents a paradox that is both economic and social, both opportunity and threat depending on whose view is being captured. For

example, a masterplan for Makoko (Fabulous Urban & Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2014) showed the several economic opportunities that could be originated or expanded for the redevelopment of Makoko/Iwaya waterfront communities. On the other hand, the Lagos Urban Renewal Agency (2013) attributes the emergence of slums in the city to these waterfronts. It asserts:

“The emergence of slums in the state dates back to the 19th century when migrants who were mostly fishermen dwelt in riverine communities in temporary shelters, which over time were taken over by low-income earners, artisans, traders and low-cadre civil servants”.

In releasing the latent real estate development values that characterize waterfronts (Timor, 2013), the Lagos State Government regards existing slum developments as a threat to such projects as the 54.68 hectares that would be reclaimed at Makoko, according to the Lagos State Ministry of Waterfront Infrastructure Development (2020). Residents of migrant communities are therefore often subject to intermittent threats of forceful evictions arising from city modernisation aspirations of government, although government cites security and safety as major reasons for these actions (The Punch Newspapers, 2021; The New Humanitarian, 2017).

While there are no real evidences that the intent of government is to target specific migrant groups in these actions, the affinity for the waterfront by migrants from Ondo, Badagry, Niger-Delta makes them the most vulnerable to these displacement actions. For instance, Makoko is inhabited by a diverse population of migrants from Ilaje (originally from Ondo State, South West Nigeria) and Ijaw (originally from the Niger Delta area in South-South Nigeria) in addition to people of Yoruba and Egun extractions (Oshodi 2014). Within the broad category of Makoko Iwaya as a waterfront community, there are also visible micro-ethnic clustering, with the migrant Ilaje and Ijaw in Apollo neighbourhood in the western part (FBT Coral, 2020).

An important factor that makes the migrant groups particularly vulnerable as an ethnic group is that they cluster on the waterfront for economic reasons (since they continue to depend on their native fishing activities for livelihood). Thus, residents are not motivated to move to the mainland of Lagos, where they can assimilate and be integrated with people of other tribes. As a result, they remain ethnic enclaves on the waterfronts, and their social-cultural and religious practices remain intact for the most part. While they are located close to water bodies for economic reasons, their everyday life can be quite self-exclusionary since their language, marriage and mode of worship are largely homogenous. Thus, they expand as inadvertent ethnic enclaves, albeit with visibly slum-like conditions.



Figure 2: Makoko.

Source: Fabulous Urban & Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2014.

There are other communities on Mainland Lagos, where the complexity of finding linkages between ethnically-named places, migration and housing conditions are exemplified. One example is Apapa, located in Southern Lagos, west of Lagos Island (Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, 2014). It plays hosts to two major sea-ports, which handles over 75% of the total non-oil exports of Nigeria (Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, 2014). To complement its port functions, Apapa has the oldest industrial estate in Lagos and a Government Reservation Area (GRA) which was initiated in the 1950s to provide well organised and planned housing for the emerging middle class. As typical in most parts of Lagos, the co-location of a planned residential neighbourhood with commercial and industrial areas also leads to the emergence of slum communities in close proximity. As Apapa was a growth pole created by colonial administrators, informal settlements for indigenous peoples who cannot be accommodated in the planned residential areas emerged. Such is the story of the creation of Ajegunle, one of Nigeria's most prolific slum areas. Although the place-name 'Ajegunle' has an indigenous counterpart in Ilajeland, Ondo State, South West Nigeria, we do not find documented evidence of the slum having been originally occupied by the Ondo people. Located originally in the extreme south-west close to Apapa but outside the then-colonial municipality of Lagos, it is geopolitically located in Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local Government Area.

Ajegunle developed rapidly as low-grade residences to house dock-workers and factory-hands, who worked in the Apapa Industrial Estate since the latter's creation. Migrants from across Nigeria seeking employment opportunities close to the Ports found a home here (Mabogunje, 1968). In the 1968 classification of residential neighbourhoods by Mabogunje (1968), a renowned geographer, the area was classified as a low-grade residential district due to the proliferation of substandard housing and poor

environmental conditions. Today, still serving the housing needs of people from several ethnic groups, it has remained a domain of low-income earners, who are strongly bound by the unspoken rules of solidarity, self-preservation and ‘resistance identity’ of the ‘jungle city’ as Ajegunle is popularly referred to. Alongside migrant Yorubas (the dominant ethnic group in Lagos) from other southwest states, Olajide (2010) identifies 5 other major, non-yoruba ethnic groups: Ijaw, Ilaje, Hausa, Ibo, Urhobo in residence. Thus, Ajegunle is also popularly described as ‘Nigeria inside Nigeria,’ and this lends credence to its attractiveness to migrants from other parts of Nigeria. Also, there are recognised ethnic micro-enclaves within the area, with their own identities preserved in the trades they engaged in. Its food markets are frequented by Niger Delta migrants from all over Lagos because the local delicacies, oil, spices and fish from that side of Nigeria are found there alone. Olajide’s fieldwork also evidences the process of ethnic enclave formation:

“The Yorubas among them are mostly from Yoruba speaking states in the North Central geo-political zone (Kwara and Kogi States). The historical background of the people revealed that they were mostly traders from these hinterland states who used to stop over during their trips, until when they gradually began to make temporary structures that could accommodate them for the period of their transactions. The site later became prominent for such functions to the extent that the temporary habitation became relatively permanent homes for most of these people. Friends, family members and other relatives were invited and the process of permanent occupation began which, was later consolidated, sustained and established’ (Olajide, 2010: 833)”

Olajide (2010) reports that over 70% of the housing in Ajegunle is of tenement type, with shared kitchen, toilet and bath facilities located outside the house. Average occupancy ratio is higher than most other slums in Lagos at 8 persons per room (Ifesanya & Nwokoro, 2012). Poor drainage and solid waste management leads to very poor environmental quality with roads often serving as refuse disposal point.

Ifesanya and Nwokoro (2012) reported attempts by a previous Lagos State Government to regenerate the area, and how this was met with stiff resistance by the residents due to the distrust of the government arising from neglect of the community over the years, and knowledge of prior evictions in similar communities under the pretense of slum upgrades. The heightened sense of solidarity and self-preservation associated with Ajegunle (as indeed most slum communities) has created the resistance identity that threatens outsiders (including government) but shelters its own. Despite the poor housing and environmental conditions, the place has birthed global football stars and entertainers whose foray into these endeavours started as an escape from home: where there was no space to do anything but sleep (Ifesanya & Nwokoro, 2012). Thus, while we cannot evidence Ajegunle to be an ethnically-named place, its dominant characteristic as a diverse migrant community has remained intact over the years.

Conclusion

How can we connect spatial expansion of the city from migration, to the housing and environmental conditions of ethnic enclaves (and ethnically named places) and what lessons can we draw for inclusion in such a diverse city as Lagos?

Lagos is historically founded on the migration of peoples with visibly distinct ethnic identities. Each group of migrants has a history that has impacted the toponymy or place names of the city, and arguably, the 'choices' available to new migrants from the same ethnic group.

Through the extant literature on the toponymy of Lagos, we identify a gap: the relatively under-researched area of ethnic place-naming that commemorate the indigenous names of migrants' original homesteads in Nigeria's hinterlands. While acknowledging that the psychological need to feel at home in a strange city could be a pull factor for other migrants to ethnically named places, anecdotal evidence, coupled with linguistic analysis of place names suggests that over time, these places become demographically diverse and may not reflect dominance of the ethnic group they were originally named after. Thus, their nature in today's Lagos is defined more from the affordability of housing than the dominance of a particular ethnic group. Also, ethnic

More significantly, ethnic enclaves are identifiable as neighbourhoods where migrants of visible ethnic groups cluster for both economic and social reasons. In Lagos, these neighbourhoods are not easily identifiable through place-names, rather through the preservation of economic and cultural affinities of the migrant groups.

We therefore identify two indicators of migration in the city: ethnic place-naming and ethnic enclaves. We suggest, while recognizing the limitation of our methods that the latter appears to be a stronger factor that shapes everyday living of migrants in Lagos. However, ethnic-place names provide evidence of the historical roots of migration in the city. Through our fictional narratives, we highlight the everyday experiences of migrants and through the case-studies recognize the poor housing conditions that often characterize these ethnic enclaves. From these standpoints, we now explore the various ramifications of ethnic enclaves on policy actions that have the objective of improving inclusiveness through housing-based interventions.

It has been recognized that the power of Lagos is such that it seeks to assimilate and mould migrants into 'Lagosians'. This means that migrants are offered social inclusion opportunities for contact with 'ethnic in-groups', however, where migrants cluster in ethnic enclaves, they could inadvertently resist this offer. From a theoretical perspective, this provides a contradiction about the assumptions of contact theories, but there are also policy implications.

First is the recognition of the importance of economic base of ethnic enclaves. For ethnic enclaves such as the slums of the Lagos waterfront that cluster for economic reasons as they are dependent on the water for livelihoods, resistance to inclusionary processes is hinged on potential loss of livelihoods. This is especially so if policy interventions are designed towards relocation to land. Therefore, Government actions that aim to integrate residents, or to provide better housing conditions must recognize the dependency of these enclaves on the water economy and should direct efforts not at relocation interventions but towards improving their existing circumstances in their domains. Real estate development projects that target built-up waterfronts must also recognize this to ensure integration and not dislocation of the residents. Inclusion may be fostered if interventions that bring in more ethnic diversity to that location are designed, albeit with consideration for mitigating gentrification and other unintended outcomes. A course of action that does not recognize the economic motivation of waterfront ethnic clustering in Lagos therefore risks interventions that displace residents, or relocates them to non-riverine areas which could lead to new slum formations on other parts of the waterfront as migrants seek economic opportunities for their indigenous livelihoods.

Secondly, is the recognition of the strong social capital that exists in ethnic clusters, where solidarity and trust are major currencies that shape interaction with outsiders. The case of Ajegunle particularly exemplifies how a largely migrant community with a remarkable sense of solidarity and social capital have successfully spurned government actions aimed at regeneration. Resistance to policy action is anchored on distrust for government. Although this may not be the only causal factor, poor housing conditions remain indelible here.

These circumstances can predictably challenge any future proposals for intervention especially by government. We recommend that policy actions have to address these barriers by affirmative processes that recognizes the strong social capital, and works with it, whilst building trust with the community. If supportive policy actions also provide a motivation for ethnic enclaves such as Ajegunle to lead intervention actions, this could create credible pathways towards housing upgrades and urban regeneration. Examples of such supportive actions are community led, advocacy-led or competitively funded regeneration projects.

Thirdly, are the possibilities embedded in real participatory policy approaches. An interesting dimension that emerged from the two case-studies is the existence of layers of smaller clusters of ethnic groups within the ethnic enclaves we discussed. Thus, care must be taken to ensure the recognition and inclusiveness of the various ethnic clusters in interventions. This can be achieved by ensuring that housing and similar projects are founded on real participatory, rather than top-down processes.

We started this article by confirming the migrant roots of Lagos and its continuing attraction of thousands of migrants to the city. Lagos is therefore the city of opportunity for people of ethnic diversities from other parts of Nigeria. However, social and economic factors often bring migrants into ethnic enclaves that are often characterized by poor housing and environmental conditions. To address these conditions,

policy actions are required to promote social cohesion and urban integration. We advocate for the recognition of the underlying basis for ethnic enclaves, the strong social capital inherent in these communities and participatory policy making as our contribution to the intriguing discourse of the identities of Lagos in the hope that it will trigger more elaborate studies in this area.

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OUTDOOR SPORTS RECREATION IN LAGOS AND INNOVATIVE PRACTICES PROMOTING THE ENGAGEMENT OF RESIDENTS IN THE ACTIVITIES

Damilola Odekunle⁵³, Richard Unuigboje⁵¹, and Ortega Ogodo⁵⁴

Abstract

Outdoor sports recreation (OSR) offers a diversity of opportunities in Lagos. However, anecdotal reports reveal that the outdoor recreation sector in the state is beleaguered by some governance issues that hinder the effective participation of the residents. The study uses a qualitative methodology, inclusive of the review of academic and grey literature. This research examines the governance challenges limiting Lagos residents from actively participating in OSR and innovative practices inherent promoting the activities in the city. The study finds that *commodification of outdoor recreation spaces, insecurity, the inadequacy of green infrastructure for all population groups are critical issues militating against active participation in OSR*. The study concludes that if the government is committed to creating a healthy, vibrant city that enables all citizens to be physically active in day-to-day life, there is a need to promptly address these identified issues and scale up inherent innovative actions. It will help promote active participation in OSR in Lagos across the state's various communities.

Keywords: Outdoor sports recreation, Leisure, People living with disabilities (PLWD), physical activity, Lagos

Introduction

There are countless benefits of sports recreation to development, economy and society at large (Oyeleke & Bakare, 2020). Sports recreation may provide opportunities for social interaction, enhance international peace and development, improve skills development, empower, inspire and motivate individuals, create positive alternatives to youth offending, reduce antisocial behaviour and crime, provide work/life balance, foster community pride, reduce social and health inequity, promote mental health, but mention a few (Sunday, Dahiru, & Abdul, 2021). According to a report by the European Commission (2011), sports recreation is a tool that influences people's lifestyles and enhances social inclusion through various activities. These benefits have been established in many studies on African cities (Maingi & Shittindo, 2021), Lagos included (Lawanson, et al., 2021). Communities and cities that participate in sports recreation develop solid social bonds in safer places. The people living in them are usually healthier and happier than places where physical activities are absent or isn't a priority (Pomohaci & Sopa, 2018). Little wonder sports recreation forms an integral part of the eight critical areas of the Healthy Cities Framework (World Health Organization, 2020) and the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015).

⁵³ Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Lagos, Nigeria; dodekunle@unilag.edu.ng; runuigboje@unilag.edu.ng

⁵⁴ Mangrove and Partners Limited; Ortegaogodo@gmail.com

What then is sports recreation? These are “leisure activities that combine both sport and recreation” (Anaza & McDowell, 2013, p. 325). These activities fall under the rubric of play (Cletus & Alozie, 2019), and do not require particular rules or equipment nor are they necessarily competitive (Parks & Quartermain, 2003). Activities performed during sports recreation are unstructured means of entertainment and are typically undertaken during leisure time (Sivan & Stebbins, 2011). People participate in sports recreation for the reasons highlighted in preceding paragraph and governments promote it for same (Adeyemo, 2019). Activities performed during sports recreation could be indoor (badminton, volleyball, table tennis, bowling, playing squash, arm wrestling, gymnastics, hula hooping, basement skateboarding, indoor basketball, archery, trampolining, indoor cricket, but to name a few) or outdoor (mountain climbing, hiking, cycling, athletics, surfing, football, horseback riding, sailing canoeing, sky diving, kayaking, rafting, rock climbing, skiing, surfing, etc.) (Zuowei, 2014). The key differences between these two aspects of sports recreation are that those performed indoors are undertaken in the comfort of one’s home or, more specifically indoors, are primarily passive, and they are to recreate the mind and soul (Echeta & Koya, 2021) while those conducted outdoor are primarily active and are typically undertaken in parks, open space, on water, in the air or field (Ademola, 2018).

In the last two decades, research concerning outdoor sports recreation (OSR) has attracted increasing attention (Eigenschenk, et al., 2019). However, less of these have evidence on Sub-Saharan Africa and Nigerian cities. In Lagos, Nigeria's most cosmopolitan city, OSR forms an essential aspect of many residents' leisure and play life, including the children, youth, adults, people living with disabilities (PLWD) and other vulnerable groups. Despite the opportunities that OSR offers, anecdotal reports reveal that the outdoor recreation sector in the state is beleaguered by some governance issues that hinder the effective participation of residents. The study adopts qualitative methodology, including the review of academic and grey literature; this research seeks to answer the question: what governance challenges constrain Lagos residents from actively participating in outdoor sports recreation and which innovative practices are inherent and promoting the activities in the city? In answering this question, this research aims to (1) examine the forms of OSR that are available in Lagos and why the residents engage in the activities; (2) identify the stakeholders in Lagos' recreation space, highlighting their functions; (3) explain access to OSR facilities for people living with disabilities; (4) identify the challenges that limit the participation of Lagos residents in OSR (5) identify inherent innovative practices at different scales that different agencies outside the purview of the government (community, private, civil society organisation) employ to enhance participation in OSR.

This study contributes to existing knowledge by improving understanding of the specific governance issues mutating against participation in OSR in Lagos, Sub-Saharan Africa’s largest and most densely populated city. It also uncovers the agency of innovative practices in Lagos recreation space, filling the

governance gaps while highlighting their impacts. The study informs urban planners, designers and managers in Lagos on the aspects of sports recreation and the built environment that require strengthening. It ensures that residents have improved quality of life and develop a sense of freedom and community, which are crucial to creating safe and sustainable urban communities in Nigeria and other regions in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Overview of Outdoor Sports Recreation in Lagos

Multiplicity of Outdoor recreational sports activities in the city

There are various forms of that Lagos residents perform. These include football, cycling, basketball, beach volleyball, horseback riding, kayaking, golf, boxing, aerobics, athletics). There are about five government-designated stadiums (Onikan - now known as Mobolaji Johnson Arena, Teslim Balogun, Lagos National, Agege and Campos) in Lagos where physical activities are performed, representing 6.45% of the entire stadiums in Nigeria (Ngobua et al., 2021). These stadiums serve multi-purpose functions as they are home to Julius Berger Football Club, First Bank, Stationery Stores F.C, Pepsi Academy, Mountain of Fire Miracle FC, among others (Olofintuade, 2017). Likewise, swimming, athletics, boxing, taekwondo are also performed in the stadiums. In most cases, these stadiums are not accessible for public use except during sporting events.

Noteworthy are government interventions encouraging participation in sports recreational activities at the grassroots level. For instance, Rowe Park, Yaba, offers free basketball, karate, boxing, taekwondo, five-side football, volleyball, and lawn tennis. When alternated for group functions, a fee ranging from N1,000-N5,000 (\$2.41 -\$12.03) is charged depending on the event, and this is used for maintenance of the park (Monye, 2021). Other government provided outdoor recreational facilities include the Ibrahim Babangida Badamosi (IBB) sports centre and Evans Square, offering free access to outdoor sports activities.

Private organisations are also promoting the participation of Lagosians in OSR. For instance, in 2016, Access Bank, in partnership with the Lagos State Government, established the Lagos City Marathon with sponsorship from several organisations, including Aquafina, Eko Atlantic, Kenya Airways, etc. (Press release, 2021). Since the launch in 2016, the marathon event has witnessed impressive representation by Lagosians and citizens from 12 countries (over 200,000 athletes actively running) (Access Bank Lagos City Marathon, 2022). The event is one of the most accessible outdoor recreations for people. Everyone, including beginner and professional athletes, is allowed to participate, including persons with disabilities, thus, engendering the social inclusion of this unique group.

Lagos is endowed with natural water resources with over thirty beaches present in the city, including Kuramo, Landmark, Suntan, Barracuda, La manga, Tarkwa Bay, Atican, and Elegushi, where residents

can engage in beach volleyball, beach football, horseback riding, swimming (TravelWaka, 2019). Before the commodification of these beaches in Lagos, access was free. For Eleguishi, the entry fee now cost N1,000-N2,000 (\$2.41- \$4.82), which is the minimum in all the beaches across Lagos (Zamai, 2022).

Besides, horseback riding is gaining a lot of traction in Lagos, especially among the high-income class in the city (Ndukwe, 2016). Several outfits such as the Lagos Polo Club, Ikeja Saddle club and Tiffany's Riding centre are at the fore of horseback riding in Lagos. These clubs operate on memberships, and Lagos residents who cannot afford memberships resort to the beaches mentioned above for the horseback riding, paying between N500 - N1,000 (\$1.20 - \$2.41) (Trip Adisor, 2021).

Golf and polo sports are other forms of OSR that are available in Lagos. However, these are often regarded as elitists because they are common among the rich in the city (Bassie, 2016). The Ikoyi Club and Lakowe Lakes anchors most golf activities in Lagos as the former has a standard 18-hole course, hosting the Annual Nigeria Cup tournament, which attracts professionals globally (Plexxpage, 2021).

Concerning water sports, the Lagos Water Regatta is one of the annual events dedicated to locals and tourists to celebrate sailing, boating and the coastal area. It features boat clubs with exclusive memberships and marine vessels decorated with traditional creativity representing the local culture. In ensuring inclusiveness, boating activities integrating the poor are organised by the state, which only occurs as annual/special events such as the 50th Lagos celebration in 2017 (Olasunkanmi, 2017). Likewise, kayaking is also patronised in the city, including tours to caves and snorkel, costing a minimum of N5,000 (\$12.04) for a journey of at least 1 hour (Zamai, 2021). Lagosians in exclusive clubs such as the Lagos Yacht Club and Apapa Boat club have unlimited access to water sports facilities with security (Akinwale, 2016).

However, the proliferation of social clubs in Lagos reflects the unavailability of OSR infrastructure and facilities for the general public. These social clubs, Lagos Country Club, for example, offers table tennis, badminton, squash, gyms, taekwondo, swim pools and billiards (Plexxpage, 2021). It is typically available to society's elite, excluding the low-lower-income class. Likewise, there is some distinction in outdoor sporting activities as many of the facilities are located in middle to high-income neighbourhoods. For example, kart racing and paintball games are situated in the highbrow areas of Lagos. The Leisure Park, Lekki, offers state of the art sports equipment and a standard court for volleyball, quads, lawn and table tennis, football and basketball. The GET Arena, the first racing centre in Lagos, located in Lekki, offers a sports lounge and arcade where go-kart tracks are available. Using pricing of 2017, Go Kart fees for adults' cost N4,000 (\$9.63) and kids N3,000 (\$7.22) (Princess, 2017). For a Lagosian earning an average of 30 thousand Nigerian Naira (\$77) monthly, such an OSR might be farfetched after paying for rent, food and other essential needs.

Why Lagos residents participate in outdoor sports recreation

In a study that investigated the predictors of the choice of women in Lagos Island to participate in OSR, Anaza (2017) found that improvement in mental and physical abilities are the primary reasons women engage in outdoor sports recreation during their leisure time. Further, the same study reveals that the opportunity to socialize with old friends, make new acquaintances and form personal and professional connections is a crucial motivator for women in Lagos to set aside time for outdoor sports recreation.

Similarly, the findings in Akinyemi and Oduntan (2015) reveals that residents in Lagos Mainland perform OSR to enhance their interpersonal skills, emphasising biking and swimming as a favourite. Interpersonal development is characterised by cooperation and social interaction, responsibility, social trust, better group cohesion, increased communication skills, empathy and enhanced relationships (Eigenschenk, et al., 2019).

In a survey study by Ogunsemore (2019), students, academic staff, non-academic staff, and community residents of higher institutions in Lagos report that sports facilities' provision, accessibility, and maintenance significantly influence their participation in OSR activities. However, respondents emphasized that sports facilities must meet user demands and be accessible to everyone.

Though less clearly evidenced in the extant literature, the opportunity of active citizenship is another predictor of OSR participation in Lagos, especially for people living with disabilities. In Aiyejina (2015), residents stated that their bonding capital with their families and other groups within their communities increases when they use the public space for physical activity. In this same context, in a study on Lagos that focused on one hundred and ten athletes with physical and/or mental disabilities such as amputees down syndrome, dwarf, deaf and dumb, and paraplegic athletes, findings reveal that this particular group engage in OSR because it not only has a positive influence on their physical and psychological wellness, it gives them a sense of freedom and helps them integrate into the society (Ademiju, Azubike, & Obijekwu, 2019).

In another study that investigated the influence of active OSR participation experience on secondary school students with antisocial behavior in Lagos state, Ogunmosere (2018) reveals that respondents who admitted to having addiction reported that they participate in OSR because it helps reduce their cigarette intake, alcohol and substance abuse. Moreso, it distracts them from engaging in crimes. This finding is similar to international studies on recreational sports that focused on dividends for youth delinquency (Dickson, Gray, & Mann, 2008) and pro-social behaviour (Johnson & Chin, 2016).

Furthermore, Adegun (2017) reveals that the presence of different multifunctional green infrastructure (GI) in Lagos metropolis, such as street trees, nature conservation areas, parks and gardens, sports fields, community gardens, schoolyards have a significant impact on residents' participation in OSR. According to the respondents recruited in the study, these features are critical to their health and wellbeing and foster

community. They facilitate and create an enabling environment to meet, interact, know each other, and share life experiences. This findings in Adegun (2017) is comparable to the evidence presented by Dipeolu (2020) on four Local government areas (Ikeja, Kosofe, Surulere, Lagos Island) in Lagos. Based on Dipeolu et al. (2020), though the stock of GI such as parks and green areas existing in the four local governments are inadequate in quantity and quality (not well equipped nor in good condition), residents still take part in sports recreation and leisure activities because of their availability. Furthermore, respondents highlighted that the GI facilitates cheerful social gatherings, promotes a sense of belonging and social cohesion, and creates an opportunity for collaborative engagements and reason for communal assistance in their neighbourhoods.

Stakeholders in Lagos' recreation space

Several stakeholders are operating within the Lagos recreation sector. These include a government agency, private organisations and non-governmental organisations doing the most to foster the participation of residents in recreational sport.

The Lagos State Parks and Garden Agency (LASPARK), the government institution backed by the Lagos State Parks and Gardens Agency Law No.13, 2011, makes consolidated efforts to create and maintain parks and gardens in Lagos. More gardens, parks, and playfields have been created through the agency for people to perform their OSR activities. The activities of LASPARK are often connected with other Lagos ministries and agencies such as the Ministry of Environment and Drainage Services, the Ministry of Youths and Sports Development (Lagos State Parks and Garden Agency (LASPARK), 2022).

The Ministry of Youths, Sports and Social Development, another Lagos state government agency, is responsible for planning, devising and implementing policies. The stadiums in Lagos are under the management of this Ministry. As a recent endeavour, the Ministry plans the Nigerian University Games Association (NUGA) games for 2022 (Mustapha, 2021).

Another government stakeholder is the Lagos State Sports Commission, a supervisory agent saddled with monitoring over forty sports associations in the state. The Ministry brings sports and recreation policies closer to communities through grassroots sports development in primary to secondary schools. The establishment of Rowe Park and Evans Square are some of the supervisory projects of the Ministry with the financial support of the Lagos State Sports Trust fund (LSSTF) (Monye, 2021). Events such as the Fab-5 Grassroot Football Tourney, Lagos Secondary Schools Handball tournament, the First Lagos State Secondary School Relays Championship are some of the events endorsed by the Ministry in partnership with the Lagos Sports Commission, Blaugrana Sports International, Lagos Internal Revenue Service (LIRS), RitesFoods, Bigi and Indomie Noodles (Goal, 2017).

Private organisations and civil society groups also leave their footprints in the recreation space. Financial institutions such as First Bank of Nigeria, Zenith, Guaranty Trust Bank (GTB) and Union Bank all have sporting clubs engaging in staff and school tournaments such as the All-Financial Institutions Football Competition (AFIFC) and the Lagos/GTB Principal's Cup (in conjunction with the state and private organisation to re-invent the soccer wheel) (Ajom, 2018; Monye, 2018). Likewise, the Access Bank Lagos City Marathon also demonstrates the synergy between the state and private organisations. As football is ardently embraced in Lagos, several sports academies have been established by private organisations. Prominent among are include Pepsi Football, Paddysco sports, Cowbell, and Milo Football academy. It also extends to Faith-based organisations having sports organisations such as Mountain of Fire Miracle Ministries and TREM football (Goalball, 2020). Despite these stakeholders having a solid network, the private sector and civil society organisation (CSOs) - driven agencies are doing the most. In contrast, the government stakeholders assume passive roles in providing land capital and authorisation.

Outdoor Sports Recreation and People with Disabilities (PWDs) in Lagos

Everyone generally termed people with disabilities (PWDs) as physically challenged, impaired, handicapped, and disabled. Until recently, anyone with a condition or who seems abnormal from the majority is considered physically challenged on handicapped. (Omolola & Kutashi, 2020). Typically, those with disabilities are physically challenged because their impairment limits them from executing specific tasks or participating in some physical exercises or recreational sports activities (Osuoji, 2019). In Lagos, PWDs are amongst the poorest, most socially excluded and marginalized groups (Ogundipe, 2018). They are often abused, exploited and excluded from the society and denied of recognized rights (Wahab , et al., 2018).

Out of the estimated 26 million population of Lagos (Lagos State Government , 2021), no fewer than three million residents in the state are living with disabilities (Olowoapejo, 2017). While Lagos state has a Special Peoples Law 2010 which was passed on June 21, 2011 (Lagos State Government, 2010), the plight of many PWDs is that they are yet to be adequately integrated and included into the society, as in many Nigerian cities (Birchall, 2019), due to weak implementation of the Law (Alabi & Adebayo , 2021). Specifically, section 33 (5), relating to ensuring the right of PWDs to participate in cultural life, recreation, leisure and sport, states that “Government shall take appropriate measures to enable persons living with disability to participate on an equal basis with others in recreational, leisure and sporting activities...” (Lagos State Government, 2010, p. 17). Regrettably, PWDs still struggle with adequate access to GI in the state that is expected to engender their engagement in recreational sports activities.

Notwithstanding the lack of adequate implementation of the Special Peoples Law, PWDs in Lagos still participate in OSR activities, including wheelchair tennis, para-athletics, amputee football (five-a-side), deaf table tennis, swimming, para-soccer, and hand-cycling. An example of an event that has created an

opportunity for PWDs to participate in OSR activities is the U-15 Deaf Sports School Games established by the Lagos State Government (LASG) (2018).

Most OSR activities PWDs in Lagos engage in are driven by the Paralympic athletic/sports federation, Special Olympics Nigeria and the Amputee National football team. Noteworthy, the Lagos State Office for Disability Affairs (LASODA) and Lagos State Sports Commission (LSSC) recently jointly unveiled the maiden edition of the Lagos Ability Games on Monday, 13th December 2021, to promote disabled recreational sports activities for leisure and competition (Complete Sports, 2021). For the PWDs, participating in sports both for recreation and competition has been reported as a “lifesaver” because the activities give them a sense of the environment, increase their self-esteem and worth, enhance their health and wellbeing, increase their mobility and independence, etc. (Osuoji, 2019).

However, the inadequacy of the infrastructure is a challenge because most outdoor public spaces for recreation in Lagos have poorly articulated internal road network. There is insufficient lighting, inadequate sidewalks, guard rails, seating units, resting areas and poorly lit signages necessary for safety, access, use, and orientation especially for PWDs (Bashorun and Ayeni, 2013). Suleiman (2016) expressed that though ramps are meant to make mobility easier for PWDs, they are not adequately designed as Lagos' slopes are usually too high. Still, the spaces have no braille signages and tactile paving to provide warning and guidance to PWDs when performing OSR activities in the city (Ejedafiru and Isebe, 2013).

Given the right opportunities, adequate, inclusive and equitable access to GI, the PWDs can be very productive and resourceful. Mainstreaming their needs by getting the Lagos Special Peoples Law 2010 to be appropriately implemented will make governance in Lagos more people-centric.

Constraints of Outdoor Sports recreation in Lagos

The commodification of outdoor recreation and affordability issues: More companies in Lagos are seeking to take control of parks, beaches, and other leisure operations (Samaguna, 2021). Many elaborate new facilities in the city offering varied forms of sporting recreation are being developed as part of this trend toward commodification. In Lagos, beach fronts are allocated and sold to investors, putting a price on the beach, and discouraging those who are not able to afford the entry fee (Anaza & McDowell, 2013). Thus, engendering recreational space inequality in the city.

Safety and Security issues in outdoor public spaces: According to Cameron and MacDougall (2000), OSR is fun and may be used to flee from battles, homelessness or intoxicating substances. However, In Adesina (2017), it was revealed that Evans Square, a prominent government-designated recreation space in the heart of Lagos, has become a den for hemp smokers, making the sports facility desolate from fear of harassment. Currently, no sporting activity is allowed in the square without the supervision of a

guardian/coach. Lagos residents are typically vulnerable to such anti-social behaviour in many public spaces in Lagos, particularly those appropriated for sports leisure (Lawanson, et al., 2021).

Further, Anaza and McDowell (2013) found that fear of injury and insecurity limits female participation in OSR in Lagos. The study further asserts that the characteristics of specific neighbourhoods in Lagos, such as Ajao Estate and Festac Town, hinder women from jogging and running. AutoJosh (2018) also revealed that jogging in Lagos is unsafe, citing an accident in a public space in Okota where a motorist hit a user. Several cases of hit and run incidences have been experienced and reported by public space users who were performing one recreational sports activity or the other (Ibid). In some cases, cars have been stolen while users of public spaces perform their recreational sports activities. For instance, Ikeji (2015) reported a matter of a stolen car at the University of Lagos Sports Centre car park during an MTN sport event, where valuables were stolen

Inadequacy of OSR infrastructure and facilities

A major constraint in the recreation sector in Lagos is the lack of necessary adequate GI to foster participation residents' participation in OSR activities. To corroborate this, in Anaza and McDowell (2013), respondents expressed concerns that recreational facilities in their neighbourhood are not well equipped nor maintained to accommodate women who seek to participate in OSR activities. In the same study, some reported that they had stopped swimming and playing handball due to the lack of adequate centres for such activity in their neighbourhood. In contrast, others decried the debilitated infrastructure. Curiously, emphasis was made on the government's allocation of public spaces (which used to be for recreation within neighbourhoods) to private individuals and organisations, which have now been converted to warehouses and other uses. Ajom (2019) and Okpara (2021) validated this finding in their study where they submitted that the level of government's imprudence with the maintenance of sporting facilities in South-Western states in Nigeria is ruinous, highlighting that the focus is always on the provision of infrastructure for football while other sports are neglected.

Agency of innovative practices on outdoor sports recreation inherent in Lagos

Several innovative actions are being implemented in Lagos residents and various institutions to increase engagement and freedom of participation in OSR activities.

To increase the culture of recreation among residents in Lagos and enhance access to deprived groups in the city, CSOs are driving different initiatives in various domains. Organisations such as Truppr (2022), Bikaholics of Lagos (2021), Roadwarriors (2022), Cycology (2022), are assuming active roles to offset the government's weaknesses in providing opportunities for OSR at the community level. For example, Truppr, a community-driven platform, offers fitness and wellness through easy, fun and structured activities for people to live active lifestyles. Recently, the organisation initiated a corporate cup where

individuals register with a fee of N150,000 (\$361.05), picking the team of their choice (Truppr (@truppr), 2021). Cycology and Bikaholics offer avenues for community bonding by developing and promoting cycling as a healthy lifestyle at the grassroots. For instance, Bikaholics – a cycling community, organises sunset cruises every last Saturday of the month in Lagos (Bikaholics of Lagos, 2021). Cycology has a similar initiative promoting cycling for recreation, healthy lifestyle and social development in Lagos. Since the inception of Cycology in 2011, professionals and entrepreneurs have regularly organised rides every day of the week in groups all around Lagos (Cycology, 2021). Also, since 2012, Roadwarriors has been revolutionising fitness and how people can be healthier through athletics, with members participating in meeting regularly every week to run anywhere between 5 and 40 km and train in various other sporting disciplines. However, access to these OSR through these clubs require an exclusive paid membership, which might be out of reach for Lagos residents of the low-lower income class group and PWDs in this category.

Similarly, since 2019, a non-profit, Inclusive Cycling International (ICI), has been driving inclusive cycling programs in schools in Lagos to provide opportunities for PWDs to cycle for leisure in public settings other than competitive hand cycling (Bailey, 2019). Through this program, adaptive bikes have been gifted to students with disabilities. This initiative is funded through the Reciprocal Exchange component of the Mandela Washington Fellowship, a program that develops young African leaders. The goal of ICI is that PWDs in Lagos can participate in an activity that the rest of their community is doing. To ICI, the opportunity of adaptive cycling for the PWDs can truly break down barriers between this special group and able-bodied persons in society. Moreso, it will give them access to facilities that the state government has not provided. This inclusive cycling program has been launched in Ipaja Primary School and **Do-Estdot International School, inclusive Schools with both regular and kids with special needs** (Inclusive Cycling International, 2019).

In addition, Giant of Africa Foundation, in partnership with the Lagos State Parks and Gardens Agency (LASPARK), is unveiling basketball courts across Lagos as part of the foundation's Built Within initiative, a multi-year investment in building and refurbishing 100 courts across Africa. (This Day , 2021). Through this initiative, the foundation has unveiled a new practice court for the Lagos Warriors professional basketball team, courts at Ijeshatado Grammar School, Oworonshoki, a Community Park, and Ilupeju Grammar School. In a bid to increase access to quality facilities and enhance participation in basketball.

At the individual level, residents, especially those who are not opportune to live in affluent-gated communities, are constantly appropriating public spaces (such as roads, bridges and vacant land) for their OSR (Lawanson, et al., 2021). They do this to counter the high cost of the entry fee in the formal recreational spaces and to use vacant spaces that are otherwise idle within their neighbourhoods.

However, repurposing outdoor public spaces that have not been designed for recreational purposes comes with attending risks of harm from injury, violence and exposure to pollution (Ibid).

While these innovations are not exhaustive, there is room for expansion of such outreach, especially in deprived neighbourhoods with no spaces for leisure physical activity and vulnerable groups, including those with disability conditions and people with low socioeconomic status.

Conclusion

The study examined the governance challenges constraining Lagos residents from participating in OSR and innovative practices at different scales inherent in the city. The research also explored the various forms of recreational sports that Lagosians engage in and the motivating factors influencing their participation and the stakeholders operating within the state's recreation space. From the literature reviewed, the first conclusion is that in Lagos state, involvement in OSR is firmly hinged on the desire to stay active and the availability of green infrastructure (GI). The second conclusion is that the stakeholders operating in the recreation sector in Lagos are interconnected in their operations, arising from collaborations in various interventions. However, the private sector and CSOs are doing the most, while the government stakeholders assume passive roles in providing land capital and authorisation.

The third conclusion is that it is not enough to have a law or policy targeted at persons with disabilities. In the case of Lagos State Special Peoples Law 2010, it is equally essential to appropriately implement such a bill so that the targeted population would leverage its potential. The LASG is yet to effectively do this in the city, especially in section 33 (5) of the Bill, highlighted in previous sections. The fourth conclusion is that OSR in Lagos is plagued by several governance issues encompassing the commodification, insecurity, inadequacy of OSR facilities for all population groups. Suppose the government is committed to creating a healthy, active city that enables all citizens to be physically active in day-to-day life. In that case, there is a need to promptly address these identified issues and scale up inherent innovative actions. It will help promote active participation in OSR in Lagos across the various communities. It will also engender the right to the city, particularly for the PWDs in Lagos.

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Address

16, A7 Street Mount Pleasant Estate
(CITEC), Jabi Airport Road, Abuja.

Phone No.

+23492902304

Email

cddabv@cddwestafrica.org

www.cddwestafrica.org