



## **Slum Renewal and Upgrading in Nigeria: Neoliberal Accumulation and the Need for Targeted Social Work Intervention**

*Kenechukwu Anugwom*

University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus/Institute for Development Studies

---

### **ABSTRACT**

The paper examines the ultimate motive of urban renewal in Nigeria within the context of neoliberal capitalism and the plausibility of niche for slum-tailored social work practice. It contends that urban renewal exercise is really motivated by the urge of the rich and powerful to acquire slum real estate which is subsequently repurposed to serve the interests of capital. But beyond this, it argues that each slum renewal or clearance invariably generates a new slum in its stead and thus the slum phenomenon can be considered a constant in the urban environment in Nigeria. As a result, there is need for shift of emphasis from simple orthodox renewal exercises to focusing on how to address the social challenges of slum dwelling. To this end, the paper contends that the peculiar social challenges of the slum which range from social conflict to crimes and juvenile delinquency ironically create opportunity for innovative and slum specific social work practice. Hence, there is need for the evolution of social work competence and capacity to deal with these challenges in Nigeria. Given that this is a theoretical paper, the method of data collection is based on the desk review of extant literature on topical issues in the study. Consequently, the paper is anchored on the thematic method in making sense of the information collected from the literature and these were used as discussion sub-themes in the literature review section

**Key Words:** Slum, Urban Renewal, Capitalism, Social Work, Nigeria.

---

### **Introduction**

The paper discusses the phenomenon of urban renewal in Nigerian urban cities drawing inferences from the Lagos and Enugu cases. It interrogates the overbearing influence of neoliberal capitalist interests in urban renewal in Nigeria and from this envisions the role of social work in ameliorating the social challenges of slum dwelling. Also, it focuses on how urban renewal initiatives even though borne out of altruism and general good can easily become ploys to entrench the interests of the privileged in urban areas in Nigeria. Urban renewal has become a key theme amongst built environment professionals in developing countries which emerged from the rapid population growth and urban sprawl experienced in most developing countries such as Nigeria, India, Philippines, China, Brazil, Hong Kong and Bangladesh (Shuaeeb, 2023). Osuide (2004) defined urban renewal as a planned attempt to transform the urban environment through structured large-scale control of existing urban areas to enhance both the present and future operations of urban populace. In this case, slum clearance programmes while driven by the need to improve the social and physical environment of the urban area can easily translate into the systematic process of accumulation of prized urban real estate by the rich and powerful. Therefore, the slums while constituting urban eye sores and portending health and other threats are the residential areas of the poor and less privileged in the urban areas, thus an authentic urban renewal process targeted at the slums should also embody a post-renewal process that ensures that the right to city dwelling is not denied the poor and less privileged.

The efforts towards urban renewal especially in nations with high urban growth rates like Nigeria should be conscious of the acute shortage of housing for urban dwellers. This is because apart from shortage of housing for urban dwellers, there is an increased environmental threat within the urban populace due to infrastructural decay in urban infrastructures such as poor road networks, lack of portable water supply, bad drainages and canals, and poor waste management (Gbadegesin & Aluko, 2010; ). In fact, the acute shortage of housing in urban areas has been identified as the source of conflict especially in urban areas in developing parts of the world or the global South (Patel, 2010). However, beyond the mainly physical exercise that upgrading or clearance entails is the need to explore ways of enabling the ability of slum dwellers to deal with the peculiar challenges of the slum. To this end, slum dwellers are in acute need of social interventions and specialized counselling to deal with these challenges. According to Amidu & Aluko, (2006), the first urban slum renewal in Nigeria was implemented in 1951 with a slum area of about 28.34 hectares (70 acres) in central Lagos; the authors asserted that the project was initiated due to poor health condition and waste disposal systems in urban slums increased the outbreak of communicable diseases.

Though Nigeria already had an estimated population of over 200 million inhabitants and is the largest economy in Sub-Saharan Africa and a spatial site of overwhelming urbanization, according to Gbadegesin and Aluko (2010), urban population growth in Nigeria was projected at about 68% of the entire population by 2020. In real terms, this meant that over 130 million of Nigerians would find habitation in one urban city or the other by this period. However, this rapid urban growth has been bedevilled by physical and social pathologies ranging from poor infrastructure, dearth of service delivery to the rapid growth of slums and squatter settlements.

According to World Bank (2014), two factors generally account for the alarming rate of urbanization globally viz. continuous rural – urban migration and population explosion. Going by the above cited World Bank report, while the first factor is truly global, the second one has gradually acquired the hue of an exclusive global south problem because of low or uncommitted family planning and traditional values that valorise large family size. Nigeria is no exception to the above and is currently one of the fastest growing urban nations in the world; this can be confirmed by the assertion that the annual urban growth rate has been estimated at about 5.8% in the last three decades before 2020 (World Bank, 2014; National Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

As has been rightly observed, “the urbanization process in many developing countries particularly Nigeria has not been accompanied with a corresponding supply of adequate housing, basic infrastructures and amenities. In the opinions of Dimuna & Omatsone (2010:142), this has given birth to the development of informal settlements and slums”. While urbanization portends economic growth, progress and can even be agent of poverty reduction and addressing inequality, it can also be problematised as the source of challenges and problems ranging from land administration to spatial and human displacements (World Bank, 2016; Ezema et al., 2016; Lawanson et al., 2019) and social pathologies and vices that counteract the best goals of socialization. Though the paper discusses the phenomenon of slum clearance or urban renewal in Nigeria from a general perspective, it would draw instances or examples from the cases of Lagos and Enugu, Nigeria.

In view of the foregoing, the paper attempts on the background of the fact that slum renewal exercises are motivated by the desire of the privileged and powerful to acquire new real estate on unravelling the role of social work in ameliorating slum dwelling challenges. In other words, despite a plethora of urban renewal initiatives and the neoliberal objectives propelling them, slum dwellers are citizens with rights to city dwelling and the reality of slum dwelling cannot be extirpated from urban areas in developing societies. As a matter of fact, it is largely a Bayesian probability that the renewal of a given slum breeds the emergence of new slums in its stead.

Therefore, even as neoliberal interests engage in dispossessive urban renewal, there is need for concerted efforts towards tackling the peculiar challenges of slum dwelling and one credible pathway to the above may be through targeted and purposed social work services or interests. From the foregoing, the paper relied on critical desk review of the extant literature and systematic observation of life in slums in Nigeria. Specifically, there was the systematic observation of slum dwellings in Lagos (Makoko and Maroko slums), Southwest Nigeria and in Enugu (Ugbo-Odogwu slum) in Southeast Nigeria.

---

### **Implications for knowledge and policy**

It is believed that this paper will add to the existing body of knowledge on issues of urbanization especially pertaining to renewal, regeneration, the unplanned relocation/displacement of people and how these affect their lives and survival. On the issues of policy, given that renewal and regeneration (owing to the Land Use Law in Nigeria) have always plunged the displaced residents into untold hardships and struggle, it is hoped that the paper would sensitize policy makers and local government administrators on the pains of the residents after relocation and give them the guidance they need during the process of renewal/regeneration of urban cities (as shown in the theoretical framework in the paper).

---

### **Materials and Methods**

The paper depended essentially on the desk review of the extant literature and documents for its information. Inclusive criteria utilized in the selection of the reviewed articles and other publications include slum renewal, slum regeneration and redevelopment, urban slum renewal in Nigeria amongst other issues. As the prevalence of slums in Nigeria dates almost as old as the country itself, both recent and extreme-dated literature were included in the study to give clearer views and understanding of the discussions contained in the study (i.e. papers published before the year 2000 were also included).

Given the dependence of the paper on literature/documents, the analysis was anchored on the thematic method. In other words, the paper adopted the thematic analysis of data approach in making sense of the information collected from the literature. This entails that the analysis was anchored on the themes identified in the study and these were used as discussion sub-themes in the literature review section. In effect, the literature reviewed in the study are as follows: going beyond conceptual blur lines: renewal, regeneration, and redevelopment; slum and slums in Nigeria; urban slum renewal as public good in Nigeria; urban renewal as guise for capitalist accumulation; and understanding the lure of slums to neoliberal capitalism in Nigeria.

The methodology has been illustrated in the figure below:

Fig 1. LITERATURE REVIEW



## Literature Review

### Going Beyond Conceptual Blur Lines: Renewal, Regeneration, and Redevelopment

Urban renewal is part and parcel of urban development which is an encompassing process of actions and programmes which target improvements in the urban environment. According to NatraTex (2022), urban renewal is a policy based less on destruction and more on renovation and investment, and is currently an integral part of local governments, often combined with small business and big business with the aim of unlocking potential in deprived areas. It can be regarded as, "an overall historical, cultural, social and economic development of cities and towns driven by a heterogeneous constellation of actors, including those implementing bottom-up activities" (Christmann, 2020:426). Urban development therefore requires the participation of cross-range of citizens including those at the margins of socio-economic life and more critically those to be directly affected by the exercise or change. In this way, justice and equity are built into the process.

There is no doubt that urban renewal has become a recurrent theme in urbanisation in developing parts of the world. The resurgence of urban renewal in these areas can be related to rapid population growth and its concomitant urban sprawl in such developing nations as Brazil, India, Nigeria, Hong Kong etc. According to Zielenbach and Levin (2000) urban renewal can be seen as the physical redevelopment of shattered areas, improvement in local infrastructure as well as the elimination of undesirable individuals or organizations and the creation of more jobs for urban residents. Arguing on much the same wavelength, Miller and Marshall (1995) see the purpose of urban renewal as the changing of the urban environment to inject new vitality through planned adjustment of the existing areas of the urban area and to make them respond to both present and future need for urban living and working.

In America where urban renewal debuted, the process entailed redevelopment and /or rehabilitation of run down or older parts of the town and cities. However, in the British convention it is driven by the desire for upgrading housing and carrying out reforms that are targeted at improving the lot of the poor in the city. According to discussions by Zuckerman, (1991) and Jaroszynska-Kirshmann, (2021), interestingly, urban renewal has over the years become something like a catchphrase for all such things as revitalization of downtown, the promotion of hospital and university centres, re-development of existing towns and even creation of new ones. The assertion by the authors may have arisen owing to the fact that in recent times, rather than upgrading or improving the lives of the poor, urban renewal displaces the poor from their locations without adequate planning or preparations (Roelofs, 2021)

Urban renewal or urban regeneration is a broad term referring to special local development actions and programs aimed at upgrading run-down urban areas (Keresztely, 2016). Urban renewal can be regarded as a tool for public policies reacting to the complexity of urban development (Couch, Fraser and Percy, 2003). As par standard convention, urban renewal and urban regeneration will be used interchangeably here as both are broadly aimed at the goals of providing safe and sanitary housing for urban dwellers. However, there is often the tendency to seek the establishment of a nuanced difference between the two concepts. In this case, urban regeneration appeals to the built-up professions and often seek majorly the transformation of urban physical environment. Urban renewal aims at the above but has a largely sociological focus in the sense of not only transforming the physical environment but remaking hitherto obsolete and blighted areas into economic and socially productive urban quarters. It seeks as a product the establishment of communities

and the recreation of socially healthy neighbourhoods conducive to safety and collective wellbeing. Both processes are different from mere slum clearance and are technically distinct from the phenomenon of urban redevelopment (see, Glazer, 1965).

Thus, while renewal and regeneration may aim towards re-vitalising and re-energising an urban area, redevelopment entails a much more radical programme that may involve re-zoning of a given area which may mean moving it from a residential to a commercial zone or from a low density to a high-density area (Alawadi, 2014; Pan et. al.). In a way, it is a process of land readjustment that occurs in an existing and occupied urban area. From an analytical point of view, both renewal and regeneration can be used interchangeably and are processes largely driven by the need to achieve healthy, sanitary, and liveable urban spatial spaces.

Given the rapidly increasing nature of slums in Lagos and Enugu, their challenges to environmental sustainability and the quest to achieve a world class city (especially for Lagos), city administrators have overtime seen dealing with the slum issue as imperative. In view of the above need, the Lagos Megacity Project (LMCP) was launched in 2005 and aims to transform Lagos through provision of state-of-the-art infrastructure, landscaping, and massive beautification projects. The LMCP heralded several innovative projects including the Eko Atlantic City and private-public projects targeting roads, housing, bridges, shops etc. However, the above which sought also to address the slum problem and reposition Lagos as a prominent megacity and world class city in Africa was largely pursued from a modernist planning perspective (see, Gandy, 2006) which while invariably catering to the needs or demands of capital (especially through the massive involvement of the private sector) did not consider the social and human elements of such transformation. It, therefore, privileges the needs of capital over and above the need to capture the social heterogeneity of the city. Incidentally, the primary motive or goal of the LMCP (to establish a world class city) set the tone and has remained (despite differing semantics) the main template through which further city planning and development have been pursued in Lagos.

Interestingly, the views of Couch and Fraser (2003) on what urban regeneration or renewal entails is very illustrative for our case here. According to them, urban regeneration seeks to achieve the regrowth of economic activity where it has been lost, restoration of social function where dysfunction has occurred or social inclusion where exclusion has existed as well as the restoration of environmental quality or ecological balance. It therefore clearly establishes that urban renewal or regeneration goes beyond demolition of buildings or focus on improving physical infrastructure to more critically tackling the issues of social functioning of urban residents, restoration of inclusiveness in urban growth as well as ecological balance and improving the quality of life of the environment (social and physically). Both issues of social functioning and especially inclusion and call attention to the need for urban renewal to embody the needs and concerns of vulnerable and marginal citizens and be guided by a framework that encapsulates the greater good. Equally cogent here is the need for special services and interventions targeted at identified peculiar challenges of the slum.

---

## Slum and Slums in Nigeria

The word 'slum' derives originally from the combination of the German word 'Schlamm' meaning mud and the English word 'slump' or marshy place (Huchzermeyer, 2014). In other words, slum right from origin has been associated with messy, unappealing or de-graded state of an environment. Slums as Huchzermeyer (2014) went further to state were antithetical to the imagined orderliness, cleanliness, and efficiency of the city in the ideals of the English Town Planning Movement. Harris (2009) also defined slum as a residential area with substandard housing that is poorly serviced and/or overcrowded, and therefore unhealthy, unsafe, and socially undesirable. Be the above as it may, the concept has developed from these origins overtime to encompass more than the physical state of the environment but even more critically the social conditions of people in specific areas of the urban environment. In current convention, slums embody both physical and social pathology or degradation, and exerts influence ranging from the social, health and even psychological on the residents (Anugwom, 1997). Therefore, slums are not just areas of dilapidated physical structures, ramshackle dwellings, filthy environments but also social enclaves possibly characterised by peculiar behavioural and mental dispositions.

There is no arguing the fact that urban renewal is a necessity in the urban areas especially against the realization that living in squalid environments ultimately affect the personality and development of the citizen. As a matter of fact, a lot of the mental and physical development of the individual can be overtly influenced by the nature of the environment in which that individual is nurtured. Beyond the usual nature-nurture arguments, the physical and social environments we find ourselves in go a long way in making and defining us as well as in conditioning even how we respond to civic and social obligations as citizens. It is instructive to note that most urban centres or cities in Nigeria were already in existence before the formal establishment of town planning and urban development units (Oyesiku, 2011). As a result, these urban centres or cities developed initially without due planning or zoning. This fact may have been responsible for the great number of urban slums and ghettos in these cities. In other words, some of these areas of blight developed even before formal planning and zoning.

The urban renewal push is engendered by both rapid urbanization and the challenges of housing in these urban centres. Typically, "the problem is more felt in Africa, Asia and Latin America where half of the population are either homeless or living in houses which are dangerous to health and an affront to human dignity. Nearly 80% of the urban population lives in slums and squatter settlements without adequate water, lighting, sanitation and waste disposal" (Dimuna and Omatsone, 2010:141). In the case of a highly urbanised area like Lagos, a study at the turn of the century discovered that about 42 towns [quarters] can be comfortably classified as slums in dire need of upgrading or renewal (Atere, 2001). Incidentally, more than twenty years down the line, the position has not improved despite a couple of urban renewal efforts. Apart from a ceaseless and ever-increasing migration (to Lagos from other areas of Nigeria) and the fact that urban renewal has neither been thorough nor supported by effective settlement, slums have continued to grow and survive renewal efforts. But even as these slums grow, so also do social pathologies especially crime and social conflicts in these areas. Thus, slums are easily seen as conflict hotspots.

In appreciating the conflict potential of the slum, one needs to understand that the slums are not simply residential abodes but are often vibrant spaces of entrepreneurial initiatives driven by the residents (Roy, 2011). This is no less the case when it comes to what happened in Lagos and Enugu (though the Ugbo-Odogwu slum in Enugu is a little laid-back entrepreneurially it still boasts of the usual high population density of the typical slum) with their noted commercial and entrepreneurial nature. In the case of Maroko and Makoko. In Maroko, the demolition destroyed a thriving and vibrant largely informal economy – residents lost facilities in Lagos, stock, equipment, clientele base, and even the tenacity to begin afresh (Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC), 2008; Agbola et.al., 1997; Megbolu, 2009). Slums therefore offer spatial spaces for entrepreneurialism by citizens often captured as informality. While these initiatives may not amount to much from the perspective of taxes, they are critical sources of family livelihoods and survival. Often such entrepreneurial initiatives with origins in the slums have found their ways into the mainstream economy of the city. The slums therefore emerge as crucial economic nodes for citizens and renewal activities ultimately entail the displacement and destruction of these nodes with implications for the survival of citizens concerned. Given the above reality, resistance against renewal programmes goes beyond resistance to homelessness but critically resistance against economic deprivation. In the Makoko case, the resistance played out repeatedly as residents were often seen gathered at the Yaba Local Government Area Development Council expressing their displeasure at the proposed development of their area (Adediran, 2020). The protests arose due to the suspicion of the residents that for such development to take place, they would have to leave the area as was the case in Maroko and they had nowhere else to go. These protests could have arisen not just because the residents had nowhere else to go to but also because the demolition was too sudden and gave the residents little or no time to make any meaningful plans. According to (Amakihe, 2017), though public good was invoked to justify the eviction and demolition of the Makoko area, the eviction was carried out without prior consultation, compensation or alternative accommodation. This form of eviction goes against the “good” that urban renewal and/or regeneration speaks of.

In typical cases, slums are described as essentially informal settlements. The narrative of informality is critical in enabling the government and its agencies have their way in the eventual appropriation of the slum real estate. However, there is a need to realise that. “in practice informality is more widespread and complex: governments and political actors often use it as a means of exerting power and extracting rents, riding roughshod over residents’ rights to land in the name of progress or modernity, or to reinforce patron-client relationships that are instrumental in maintaining political power and legitimacy” (Lombard and Rakodi, 2016:2692). Therefore, there is need for a nuanced usage of terms that denote the areas of the city occupied by the poor or largely low-income earners. In effect, slum dwelling may not always mean lack of legal entitlement or right and slums are technically not always informal settlements or squatter settlements. A typical case of such settlements is the Ugbo-Odogwu area in Enugu which is a farm settlement named after the first farmer to settle there – Odogwu (Our Travel and Tours, 2019). According to this source, Ugbo-Odogwu is turning out to be one of the most urbanized farm settlements within the Coal city state of Enugu and has become home for both low and middle class people yet it is still confronted with all the challenges of a typical slum. Unlike typical squatter settlements, Ugbo-Odogwu is captured by the town planning maps, has registered banks, businesses, accredited schools (both public and private) and has postal and zip codes captured and duly registered with the Nigeria Postal Code Directory (Nigeria Post Code, 2014-2023). In such locations therefore, rather than a total eviction of the residents, it would be expected that urban renewal takes place within its definition as the good of the people rather than imposing more hardships on the residents than they are already facing.

---

### **Urban Slum Renewal as Public Good in Nigeria**

Even though urban renewal is defined largely from a procedural perspective, it connotes more the social than simply the physical alteration of the city. Typically, urban renewal is seen to be a process through which an urban area or neighbourhood (or quarter) is rehabilitated, improved, redeveloped, or remade. The process would usually involve activities and actions deemed necessary to improving the physical and social outlook of the area in question. It may be done through demolition of existing buildings and other infrastructure and building new ones or significantly upgrading existing ones while also improving existing amenities as well as establishing new ones. In some case, it is achieved through violent state actions and legislation that criminalized informal urban livelihoods (Neuwirth, NA). Such amenities may include overhead bridges, supermarkets, community centres, stadium, new roads, schools etc. in some parts of Nigeria, urban renewal was enacted through coercion as traders were given little or no warnings before their stalls and stocks were bulldozed by caterpillar-mounted sanitation officers and mobile police officers (Roadside pepper seller, 2018). The goal here may be to improve the aesthetic and life quality of the area or even improve its economic worth. In its orthodox or conventional form, urban renewal might aim towards improving housing/living conditions of urban dwellers, economic development of an urban area in order to boost its economic base, improving personal safety and security in the urban areas. Urban renewal is in effect a systematic process of gentrification that embodies both the physical and social. It is also referred to as urban redevelopment. However, renewal efforts are usually targeted at improving the wellbeing of urban dwellers through purposed and targeted actions. Therefore, the most consistent and perhaps fundamental assessment of the value of renewal efforts would be determined by the extent to which they improve the lives of urban dwellers.

Though urban renewal might call forth the radical transformation or overhaul of the urban space it is ideally pursued within a just and fair framework which involves the participation of the affected urban dwellers in the process leading up to the activity. In this case, there might be public hearings and town hall meetings on the proposed renewal initiative and ordinary citizens at the local level or other citizens are allowed to air their views and opinions on the initiative. Since renewal often involves the repurposing of the urban space concerned, there is usually a process of acquiring the land and buildings affected by the government or its agency concerned.

However, in the case of Nigeria, given the existence of the Land Use Law which confers the right to all land on the government, there is often the exercise of the power of eminent domain in which the government literally forcefully takes the land in question in the public interest and pays compensation as determined by it. While the revocation of individual rights to land and acquiring of the buildings on the land may be eased by the existing law, there is the inescapable expectation that individuals or citizens affected in the exercise should be either compensated and/or resettled. As a matter of fact, it is

desirable that the resettlement should precede the renewal effort. This compensation becomes even more important as urban renewal often involves the demolition, dislocation and displacement of households who are usually subjected to series of varied hardships for a long time (Uwadiogwu, 2015).

Therefore, there is no gainsaying that urban renewal implies financial, social, emotional and even psychological costs to the citizens that face displacement or relocation. It is not simply easy for people to uproot themselves after years of habitation and seamlessly slot into new urban spaces. Thus, renewal efforts should take these into consideration and duly plan for the costs or consequences it would exert on individuals (Uwadiogwu, 2015). Even more than the above, evidence seems to suggest that the failure to do these would one way or the other negate the renewal effort. In concrete terms, hardships would occur for the citizens concerned and their families and there would naturally be the growth of new slums or squatter settlements usually adjacent or close to the renewal site or other locations (Amakihe, 2017; Agbola et.al., 1997).

This development exacerbates the problems of urban redevelopment and mitigates against the efforts of urban planners and administrators and in the process lead to what may be called the cyclical generation of slums and blights areas in urban areas (a typical case in Nigeria where urban renewal efforts have been either not fully thought-through or have been impaired by the desire to exploit the financial benefits of land in urban areas by the government and its agents). Also, experience shows that demolished houses in urban renewal exercises in Nigeria are typically those occupied by low income or socially marginal citizens and the process of urban renewal has meant the acquisition of these spaces by privileged citizens or the construction of high rent buildings outside or beyond the economic capacity of low-income citizens. Interestingly, the above is not peculiarly a Nigerian thing as Anderson (1964) has much earlier identified such problems in the 1940s redevelopment efforts in the U.S

While urban renewal is ostensibly powered by the need to improve socio-economic status of people among other things, the truth is that such exercises in Nigeria have always worsened the socio-economic status of the occupants of these areas. In effect, the aftermath of these exercises has been increasing poverty, insecurity, crime and other social pathologies among the urban poor (Uwadiogwu, 2015). Urban renewal in Nigeria has been undertaken mainly by the government and other multilateral agencies like the World Bank. In this regard, the World Bank through its Community Based Urban Development Programme has been involved in slum upgrade schemes in such states as Bauchi, Ondo, Ebonyi, Jigawa, and Akwa Ibom; while Nigeria's National Urban Renewal Programme has focused on three cities namely Badagry, Lagos state; Kurna Asabe, Kano state; and Aba, Abia state (World Bank, 2014).

There is some ambivalence in the literature about when the first slum clearance or upgrade took place in Lagos. However, Gandy (2006) has seen this as occurring around 1928 when the British colonial administration in the bid to make Lagos the Liverpool of West Africa established the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) which initiated extensive slum clearance activities in the parts of the city inhabited mainly by Africans as part of an overall modernization attempt. Interestingly, this first slum clearance attempt was equally met with resistance from citizens. The citizens easily perceived the racial segregation and unveiled vilification of the effort i.e., its unmasked attempt to suggest that the Africans or 'natives' (in the colonial lingo of those times) were the sources of disorder and chaos in the city and thus modernising the city meant essentially targeting the spatial spaces occupied by these Africans.

---

### **Urban Renewal as Guise for Capitalist Accumulation**

The situation in Nigeria may be in tune with the global pattern of urban renewal as part of the process of accumulation open to neoliberal capitalism. In this sense, renewal programmes have overtime emerged strongly as part of the goal of extending the reach and position of capital in a world defined by the superiority of the interests of capital. Renewal efforts are becoming increasingly systematic processes through which the urban poor are dispossessed of their real estate and new spatial growth nodes are ensured for capital. In other words, despite the narratives of city administrators and politicians, urban renewal efforts are becoming manifest routes for acquisition of valuable real estate by the privileged as well as a programme of rezoning or repurposing urban real estate hitherto occupied by the less privileged citizens in ways that thoroughly exclude these citizens; tremendously increase the economic value of these spaces and ultimately repopulated the area with facilities and buildings that cater to the needs of the rich and privileged. Even in crude economic terms, the poor are eventually priced out of these areas and such areas become the domains of the rich and those who can afford the financial demands of capital. Incidentally, the above scenario has become an almost consistent outcome or goal of renewal efforts in urban cities in Africa including Nigeria.

Urban renewal can become a process of dispossession where low income and marginal citizens who are previous inhabitants are moved out or ejected and such spaces renewed are allocated to the privileged. Interestingly, while evaluating slum renewal exercises in Nigeria it has been observed that these exercises were carried out in flagrant disregard of the citizens inhabiting these urban spaces. Therefore, "the government seemed not to recognise the basic rights of the inhabitants of these communities as far as housing is concerned as enshrined in international conventions" (Dimuna and Omatson, 2010: 146). In effect, such exercises are motivated and driven by the implicit need to cater for the interests of the privileged. This explains why slum renewal ultimately ends with dislocation and dispossession of the poor and less privileged. The new space vacated by the poor is subsequently taken over by the rich and privileged.

In dealing with slums, government and its agents often make the claim that slum dwellers are squatters, or they define such areas as squatter settlements or informal settlements. While these descriptions have their relevance where necessary, they are often engineered to justify the forceful takeover of slum lands by the government. The truth of the matter is that unlike squatters and informal settlers who appropriate government or public land without appropriate deeds of assignment or purchase, many slum areas have residents with genuine security of tenure based on having purchased or legally inherited the land. As a matter of fact, in the case of Maroko Lagos, about ten thousand landlords or genuine owners of the real estate were identified while the others were tenants who paid rent to these landlords (Anugwom, 2022). Therefore, there is need to make an analytical distinction between slum dwellers and squatters in urban areas despite the proclivity of government and its officials often labelling them the same.

---

## Understanding the Lure of Slums to Neoliberal Capitalism in Nigeria

As has been argued, urban slum upgrading projects are usually driven by the interplay between modernist and neoliberal ideologies (see, Adama, 2020). In effect, such project, “fails to acknowledge the livelihoods of the poor and is undermined by protests. Historical legacies and systemic failings of governance present additional obstacles” (Adama, 2020:219). Thus, in Nigeria the process of urban renewal has implied the dispossession of the poor and marginal citizens and the appropriation of such now choice spatial spaces by the rich and powerful. As a matter of fact, a good number of the urban areas that have been renewed in Nigeria have been transformed into residential havens for the rich. This is especially the case in Lagos where massive growth of urbanization and migration have always put pressure on urban land spaces and housing.

In addition to the injustice inherent in this system of ejecting the poor in the name of renewal there is the cyclical reproduction of squatter settlements whereby those who are dispossessed illegally relocate to bordering areas of the renewed quarters (Anugwom, 2022; Roelofs, 2021). Apart from constituting another renewal challenge overtime, these squatter settlements easily generate social vices and pathology. The direct cause of the above is the inability of the government and urban administrators to keep faith or carry through resettlement programmes for the occupants of slums and squatter settlements (Uwadiogwu, 2015).

Excepting the economic lure and corruption that power urban renewal efforts, the government often takes solace in the unverified and sweeping description of these inhabitants as illegal occupants (Roelofs, 2021). Such declaration emboldens the government and its agencies to act to forcefully eject these poor citizens and ultimately repurpose the land for the rich and powerful. Even where new buildings are erected by the government, these buildings are over-priced and thus the rents or lease become totally outside the capacity of the poor and ordinary citizens (Anugwom, 2022).

There is no doubt that resistance to urban renewal also emanates from the low-level awareness of the inhabitants to the need for such an exercise. Thus, a good number of typical urban residents in Nigeria are not properly informed or aware of the value of such an exercise especially in terms of its potency towards environmental regeneration and social improvements especially when it is properly executed. Incidentally, the bane of the exercise overtime in Nigeria has been the consistent inability of those in charge to do it in committed and effective ways and in manners that protect the influence of critical stakeholders including the residents. That being the case, the residents when confronted with urban renewal may feel insecure as they might perceive it as a threat to their livelihoods and their future. This insecurity usually pushes these residents to rebel against the process and the direct and immediate outcome of the dissatisfaction and insecurity felt by the residents plays out first as grumbling and later develops to agitation, confrontation, violence and hostage taking etc. (Akinola, 2013).

In Nigeria, most renewal exercise have turned out to be systematic dispossession of the poor and marginal citizens and the appropriation of land for the benefits of capital. Renewal thus becomes a guise for depriving the poor and marginal of their right to abide in the urban environment. The state in Nigeria, as in most other parts of the globe is the main promoter and facilitator of urban growth. As has been argued the above builds into the known fact of a long-standing urban bias in development (see, Lipton, 1977). But the state while facilitating urban growth represents the needs of privileged citizens and the powerful or those with access to power. The dispossession imbued in typical urban renewal or slum clearance exercises is often justified by city administrators on the need to achieve the goods of the so-called “world class city”.

The whole notion of world class city itself seems appealing especially from the perspective of its promises of economic development and progress in the urban enclave. In fact, these promises have acted as magnets drawing city administrators, politicians, and businesspeople into a wholesale appetite for it. However, the idea particularly from a global South perspective is fraught with some obvious loopholes. In the first instance is that it propagates the unexamined western experience of cities to other areas and thus privileges a form of economic globalization and westernization as growth (see, Robinson, 2002). Second, it stubbornly obscures or glosses over the impacts of neoliberalism especially in terms of the exclusiveness it breeds.

Interestingly, a writer like Ghertner (2011) sees the world class city as simply a utopia anchored on presumptions of better society and improved future [though there is no thought given to whose future and society are improved in the process]. Finally, and tied to the above is that the world city idea is driven mainly by economic rationality and the domination of capitalism that do not consider the situation of the urban poor and marginalised. For instance, the largely criticised Maroko slum clearance in Lagos, Nigeria (see, Lawanson et al., 2019) was part of the world class city vision for Lagos. However, apart from the sections of the old Maroko appropriated by neoliberal capitalist interests, the project of a so-called Lagos Atlantic city remains largely on paper.

Undeniably, capitalist urban growth as the norm nowadays invariably generates tension and contradictions in social relations and exchange between urban dwellers and even in the process of executing urban development projects and initiatives. Thus, it has been argued that the contradictions and tensions of capitalist modernisation increasingly show that technological innovation and progress, despite delivering the promised and expected materials in the form of commodified goods, have fallen short of delivering a better or non-conflictive society (Rincon et al., 2019). According to Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) capitalist urbanization [which is invariably the norm] is achieved only through multiple processes of socio-ecological domination/subordination as well as systematic exploitation and repression.

Interestingly, the findings of a study of the urban situation in Mexico by Rincon et al., (2019) are consistent with the earlier position of Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) that the process of fetishization that accompanies the production of the city by conflating development with economic growth that enables the flow of both capital and good is privileged over environmental, social, and cultural values. Therefore, urban renewal initiatives are typically high on economic rationality and low on social responsibility and is typically in a framework of development that is heavily pecuniary and aloof to both morality and cultural ethos of neighbourhood and sociability. The above mind-set is replicated in the Lagos scene where the dearth of land especially

because of the encroachment of the ocean and waters make land a very highly priced asset. A situation not ameliorated in any sense by the massive migration to the city of Lagos from all parts of Nigeria.

Despite the above issues, some authors like Robinson, (2002) argue that the world city hypothesis is relevant even to the global South since it provides useful insights on urbanization that can be teased out in diverse forms in all cities in the world. This would mean approaching the vision of a world city from the perspective of taking its good elements and striving to overcome the deleterious elements or impact of such a change. In developing societies while the world city vision may be a standard to aspire it should be approached with the view that replicating the west is an old and discarded development approach and that the urban city is meant for people and should retain its defining characteristic as a centre of social and cultural heterogeneity. The above includes in the case of Lagos and Enugu, improving the slum areas but not depriving the citizens of their rights to city living. Critical to such positive and people-oriented clean up or renewal would be efforts towards enabling the slum dwellers to overcome the challenges of slum dwelling,

---

## Theoretical Framework

This paper is anchored on the spatial allocation theory by Mills (1972) and the Economic theory as discussed by Richardson (1971). The spatial allocation theory focuses on budgeting and allocation of land to various land uses in order to satisfy the space requirements of people and their activities for the present and the future. It argues that forces of slum development and urban decay are urban circumstances beyond the control of residents and as such the only measure that can be used against slum problems is total relocation or allocation of residents to a new site (as compensations) as the areas where they live are considered to constitute serious health threats and eyesores. Unfortunately, this is contrary to what is often seen in under-developed and developing countries like Nigeria, where more often than not local governments have the power to acquire real property for a public purpose with or without compensation. Spatial allocation theory asserts that for relocation of residents to take place, a number of guidelines for urban renewal have to be followed viz:

- i. The use of identifiable criteria to designate urban renewal areas
- ii. Detailed survey of the housing, demographic, socio-economic and environmental characteristics of the area
- iii. Preparation of the physical development plans for the area
- iv. Making adequate plans for the relocation of residents
- v. Articulation of urban renewal action plan (Uwadiogwu, 2015)

According to the theory, before urban renewal can take place, there are a number of steps that must be followed viz:

- i. Designation of urban area based on justifiable criteria
- ii. Detailed survey of the housing, demographic, socio-economic and environmental characteristics of the area
- iii. Procurement of resettlement site and establishment of relocation programme
- iv. Development of resettlement site
- v. Evacuation and the resettlement of the residents at the resettlement site
- vi. Renewal area improvement planning, and development
- vii. New constructions at the renewal area
- viii. Bringing back the displaced households (Uwadiogwu, 2015).

Unfortunately, it is seen that urban renewal in Nigeria oftentimes does not go in line with these guidelines, leaving the residents facing varied forms of difficulties and hardships. On the other hand, the economic theory according to Richardson argues that most buildings can be maintained in a good state of repair provided that the owners are willing to undertake the maintenance expenditure required and as long as it is within their financial capacity. However, where this is not possible, they argue that the public sector should leave the poor where they belong while they (the public sector) assume the total cost implications of urban renewal. The main emphasis of this theory is the revitalisation of the run-down arrears by putting in place strategies that will help assimilate the slum creators into active socio-economic life of the city (Omole, 2000).

Since the land use law in Nigeria has made it almost impossible for the spatial allocation theory to be implemented in urban renewal in Nigeria, this study therefore recommends the economic theory as a solution to be adopted in the process of urban renewal in Nigeria to ensure that the residents of the areas in need of renewal/redevelopment are saved the difficulties and hardships associated with being displaced without adequate planning or compensation. The study further advocates that where relocation of the residents is inevitable, the guidelines and steps as proposed by the spatial allocation theory be adopted to ensure that challenges and difficulties associated with relocation are reduced as much as possible.



---

## Towards Targeted Social Work Interventions in Urban Slums

Slum dwellers confront the obvious transitory nature of such environment. Slums are usually not the desired urban habitation, but people often end up here as a product of necessity generated mostly by economic limitations (Patton, 1988; United Nations Habitat, 2011). As a rule, life here is usually characterised by an ingrained hustle and bustle whether in pursuit of economic goals or even in social activities. Therefore, the dwellers give the impression of being harried and largely unsettled. Probably resulting from or related to the above is the perceived conflict proneness of slum dwellers. The slum as an urban location is often framed in popular imagination as conflict prone while the conflict may result from the scarcity of public and social amenities and an ingrained sense of deprivation, slum dwellers are seen by most other members of the society as literally troublemakers.

There is no doubt that a combination of the hustle and bustle, poverty and dearth of social amenities reduce the endurance capacity and patience of these urban dwellers. The acute shortage of social amenities, general deprivation and the shortage of social amenities, general deprivation and the squalid environment of the slum have been related to a higher incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency in the urban area (Anugwom, 1990; 1997; 2000). The slum therefore often portrays a social and physical spectacle that defies both logic and rationalization especially since outside the slum lie bastions of urban opulence and more ordered and predictable habitations.

These challenges or problems should be seen as windows of opportunity for social work practice in Nigeria. In other words, the above characteristics or features of the average urban slum make it special and worth of peculiar treatment. The above does not mean that slum dwellers have not been consulting social workers or that social workers have not usually intervened in issues concerning slums and slum dwellers rather what is being advocated is for systematic development of social work practice and interventions focused on the peculiar challenges of slum dwelling. This would mean enabling social workers acquire the social skills and technical competence to deal with some of the above problems that often define and structure slum dwelling (Olaleye, 2016; Wottgen, 2003).

In addition, advocacy by social workers and even other rights activists should in addition to enabling slum dwellers cope with peculiar challenges of their locations, focus on ensuring that when renewal becomes necessary it must as a matter of right be preceded by rehousing. Therefore, it must be pointed out that unlike the position in some quarters, resettlement or rehousing of families displaced by urban renewal is not a social welfare matter (Dimuna & Omatsone 2010; Akinwale, 2018). Generally, social welfare can be invoked when dealing with the urban homeless or other forms of housing intervention driven by the extreme precarity of citizens. But in the case of urban renewal, resettlement becomes the right of families and citizens displaced from their homes, workplaces, schools, religious and social spaces. It is from the lens of rights that the government and its agencies can be persuaded to ensure that displaced citizens are adequately resettled and or allowed back to the improved urban areas especially where they hold deeds of ownership over land or property even though the normal route taken is for the government or concerned agent to buy-back such deeds or compensate the citizens involved.

Social work should therefore respond to the needs of slum dwellers beyond simple empathy and appreciation of the poor but the capacity to tap into the nature of the slum to improve lives and effect changes. The profession involves a community practice orientation that recognises the people and institutions in the slum and engaging these in concert with public institutions and social resources outside the slums (Attafuaah, et. al., 2022). Thus, advocacy should be in the form of concerted and collaborative efforts that underline the cognition of the rights to city living of slum dwellers. According to the International Federation of Social Workers (2010), as a profession, social work should also involve tapping into institutions and values emanating from these urban areas; creating niches of participation for these slum dwellers in the administration of these slums; advocating for physical and structural changes; mediating between the needs of these residents and resources in the larger society; intervening in bridging the gap between the slum dwellers and the government/city administrators; remodelling slum renewal on basis of stakeholders needs and rights of citizens to city dwelling; encouraging participatory approaches to urban renewal; stemming the tide of neoliberal capitalists interests and aspiring for public good in renewal exercises among others.

---

## Conclusion

The paper has examined the intricacies of slum clearance or renewal in Nigeria. While such exercises are ostensibly motivated by the need to improve the living situations of these urban residents and their environment, cursory observation reveals that the process has become veritable scheme by neoliberal interests to dispossess slum dwellers of their real estate. As a result, such exercises have occurred mainly without stakeholders' participation and the utilization of might by the government and its agencies.

In Nigeria, rapid urban growth and endless expansion of big cities like Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan, Kano can be characterised as producing the following outcomes or effects: unplanned urban sprawl, severe housing shortages, growth of slums and squatter settlements, pollution (land, water and air); urban congestion and overcrowding; homelessness (increasing number of urban residents sleeping under bridges, broken down vehicles, uncompleted buildings etc.); transportation problems as well as challenges of safety, security, and continuous threat of various forms of conflict. All the above would surely elicit the usage of urban renewal as an ameliorative and regenerative phenomenon in these urban areas. Therefore, what ideally should be contested is not the imperative or necessity of urban renewal but the way and manner of the renewal as well as its outcomes or aftermath.

In any case, the problem of slums as residential domains in urban areas in Nigeria cannot be easily wished away and the clearance of one slum has often led to the emergence or creation of new ones as these slum residents resist such exercise and stake their claims to right to city dwelling. In view of the above, the phenomenon of slum dwelling requires a concerted effort to tackle the social problems or challenges peculiar to these urban areas. It is in this light that social work interventions or services tailored after these peculiar challenges should form part of an overall strategy towards the slum in urban

Nigeria. This entails the emergence of social workers with the social and technical competence to respond positively to the problems of slum dwellers in Nigeria.

## References

- Adediran, I. Makoko dwellers protest as Lagos government moves to develop world's biggest floating slum. Premium Times. September 2, 2020. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/412086-makoko-dwellers-protest-as-lagos-govt-move-to-develop-worls-biggest-floating-slum.html?tztc=1>
- Agbola, T. & Jinadu, A. M. Forced eviction and forced relocation in Nigeria: the experience of those evicted from Maroko in 1990. *Environment and Urbanization*. Vol. 9. No. 2. October, 1997.
- Akinola, S. R. (2013). Polycentric planning and community self-governance as panacea to Niger Delta crisis. *African Journal of Development (AJD)*. New York University. Vol. 1, No. 2, Pp. 79-104
- Akinwale, O. P. (2018). Urban slums in Nigeria: ensuring healthy living conditions. *Urbanet*. Newsletter. <https://www.urbanet.info/nigeria-lagos-slums-urban-health/>
- Alaba, O. T. (2010). Impact of urban renewal on property values. *Journal of Estate Surveying Research*. Yaba College of Technology. Pp. 80-93
- Alawadi, K. (2014). Urban redevelopment trauma: the story of a Dubai neighbourhood. *Built Environment* 40(30). DOI: 10.2148/benv.40.3.357
- Amakihe, E. forced eviction and demolition of slum: a case study pof the Makoko slum in Lagos, Nigeria. *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal*. 10(4); 400-408.
- Amidu, A & Aluko, T. B. (2006). Urban low income settlements, land deregulation and sustainable development in Nigeria. *Proceedings of 5<sup>th</sup> FIG Regional Conference*, Accra, Ghana.
- Anderson, M (1964). *The federal bulldozer: A critical analysis of urban renewal (1949 – 1962)*. Cambridge MA: M.I.T Press
- Anugwom, E.E (2022). "Spatial Intersectionality, social conflict, social exclusion and disempowerment in urban renewal processes in Nigeria". Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Collaborative Research Centre (CRC 1265), Technical University, Berlin (20 -22 October)
- Anugwom, E.E (2000). "Urbanization and Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria: Towards a new orientation", in E.E Anugwom; V.I Okeke; R.C Asogwa and I.N Obasi (eds). *The Social Sciences: Issues and perspectives*. Nsukka: Fulladu Pub.
- Anugwom, E.E (1997). "Juvenile Delinquency as a Negative Factor in the Urban Environment in Nigeria", in Yomi Oruwari (ed.) *Women, Development and the Nigerian Environment*. Ibadan: Vantage Pub.
- Anugwom, E.E (1990). *Slum and Slum Dwelling in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Aba Urban Slum*. Unpublished Bachelor Thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka: Department of Sociology/Anthropology
- Attafuah, P. A.; Everink, I. H.; Lohrmann, C; Abuosi, A. A. & Schols, J. M. G. A. (2022). *Frontiers: Improving health and social care services for slum-dwelling older adults: perspectives of health professionals*. *Aging and Public Health*. Vol. 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.988076>.
- Atere, T.S (2001). Urban slums increase in Lagos. *Daily Independent*, (Monday October 8):40
- Christmann, Gabriela B (2020). "Introduction: Struggling with innovations. Social innovations and conflicts in urban development and planning". *European Planning Studies*, 28 (3): 423 – 433
- Couch, C and C. Fraser (2003). Introduction: The European context and theoretical framework. In C. Couch; C. Fraser; and Susan Percy (Eds.) *Urban regeneration in Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Couch, C.; Fraser, C. & Percy, S. (Eds.), (2003). *Urban regeneration in Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Dimuna, K.O and M.E.O Omatson (2010). Regeneration in Nigerian urban built environment. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 29 (2): 141 – 149
- Ezema, I.C; P.A Okpoko; and A.A Oluwatayo (2016). Urban regeneration through state-led new-build gentrification in Lagos inner city, Nigeria. *International Journal of Applied Environmental Sciences*, 11 (1): 135 - 146
- Gandy, M (2006). Planning, anti-planning and the infrastructure crisis facing metropolitan Lagos. *Urban Studies*, 43 (2): 371 - 396
- Gbadegesin, J.T and B.T Aluko (2010). The programme of urban renewal for sustainable urban development in Nigeria: Issues and challenges. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 7 (3): 244 – 253
- Ghertner, D.A (2011). Rule by aesthetics: World-class city making in Delhi. In Roy, A and A. Ong (eds) *Worlding Cities Asian experiments and the art of being global*. West Sussex: Blackwell, pp. 279 - 306
- Glazer, N (1965). The renewal of cities. *Scientific American*, 213 (3): 200 - 220

- Harris, R. (2009). Slums. Science Direct; International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/slums#.~:text=A%20slum%20is%a%20residential,rural%20or%20more%20commonly%urban>
- Huchzermeyer, M (2014). Troubling continuities: Use and utility of the term 'slum'. In Parnell, S and S. Oldfield (eds). The Routledge handbook on cities in the global South. London: Routledge, pp. 86 - 97
- International Federation of Social Workers (2010). Poverty eradication and the role for social workers. Switzerland: International Federation of Social Workers. <https://www.ifsw.org/poverty-eradication-and-the-role-for-social-workers/>
- Interview, roadside pepper seller (2018). In Roelofs, P. (2021). Urban renewal in Ibadan, Nigeria: world class but essentially Yoruba. African Affairs, 120/480, 391-415. Doi://<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adab021>
- Jaroszynska-Kirshmann, A. D. (2021) Urban renewal in American cities and responses of the white working-class ethnic groups: A preliminary exploration. Studia Migracyjne Przegląd Polonijny. Nr 3(181)/2021. <https://www.ejournals.eu/Studia-Migracyjne/> DOI: 10.4467/25444972SMPP.21030.14450
- Kaika, M; M and E. Swyngedouw (2000). Fetishising the modern city: The phantasmagoria of urban technological networks. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 24: 124 - 138
- Keresztely, K. (2016). Urban renewal as a challenge for European urban development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Territories Governance. [https://www.citego.org/bdf\\_fiche-document-532\\_en.html](https://www.citego.org/bdf_fiche-document-532_en.html)
- Lawanson, T; D. Odekunle; and I.O Albert (2019). Urban redevelopment and the right to the city in Lagos, Nigeria. In: Albert, I.O and T. Lawanson (eds) Urban crisis and management in Africa: A festschrift for Prof. Akin Mabogunje. Austin Texas: Pan African University Press, pp. 295 – 314
- Lipton, Michael (1977). Why poor people stay poor: A study of urban bias in World development. Canberra: ANU Press
- Lombard, Melanie and Carole Rakodi (2016). Urban land conflict in the global south: Towards an analytical framework. Urban Studies, Vol. 56 (13): 2683 – 2699
- Megbolu, C. Nigeria: groups seek justice for Maroko evictees. This Day. 23 September, 2009. <https://allafrica.com/stories/200909240125.html>
- Miller, J and S. Marshall (1995). New life for cities around the world. International handbook on urban renewal. New York: Books International
- National Bureau of Statistics (2015). National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria. In Adegoke, S. A. O. A. & Agbola, T. Housing affordability and the organized private sector housing in Nigeria. Open Journal of Social Sciences. Vol. 8, No. 4. April 15, 2020.
- NatraTex. (2022). "What is urban regeneration?" Knowledge Hub. Retrieved 30-03-2022
- Neuwirth, (NA). Stealth of Nations. In Roelofs, P. (2021). Urban renewal in Ibadan, Nigeria: world class but essentially Yoruba. African Affairs, 120/480, 391-415. Doi://<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adab021>
- Nigerian Postal Code Directory (2014-2023). Nigeria postcode: Enugu postcode list. <https://www.nigeriapostcode.com/location/enugu/enugu/>
- Omole, F. K. (2000). Planning theories and the planner. Illesha, Nigeria: Peace Ground Publications.
- Olaleye, Y. L. (2016). Community social work practice in Nigeria: an innovative approach to skills need. African Notes. Journal of the Institute of African Studies. Vol. 40. No. 1: 40-57
- Osuide, S. O. (2004). Strategies for affordable housing stock delivery in Nigeria. 18<sup>th</sup> Inaugural Lecture of Ambrose Ali University, Ekpoma, Benin City: Floreat Systems
- Our Travel and Tours. Places: Ugbo-Odogwu, Trans-Ekulu, Enugu. June 15, 2019. <https://ourtravelandtours.com/ugbo-odogwu-trans-ekulu-enugu/#:~:text=Ugbo%Odogwu%2C%20Meaning%20%E2%80%9DOdogwu's%20farm,government%20area%20of%20Enugu%20state>
- Oyesiku, K (2011). Development before town planning, the cause of flooding in Nigeria. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/07/development-before-town-planning-cause-of-flooding-in-nigeria/>
- Accessed: 15 October 2015
- Pan, Z.; Wang, G.; Hu, Y. & Cao, B. (2019). Characterizing urban redevelopment process by quantifying thermal dynamic and landscape analysis. Habitat International. Volume 86, Pp. 61-70. <https://doi.org/10/j.habitaint.2019.03.004>
- Patel, S (2010). The making of global city regions: Mumbai: The mega-city of a poor country. In G. Bridge and S.Watson (eds) The Blackwell city reader. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 72 – 78
- Patton, C. (1988). Spontaneous shelter: international perspectives and prospects. Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Richardson, H. W. (1971). Urban Economics. Penguin Books Limited.

- Rincon, V.R; J. Martinez-Alier; and S. Mingorria (2019). Environmental conflicts related to urban expansion involving agrarian communities in Central Mexico. *Sustainability*, 11, 6545; doi: 10.3390/su11236545
- Roelofs, P. (2021). Urban renewal in Ibadan, Nigeria: world class but essentially Yoruba. *African Affairs*, 120/480, 391-415. Doi://https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adab021
- Robinson, J (2002). Global and World cities: A view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26 (3): 531 - 554
- Roy, A. (2011). The blockade of the World-class city: Dialectical images of Indian urbanism. In: Roy, A and A. Ong (eds.) *Worlding Cities Asian experiments and the art of being global*. West Sussex: Blackwell, pp. 259 – 278
- Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC). SERAC files Maroko communication before the African Commission. 19 December, 2008.
- Shuaeeb, H (2023). Urban renewal in Nigeria: the sustainable environment dimension. Surulere, Lagos: Built Ability in Nigeria (BAIN) Limited.
- United Nations Habitat (2011). *Assessing slums in the development context*. United Nations Habitat Group
- Uwadiogwu, B. O. (2025). Urban renewal and security issues. *British Journal of Environmental Sciences*. UK: European Centre for Research Training and Development. ISSN 2055-0219. ISSN 2055-0227 (Online).
- World Bank (2014). *World Development Report on Africa*. Washington D.C: World Bank
- World Bank (2016). *How eight cities succeeded in rejuvenating their urban land*. Singapore: World Bank.
- Wottgen, K. (2003). *Migration to urbanization: rural social work and the prevention of slum growth*. Diploma thesis.
- Zielenbach, S and G.M Levin (2000). *The art of revitalization: Improving conditions of distressed inner-city neighbourhoods*. New York and London: Garland
- Zuckerman, M (1991). *Psychobiology of personality*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.