

Prioritising Community Needs Assessment towards Improved Governance of Urban Services: Case Study of Lagos Slum Settlements

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization and proliferation of slum settlements are among the major challenges facing developing countries. Slum settlements are notorious in lacking basic services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, durable dwellings. There is also lack of security of tenure with slum living populations in overcrowded spaces. Community needs assessments have become global best practices but grossly neglected in cities of developing countries such as Lagos, the focus of this paper. The paper examined the condition of selected slum settlements, access to urban services, estimated population of underserved households and strategies for improving governance of urban services in slum communities. Agege, Bariga and Itire-Ijesha were purposively selected out of the nine critical slum communities in Lagos and an upscale settlement (Ebute-Metta LSDPC Estate) was selected as the control. Cluster sampling approach was used to select 1,200 households based on a sample size of 0.55% of the populations of each selected settlement for the social survey. The results show that urban services and infrastructure in the selected slum settlements were inadequate with variations in intensity associated with their socioeconomic conditions. The slum settlements present a high sociodemographic diversity in terms of occupation, income level, housing and tenure situation compared to the upscale community. The condition of urban services such as drinking water, sanitation and toilet were rated as poor, but housing condition was rated as adequate in all the selected slum communities. All these services were rated as adequate in the upscale settlement. The proportion of households underserved with urban services were 27.1% (Agege), 27.1% (Bariga) and 28.7% (Itire-Ijesha) for drinking water, 40.2% (Agege), 40.2% (Bariga) and 46.1% (Itire-Ijesha) for sanitation/toilet; and 84.2% (Agege), 72.8% (Bariga) and 72.8% (Itire-Ijesha) for electricity. Some of the suggestions to improve governance of urban services include social relations, foreign support, and community participation among others. The analysis in this paper provides useful guides for policy makers and urban planners with respect to prioritizing the needs of slum populations based on their perception of their needs which could strengthen social cohesion and stability.

Keywords: slum profiling, urban services, quality index, urban planning, Lagos Megacity

1. Introduction

Provision of urban services to improve slum communities in Lagos has been on for some decades now with mixed approaches and successes. Often, the intervention strategies and programmes have fallen short of expectations or aspirations of target populations or communities. This may be because the planners do not know how the residents feel about their needs or they lack information about the real conditions of these communities. This leads to obvious disconnect between urban service delivery and the needs to identify the main issues. Need assessment is the process of identifying needs, prioritizing them, using the collected information to make needs-based decisions, evaluation of alternatives and implementing actions within communities to address problems underlying high-priority needs (Ferris, Melanie, Cheryl Holm-Hansen and Laura Martell Kelly, 2011; Altschuld, 2004). Community needs assessments become an important tool to obtain a clear picture about the communities, local issues and assets, preferences and needs before intervention is launched. It is a process which provides information about the social, economic and physical characteristics of a community and how they interrelate. If properly done, it becomes easy to know the status/condition of existing services and the relative priority of affected communities, identify new services to be provided and how existing ones can be improved upon. It may also even go to reveal the diversity of interventions and the priorities of communities. In a nutshell, community needs assessment is an indicator for figuring out what is and what should be and shows the direction of what is foreseeable. Community perception of needs are diverse and household priorities differ varying from needs for self-actualisation, esteem needs, social needs, safety needs, to physiological needs (Figure 1).

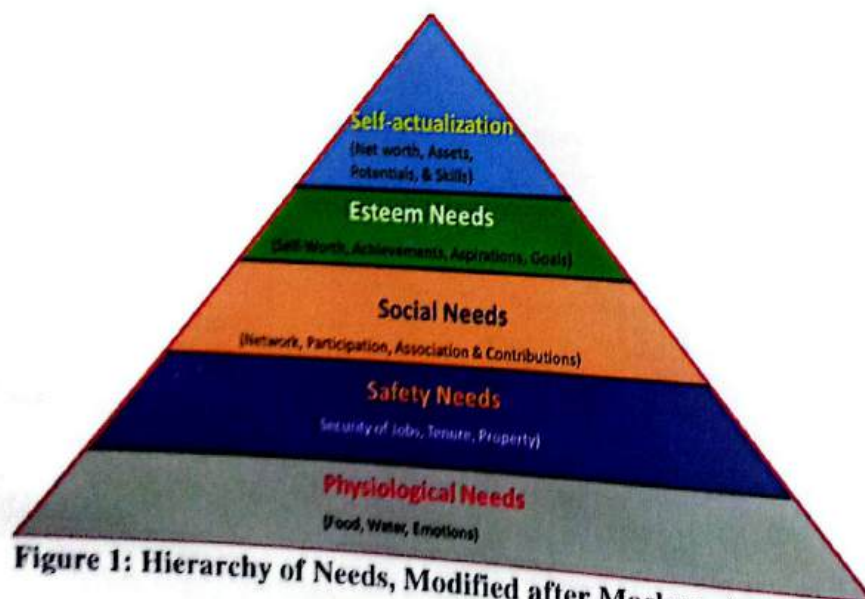


Figure 1: Hierarchy of Needs, Modified after Maslow, A. (1954)

Failure to recognise and reflect community needs and households' priorities in urban service delivery and governance often lead to lack of satisfaction, ownership and commitment by target populations. Several cities in the developing economies are faced with the challenge of urban service delivery and governance (Elias, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2014; Filani, 2012; Mabogunje, 2007). According to Elias (2011), urban service delivery and governance rarely tackle the number of slum communities at the fringes of urban centers. In addition, urban service delivery and governance largely ignore local economy and assets to propel economy's inward investment (Elias et al, 2017). The increasing experience of informal sector economy, inadequacy of government services, and poor sanitation are evidence of poverty and deprivation of slum communities (Elias and Omojola, 2015). These slum communities are also faced with insecurity of land and housing. The marginal populations of these communities such as women and youths bear the brunt of forced eviction and displacement arising from urban development programmes and/or policies. Yet, the slum communities can prove unique resilience with their local adaptation strategies to withstand shocks, build community resilience and local businesses through self-help, lobbying of local governments for urban services and taking initiative to tackle local problems where governments are not doing so. In concert, they claim the rights of the poorest to the city and in doing so improve the conditions of the slum communities. Filani (2012) suggests that urban policies are already tending towards inclusive urban service delivery and governance which will help to reduce poverty and deprivation. This underscores the need to prioritise community needs assessments for improved governance of urban services in Lagos slum communities. Specifically, the paper profiles the selected slum settlements to examine the existing condition of urban services such as water, sanitation, housing and electricity to assess their availability, quality and access. It also analyzes community preferences and priorities and compare levels of urban services in selected communities. Furthermore, the paper estimates the population of underserved households and the particular urban services involved. It concludes with suggestions for improving the governance of urban services and some policy implications.

2.0 Review of Literature

2.1 Settlement Profiling and Community Needs Assessment

The desire to reduce the number of slum dwellers and improve the living conditions of the urban poor has led to the profiling of urban settlements with the view to obtaining a baseline of the historical, social, political, and environmental conditions of the settlements. This is done through house-level enumeration/survey and mapping. Settlement profiling provides information on the extent and condition of informal residents' settlements.

level of poverty (Ferris, Melanie, Cheryl Holm-Hansen and Laura Martell Kelly, 2011). Other relevant information includes land tenure situation, quality of housing, availability/quality of infrastructure and services and communities' preferences and priorities. A chronology of settlement profiling shown in table 1 gives clear insights on the targets and aspirations of the sponsors. The exercise enables planners and policy makers to start and implement cutting edge projects to provide or improve urban services. A detailed settlement profiling will show what is available, what is lacking, what matters most and where to initiate a project.

Table 1: A Chronology of Settlement Profiling Efforts

Year/Period	Project	Sponsor
1976	A survey of 10,000 households in Cheetah Camp Mumbai, India.	Founders of National Slum Dwellers Federation
1985	A Census of Pavement Dwellers, Mumbai, India.	Society for the Protection of Area Resources
1985	National Slum Dwellers Federation joins with women's movement Mahila Milan and support NGO SPARC.	Mahila Milan and support NGO SPARC.
1986-1987	First survey of slums along the railway in Mumbai and first survey in Dharavi Mumbai, India.	Government of India
1992	Enumeration of settlements in Piesang River Durban, South Africa.	Durban Municipality Government
1993-1995	First slum surveys of settlements in Nairobi, Kenya.	Government of Kenya
2000s	Aggregation of data at the city and country level.	National Federations
2012	Network-wide collection of more than 7,000 settlements with the aim of collecting these in a standardised and centralised database.	Coalition of Slum Dwellers Federation
2013	Standardisation of settlement profiling tool, in terms of collection method, data capture and analysis.	Coalition of Slum Dwellers Federation

Source: Authors' Compilations, 2016

Likewise, community-needs assessment entails the procedure for collecting relevant information which helps to describe the community, analyse community problems and inadequacies, evaluate community needs, identify community assets and resources, and find out community preferences (Work Group for Community Health and Development, 2013; Butterfoss, 2007; Gandelman, DeSantis and Reitmeijer, 2006). In terms of methodology, community needs assessment may focus on problems, needs or people (Sharpe et al., 2000) while others may involve the use of participatory approach (Work Group for Community Health and

Development, 2013; Butterfoss, 2007). Community needs assessment methodologies may be specific to the type of needs as shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Typologies and Methodologies of Needs Assessment

Types of Needs	Description	Methodologies
Normative Needs	This involves measuring existing conditions by established standards or criteria	Community needs assessment may be conducted by comparing existing data or generating objective milestones.
Expressive Needs	This is defined by the proportion or number of unserved population	The methodology may entail establishing the gap between the demand and supply.
Perceived Needs	This is defined by what people think or feel about a service	Community needs assessment methodology may be in form of social/household survey/census, key informant interview or Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
Relative Needs	This is described by the difference in the level of service delivery in two similar or geographical areas	The methodology measures differences in demographic and socio-economic circumstances.

Source: Adapted from Work Group for Community Health and Development, 2013

There are scholars who make use of both qualitative or quantitative or primary and secondary data collection methods (Work Group for Community Health and Development, 2013; Hanson et al., 2007) or a combination of methods and sources of data (Work Group for Community Health and Development, 2013; Butterfoss, 2007). Global best practices for conducting community needs assessment, according to Ferris et al (2011) and Finifter et al (2005), include the use of empirical evidence, collection of data from various sources, action-oriented method followed by dissemination of findings and implementation of solutions as well as the involvement of informed and core members of the community. In this paper, we use triangulated method of household survey, community engagement and technical validation workshop. The household survey gave the slum dwellers about the conditions. The community engagement involved the perspectives of informed opinion leaders. The technical validation involved participants from the community, government, academia who brought both scientific, public actors and professional bear on the issue.

2.2 The Context of Lagos

Lagos State is still the smallest of the 36 states in Nigeria with a land mass of 3,345 square kilometers with about 40% making up water bodies and wetlands. Notwithstanding, Soyombo and Shokoya (2011) showed that Lagos has the highest population of 17.5 million inhabitants with an annual growth rate of 3.2 percent. They also outlined the trend in Lagos population growth which was 4.38 million in 1980, 13.4 million in 2000, 23.04 million in 2015 and projected as the third largest city after Tokyo in Japan and Bombay in India. Lagos, as the commercial capital of Nigeria, has 85 percent of its population found in 37 percent of the land area. This gives a population density of 4,193 persons per square kilometers for the state and an average density of 20,000 persons per square kilometers for the Lagos metropolis. Further, Lagos accounts for about 36.8 percent of Nigeria's urban population estimated at 49.8 million which means that the state is growing ten times faster than New York and Los Angeles with critical consequences for urban services and governance (Ilo, 2016). In terms of location, Lagos State is situated within southwestern Nigeria with latitudes $6^{\circ}23'1''$ N and $6^{\circ}41'1''$ N and longitudes $2^{\circ}42'1''$ E and $3^{\circ}42'1''$ E. Also, the state is bordered to the north by Ogun State, to the west by the Republic of Benin and to the south by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Guinea.

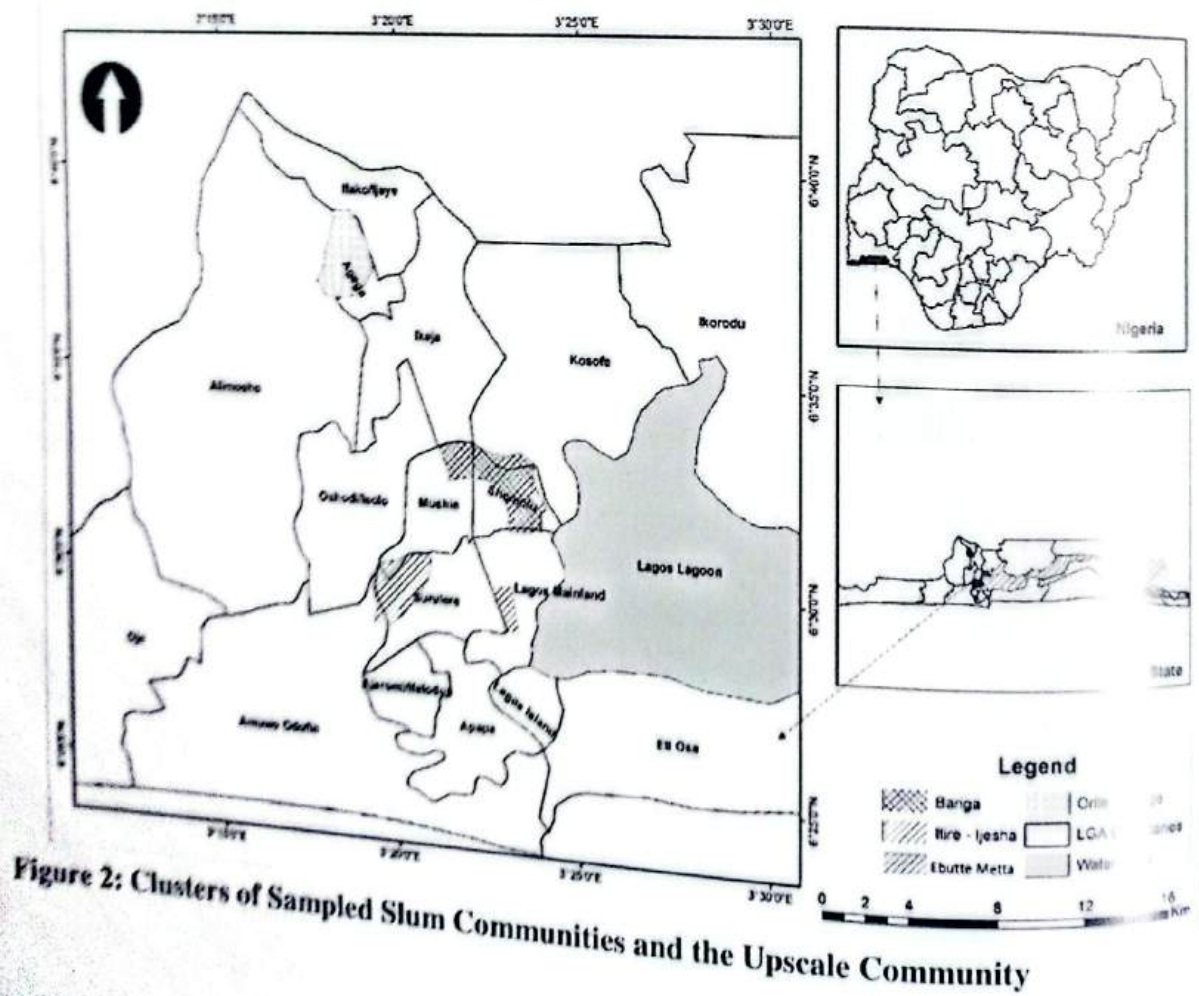


Figure 2: Clusters of Sampled Slum Communities and the Upscale Community

3. Methods and Materials

The study design was multi-stage and the team adopted several approaches which were both qualitative and quantitative. A detailed review of relevant data sources and documents was conducted to obtain information following the objectives of the paper. The authors also conducted household survey using a standard survey questionnaire, individual interviews with key informants and focused group discussions. The selection of the three slum communities namely Agege, Bariga and Itire-Ijesha among the nine most critical urban slums in Lagos (Lagos State Government, 2013; LASURA, 2013) was purposively guided. The desire was to obtain slum communities that would portray as much as possible the larger ethnographic mosaic of Lagos. In this regard, Agege represent an area in which population of the northern extraction is found, Bariga consist of south west population while Itire-Ijesha represent a population in which both the south east and south south population groups are well represented. Meanwhile, the Lagos State Development and Property Company (LSDPC) Estate at Ebute Metta, an upscale community, was also selected as the control settlement (Figure 2). The sample population was selected using cluster sampling coupled with Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) techniques with the underlying assumption that the population in the slum and upscale communities is homogeneous. Using the estimated population of the slum settlements by Stoveland 2002 and Lavalin, 1995 (Table 3), individual households were randomly selected based on a proportion of 0.55%. Thus, a total number of 364, 373 and 381 respondents for Orile-Agege, Bariga and Itire-Ijesha respectively as well as 82 respondents for Ebute-Metta LSDPC. The respondents from the selected settlements were the household head, either male or female. In the same vein, both the quantitative and qualitative techniques were adopted for the analysis of data using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). Frequency tables, cross-tabulations, percentages, and group ranking were computed, and tables were generated for necessary manipulations and interpretations.

Table 3: Sampling Frame

Community	*Estimated Population	Number of Selected Households using Cluster Sampling
Orile – Agege	66,116	364
Bariga	67,742	373
Itire-Ijesha	69,296	381
*Ebute Metta (LSDPC)	2,092	82
Total	203,154	1,200

Source: Stoveland, 2002 and Lavalin 1995*

4.0 Results and Discussion

4.1 Profiling of Selected Slum Settlements

The sociodemographic characteristics of the selected settlements are important aspect of the survey to put in proper context the condition and perception of the slum populations. Table 4 shows that many of the respondents have secondary school education except those living at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta which has a high number of respondents with tertiary education. The most common occupation in the selected slum communities is trading/business except at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta where majority of the dwellers are mainly civil servants. Most respondents in the selected slum communities earn #25,001 - #50,000 as monthly income compared to #100,001 - #250,000 at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta.

Concerning the types of houses occupied by households, most respondents live in rented apartments which are basically bungalows/storey buildings. In Agege, the study returned 59.5% of the respondents from the sample population; Bariga 56.7%, Itire-Ijesha 65.9% and LSDPC Housing Estate at Ebute-Metta 72.6% respectively. The survey also shows a large majority of the respondents that are living in rented apartment with 69.7% from the sample population at Agege, 69.8% at Bariga, 3.0% at Itire-Ijesha and also 75.4% at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta respectively. The average number of persons per household indicates that the highest is 7.28 and the lowest is 4.86 with the average number of women per household showing the highest to be 2.39 and the lowest is 1.44 while the average number of children per household shows that the highest is 4.26 and the lowest is 2.86.

Table 4: The Profile of Selected Settlements

Indicators	Parameters	Agege (%)	Bariga (%)	Itire/Ijesha (%)	LSDPC (%)
Education Level	Primary	12.8	14.6	10	1.5
	Secondary	40.2	38.5	41.1	10.8
	Post-secondary/technical	12.8	16.5	17.2	7.7
	HND/B.Sc	22.2	21	22.3	30.8
	Postgraduate	4	6.1	1.6	47.7
	Quranic education	2.3	1.3	1.9	0
	No formal education	5.1	1.9	6	1.5
	Others	0.6	0	0	0
Monthly Income	Less than #10,000	14.2	16.2	8	1.6
	#10,001 - #25,000	21.1	18.9	22.3	4.8
	#25,001 - #50,000	34.4	32	33.4	11.1
	#50,001 - #100,000	22.6	24.2	27.7	9.5
	#100,001 - #250,000	5.6	8.1	7.6	46
	#250,001 - #500,000	1.8	0.7	1	19
	Above #500,000	0.3	0	0	7.9
Monthly Income	Less than #10,000	14.2	16.2	8	1.6
	#10,001 - #25,000	21.1	18.9	22.3	4.8
	#25,001 - #50,000	34.4	32	33.4	11.1
	#50,001 - #100,000	22.6	24.2	27.7	9.5
	#100,001 - #250,000	5.6	8.1	7.6	46
	#250,001 - #500,000	1.8	0.7	1	19
	Above #500,000	0.3	0	0	7.9
Housing by Tenure	Rent	69.7	69.8	73.0	75.4
	Free	4.6	1.6	2.8	3.1
	Squatting	1.4	.3	1.9	.0
	Owner Occupier	20.5	28.0	17.7	21.5
	Nominal rent	3.8	.3	4.7	.0
Dwelling type	Bungalow/Storey building	59.5	56.7	65.9	72.6
	Single Family	13.4	18.7	10.7	11.3
	Multi-Family	26.8	24.6	21.7	15.8
	Shack	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.8
House Size	Average No. of Persons/Household	5.65	7.28		
	Average No of Men/Household	2.10	1.99		
	Average No. of Women/Household	2.28	2.39		
	Average No. of Children/Household	4.12	4.26		

Source: Field Work, 2016

Our study also investigated access to urban basic services in the selected communities. The results are presented in Table 5. In terms of primary sources of drinking water in the selected communities, eight sources were found such as pipe-borne water, borehole, sachet water, and bottled water. The analysis shows that Agege has 49.9% and Itire-Ijesha has 42.1% of the respondents from the sample populations who identified borehole while Bariga has 35.3% who identified public tap. Similarly, LSDPC Hosuing Estate, Ebute-Metta has 100% of respondents from the sample population who identified sachet water, 95.2% identified bottle water, 76.2% identified borehole and 61.9% identified public tap water and 42.9% identified pipe-borne water in that order. Likewise, the analysis of the time spent to primary sources of drinking water shows that Agege has 91.1% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 94.0%, Itire-Ijesha has 88.7% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta also has 96.6% in that order who spent less than 30 minutes. Meanwhile, majority of the slum dwellers in all the selected settlements indicate that they have sufficient water for daily use. The results of the analysis show that Agege has 72.6% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 78.5%, Itire-Ijesha has 86.4% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta also has 93.8% respectively.

Furthermore, the analysis of the types of toilet facilities shows that Agege has 59.8% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 56.2%, Itire-Ijesha has 53.6% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta has 98.4% that use water closet toilet. However, with respect to the percentage of the respondents who still have toilets shared with other households, Agege has 28.0% from the sample population, Bariga has 32.5% and Itire-Ijesha has 38.9% from the sample populations respectively. In addition, most slum dwellers patronize government waste collectors for refuse disposal. The analysis shows that Agege has 85.5% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 79.9% and Itire-Ijesha has 76.6% while LSDPC Housing Estate at Ebute-Metta has 86.2%.

Table 5: Access to Urban Services

Indicator	Responses	Agege	Bariga	Itire	LSDPC
Primary Sources of Drinking Water	Pipe borne water	7.7	11.4	10.2	42.9
	Public tap	9.2	35.3	7.1	61.9
	Borehole	49.9	20.3	42.1	76.2
	Protected dug well	9.7	4.9	10.8	0.0
	Shallow well	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0
	Cart-pushers	2.6	4.9	6.8	0.0
	Bottled water	1.1	1.0	0.9	95.2
	Sachet water	19.5	21.2	20.4	100.0
	Others	0.0	0.7	1.2	0.0
Toilet Types	Water Closet	59.8	56.2	53.6	98.4
	Pit Latrine	12.2	11.0	6.9	1.6
	Toilet Shared with Other Households	28	32.5	38.9	0.0
	Public Toilet Shared with other Members of the Community	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
	Bush/Open Area	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Waste Disposal Methods	Take to Open Waste Dump	7.2	3.2	13.7	9.2
	Give to Cart Pushers	6.1	12.7	9.0	4.6
	Give to Government Collectors	85.5	79.9	76.6	86.2
	Store in The Backyard	0.9	1.3	0.3	0.0
	Throw in Gutters	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
	Burn with Fire	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0

Source: Field Work, 2016

Meanwhile, the condition of urban services and infrastructure was rated by the respondents with diverse implications as presented in Table 6. In terms of drinking water supply, respondents who rated drinking water as poor, Agege has 64.2%, LSDPC has 76.2% of the population, Bariga has 42.6%, Itire-Ijesha has 56.7% while Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta rated drinking water supply as good. Even though majority of the respondents in the selected slum communities rated drinking water supply as poor, the majority of the respondents in the selected slum communities rated drinking water supply as good.

on borehole as the primary source of drinking water, but they did not feel it is a safe.

Also, the analysis shows the percentage of the respondents who rated toilet facilities as poor. The result shows that Agege has 56% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 46.7% and Itire-Ijesha has 58.3% while 44.6% in LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta who rated it as adequate. Again, even though water closet is common in the selected slum communities, there is a fair proportion of the respondents who still share the toilet facilities with other households with the attendant risks.

As for the condition of housing, Agege has 39.2% from the sample population, Bariga has 48.2%, Itire-Ijesha has 35.7% and LSDPC Housing Estate Ebute-Metta also has 57.8% of the respondents respectively rated it to be adequate even though a fair number says that it is poor. This shows that the respondents still expect some improvement in the condition of housing for the selected settlements as earlier shown. The respondents in the selected communities rated the condition of health care to be adequate in which Agege has 43.1% from the sample population, Bariga has 42.7%, Itire/Ijesha has 42.0% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta also has 39.1% of the respondents respectively. Similarly, Agege has 27.5% from the sample population who rated it as being poor, Bariga has 31.7%, Itire/Ijesha has 29.3% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 18.8% of the respondents respectively. It is noteworthy that one-fifth of the respondents rated health care to be good in Agege, Itire/Ijesha and LSDPC Estate.

Table 6: Rating of Urban Services and Infrastructure

Indicators	Responses	Agege	Bariga	Itire	LSDPC
Drinking Water	Good	8.1	27.7	11.1	35.4
	Adequate	10.2	24.1	18.0	40.0
	Poor	64.2	42.6	56.7	10.8
	Don't Know	17.4	5.5	14.2	13.8
Toilet facilities	Good	12.6	19.9	16.5	36.9
	Adequate	22.6	28.1	21.2	44.6
	Poor	56.0	46.7	58.3	9.2
	Don't Know	8.8	5.2	4.0	9.2
Housing/Shelter	Good	16.2	13.4	23.2	26.6
	Adequate	39.2	48.2	35.7	57.8
	Poor	36.2	31.8	31.9	3.1
	Don't Know	8.4	6.7	9.1	12.5
Health care	Good	20.6	16.0	20.8	28.1
	Adequate	43.1	42.7	42.0	39.1
	Poor	27.5	31.7	29.3	18.8
	Don't Know	8.8	9.6	7.8	14.1

Source: Field work, 2016

4.2 Estimating the Population of Underserved Households

Similarly, it became necessary to estimate the population of underserved households in the selected slum communities. To do this, we took the proportion of those who showed that basic urban services such as toilet/sanitation, waste disposal, water supply, housing and electricity supply were poor in their communities. The result of the estimates is presented in Table 7. It shows that electricity is the type of urban service with the highest number and percentage of underserved households in all the three slum communities. This is followed by toilet/sanitation, drinking water and waste disposal in that order. Housing is the urban service with the least number and percentage of underserved households in all the three communities.

Table 7: Estimates of Underserved Households

Services	Percentages of Underserved Households			Number of Underserved Households		
	Agege	Bariga	Itire	Agege	Bariga	Itire
Toilet/sanitation	40.2	43.8	46.1	26,578.6	29,671.0	31,945.5
Waste Disposal	14.5	20.1	23.1	9,586.8	13,616.1	16,007.4
Portable Water	22.4	27.1	28.7	14,821.2	18,358.1	19,888.0
Housing	3.9	1.6	6.5	2,578.5	1,083.98	4,504.2
Electricity	84.1	72.8	72.6	55,603.6	49,316.2	5,0308.9

Source: Field work, 2016

This section discusses further the results of the analysis of the priority need in the selected communities to find what matters to the slum communities and slum dwellers. This is presented in Table 8. It shows that majority ranked regular electricity supply as their top priority in which Agege has 46.2% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 55.1%, Itire-Ijesha has 47.5% and LSDPC Housing Estate at Ebute Metta also has 87.7% respectively. This is followed by tarred roads which ranked next in the priority need in which Agege has 18.5% of the respondents from the sample population, Bariga has 12.8%, and Itire-Ijesha has 21.8% each. Tarred roads did not feature in the items named at the LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta because the entire neighbourhood has well-constructed inner roads.

Table 8: Priority Needs of the Respondents

Communities	Urban Services & Infrastructure	Percentage	Rank
Agege	Affordable Housing	4.4	5
	Business Loan	0.8	10
	Community Upgrade	4.2	6
	Good Drainage	3.5	7
	Constant Electricity	46.2	1
	Employment	11.0	3
	Health Centre	0.5	11
	Market	0.3	12
	Tarred Roads	18.5	2
	Schools	0.2	14
	Security	2.4	8
	Street Light	2.3	9
	Toilet facilities	0.3	12
	Drinking water	5.7	4
	Total	100.0	

Bariga	Community Upgrade	6.4	4
	Business Loans	1.6	8
	Good Drainage	2.9	7
	Constant Electricity	55.1	1
	Employment	8.7	3
	Health Centre	0.6	11
	Housing	0.3	12
	Market	0.3	12
	Tarred Roads	12.8	2
	Security	3.2	6
	Street Light	1.3	9
	Toilet facilities	0.6	10
	Drinking water	6.1	5
	Total	100.0	
Itire	Business Loans	0.3	9
	Community Upgrade	11.7	3
	Good Drainage	5.8	4
	Constant Electricity	47.5	1
	Employment	4.0	5
	Tarred Roads	21.8	2
	Security	2.5	8
	Street Light	2.8	7
	Drinking Water	3.7	6
	Total	100.0	
LSDPC	Community Upgrade	4.6	2
	Constant Electricity	87.7	1
	Employment	1.5	4
	Security	1.5	4
	Drinking Water	4.6	2
	Total	100.0	

Source: Field work, 2016

5.0 Strategies for Improving the Governance of Urban Services

This section examines strategies for improving the governance of urban services, the respondents suggested some strategies and their level of relevance taking cognizance of their local contexts. The suggested strategies which work for the governance of urban services in the selected slum communities include building networks, development of leadership capacity, enlisting foreign support, encouraging community participation, youth empowerment and involvement, stakeholder consultations, infrastructure development and harnessing local assets and resources. The analysis of the level of relevance of these strategies for the respondents is presented in Table 9. The results show that Agege has the highest number of respondents from the sample population which indicates that building networks for

very relevant for the governance of urban services, Bariga has 43.2%, and Itire-Ijesha has 33.7% while it is 40.6% at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta respectively.

In terms of the percentage of the respondents which showed that it is relevant, Agege has 39.9% of the sample population, Bariga has 38.9% and Itire-Ijesha has 39.9% while it is 29.7% at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta. Furthermore, the respondents that indicates that it is very irrelevant is 29.7% from the sample population at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta. An explanation for this could be because all the houses at the LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute-Metta are comprised of block of flats which do not encourage collectivism and social cohesion compared to room apartments typical of bungalows/storey buildings types of accommodation in the slum settlements.

With regards to the percentage of the respondents who said that developing leadership capacity is very relevant, Agege has 44.1% from the sample population, 58.2% in Bariga and 36.6% in Itire-Ijesha respectively compared to 34.4% at LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta. Likewise, in terms of the percentage of the respondents who think that developing leadership capacity is relevant; Agege has 33.3%, Bariga has 28.2% and Itire-Ijesha has 43.8% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta also has 35.9%. Also, with regards to the percentage of the respondents who stated that strategy of enlisting foreign support is very relevant; Agege has 41.8% from the sample population, Bariga has 29.7%, Itire-Ijesha has 30% while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 22%. Similarly, the percentage of the respondents who mentioned that enlisting foreign support is relevant; Agege has 43.4% from the sample population, Bariga has 46.1% Itire-Ijesha has 50% while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 52%.

In addition, with regards to the analysis of the percentage of the respondents that indicated that the strategy of engaging community participation is very relevant; Agege has 53.1% from the sample population, Bariga has 61.8%, and Itire-Ijesha has 55.9% respectively compared to LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta which has 38.1%. Also, the analysis of the percentage of the respondents which thinks engaging community participation is relevant shows that Agege has 35.5% from the sample population, Bariga has 34% and Itire-Ijesha has 37.9% respectively while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 33.3%. In the same vein, the analysis of the proportion of the respondents which reasons that youth empowerment and involvement is very relevant; Agege has 71.3% from the sample population, Bariga has 72.1%, Itire-Ijesha has 64.9% each compared to

LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta which has 47.7%. Meanwhile, the percentage of the respondents who says that it is relevant shows that Agege has 23.9%, Bariga has 24.5% and Itire-Ijesha has 29.8% respectively compared to 30.8% in LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta. Equally, with regards to the proportion of the respondents who suggests that stakeholders' consultation is very relevant; Agege has 51.3% from the sample population, 47% in Bariga and 52.8% in Itire-Ijesha respectively while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 40.6%. Meanwhile, in terms of the proportion of the respondents which says that it is relevant; Agege has 35.3% from the sample population, Bariga has 41.7% and Itire-Ijesha has 40.7% respectively though LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 35.9%.

Furthermore, with regards to the proportion of the respondents which says infrastructure development is very relevant; Agege has 72.9% from the sample population, Bariga has 69% and Itire-Ijesha has 62.3% respectively while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 44.6%. Also, for the respondents who says it is relevant; Agege has 23.8% from the sample population, Bariga has 26.8%, Itire-Ijesha has 33.3% and LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta also has 33.8% respectively. Equally, in terms of the proportion of the respondents which submits that harnessing local assets and resources is very relevant; Agege has 43.6% from the sample population, Bariga has 53.9% and Itire-Ijesha has 42.9% though LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 39.7%. Also, with regards to the respondents who suggests that it is relevant; Agege has 42.4% from the sample population, Bariga has 32.4% and Itire-Ijesha has 46.3% while LSDPC Housing Estate, Ebute Metta has 34.9%.

Table 9: Strategies for the Governance of Urban Services

Indicators	Level of Relevance	Agege	Bariga	Itire	LSDPC
Building Networks	Very Relevant	31.4	43.7	52.8	40.6
	Relevant	39.9	24.5	29.8	30.8
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	15.7	8.1	12.9	15.7
	Very Irrelevant	12.9	9.1	4.5	12.9
Developing Leadership Capacity	Very Relevant	44.1	53.9	42.9	39.7
	Relevant	33.4	32.4	46.3	34.9
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	14.7	12.9	12.9	12.9
	Very Irrelevant	7.8	7.7	3.9	12.9

Enlisting Foreign Support	Very Relevant	41.8	29.7	30.0	22.0
	Relevant	43.4	46.1	50.0	52.0
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	7.6	14.6	9.0	9.0
	Very Irrelevant	7.3	9.6	2.0	17.0
Engaging Community Participation	Very Relevant	53.1	61.8	55.9	38.1
	Relevant	35.5	34.0	37.9	33.3
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	8.6	2.4	5.6	7.9
	Very Irrelevant	2.8	1.7	.6	20.6
Youth Empowerment and Involvement	Very Relevant	71.3	72.1	64.9	47.7
	Relevant	23.9	24.5	29.8	30.8
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	3.6	1.4	4.3	7.7
	Very Irrelevant	1.2	2.1	.9	13.8
Stakeholders Consultations	Very Relevant	51.3	47.0	52.8	40.6
	Relevant	35.3	41.7	40.7	35.9
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	12.5	8.1	5.6	9.4
	Very Irrelevant	.9	3.2	.9	14.1
Infrastructure Development	Very Relevant	72.9	69.0	62.3	44.6
	Relevant	23.8	26.8	33.3	33.8
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	3.0	3.5	4.0	9.2
	Very Irrelevant	.3	.7	.3	2.3
Harnessing Local Assets and Resources	Very Relevant	43.6	53.9	42.9	9.7
	Relevant	42.4	32.4	46.3	4.9
	Neither Relevant nor Irrelevant	9.6	8.8	6.5	2.7
	Very Irrelevant	4.5	4.9	4.3	2.7

Source: Field work, 2016

6. Summary, Implications and Conclusion

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

There is little doubt that the slum conditions depicted in this paper not only provide various manifestations of slum populations but also provide some yardsticks for differentiating among slum communities and how they compare

with upscale communities. The demographic structure of settlements in the selected slum settlements shows high household size and proportion of women and children per households. These have implications for the provision and appropriation of urban services in terms of types and quantity of services which are specific to size, gender and age composition of households. Specifically, the state of urban services and infrastructure is poor with variations in the selected slum communities reflecting their socioeconomic condition, perception, and priorities. There is also variation in urban services and infrastructure in terms of availability, quality and level of access. Meanwhile, electricity is the top priority need of the selected slum communities. The characteristics of the slum communities further corroborate other local and international reports on the state of slums in terms of access to safe drinking water, durable shelter, sanitation, security of tenure and overcrowding (Agbola and Agunbiade, 2009; UN-Habitat 2014).

The estimation of unmet urban services was computed first to figure out the percentage and number of underserved households in the selected slum communities and the urban services which slum populations are not able to access. The survey shows that majority of the slum populations in the selected communities are unable to access regular electricity, toilet/sanitation, drinking water and housing in that order. This analysis points to critical urban services which matter for improved human and economic life of slum populations in Lagos which should also matter for urban planners and managers.

6.2 Policy Implications

The sociodemographic setting of the selected communities in terms of type of occupation, income level, and condition of housing and tenure of the majority may not take people out of the poverty cycle which calls for a big concern. This further depicts the state of human well-being of the slum populations in Lagos and the need for policy overhaul to change the situation. Meanwhile, majority of the respondents named regular electricity and good roads in the slum settlements as priority needs. This is because regular electricity and good road network can create multiple effects for transforming the social and economic life of the slum populations which should top the priority of policy makers and urban planners. In the meantime, the suggested strategies for improving the governance of urban services in the selected communities include building networks, developing leadership capacity, enlisting foreign support, engaging community participation, youth empowerment and involvement, stakeholders' consultations, infrastructure

development and harnessing local assets and resources. These strategies are discussed in the next section.

Building networks: Slum communities rely on collective efforts to improve on their living conditions. Policy decision makers and urban managers wishing to improve the human and economic well-being of slum populations will need to explore existing network in these communities for sustainable urban governance. This can be very helpful in the provision of housing, sanitation, security, and other basic services.

Developing leadership capacity: Developing leadership capacity is a strategy of inspiring and mobilizing individuals and community to create the future they desire. As a strategy towards improving the governance of urban services, it is important to recognize and implement programmes which develop the leadership potentials of slum populations which will foster social cohesion and stability.

Enlisting foreign support: The strategy for improving the governance of urban services should include mobilizing resources from within and outside the slum communities. International development partners and NGOs have in the past been very active in transforming slum communities in Lagos and may continue to contribute if programmes are properly articulated and designed within a favorable political climate. In addition, there should be clear framework for ensuring accountability and transparency in managing donors' funds.

Engaging community participation: The decision-making process in slum communities is generally low owing to non-involvement of slum populations. This is due to distrust, discrimination and fear of opposition. Yet, the implementation of programmes on these restless, marginalized and violent-prone slum communities have escalated violence in the past. Sustainable urban governance policy should therefore encourage community participation to increase buy-in and ownership of intervention programmes from slum populations.

Youth empowerment and involvement: The proportion of youths among the slum populations is high with high potentials but high vulnerable to radical ideologies, criminal proclivities, and hate speeches. These can be curbed or reduced to the barest minimum by introducing strategic interventions which should include youth empowerment and involvement through vocational training and provision of start-ups to enable them to engage in positive and profitable ventures.

Stakeholders' consultations: The strategy to close the gap between the slum populations and government can be achieved through thoughtful and regular stakeholders' consultations. This is a key aspect of sustainable urban governance which is guided by the principle of inclusiveness and openness.

Infrastructure development: The outcome of the survey has identified critical urban basic services and infrastructure which are unmet with a sizeable proportion of slum population underserved. Addressing these basic needs should be the priority of proactive urban governance strategy. This will promote the well-being of the slum populations in terms of local economic and social development.

Harnessing local assets and resources: Slum populations are known for dexterity, creativity, collectivism and resilience. These are key assets and resources which could enhance the strategies for improving the governance of urban services. Harnessing these local assets and resources will support income generation, leadership capacity building and livelihood initiatives in the slum communities especially targeting the vulnerable youths who are most-at-risk of being recruited into violent crimes and radical ideologies.

6.3 Conclusion

Undertaking intervention programmes for improving urban services and infrastructure will be unsustainable without seeking to know what matters or what works for slum communities including the existing condition, the specific needs of the slum populations, their priorities and preferences as well as local assets and strategies. Knowledge-based governance of urban services will not only engender social inclusion, cohesion and stability but also ensures the ownership of intervention decisions, strategies and programmes in slum communities. The paper also guides policy makers and urban managers seeking to know what works in slum communities on how to identify and harness local assets and resources for improving urban services in slum communities. For instance, it becomes easy to choose relevant strategies to focus on from an array of options when thinking of strengthening social inclusion, cohesion and stability towards the empowerment of slum populations and improvement of the governance of urban services in slum communities.

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